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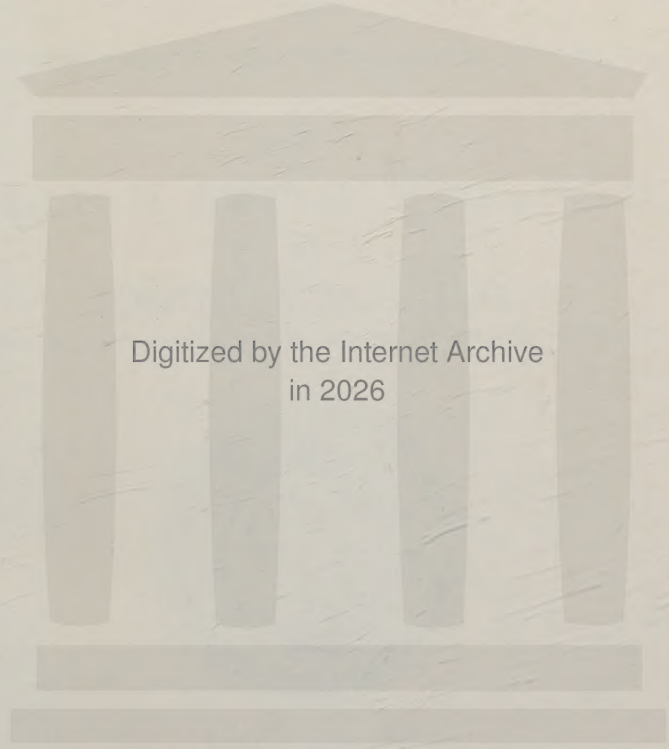
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A DICTIONARY

OF

CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY,

LITERATURE, SECTS AND DOCTRINES;

BEING

A CONTINUATION OF 'THE DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.'

EDITED BY

WILLIAM SMITH, D.C.L., LL.D.,

AND

HENRY WACE, D.D.,

PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON; PREACHER AT LINCOLN'S INN, ETC. ETC.

VOLUME II.

EABA—HERMOCRATES.

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LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1880.

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PREFACE TO VOL. II.

In publishing another volume the Editors have to explain that it has been found desirable to extend the work to four volumes. They felt that the value of a Dictionary of early Christian Biography would depend both upon the completeness of its onomasticon, and upon its thorough discussion of the greater names. It became apparent, as they proceeded, that to attain these objects a larger space would be required than was at first contemplated, and the liberality of the publisher has allowed them the space necessary to carry out their design. Although the present volume terminates with HERMOCRATES, it will be found that, for the special purposes of the Christian Biography of the first eight centuries, one half of the Alphabet has practically been treated. A remarkable number of the important names in Church History occur in the early letters. This volume, for instance, contains articles which are necessarily of exceptional length on such names as Eusebius of Caesarea, Gnosticism, the Gregories of the East and the West, Ephraim the Syrian, Epiphanius, the Apocryphal Gospels, the Hebrew Learning of the Fathers, and Hermas; while Anglo-Saxon names commencing with the letter E are peculiarly numerous. There will consequently be no difficulty in completing the work within the limits now prescribed to it.

In reference to this extension of the book, the Editors feel that it is but justice to the generous labours of the contributors to call attention to the original research which has been bestowed upon it and to the scientific purpose which has been kept in view. The first volume was very kindly received; but some further explanation of the design and character of the undertaking seems still due to the distinguished English and Foreign scholars who have co-operated in it. In combination with the DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES, the book will be found to be unique in the comprehensiveness with which the whole sphere of Christian life during the first eight centuries has been treated. It has been compared with the valuable German cyclopaedias of Herzog and of Wetzer and Welte. But in the first place it is an attempt, to which those works make no pretension, to notice every name connected with the history of the early Church; and though many such names may be insignificant in themselves, they are frequently of considerable importance in determining critical difficulties which arise in respect to the greater personages. It sometimes happens, for example, that

exact knowledge respecting some obscure name which is mentioned by two writers may throw important light on their relations to each other. The information, moreover, furnished by these minor articles is often precisely that which a student finds it most difficult to obtain, and the minute points they illustrate in Church History are sometimes very characteristic. But a not less important difference between this work and the foreign cyclopaedias which have preceded it will at once be seen if reference be made to a few of the more important articles. The subjects of such articles will be found to be treated not merely with independence and originality, but with a fulness which no modern work has attempted. Since, indeed, the Cyclopaedias just mentioned survey the whole range of religious history, from its commencement to the present time, it would have been impracticable for them to enter with any fulness of detail into the history of the first eight centuries. From this point of view it is hoped that this Dictionary may serve to remove a reproach which has not unfrequently been cast upon Protestant learning, and for which it must be admitted that there has hitherto been some ground. Since the admirable work of Cave, the subjects of Patrology, and of early Christian life and literature, have been less comprehensively treated among us than is their due. The present work, however, will supply a greater mass of materials for the history of the early centuries of the Church, together with a more complete application to them of the resources of modern learning and criticism, than is anywhere else accessible; and the credit may, therefore, without presumption, be claimed for it of being, at least in design and effort, the most important contribution to Church History which, either in this country or abroad, has been made for many years.

In dismissing a second volume, the Editors have again to express their gratitude for the ready and cordial co-operation they have received; but their acknowledgments are pre-eminently due to two distinguished scholars, to whose generous assistance the work is peculiarly indebted. Dr. Salmon, the Regius Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, Dublin, and Canon Stubbs, the Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, have not only written numerous and important articles, but have had the goodness to read the proofs of this volume. They are of course in no way responsible for the final result of the Editors' labours; but their suggestions have been of the greatest service. The Editors must also express their continued obligations to the Rev. Charles Hole, Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in King's College, London, for the constant devotion with which he has assisted them, and for the invaluable learning and labour he has bestowed upon the work.

A DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY, LITERATURE, SECTS, AND DOCTRINES.

E

EABA (1), EABAE, a daughter of Eanfrith, brother of Eanhere, under-kings or ealdormen of the Hwiccii, and wife of Ethelwalch, king of the South Saxons (d. 685). She was baptized in her brother's dominions, and, with her husband, who received Christianity about 661 under the influence of Wulfhere, king of the Mercians, encouraged Wilfrid in 681 to attempt the conversion of the South Saxons. Nothing more is known of Eaba, but from the name of her father Eanfrith, her friendship with Wilfrid, and the connexion between the Hwiccian princes and the royal house of Northumbria, she was probably nearly related to St. Ebba, abbess of Coldingham. (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 13; Edd. *V. Wilf.* c. 40.) [S.]

EABA (2), an abbat of Malmesbury in the 8th century. His name occurs among the memorials of St. Boniface, in a letter addressed by a monk unnamed [HERECA] to Lullus of Mainz. In this the writer reminds Lullus of their ancient friendship "in Maldubia civitate, quando Eaba abbas in amabili caritate nutrivit te;" and calls to his recollection that Eaba had given him the name of "Lytel." (*Mon. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, p. 300; Bonif. *Epp.* ed. Würdtwein, ep. 123.) No such name occurs in the received, but very imperfect lists of the abbats of Malmesbury. (W. Malmesb. G. P. lib. v.; *Monast. Angl.* i. 255.) There is, however, in the list recently discovered by Mr. W. de G. Birch in the Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 10 (Birch, *Abbats of Malmesbury*, pp. 6, 30), an abbat Aeambriht, who may be identical with Eaba, and with an abbat Eanberht, who, between 755 and 757 had a charter from Ethelbald of Mercia, and Cynewulf of Wessex. [EANBERHTTA.] However this may have been, as Lullus must have been over thirty when in 754 he was made bishop, and as according to his biographers he was seven years old when he was admitted into the monastery (*Vit. S. Lulli*, ap. Surium, Oct. 16), Eaba's date at Malmesbury must fall about 730. [S.]

EABA (3), presbyter of Boniface and bishop of Maestricht. [EOBANUS.]

EABBA (Kemble, *C. D.* 37; Thorn, in Twysd. col. 1770; Elmham, pp. 233, 234, ed. Hardwick), abbess. [EORMENBURH.] [C. H.]

EADA, presbyter, a valued friend of Alcuin, who thanks him for presents, and praises his munificence towards him. Alcuin says his bark has been hurried along by gales into the vortex of wealth, and he envies Eada his chosen life of poverty, where he would gladly follow him according to his own earliest bent. Mabillon concludes that Eada was a monk. The editors of the *Monumenta Alcuiniana* have no doubt that the epistle addressed to him was written before Alcuin went to preside over his abbey at Tours and they suggest the date A.D. 796. (*Mon. Alcuin.* ep. 47, ed. Jaffé, p. 269; Alcuin, *Opp.* ed. Froben. i. 201, ep. 140; Mabill. *Annal. Ord. S. Ben.* lib. xxvii. c. 31.) [C. H.]

EADBALD (1) (AUDUVALD, Bed. *H. E.* ii. 8; AUDUBALD, *ib.* ii. 10, 11; AEODBALD, *ib.* ii. 6, tit. 7, 9; AEDBOLD, Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 616; Hen. Hunt. ii. in *M. H. B.* 715, c; AETHELBALD, Flor. Wig. *ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 627), son of Ethelbert, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Kent in the February of 616. He "had not only," in his father's lifetime, "refused to receive the faith of Christ," but after his death conformed to a custom which was almost a law among the heathen nations (see Kemble, *Saxon Engl.* ii. 407) by marrying his widowed stepmother. He seems to have been afflicted by fits of insanity or violent excitement, which Bede regards as Divine rebukes (ii. 5). His kinsmen, the three sons of Sabert of Essex, who had succeeded their father, drove out Mellitus, bishop of London, who came to Canterbury, where he, Justus of Rochester, and archbishop Laurentius held a consultation, and resolved on returning to Italy. The two former acted on this resolution, and that night, according to the Canterbury story, as it came down to Bede, Laurentius, left alone, prepared his bed in the church of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, and while he slept was rebuked, and even scourged by St. Peter for having so much as purposed to desert his flock; in the morning he hastened to Eadbald and shewed the marks of this mysterious castigation. "Who has dared," asked the king, "thus to treat a person of your dignity?" Laurentius improved the occasion by his answering with such effect that Eadbald was overawed

14.

and converted. This is the tale; it has been suggested that originally it was only a story of a dream, and that the corporal inflictions were a later addition to it; in that case Eadbald must have been impressed by Laurentius's account of the dream, and by that only. The other alternative is to suppose that Laurentius stooped to a fraud for the purpose of making a salutary impression on the self-willed pagan prince. Whatever was the cause of Eadbald's change, it was most thorough and practical. He broke off his unlawful "connubium" (Bede, ii. 6), "renounced all manner of idolatry, accepted the faith, was baptized, and took pains in all things to consult for and promote the interests of the church, to the utmost of his power." He sent to Gaul, and recalled Mellitus and Justus; the latter returned in peace to Rochester, but the Londoners would not receive the former, and Eadbald, not having inherited his father's overlordship, was unable to constrain them. What he could do he did; "in union with his own people," he studied to devote himself to the divine precepts. He built a chapel of the Virgin within the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul. He is said to have founded a nunnery at Folkestone for his daughter Eanswitha, who became the local saint of the place. The venerable church within the precincts of Dover Castle is thought to be substantially a work of his reign (see Freeman, *Norm. Conq.* iii. 939). But he did not enforce the abandonment or destruction of idols (cf. Bede, iii. 8). When Edwin, who had recently gained possession of the throne of Northumbria, sent envoys to ask the hand of Eadbald's sister Ethelburga—called Tata in her own family as a name of endearment—her brother answered firmly, that he could not allow a Christian maiden to be wedded to a heathen husband. The envoys reported this refusal to Edwin, who sent them back with the assurance that he would in no wise hinder Ethelburga from the practice of her own religion; on the contrary, he would freely permit both herself and her attendants, male and female, to worship as Christians, and would even himself adopt their faith, if, on inquiry, it should seem better to wise men "holier and worthier of God." On these terms Eadbald consented to the marriage in 625, and sent with her on her journey northwards Paulinus, consecrated by archbishop Justus, in the episcopate, in the hope that he might act not only as her spiritual guide, but as a missionary bishop in Northumbria. When Edwin fell in the battle of Hatfield, and Ethelburga and Paulinus returned to Kent, Eadbald established the latter in the vacant see of Rochester (Bede, ii. 20). This was in the close of 633; Eadbald lived seven years longer, and died in 640, "leaving his kingdom to his son Earcombert" (Bede, iii. 8). For a Cottonian MS. referring to Eadbald, see Hardy, *Descr. Cat.* i. 259. [W. B.]

EADBALD (2), an ealdorman, whose name (printed Facuualdus by the Magdeburg Centuriators) appears among the witan, who approved the acts of the legatine council held in southern England in 787. He is identified by Jaffé with the ealdorman Eadbald, who attested Mercian charters from 777 onwards. (Kemble, *C. D.* i. 159, 167, 170; Mon. Alcuin. p. 162; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 462.) [S.]

EADBALD (3) (Aedboldus, F. Wig. *M. H. B.* 546), the twelfth bishop of London in the ancient lists. (*M. H. B.* 617.) As his name occurs between those of Kenwalch, who was bishop in 793, and Heathoberht, who attested grants in 798 and 799, he is no doubt to be identified with the bishop Eadbald, who, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, went away from the land in the year of Offa's death, 796. (*M. H. B.* 338.) [S.]

EADBALD (4) (Reyner, *Discept. Hist. de Antiq. Ord. Bened. in Angl.* Duac. 1626; Alford, *Annal. Eccles. Angl.* ann. 804, t. iii. p. 14; Alcuin, *Opp.* ed. Froben. i. 23, 284 notes), abbat of Jarrow. [Ethelbald (2).] [C. H.]

EADBALT (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1273, *M. H. B.* 780), king of Kent. [Eadbald (1).] [C. H.]

EADBERCT. [Eadberht, Eadbert.]

EADBERHT (1) (Kemble, *C. D.* 72, A.D. 724, brother of Ethelbert king of Kent; *C. D.* 85, A.D. 738; 1003, A.D. 741; 1004, A.D. 747), king of Kent. [Eadbert (2).] [C. H.]

EADBERHT (2) (Kemble, *C. D.* 106, A.D. 761; 107, A.D. 761; 110, A.D. 762, all doubtful), king of Kent. [Eadbert (3).] [C. H.]

EADBERHT (3) (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* in *M. H. B.* 670 a; Flor. Wig. *ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 635), king of Kent. [Eadbert Praen.] [C. H.]

EADBERHT (4) (*A. S. C.* ann. 757, 768 in *M. H. B.* 333, 334; Simeon Dunelm. *G. R. A.* in *M. H. B.* 659 a, 662 a, c, e, 663 e), king of Northumbria. [Eadbert (5).] [C. H.]

EADBERHT (5) (Eadbert), a monk of Lindisfarne, succeeded Cuthbert in A.D. 688 as bishop of that see, being especially noted for his knowledge of the Scriptures, and for the strict way in which he gave a tenth of everything to the poor (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 29). He was the first prelate who removed from his monastery the old roof of reeds or wattles, with which Finan had covered it, replacing them with sheets or webs of lead (*id.* iii. 25).

In the spring of A.D. 698, the first translation of the remains of St. Cuthbert took place. Eadberht gave his assent, but was from home when the examination of the grave was made, spending Lent, according to his wont, in solitude and prayer on some neighbouring island. The monks open the grave, and find what they considered to be an undecayed body. Delighted at their discovery they hasten with the news to Eadberht, taking with them some of the robes which they had found in the tomb. The bishop kissed them, and bade his brethren clothe the saint anew, and inter him in the coffin above ground, which had been prepared. Then the tears rushed down his cheeks, and he told them that the place from which the body had been taken would soon be filled again. The words were prophetic. On the 6th of May following the speaker himself died, after a long and a painful illness, and in accordance with his earnest desire, as he deprecated a sudden death. The monks laid his body under Cuthbert's coffin (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 30; *Vita S. Cuth.* capp. xlii. xliii.; Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dun.* i. 11).

The memory of Eadberht was dear to the "family" of Lindisfarne, and in their enforced wanderings they carried about with them his remains, together with those of their great patron. At Durham, where they finally rested, the bones of Eadberht occupied one of the little bags of relics with which Cuthbert's body was surrounded (*Saxon Poem de Situ Dunelmiæ*; *Hist. Transl. S. Cuthberti*, ed. Surtees Soc. 191; Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* ii. 16). When Cuthbert's tomb was opened in 1827 some of these relics were discovered in it. Eadberht has a place in the calendar on May 6. (Cf. *Acta SS.* Boll. 6 Maii, ii. 107–8.) There is a short account of Eadberht derived from Bede in MS. Cotton, Julius, A. x. 93–4. [J. R.]

EADBERHT (6), bishop of Dunwich. [ALDBERHT (1).]

EADBERHT (7) (EADBRIHT, FILBRITH, Wharton, *Epp. Lond.* p. 20; ALDBERHT), the ninth bishop of London (*M. H. B.* 617). He is probably the "Fadberchus," whose name occurs among the attestations of the legatine council of 787 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 461), and, as two bishops of this name attest the act of Offa at the council of Brentford in 781 (Kemble, *C. D.* 145; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 439), it is probable that he became bishop between 772, when his predecessor Wigheah was living (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 402), and the year 780. Eadgar, his successor, was bishop in 788. Eadberht would, if these limits are correct, be bishop of London at the time of the foundation of the archbishopric of Lichfield. [S.]

EADBERHT (8) (Kemble, *Cod. Diplom.* 992, A.D. 683; 995, A.D. 692), bishop. [EADBERT (7).] [C. H.]

EADBERHT (9), abbat of Reculver. To him about the year 747 a grant of land at Berhamstede (Berstead) was made by Eardulf king of Kent. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1005.) The name appears as Heahberht in *Monast. Angl.* i. 454, 455. [S.]

EADBERHT (10), a Mercian abbat, who attested a charter of Offa, dated in 774 (Kemble, *C. D.* 121), in which land is granted at Hehham (Higham) to archbishop Jaenbert. [S.]

EADBERHT (11), an abbat of the diocese of Sherborn, who attested the acts of the council of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546.) [S.]

EADBERHT (12), a priest of the diocese of Leicester, who attested the acts of the council of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546.) The name is common to three other priests who attended the same council from the dioceses of Elmham, Dunwich, and Selsey. (*Ib.*) [S.]

EADBERT (1) (Alcuin, Carm. 280, *Opp.* ii. 240, ed. Froben.), bishop of Lindisfarne. [EADBERHT (5).] [C. H.]

EADBERT (2), king of Kent, son of Wihtred, and brother of Ethelbert and Alric, whom Bede (*H. E.* v. 23) mentions as Wihtred's heirs. At the witenagemot of Beccanceld (696–716) there appears among the attestations "signum Aethelberhti pro se et fratre suo Eadberto," from which it would seem probable that Eadbert was the second son. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*M. H. B.* 327, 330) Eadbert succeeded Wihtred in 725 and died in 748. Wihtred's death is fixed by Bede to April 23, 725, and it would seem probable from charters that the brothers, or at least Eadbert and Ethelbert, then began to reign conjointly. Thus, besides the evidence afforded by charters of Ethelbert as king dated in 732 and 740 (Kemble, *C. D.* 77, 86), in a charter dated April 738 Eadbertgrants ten ploughlands at Hohg and Andscohesham to the church of Rochester (K. *C. D.* 85), and the grant is confirmed by Ethelbert; another charter of Eadbert, dated 747, is a grant from the port dues at Fordwich to the church of Reculver (*ib.* 1004), which appears in a genuine charter of Ethelbert dated 741 (*ib.* 86) as a grant of that king. In a third grant, however, Eadbert seems by himself to give fisheries at Limenea to Christ Church, Canterbury. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1003.) The last document, in its present form, is spurious, as it identifies Eadbert with his namesake and contemporary, the king of Northumbria, Eadbert Eating; and the other two are of very questionable authenticity. If the date assigned to the death of Eadbert in the Chronicle and by Florence of Worcester be accepted, all the later charters in which the name appears must be assigned to another Eadbert; on this point the evidence of historians is both weak and conflicting. Florence of Worcester in his Chronicle (*M. H. B.* 543) makes Ethelbert succeed Eadbert in 748 and die in 760 (*ib.* 544), whilst in the *Genealogia* (*ib.* 635) he makes Ethelbert succeed Wihtred, and Eadbert, whom he confounds with Eadbert Praen, succeed Ethelbert. William of Malmesbury assigns to the three brothers successive reigns, Eadbert twenty-three, Ethelbert eleven, and Alric thirty-four years; a computation which agrees with that of the Chronicle of Florence so far as concerns the two elder brothers, but would give an extraordinarily long life to Alric, whom also he represents as conquered by Offa in 774. (*G. R.* lib. i. § 15; ed. Hardy, p. 24.) The Canterbury writers and the charters of St. Augustine's add a new element of confusion. According to Elmham, Eadbert, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, which he makes coincide with the year 760 and the archiepiscopate of Bregwin, bestowed land at Mungeham on St. Augustine's (Elmham, ed. Hardwick, p. 319), and the same year confirmed to the abbess Sigeburga a grant which had been made by Ethelbald king of Mercia. (*Ib.* 322.) The king's death is also dated in 761 and it is added that he was buried at Reculver (*ib.* 324), Ethelbert being his successor and reigning only one year. It is obvious that the chronology is here constructed to agree with the charters; the writer was conscious of the difficulty, and tried to correct the supposed misstatement of the Chronicle; but he follows William of Malmesbury in ascribing to Alric the third brother a reign that ends in 795. (*Ib.* 337.) In this confusion it would seem most reasonable to set the reign of Alric aside altogether, as resting on no evidence earlier than that of William of Malmesbury; to accept the year 762 for the death of Ethelbert [ETHELBERT (2)], and to suppose that any genuine grants, if such there be, which bear the name of

Eadbert later than 762 were issued by some other Eadbert, who, in the anarchic condition of Kent, may have risen to power. Such would be the grant of king Sigiraed to bishop Eardulf, dated 762, and confirmed by Eadbert (Kemble, *C. D.* 110; *Mon. Angl.* i. 162); that of Offa to Rochester dated 764, and attested by king Heabert (K. *C. D.* 111), and two undated grants by Ecgbert to Rochester, also attested by Heabert. (*Ib.* 113, 160.) The great uncertainty as to the true date of Eadbert's death makes it impossible to refer any important events of English history to his reign; Elmham, however, accuses him as favouring the trick by which archbishop Cuthbert attempted to deprive St. Augustine's of the privilege of the archiepiscopal burials. (P. 317.) [S.]

EADBERT (3) king of Kent, referred to in the preceding article, seems to reign conjointly with Egbert in 765. (Kemble, *C. D.* 113.) In another charter in which Diora is mentioned as bishop of Rochester (K. *C. D.* 160), and which therefore must be dated between 765 and 785, Eadbert (under the form Heaberht) subscribes an act of Egbert. Nothing more is known about him, unless, which is difficult to suppose, he was identical with Eadbert Praen. [S.]

EADBERT (4) PRAEN, king of Kent, a member of the royal house of Kent and a kinsman of Egbert of Wessex. (H. Hunt. *M. H. B.* 733; cf. *Chr. S.* A.D. 823; *M. H. B.* 343.) Although he was in holy orders, having been perhaps ordained in order to disqualify him for the Kentish crown, he obtained, after the death of Offa, the support of a great part of Kent, and made himself king. Notwithstanding the hostility of Kenulf king of Mercia, and of archbishop Ethelhard, who enlisted pope Leo III. against him as an apostate priest, he maintained his position for three years. As these years must be computed from the death of Offa they fall in 796, 797, and 798; in the last of which Eadbert Praen was taken prisoner by Kenulf, who ordered his eyes to be put out and his hands to be cut off. Kenulf then annexed Kent as a subject kingdom to Mercia, and placed it under the government of king Cuthred. (Sim. Dun. *M. H. B.* 670; H. Hunt. *ib.* 732, 733, 734.) If the tradition of the abbey of Winchelcomb rests on any authority Eadbert Praen survived his overthrow for many years, and on the occasion of the dedication of that monastery in 811, recorded by William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* ed. Hamilton, p. 294; *G. R.* ed. Hardy, lib. i. § 95), was manumitted by Kenulf. During his short reign he struck coins bearing his name, "Eadbeart rex," and those of four different moneyers, Babba, Ethelmod, Jaenberht and Tidheah. (Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, pp. 32, 33.)

Several interesting points might be raised respecting Eadbert Praen. The origin of his surname is unknown. His relation to the Aescings is obscure, and his political career may be read in two ways. It is even possible that he was identical with the Eadbert whose name appears in the charters of 762 and later years [EADBERT (3)], and that having been deposed in one of the struggles of the time, he may have been condemned to the tonsure. As he was a kinsman of Ealhmund, father of Egbert king of Wessex, who reigned in Kent in 786, he probably belonged to a branch which represented the West Saxon as opposed to the Mercian interest in Kent; and as archbishop Ethelhard was altogether under the influence of Kenulf, and had probably been a nominee of Offa, his opposition to Eadbert Praen was no doubt as much political as ecclesiastical. We may then infer that Eadbert, instead of being a mere adventurer, was the champion of Kentish independence; such a conclusion is warranted by the words of Henry of Huntingdon, who, following some lost authority (or perhaps the Chronicle, *M. H. B.* 343), describes the deposition of Eadbert as an unjust act. (*M. H. B.* 733.) A good deal of light is thrown on this side of the subject by the letters of Alcuin. In one he entreats Ethelhard not to desert his church (*Mon. Alc.* ep. 44, p. 265; H. and S. iii. 495), and mentions that he has written to Offa to defend him. Although Eadbert is not mentioned by name the letter suggests that his schemes had been in preparation before Offa's death. In another letter Alcuin writes to the nobles and clergy of Kent, urging them to recall Ethelhard, and warns them of the evils of discord, alleging that the ancient lines of the kings had nearly become extinct. (*Mon. Alcuin*, ed. Jaffé, p. 369; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 509–511.) Although we cannot accept 795 as the date of the death of king Alric, to which Alcuin might seem to refer, it is probable that the direct line of succession was quite extinct before the West Saxon Ealhmund became king in 786. In 798 Leo III., writing to Kenulf, says that he has anathematized Eadbert, "quia nos de clerico illo apostata qui ascenderat in regnum, similem illum deputantes Juliano Parabatae, anathematizantes abjicimus, salutem animae ejus procurantes," and promises that if the pretender still holds out he will issue letters to the whole nation of Britain to rise and expel him. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 524.) It is clear, therefore, that Eadbert was no ordinary rebel; but the obscurity that hangs over the Kentish succession cannot now be penetrated. The mistake of Florence, by which Eadbert Praen is confused with the earlier king, son of Wihtred, has been noticed [EADBERT (1)]. [S.]

EADBERT (5) (EADBERHT), king of Northumbria, son of Eata, and cousin of "the most glorious Ceolwulf," whom he succeeded A.D. 737 (Cont. Bed. in *M. H. B.* 288 B). His brother Egbert became archbishop of York two years earlier. Eadbert was a very able ruler, and added largely to the dignity and extent of his dominions. Symeon tells us that he won the admiration and the friendship of the Angles, Picts, Britons, and Scots, and that Pepin, king of France, regarded him with respect, and sent him various king-like gifts (*Hist. Eccl. Dun.* ii. 3). In A.D. 740, whilst Eadbert was attacking the Picts, a part of his kingdom was ravaged by Ethelbald king of Mercia (Chronol. apud Bedam). In A.D. 750 he took from the Britons of Strathclyde the district of Kyle in Ayrshire, which had formerly belonged to Northumbria (*id.*). In the same year Eadbert came into violent collision with the officers of the church of Lindisfarne. Symeon gives a somewhat different account of the occurrence in his History of the Church of Durham (ii. cap. 2) from that which is recorded in the chronicle ascribed to him

(p. 19, ed. Surtees Soc.). It appears that Offa, son of Aldfrid, a man of royal descent, took sanctuary in Lindisfarne at St. Cuthbert's shrine, from whence he was forcibly taken by his foes and killed. In connexion with this outrage, Cynewulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, was imprisoned by Eadbert at Bambrough, and the charge of his diocese was intrusted for a time to Frithobert bishop of Hexham. It seems probable that the king was offended with Cynewulf for giving protection to the fugitive, who, if he was a son of king Aldfrith, may possibly have been looked upon by Eadbert as a rival.

In A.D. 756 Eadbert met with a great reverse. He made an alliance with his former enemies, the Picts, and joined Ungus their king in an expedition to Alclyde, where the Britons surrendered to him. But a few days subsequently, on the 10th of August, his army was routed and destroyed between Ouania and Niwanbirig (Symeon, *Hist. Regum*, 20). Mr. Hodgson Hinde was of opinion that these places were Loch Ouan and Newburgh in Perthshire. Mr. Skene, however, prefers Newburgh in Northumberland.

In A.D. 757 pope Paul I. wrote to Eadbert, stating that abbat Fordred had complained to him of his taking away three monasteries which had been granted to him by a certain abbess, Staningagrave (Stonegrave), Cuchawalda (Coxwold) and Donaemuthe (Jarrow), and giving them to the patrician Moll (possibly Ethelwald Moll, who is spoken of as "frater ejus"), a layman. The pope asks him to make restitution (Wilkins, i. 145; *id.* ed. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 394).

Two years after this disaster, and perhaps in consequence of it, Eadbert voluntarily resigned his throne in behalf of his son Osulf, and adopted the religious life. Symeon tells us that the other English kings tried to prevent him by promising to surrender a portion of each of their kingdoms for the augmentation of Northumbria, if he would continue to preside over it (*Hist. Eccl. Dun.* ii. 3). They pleaded in vain. Eadbert retired to the minster of York, of which his brother Egbert was the head, and there spent ten years. He died on Aug. 19, 768, and was buried in the cathedral in the same porch (or chapel) in which Egbert had been laid two years earlier (*Saxon Chron.* sub anno).

The two brothers possessed a mint at York, at which they coined stycas, the little copper coins which were peculiar to Northumbria. They shew the legend of the king on one side, and the archbishop on the other. Several types have been discovered, which used to be erroneously ascribed to Eadbert of Kent. [J. R.]

EADBERT (6) (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 722), etheling, exile. [ALDBERHT (3).] [C. H.]

EADBERT (7) (EADBERHT), the first bishop of the South Saxons. He was abbat of the monastery founded by Wilfrid at Selsey; and when, under the administration of Daniel bishop of Winchester and Forthere bishop of Sherborn, the South Saxons were detached from the West Saxon dioceses, Eadbert was consecrated bishop of the new see. This event took place after the death of Aldhelm (A.D. 709), and is commonly dated in 711. (Matt. Paris, ed. Luard. i. 323.) The attestation of Eadbert is found attached to the act of the council of Clovesho, A.D. 716, by which the privilege of Wihtred was confirmed (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 300); his name is likewise found in the attestations of charters of Nunna king of Sussex, which in their present condition are of uncertain date and questionable authenticity. (Kemble, *C. D.* 995, 1000, 1001.) The name "Eadbertus abbas" attached to a spurious charter of Caedwalla, dated 688, was probably intended to denote this person (*ib.* No. 994). William of Malmesbury, by a curious mistake, represents Eadbert as consecrated by archbishop Nothelm. (*G. P.* lib. ii. § 96.) He and his successor Eolla were both dead before Bede closed his history. (*H. E.* v. 18.) [S.]

EADBERT (8), one of the East Anglian bishops at the time of Bede's death, according to Florence and Simeon, whose general narrative at that point is based upon the account in Bede (*H. E.* v. 23), Aldberct however, not Eadbert, being the name in Bede. All three mention the two East Anglian bishops (Heatholac being the second, in which they agree) without assigning their respective sees, whereas Wendover gives Eadbert to Elmham and Heatholac to Dunwich. The ancient lists however (*M. H. B.* 618), which are of superior authority to Wendover's, assign "Aldbertus" (if he be the same) to Dunwich. There is evidently much obscurity as to the succession in Elmham and Dunwich at that period, as to which, vid. ALDBERHT (1), and Stubbs, *Regist. Sacr.* 168. (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 731 in *M. H. B.* 542 b; Sim. Dun. *G. R. G.* in *M. H. B.* 657 c; Wend. *F. H.* ann. 731, ed. Coxe.) [C. H.]

EADBERT (9), the fifth bishop of the Middle Angles at Leicester. (*M. H. B.* 624.) He was consecrated according to the northern chronology, preserved by Simeon of Durham, in 764. (*M. H. B.* 663.) His name is found attached to the charters of the Mercian kings from 767 to 781, and, as his successor Unwona appears among the prelates at the legatine council of 787, his death probably took place between 781 and 787. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 439; W. Malmesb. *G. P.* lib. iv. § 176; Kemble, *C. D.* 116, 120, 121, 128, 129, 131, 134, 137, 138, 140, 143, &c., &c.) [S.]

EADBERT (10) (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 139), bishop, see unnamed, witnesses a charter of Offa king of Mercia, reckoned spurious or doubtful by Kemble, Sept. 22, 780. His name occurs next to that of the archbishop. [EADBERHT (7).] [C. H.]

EADBERT (11) (Ricard. Hagulst. cap. 18, but in cap. 19 EANBERT; Twysden, col. 299, 300; ed. Raine, pp. 41, 42; Wend. *F. H.* ann. 800, ed. Coxe), bishop of Hexham. [EANBERT.] [C. H.]

EADBERT (12), according to Wendover a bishop of London, who died A.D. 802, and was succeeded by EADGAR (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 802, ed. Coxe). He is possibly intended for Heathobert, the thirteenth bishop. [C. H.]

EADBIRHT, a bishop whose name is attached to a charter of Nunna king of the South Saxons, granting him lands, A.D. 725 (Kemble, *C. D.* 1000). [EADBERT (7).] [C. H.]

EADBIRTH (Nenn. *Hist.* in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 75 b), **EADBRIHT** (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann.

738 in *M. H. B.* 542 e; id. *ad Chron. App.* ib. 639 e), **EADBRYHT** (*A. S. C.* ann. 738 in *M. H. B.* 329), king of Northumbria. [EADBERT (5).] [C. H.]

EADBOLD (*A. S. C.* ann. 633 in *M. H. B.* 309), king of Kent. [EADBALD (1).] [C. H.]

EADBRICT PREN (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. *M. H. B.* 732 c), **EADBRICH PREN** (Chron. Mailr. an. 794), king of Kent. [EADBERT (4) PRAEN.] [C. H.]

EADBRIGHT, a bishop, see unnamed, who attests a charter of Osmund king of Sussex, A.D. 770 (Kemble, *C. D.* 1009). His date suggests a possible identification with Eadberht ninth bishop of London, or Eadbert fifth bishop of Leicester. [EADBERHT (7), EADBERT (9).] [C. H.]

EADBRIHT (1) (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 726 d), **EADBRITH** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1788 in *M. H. B.* 786), **EADBRYHT** (*A. S. C.* ann. 748 in *M. H. B.* 330), king of Kent. [EADBERT (2).] [C. H.]

EADBRIHT (2) (Flor. Wig. *Nom. Episc. Lund. M. H. B.* 617), bishop of London, preceding Eadgar. [EADBERHT (7).] [C. H.]

EADBRIHT (3), bishop, see unnamed, attesting a charter of archbishop Ethelhard, considered spurious or doubtful by Kemble, A.D. 798. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1018.) Probably bishop of London. [EADBERT (10), (12).] [C. H.]

EADBRITH (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 675, ed. Coxe), bishop of London, succeeding Wiger, *i.e.* Wiged. He is the Aidberht, ninth bishop, of Stubbs's *Regist. Sacr.* 159. [C. H.]

EADBURCH (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 2066; *M. H. B.* 789), queen of Wessex, daughter of Offa king of Mercia. [EADBURGA (1).] [C. H.]

EADBURGA (1), daughter of Offa, and queen of the West Saxons. She is mentioned by Offa in a grant to Chertsey abbey, dated 787, together with his wife Cynethritha, his son Egfrith, and his daughters Ethelburga, Ethelfleda, and Ethelswitha. (Kemble, *C. D.* 151.) In 789 (*Chr. S.* 787) Eadburga was married to Brihtric, king of Wessex, who thus obtained the protection of Offa. According to Asser (*M. H. B.* 471), who says that he heard the story from king Alfred, and no doubt preserved the tradition of the West Saxon royal family, Eadburga was extremely jealous of any one who had influence with her husband, and altogether unscrupulous in the use she made of the sword or poison to get rid of her rivals. On one occasion she prepared poison for one of the favourites, whose dismissal she had failed to secure; Brihtric drank the poison and left Eadburga a widow in the year 802. (*Chr. S.* 800.) As the West Saxons would not tolerate her continuance in the kingdom, she fled to the continent, and took refuge with the emperor. Charles on the occasion of her reception, jestingly gave her the choice between himself and his son. Eadburga replied: "If the choice is given me, I choose your son, inasmuch as he is the younger." Charles answered: "If you had chosen me you should have had my son; as you have chosen my son you shall have neither." He gave her, however, a monastery, over which she presided as abbess, but having been unchaste she was expelled, and died after having begged alms daily, attended by a single servant, in the streets of Pavia. (Asser, *M. H. B.* 471, 472; Flor. Wig. 546, 552; Sim. Dun. 673.) In consequence of Eadburga's misconduct the West Saxons refused to give the title of queen to the wives of their kings, a rule which was first broken when Judith, the wife of Ethelwulf, was crowned by Hincmar at Verberie. (Asser, p. 741; *Ann. Bertin.* ap. Pertz, i. 450; cf. Will. Malmesb. *G. R.* lib. ii. § 113.) [S.]

EADBURGA (2) (Bonif. *Epp.* in *Monum. Mogunt.* pp. 53, 84, 98, 211, 212, 214; Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 475), abbess of Minster in Thanet. [BUGGA (2).] [C. H.]

EADBURGA (3), abbess of Repton; daughter of Ealdulf [ALDWULF], king of the East Angles; called also Ethelburga (Wallingford, ap. Gale, p. 528), Aedberga, Aetberga, and Redburga (*Lib. Eliens.* p. 25), Aegberga (*V. S. Guthlac, AA. SS. O. S. B.* saec. iii. pt. 1, p. 270). After having lived for some years as an anchoret she became abbess of Hrepandun or Repton towards the close of the 7th century. She is recorded to have sent to St. Guthlac a leaden coffin with a shroud for his burial, and to have asked him to foretell his successor. Guthlac described him as a person who was still a pagan, but would shortly be baptized, a prophecy which was fulfilled in Cissa, who succeeded him. (*Vit. S. Guthlac; Hist. Eliens.* lib. i. c. 7; ed. Stewart, p. 26; Bromton, ap. Twysden, c. 797.) Another Eadburga, who is said to have been a nun at Aylesbury, and to have given her name to the village of Edburton, is called a daughter of Redwald of East Anglia; but she seems altogether mythical. (See Hardy, *Cat. Mat. Brit. Hist.* i. 476.) [S.]

EADBURGA (4), the second in the list of the abbesses of St. Peter's, Gloucester. According to the "Historia" of that monastery she was the widow of Wulfhere king of Mercia, and received benediction from St. Egwin in 710; in the 15th (or 25th) year of her abbacy she died, and was buried by bishop Wilfrid of Worcester, A.D. 735. (*Hist. Glouc.* ed. Hart, i. 6, 7; *Mon. Angl.* i. 532, 542.) This story is scarcely reconcilable with the history of St. Eormenhild, who is likewise described as wife of Wulfhere [EORMENHILD]; and the authority on which it rests is scarcely worth consideration. It is, however, possible that Eormenhild may have left her husband to become a nun, and that Eadburga was a later wife. [S.]

EADBURGH (Asser, *de Gest. Alf. M. H. B.* 471 d, e), **EADBURH** (Ethelwerd, *Chron.* iii. 20 in *M. H. B.* 509; Flor. Wig. *Chron.* in *M. H. B.* 552 a, b; id. *Geneal. Reg. Merc.* in *M. H. B.* 630; Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 731 d), **EADBURHGE** (*A. S. C.* ann. 787, text in *M. H. B.* 336), daughter of Offa king of Mercia, queen of Wessex. [EADBURGA (1); EDBIRT.] [C. H.]

EADBYRHT (1) (MSS. in Hardy, *Descr. Cat.* i. 365), bishop of Lindisfarne. [EADBERHT (5).] [C. H.]

EADBYRHT (2) (Ethelwerd, *Chron.* ii. 15 in *M. H. B.* 507 c, d), king of Northumbria [EADBERT (5).] [C. H.]

EADDA, bishop, see unnamed, who attests a charter of Ethelward subregulus of the Hwiccii, A.D. 706. (Kemble, *C. D.* 56.) [HEDDA; HEADDA.] [C. H.]

EADFERED FLESAURS (Nenn. *Hist.* in *M. H. B.* 76 a), king of Northumbria. [ETHELFRID (1).] [J. R.]

EADFIRD (*Hist. Nennii* in *M. H. B.* 75 b), son of Edwin king of Northumbria. [EADFRID (1).] [C. H.]

EADFRID (1) (EADFRITH), a son of Edwin king of Northumbria and his first wife Coenburga, daughter of Cearl king of Mercia. He was born whilst his father was in exile, prior to his accession to the throne. With the rest of the royal family he became a Christian, and was baptized by Paulinus (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 14). In A.D. 633, after the death of his father at Haethfelth, Eadfrid was obliged to take refuge with Penda king of Mercia, by whom he was treacherously put to death (*id.* ii. 20). [J. R.]

EADFRID (2) (EADFRITH), bishop of Lindisfarne from A.D. 698 to 721 (Flor. Wigorn. i. 45, 50). There is little known of him except in connexion with his monastery. There is a single letter addressed to him by Aldhelm abbat of Malmesbury on his return from Ireland. It is written in the uncouth Latinity of the period, and is of trifling importance (*Epp. Hib. Syll.* iv. 13; Aldhelm, ed. Giles, 90–5).

Eadfrid's chief mission in life was to spread the fame and glory of his great predecessor, Cuthbert. "Multum fervens amore," says Symeon. He rebuilt the oratory on Farne island, where Cuthbert had lived in solitude, Feldgild then being its occupant (Symeon, *H. E. D.* i. 11).

But he did more than this. He was an artist of no common skill, and wrote and illuminated the famous Evangeliarium, known as the Durham book, or Lindisfarne Gospels, which is one of the most beautiful MSS. in Europe. Eadfrid probably commenced it during Cuthbert's lifetime, whilst he was a monk at Lindisfarne, and it was afterwards laid by the scribe as an offering upon the shrine of the saint. Ethelwold, Eadfrid's successor in the see, gave the cover, which Bilfrid decorated with silver and gold set with precious stones, and Aldred added an interlinear gloss. This volume was henceforward one of the most precious treasures of Lindisfarne. When the monks were obliged to flee before the Danes they took it with them. On one occasion, in the 9th century, it had a wonderful escape. The monks were trying in vain to cross over the channel to Ireland, when the Gospels fell into the sea (Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* ii. 12). After three days they discovered the book to their great delight on the coast of Whithern, uninjured, save by a few stains of sea-water, which it still shews. When the monks rested at length at Durham, and Lindisfarne was restored, the volume went back to its old home, and there it stayed until the Dissolution. It was called in the Inventories of the House 'Liber S. Cuthberti qui demersus est in mare.' After a while it passed into the hands of Robert Bowyer, clerk of the House of Commons, from whom it was acquired by Sir Robert Cotton. It is now among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, Nero D. 4. The text of these Gospels, with their invaluable Anglo-Northumbrian gloss, has been edited for the Surtees Society by Messrs. Stevenson and Waring. A more exact rendering has been made for the Syndics of the University of Cambridge by Messrs. Kemble and Hardwick, and since their deaths by Mr. Skeat. The gloss has been printed by Karl Bouterwek (*Die vier Evangelien in altnordhumbrischer Sprache*, 800, 1857). The beauty of the writing and the exquisite illuminations are noticed by every writer on palaeography, especially by Professor Westwood.

The writing of these Gospels was not Eadfrid's only offering to Cuthbert's memory. He took care that his good deeds were handed down to posterity. The nameless author of the first biography of Cuthbert dedicates his work to Eadfrid and the family at Lindisfarne, stating that he had written it at their desire (Appendix, Bedae *Opp. Minora*, pp. 259–60). They had also the honour of evoking a greater boon to history, in inducing Bede to draw up his famous Life of the saint, in return for which Eadfrid promised that the writer should be duly remembered in the prayers of the house of Lindisfarne (*Vita S. Cuthb.* Prologus).

It can be no matter of surprise that the wandering Cuthbertines carried about with them the bones of Eadfrid, to whom their beloved saint had been so dear. The relics rested at last in Durham, in the shrine, where they were deposited in a little bag, and even now they have not wholly disappeared. (*Carmen de Situ Dunelm. Hist. Translat. S. Cuthb.* 191; Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* ii. 6.) [J. R.]

EADFRITH (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 664 in *M. H. B.* 532 d; id. *Geneal. Reg. Northum.* ib. 632; id. *ad Chron. App.* ib. 639 c), son of Edwin king of Northumbria. [EADFRID.] [C. H.]

EADGAR (1), the third bishop of the Lindisfari, or people of Lindsey (*M. H. B.* 624; Bed. *H. E.* iv. 12). His name is attached to an Evesham charter of the year 706 (Kemble, *C. D.* 56), and to the act of the council of Clovesho in 716, by which the privilege of Wihtred was confirmed. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 300.) Before the year 731, where Bede closes his history, Eadgar had been succeeded by Cyniberct or Kinbert. (*H. E.* v. 23.) [S.]

EADGAR (2), the tenth bishop of London. (*M. H. B.* 617.) He is known only by the fact that his name appears in the ancient lists between those of Eadberht or Aldberht, and Coenwalch or Kenwalch, and in the attestation of a grant made by Offa to Rochester at a council at Cealchyth in 789 (Kemble, *C. D.* 157; see also 155; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 465). As Eadberht was alive in 787, and the episcopate of Coenwalch ended before 796, Eadgar's date must fall between those limits. [S.]

EADGAR (3), presbyter, who signs a charter of Coenwulf king of Mercia, A.D. 814. (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* no. 206.) [C. H.]

EADGUIN (Nennius, in *M. H. B.* 74 c, 76 b), king of Northumbria. [EDWIN.] [C. H.]

EADGYD, a nun of Barking, mentioned by Bede. (*H. E.* iv. 8.) She died of the plague of 664, after being thrice called by the boy Aesica whilst he was dying. [S.]

EADHAETH (Bed. *H. E.* v. 24, Recapit. Chron. ann. 678 in *M. H. B.* 288 d), bishop of Lindsey. [EADHED.] [C. H.]

EADHAMAIR, Irish saint. [EDHAMAIR.]

EADHED, a priest of Oswy king of Northumbria, sent by him with Ceadda into Kent to seek episcopal ordination for the latter at the hands of Deusdedit. This was in A.D. 664. Finding that Deusdedit was dead, they went to bishop Wini, in Wessex, by whom Ceadda was consecrated. (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 28.) In A.D. 678, archbishop Theodore, at York, consecrated Eadhed bishop of Lindsey, that province having come under the rule of Egfrid of Northumbria (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 12; *A. S. C.* ann. 678.). Soon afterwards Ethelred king of Mercia recovered the province of Lindsey, and Eadhed retired from it. He was then placed at Ripon. (Bed. *ut sup.*) [J. R.]

EADHERE, a priest of the diocese of Lichfield, who attended the council at Clovesho in 883. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 546.) [S.]

EADHOLAC (*Chron. Marbr.* ann. 731), bishop of East Anglia. [HEATHOLAC.] [C. H.]

EADLBALT (*Hist. Nennii*, *M. H. B.* 75 a), king of Mercia, son of Alguing. [ETHELBALD (1).] [C. H.]

EADLFRID (*Hist. Nennii*, *M. H. B.* 76 b), king of Northumbria. [ETHELFRID.] [C. H.]

EADLIT (*Hist. Nennii*, *M. H. B.* 75 a), king of Mercia, son of Penda. [ETHELRED.] [C. H.]

EADRED (1) (*Angl. Sac.* i. 404), bishop of Dunwich. [EARDULF (3).] [C. H.]

EADRED (2) (HEADRED, HEARDRED), was consecrated bishop of Hexham on Oct. 29, A.D. 797, at a place called Wuduforda. The consecrators were archbishop Eanbald and bishop Higbald (*Saxon Chron.*; Symeon, *Chron.* ed. Surtees Soc. 35). He died in A.D. 800, in the third year of his episcopate, of which there is nothing known (Symeon, *ut supra*, 38). [J. R.]

EADRED (3), a name common to two priests, one of the diocese of Leicester, the other of that of Sidnacester, who attended the council of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546.) [S.]

EADRIC (1), king of Kent, son of Egbert. On the death of his father, which took place in July, 673, Eadric was probably under age; anyhow his claim to the succession was set aside in favour of that of his uncle Hlothere, who occupied the throne from 673 to 685. During some part of this time Eadric was apparently admitted to a share of the royal dignity, but towards the close of it he was driven into exile among the South Saxons, with whose aid he engaged in war with Hlothere. In the campaign Hlothere was wounded, and died under the hands of his surgeons, Feb. 6, 685. (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 26.) After his uncle's death, Eadric reigned for a year and a half, dying, according to Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B.* 537), in 686; but the day of his depositio is given in the very ancient *Annales Cantuarienses* (Pertz, *Scr.* iv. 2) as Aug. 31, 687). He is probably identical with that Eadric whom William of Malmesbury (*G. R.* lib. i. § 34) calls king of the South Saxons and successor of Ethelwalch, who was killed by Caedwalla of Wessex in his attack of Sussex in 686. Eadric is mentioned by Hlothere in a charter dated May, 679, in which he bestows lands in Thanet on abbat Bercuald with the consent of archbishop Theodore and of Edric, his brother's son (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 16). It is possible, then, that his claim to share the throne was recognised thus early. The *Textus Roffensis* has preserved a short code of laws of sixteen articles, entitled, "These are the dooms which Hlothere and Eadric kings of the Kentishmen established," but containing no clauses of ecclesiastical interest (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, pp. 11–15). This would seem to prove that the relations of Eadric with his uncle had been for some time at least pacific. Kent was, during the whole period assigned to Hlothere and Eadric, in a very uneasy state; Ethelred of Mercia, Oswy of Northumbria, and Swebheard, son of Sebbi of Essex, claimed, if the charters of the Kentish monasteries are at all to be trusted, the right of overlordship or a share in the Kentish territory, and the enterprise of Mul and Caedwalla added a new element of trouble. Sussex was the place of refuge for discontented princes from both Kent and Wessex. It is just possible that Eadric in 686 had succeeded in uniting Kent and Sussex under his sway; both kingdoms broke up after his death. Sussex was governed by two ealdormen, Andhun and Berhthun, who, after the death of Ethelwalch, had resisted Caedwalla, but now fell before him; and Kent was devastated, as Bede says, by foreign and doubtful kings, until Wihtred, the brother of Eadric, succeeded in recovering the royal authority about the year 694 (*Chr. S. M. H. B.* 323). One charter granted by Eadric as sole king was preserved at St. Augustine's; in this he granted to that monastery lands near to Canterbury, adjacent to an estate which had been given by Hlothere; it is dated June, in the fourteenth indiction, which fixes it to 686 (Kemble, *C. D.* 27; Elmham, ed. Hardwick, p. 251; Thorn, ap. Twysden, c. 1770). According to Elmham, who asserts that he was killed by Mul and Caedwalla, he was buried at St. Augustine's (p. 252). William of Malmesbury, who likewise mentions his violent death, regarded the shortness of his reign as a punishment for the sin committed by his father Egbert against the rights of the children of Eormenred (*G. R.* lib. i. § 14). [S.]

EADRIC (2), the second abbat of St. Alban's (*Gesta Abbatum*, i. 8, 9; *Monast. Angl.* i. 179). He is not mentioned in any ancient authority and may be entirely mythical. According to the St. Alban's story, he was a kinsman of Offa, and was, in compliance with Offa's request that the monks should elect an abbat out of their own body, chosen to the abbacy after Offa's death in 796. He ruled his house discreetly, and maintained its rights when they were threatened by Egfrid. [S.]

EADULF (1) (Stubbs, *Regist. Sacr.* pp. 5, 173), bishop of Rochester. [ALDULF (2).] [C. H.]

EADULF (2) (Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.* 168), bishop of Dunwich. [EARDULF (3).] [C. H.]

EADULF (3) I. (ALDULF, EALDWULF), the sixth bishop of Lindsey (*M. H. B.* 625). He had served his predecessor Alwig as deacon, and was consecrated as his successor in 750 (Sim. Dun. in *M. H. B.* 662). The only charter to which his name is appended is a grant made by Cynewulf of Wessex to Bath in 758 (see Kemble, *C. D.* 193, where the date is wrongly given 808 instead of 758; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 396). He died in 765 (Sim. Dun. *M. H. B.* 663). The proper form of his name is unquestionably Ealduulf. [S.]

EADULF (4) II. (EALDULF), the eighth bishop of Lindsey (*M. H. B.* 625). He succeeded Ceolwulf in 796, and ruled his diocese for forty years. He is probably the "Eadulfus" who is described as "Eboracensis humilis episcopus" in the profession of obedience made to archbishop Ethelhard of Canterbury (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 506), a document which was no doubt garbled to support the later claims of Canterbury over York; for there was no such archbishop of York at the time, nor, although the profession is in other respects sound, was any claim of the sort as yet asserted for Canterbury. As Eadulf attests two charters of Egfrid of Mercia (Kemble, *C. D.* 170, 171, A.D. 796) as "electus," it is probable that he was consecrated by Ethelhard, but the rite may have been delayed by the fact that jurisdiction over Lindsey was just at this time claimed by the archbishop of Lichfield. Eadulf's signature is appended to acts of the council of Clovesho in 798 (Kemble, *C. D.* 175; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 515). He attended the synod of Clovesho in 803 with two abbats and four priests of his diocese (K. *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546); and his name is attached to nearly all the Mercian charters of the age and to the records of councils and synods. Of these the most important is that of Celchyth in 816 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 579). He appears for the last time in 836. The proper form of his name seems to be Eaduulf. Although he was bishop during the most trying period of Mercian history, nothing more of his personal action is to be discovered. [S.]

EADULF (5) (ALDULF), the fifteenth bishop of Lichfield (*M. H. B.* 626). He succeeded Higbert, probably at the time when Lichfield was reduced to the rank of a suffragan see; attended the council of Clovesho in 803 (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024), and subscribed Mercian charters from that year until 814. In 816 his successor Herewin attended the council of Celchyth, so that Eadulf died or resigned before that year. He is mentioned as the predecessor of Herewin in the profession made by the bishop of Lichfield to archbishop Ceolnoth (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 614). If it were not that his name is authoritatively written Aldulf, it might be suggested that the profession of Eadulf, referred to in the preceding article [EADULF (4)], was his. Much of the historic importance of this prelate is owing to the fact that William of Malmesbury, and most of the writers who followed him supposed Eadulf to be the archbishop of Lichfield who was appointed by Offa in 787 or 788, thus confounding him with Higbert his predecessor. Malmesbury may have been misled by further confusion between Aldulf of Lichfield and Aldulf bishop of Mayo, whose consecration is mentioned by Simeon of Durham under the year 786. This mistake, which perpetuated itself throughout the Fasti of the bishops, and even misled the learned Henry Wharton, was not cleared up until the publication of the Anglo-Saxon charters satisfactorily proved Higbert to have been the only archbishop of Lichfield. (See Will. Malmesb. *G. P.* ed. Hamilton, pp. 16, 308; Wharton, *Ang. Sacra*, i. 430.) [HIGBERT.] [S.]

EADULF (6) (EALDULF, ALDULF), a South-Saxon dux or ealdorman, contemporary with Offa king of Mercia, and bishop Wiohthun of Selsey, whose name appears in grants of lands in Sussex about the year 791 (Kemble, *C. D.* 1015, 1016). One of these is a gift to bishop Wiohthun for a church of St. Andrew at Ferring, the other a gift to Selsey in the time of bishop Gislehere, who attests it. The latter is probably the earlier in date, as Gislehere was bishop in 780 and 781, and Wiohthun from 789 to 805; but both share the general doubtful character of the Selsey charters. [S.]

EADULF (7) (EADWLF), a priest of the diocese of Sidnacester, who signs the acts of the synod of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546.) [S.]

EADUUINE (Ethelwerd, *Chron.* iii. 2 in *M. H. B.* 510 d), king of Northumbria. [EDWIN.] [C. H.]

EADUULF (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 170, 171, 175, 183, 185, 190, 191, 197, 237), bishop of Lindsey. [EADULF II.] [C. H.]

EADWALD (1) (Wend. *Flor. Hist.* ann. 655, 680), king of East Anglia. [ELCWOLD.] [C. H.]

EADWALD (2), Wilfrid's adopted son. [EODWALD.]

EADWARA, a British saint, sister of St. Iuthwara, mentioned by Cressy (*Ch. Hist. Brit.* xxiii. 9) from Capgrave's *Vita S. Iuthwarae*, in the 8th century (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 321). [J. G.]

EADWINE (*A. S. C.* ann. 601, Eng. transl. in *M. H. B.* 305; Flor. Wig. *ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 635 b, 636 a, 637 d; Malm. *G. R. A.* i. §§ 48, 49, ed. Hardy; Wend. *F. H.* ann. 593, 617, 625, 626, 627, 630, 633, 634, 644, 651, 670, 679, 680, 685, ed. Coxe), king of Northumbria. [EDWIN.] [C. H.]

EADWLF (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 1023, of Kenulf, king of Mercia, A.D. 801), **EADWULF, EADULFUS** (*ib.* 1023, of Kenulf, A.D. 801; 1024, of archbishop Ethelhard, Oct. 12, 803; 186, of Ethelric king of Mercia, A.D. 804; 207, of Kenulf, A.D. 814), bishop of Lindsey. [EADULF II.] [C. H.]

EADWOLF (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 655, 680, ed. Coxe), king of East Anglia. [ALDULF (1).] [C. H.]

EAFA, son of Eoppa and father of Ealhmund, king of Kent, the father of Egbert of Wessex. (*Chr. S. M. H. B.* 348.) [S.]

EAHFRID, an Anglo-Saxon scholar who studied in Ireland, and to whom on his return Aldhelm wrote a curious letter, in which he tries to exhibit the scholarship of Theodore and the Canterbury school as greatly superior to the Irish. (Aldhelm, *Opp.* ed. Giles, pp. 91–95.) He is possibly identical with Echfrith abbat of Glastonbury [ECHFRITH], or with Eadfrid bishop of Lindisfarne [EADFRID (2)]. [S.]

EALCHEARDUS, bishop, see unnamed, who attests a charter of Offa king of Mercia, believed spurious or doubtful by Kemble, A.D. 793. (Kemble, *C. D.* 162.) [ALHEARD.] [C. H.]

EALDBALD (Nenn. *Hist. Brit.* cap. 66, in *M. H. B.* 74 c), king of Kent. [EADBALD (1).] [C. H.]

EALDBEORCTH, one who at the conclusion of a letter from Egburga to archbishop Boniface, and no doubt the penman of it, describes himself as pauperculus Christi. He salutes Boniface affectionately in his own name, and claims his prayers on the ground of old friendship. (*Monum. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, p. 66.) [C. H.]

EALDBERHT (1) (Nenn. *Hist. Brit. M. H. B.* 74 c), king of Kent. [ETHELBERT I.] [C. H.]

EALDBERHT (2), bishop, who attests a charter of Offa king of Mercia, A.D. 772 (Kemble, *C. D.* 120). Probably Aldberht, bishop of London. [C. H.]

EALDBRIHT (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. *M. H. B.* 724 d), etheling, exile. [ALDBERHT (3).] [C. H.]

EALDELF (Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 1578, 1579, in *M. H. B.* 783), **EALDELM** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1574, in *M. H. B.* 783), abbat of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborn. [ALDHELM.] [C. H.]

EALDFERTH (Ethelwerd, *Chron.* ii. 11, in *M. H. B.* 507 a), king of Northumbria, ob. A.D. 705. [ALDFRITH.] [C. H.]

EALDFRID (1), king, who witnesses a charter of Ealwulf of Sussex, cir. A.D. 791, signing last and after Offa king of Mercia. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1016.) [C. H.]

EALDFRID (2) (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1500 in *M. H. B.* 782), king of Northumbria, brother of Egfrid. [ALDFRITH.] [C. H.]

EALDFRIH (Bed. v. 18, Saxon version, Smith's *Beda*, p. 635, 18), son of Oswy. [ALDFRITH.] [C. H.]

EALDULF (1) (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 732), bishop of Rochester. [ALDULF (2).] [C. H.]

EALDULF (2) (Kemble, *C. D.* 203, charter of Kenulf), **EALDULPH** (Flor. Wig. *Nom. Praesul. Lindisf.* in *M. H. B.* 625), bishop of Lindsey. [EADULF (4).] [C. H.]

EALDULF (3), South Saxon ealdorman [EADULF (6).]

EALDWINE (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A. M.* in *H. B.* 657 d), bishop of the Mercians. [ALDWIN (2).] [C. H.]

EALDWLF (1) (Flor. Wig. *Nom. Praesul. Lindisf.* in *M. H. B.* 625 a), bishop of Lindsey. [EADULF I. bishop of Lindsey.] [C. H.]

EALDWLF (2) (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 1023, charter of Kenulf, A.D. 801), bishop of Lindsey. [EADULF II.] [C. H.]

EALDWULF (1) (ALDULF, *Annal. Laur.* ut inf.; AGLEDULPHUS, al. lec. ANGLEDULPHUS, *Annal. Petav.* ut inf.), king of E. Anglia in 664, died in 713 (*Annal. Lauresham.* in Pertz, Scriptt. i. 24; *Annal. Petav.* in Pertz, i. 7; Lappenberg, *Hist. Engl.* ed. Thorpe, introd. p. xxxvi, geneal. p. 287). [ALDULF (1).] [C. H.]

EALDWULF (2) (Kemble, *C. D.* 1015, A.D. 791 in 1016, cir. A.D. 791), king of Sussex. [C. H.]

EALDWULF (3), bishop of Rochester. [ALDULF (2).]

EALFRID (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1568 in *M. H. B.* 783), king of Northumbria, died at Drifelde. [ALDFRITH.] [C. H.]

EALGHEARD, EALHEARD, bishop, see unnamed, who attests charters of Offa king of Mercia, A.D. 789, 790. (Kemble, *C. D.* 157, 159.) [ALHEARD.] [C. H.]

EALHEARD, a deacon whose attestation is appended to a spurious charter of Kenulf of Mercia in 799. (Kemble, *C. D.* 177.) [S.]

EALHFLAEDE (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 21, Sax. transl. in Smith's *Beda*, p. 550, 42), daughter of Oswy, wife of Peada of Mercia. [ALCHFLEDA.] [C. H.]

EALHFRIH (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 14, 21, Sax. transl. in Smith's *Beda*, pp. 539. 19, 551–6), son of Oswy. [ALCHFRITH.] [C. H.]

EALHMUND (1), king of Kent, son of Eafa, and father of Egbert afterwards king of Wessex. His reign in Kent is fixed by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in 784 (rightly 786). The same year, 784, is given as the date of a charter (Kemble, *C. D.* 1013), in which he grants to abbat Wetred and the monastery of Reculver, twelve hides of land in Scildwic, and that is all that is distinctly known about him; but it is possible that the Eanmundus rex who in company with archbishop Bregwin confirms a grant of Sigiraed to Rochester (Kemble, *C. D.* 114), before 766, may be identical with Ealhmund. It may further be conjectured that he was one of the many kings of divisions of Kent who sprang up after the main line of the Aescings was extinct; and that, as his son Egberht is spoken of as a kinsman of Eadberht Praen (H. Hunt. *M. H. B.* 733), he was an earlier champion of the national party in Kent opposed to the supremacy of Mercia. [See EGBERT (4) and EADBERT PRAEN.] [S.]

EALHMUND (2) (Kemble, *C. D.* 1018, A.D. 798, marked by Kemble doubtful or spurious), intended for Alhmund bishop of Winchester, who was not consecrated until 802. (Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.* 9, 16.) [C. H.]

EALHMUND (3), abbat, attests a charter of Offa king of Mercia, A.D. 789. (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* No. 155; Birch, *Fasti Monast.* p. 68.) [C. H.]

EALHUN, a priest of Canterbury, who attested a charter of archbishop Wulfred, dated 811. (Kemble, *C. D.* 195.) [S.]

EALHWINE (Lapp. *Hist. Eng.* i. 181), **EALWINE.** [ALCUIN.]

EALRED (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 773, ed. Coxe), king of Northumbria. [ALCHRED.] [C. H.]

EAMBERCTH, archbishop of York. [EGBERT.]

EANBALD I. (ENBALD), the pupil and the successor of Albert in the see of York. It is probable that he was brought up in the minster under the charge of Egbert and Albert, and, winning their regard, in due time became a teacher himself. Albert shewed his regard for Eanbald and Alcuin by making them the keepers or masters of the fabric of the new minster which he built. In the last years of his life Albert, according to the old Celtic custom, practically nominated Eanbald his successor by making him his coadjutor in the see about the year A.D. 780. In this capacity he was associated with Albert in his last public act, the dedication of his new cathedral. (Alcuin, *de SS. Eccl. Ebor.*)

Eanbald succeeded Albert in A.D. 782, and Alfwold, king of Northumbria, took immediate steps to procure for him the pall. (*Saxon Chron.*; Symeon, *Chron.* ed. Surtees Soc. 26.) Alcuin, at his old friend's request, went to Rome to bring it. (*Vita Alcuini*, ed. Jaffé.) As he was returning with it he met Charlemagne at Parma, who extorted from him a promise that he would come and stay with him in France if he could gain the assent of his own king and archbishop. In a little while the desire of Charles was realised. Alcuin, on his return to York, obtained the permission that was required, and went to France accompanied by some of his most distinguished scholars—Wizo, Fridugisus, and Sigulf. The result of this visit was the establishment of a system of universities, or higher schools, in France, Germany, and Italy.

In A.D. 786 was held a great council of the Northumbrian church, before the legates George and Theophylact, at which Eanbald and his suffragans and king Alfwold were present. (Stubbs and Haddan, iii. 444, etc.; Alcuin, *Letters*, ed. Jaffé, 155, etc.)

The state of Northumbria during Eanbald's archiepiscopate was anything but satisfactory. King after king was murdered or dethroned, and all the foundations of society were so violently shaken that it would be impossible for the church and school of York to make their influence properly felt. Alcuin did his best to restore peace and order. He had gone to France soon after Albert's death to assist Charlemagne in his educational work, but he came home to Northumbria in A.D. 790 to lend the king and Eanbald a helping hand. (*Epp.* ed. Jaffé, 170–1, 174–5.) It was all in vain. The disorder was so great that after a short sojourn the great scholar left Eanbald and York and went back to France, where the rest of his life was passed.

In A.D. 793 an inroad of the Danes into Northumbria added largely to the misery of the kingdom. The famous house of Lindisfarne was devastated by the marauders, who made an attempt upon Jarrow in the following year. These were only the beginnings of such troubles, but they cast dismay upon the northern church. Alcuin, from his home in France, wrote more than one warning letter to king Ethelred (*Epp.* 180–90); he consoled Higbald of Lindisfarne for his loss, and promised to use his good offices with Charlemagne for the restoration of the captives (*id.* 190–4); he spoke many kind words of comfort and hope to the brethren of Wearmouth and Jarrow (*Epp.* 196–201); he impressed upon all the absolute necessity of union in the face of so savage a foe.

In A.D. 795 great efforts were made by Eanbald and the church of York to bring Alcuin back to England. It seems to have been Eanbald's intention, like his predecessor, to retire from his charge, and it was no doubt the general wish that Alcuin should succeed him. Alcuin gives his Northumbrian friends good advice, and speaks of them with the utmost affection (*Epp.* 249–56), but manifests no eagerness to return. In a letter to Eanbald he begs that if he is determined to resign there may be a free choice of a successor in the hands of the chapter; and upon the chapter itself he impresses unanimity and the avoidance of simony in a fresh election (*id.* 257–8, 260–1). Eanbald's idea, if seriously entertained at all, was never carried out. His last official act was the coronation of Eardulf, king of Northumbria, on 25th of June, A.D. 796. On the 10th of August the archbishop died at a monastery called Etlete or Edete (Symeon, *Chron.* p. 34). T. Stubbs (col. 1697) calls it Aclete. It may possibly be Elmete (Leeds?), where there was a monastery in Beda's time. Eanbald's remains were interred with those of his predecessor in his minster at York. Alcuin, writing after his decease to Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, solicits his prayers for Eanbald, who was, he says, "mihi pater et frater et amicus fidelissimus, etiam et condiscipulus sub magistro meo." (*Epp.* p. 324.)

There are silver and copper coins of Eanbald in existence struck by him during his archiepiscopate. [J. R.]

EANBALD II. (ENBALD, HEANBALD, EANTBALD), archbishop of York, following Eanbald I. Our information of him, which extends only through a period of about twelve years, is derived chiefly from the epistles of Alcuin; and among the historians we are the most indebted to Simeon of Durham. Eanbald was trained in the school of York, where he was a favourite pupil of Alcuin. His name first occurs in the correspondence of Alcuin in the latter days of Eanbald I. Alcuin in an epistle to the brethren of the church of York (ep. 6. ed. Froben) speaks of having received their letter through the presbyter Eanbald, and Froben, dating the epistle A.D. 793, rightly concludes that the

presbyter was he who afterwards became Eanbald II., referring to Hoveden's statement that Eanbald presbyter of York was the successor of Eanbald I. (see Hoved. ann. 796, ed. Stubbs. i. 16). Since Froben's time there has been found among the Cotton manuscripts a passage (*Mon. Alc.* ep. 35, p. 254; Haddan and Stubbs, *Concil.* iii. 500), purporting to be a continuation of ep. 6, stating that Eanbald was unable to return home, being detained by a severe illness with Alcuin, who was in attendance on Charles the Great in Saxony. Charles is known to have been in Saxony in the summer of 796, so that the date 793 has been given up in favour either of 796 (as Haddan and Stubbs) or 795 (as *Mon. Alcuin.* ed. Jaffé, p. 252). There does not seem any sufficient reason to doubt that the presbyter Eanbald of the new passage is identical with the presbyter Eanbald of ep. 6, and the second archbishop of the name. No translation to the northern metropolitan see from another see had yet occurred; every archbishop had been elevated direct from the presbyterate (see Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.* in locis). Alcuin in the next epistle (ep. 49, Frob. Aug. 796; ep. 37, *Mon. Alc.* A.D. 795; H. and S. iii. 499, A.D. 499) addresses one whom he calls "dominus omnium dilectissimus," and Alcuin "his son" is prevented coming to him by a sharp fever and king Charles's detention in Saxony; Alcuin longs to see him again, and trusts he may find him enjoying the same honour in which he left him; he rejoices in the intelligence of his prosperity brought to him by Eanbald (who is not here designated "presbyter," only "famulus vester," but Froben thinks he is perhaps the presbyter of ep. 6); a new archbishop is about to be appointed, and Alcuin beseeches this "dominus" to permit no violence against the church of God, and to take care that the brethren have a free election. Froben does not attempt to identify the person here addressed; in Haddan and Stubbs he is "a powerful man"; but in the *Mon. Alc.* he is assumed, and we think with much probability, to be none else than archbishop Eanbald I., who in that case would be meditating resignation. It is at all events clear that a formidable danger was menacing the succession at York, and Alcuin was employing his great influence in securing the free action of the clergy in the appointment. Alcuin's next letter reveals another danger. It is addressed to his "beloved friends at York." (Ep. 48, Frob. A.D. 796; ep. 36, *Mon. Alc.* A.D. 795; H. and S. iii. 500, A.D. 796.) Alcuin urges that should it be necessary for them to elect an archbishop before he could reach them (implying, as Froben notices, that he was a member of their body and had a voice in the election) they would proceed with scrupulous integrity and tolerate no manner of simoniacal doings. In the most solemn terms he bids them maintain their old unsullied reputation in the choice of their archbishop. One more letter belongs to this crisis (ep. 39, *Mon. Alc.* A.D. 795). It is from the presbyter Eanbald to archbishop Eanbald, reporting his return from abroad, and delivering a letter he has brought him from Alcuin, so that there is a strong presumption that the "dominus" was the archbishop, whose "famulus" the presbyter might well have been termed. Eanbald I. died Aug. 10, 796, and Eanbald II. was consecrated on Sunday, Aug. 14. (*A. S. C.* ann. 796; Simeon of Durham's Sunday, Aug. 13, being an error, as Aug. 13 was Saturday.) As the vacancy lasted but four days, it is obvious that Alcuin's letters from Saxony were written before it occurred and while it was in expectation. Matters seem to have stood thus: Eanbald I. feeling the approach of death meditated retirement; the court was watching the event and preparing to force its nominee; the presbyter Eanbald, as the candidate favoured by the archbishop and the best of the cathedral body, was sent to Alcuin to obtain his adhesion and procure his return to England for the purpose of protecting the intended appointment; the archbishop died, and the election was made at the earliest possible moment. The subsequent views obtained of Eanbald II. are consistent with this account of the crisis; the new archbishop has to deal with a worldly-minded clergy and a hostile court, but he is constantly supported and encouraged by letters from Alcuin. It may be remarked that an unsettled state of affairs similarly led Augustine of Canterbury to consecrate Laurentius to succeed him (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 4), as well as Ethelbert (or Albert) of York to appoint his successor [EANBALD I.]. The consecration of Eanbald II. took place in the monastery of Sochasburg, not in York cathedral, the officiating bishops being the three suffragans of the province, Ethelbert of Hexham, Higbald of Lindisfarne, Badulf of Withern (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 796, M. H. B. 669 d; *Chron. de Mailros*, ann. 796), the archbishop of Canterbury not being among them. Sochasburg (as Simeon writes it), where also Higbald had been consecrated (*A. S. C.* ann. 780, "Soccabyrig"), is thought by Lambarde (*Dict. Angl. Topog.* 1730, p. 334) and by others since to be Sockburn on the Tees, an old place of some curious traditions; but Surtees questions this identification, and argues for Sadberge, a spot to the north of it, likewise of interesting and still more ancient memories. (Surt. *Hist. Durh.* iii. 243, 265.) No monastery, however, seems to be remembered at either spot. Soon after his consecration Eanbald received a long letter from Alcuin (ep. 50, Frob. cir. Aug. 796; *Mon. Alc.* p. 72, post. Aug. 10, 796; H. and S. iii. 501, A.D. 796), which graphically exhibits that good man's ideal of an archbishop, while it also discloses some of the weak points in the court of a Northumbrian prelate of his period. Eanbald should be on his guard against the seductions of secular pomp, the luxuries of the table, the vanities of dress, the voice of adulation; nor must he be daunted by detractors; let him not be a reed shaken by the wind, nor a ruined wall, nor a house upon the sand, but a temple of the living God, stablished upon a rock and inhabited by the Holy Spirit. In his retinue should be found men of worth rather than those who affect the vanities of attire; not men who halloo after the fox, but such as will accompany him in his rides, melodiously chanting the psalter (for further illustrations of which see concerning abbat Ceolfrid in Bed. *Vit. Abbat.* Smith, 302, 30 sq., and other instances in Mabillon, *de Cursu Gallic.* 433, § 73, Patr. Lat. lxxii. 413). Never should he be robed in the pallium of sacred benediction without the ministry of attendant deacons; there should be subdeacons likewise, with all the other ranks in due gradation, so that the church,

which is septiform in the gifts of the Spirit, may shine in a septiform distinction of ecclesiastical degrees, all occupying their proper positions and vested according to their rank. The clerics in comely apparel, in demeanour staid, should in their singing avoid all swagger of tone, and seek to please God rather than man. Nor let them disdain to make themselves acquainted with the rules of the *Ordo Romanus* (the earliest historical mention of which work is believed to occur in this passage, Alc. *Opp.* Frob. i. 66, note f; H. and S. iii. 504 note); for in thus imitating the chief of the churches of Christ they will earn St. Peter's blessing. In another letter of advice (ep. 57, Frob.; H. and S. iii. 505, A.D. 796), Alcuin strongly recommends him the use of Gregory's *Pastoral*, which he should read and re-read, taking it with him wherever he went.

It was on Sept. 8, 797 (*A. S. C.* ad ann.), when the Nativity of St. Mary was celebrated (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.*, true reading of the date in Surtees Soc. ed. p. 34), that Eanbald, having received the pallium from Rome, was "solemnly confirmed in the episcopate of the Northumbrians," but in what the confirmation consisted Simeon, who alone mentions it, does not state, and he may be simply using the language of his own day. He was the fourth archbishop of York (not the third, as Malmes. *G. R.* i. § 65, ed. Hardy) reckoning from Egbert, and the tenth bishop counting from Paulinus. The contemporary king of Northumbria was Eardulf, whose accession was about three months before Eanbald's, and the archbishop of Canterbury was Ethelhard. His first recorded metropolitical act was the consecration, on Oct. 29, 797, of Heardred bishop of Hexham at Wudaforda, assisted by his suffragan Higbald of Lindisfarne. (Rich. of Hexham, cap. 8, Twysd. col. 299; Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* in M. H. B. 669 e, "Wdutorda"; *A. S. C.* ann. 797 does not mention Higbald nor the place.) The localities of all the consecrations held by Eanbald are mentioned, but not one of them, nor even the place of his own consecration, was York, an indication possibly of a hostile court influence in that city. Another letter of Alcuin to Eanbald, whom he now begins, after his whim [ALCUIN], to call "Symeon" (Ep. 171, Frob. "de anno et loco minimè constat"; H. and S. iii. 507, A.D. 796, or later), discloses growing difficulties. Alcuin sympathises with him in certain trials (not further indicated) which have accompanied his elevation; he replies to inquiries respecting the *Liber Missalis*; again, and with much point, he returns to the *Ordo Romanus*, his language plainly shewing that the book was meeting with anything but a welcome at York. He hopes that in the faith and piety of his son Eanbald he will himself survive after death, while he trusts that sacred studies will never be neglected at York to render all the pains he once took in the collection of books a labour lost. With this letter Alcuin sends a present of four cups '(caucelli'), and a hundred pounds of 'stagnum' (stannum, tin) for covering the 'domuscula cloccarum' (the bell-tower, as Raine understands it) "propter ornamentum et loci celebritatem." It is to be observed in reference to Eanbald's troubles that in these last days of the heptarchal church the archbishops of both provinces were at feud with their sovereigns, Ethelhard of Canterbury with the Mercian king who ruled the south, and Eanbald with Eardulf. The temporary establishment of a Mercian archbishopric [HIGBERT] proves how intense was the quarrel in the southern and strongest division of England. This community of trouble drew the two archbishops together to a degree that was quite unusual in those days as compared with the intercourse they each had with foreign churches (H. and S. iii. 520). In 798 we find Alcuin counselling Ethelhard to confer with Eanbald in reference to the great schism then established in Mercia (Ep. 60, Frob.; H. and S. iii. 520). To this year also belongs the most interesting of all the actual facts recorded of Eanbald's archiepiscopate—his assembling a synod at Pincanhalth (on the supposed identity of which with Finchale, near Durham, see note in H. and S. iii. 444. Neither Surtees nor Raine could venture to affirm the identity. Raine, *Priory of Finchale*, pref. pp. xii. xiii.). The synod of Pincanhalth (again it is some other place rather than York) is worthy of notice on several accounts. It is the first Northumbrian synod of which any particular account survives since that of Whitby, in 664, so fully reported by Bede, and the synod of Whitby was not exclusively Northumbrian. The synodal history of the northern province is naturally more scanty than that of the southern (see obscure gatherings in Haddan and Stubbs under the years 678, 679, 701, 705, 787). Eanbald's synod of Pincanhalth is the only one presided over by a northern archbishop at which a declaration of faith is recorded, and in this respect there are two synods of the south with which it may be compared—Haethfelth under Theodore in 680 (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 17; H. and S. iii. 141), and Celchyth under Jaenbert in 787 (H. and S. iii. 444). It may be noted also that the Paschal controversy, which was a grand topic at Whitby, is prominent here again at Pincanhalth, shewing that the old Celtic and anti-Roman party of the north had not died out, another token of which may be gathered from the cold reception of the *Ordo Romanus* already noticed. Finally, the synod of Pincanhalth was the last in the north previous to the downfall of the Northumbrian church under the Danes, and its latest testimony was according to the orthodoxy of the day. This synod therefore ought certainly to have received more attention than it has had from the modern historians of the heptarchal church (see a brief and quite exceptional notice in Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* i. 339). It was attended, writes Simeon of Durham, by many great laymen (principales) and ecclesiastics, who "consulted on many things affecting the interest of God's holy church and the nation of the Northumbrians and of all the provinces, and concerning the observance of the Paschal feast, and of decisions divine and secular which were made in the days of righteous kings and good dukes and holy bishops and other wise men, monks and clerics, of whose wisdom and justice, and divine virtues the state of the kingdom of the Northumbrians was at that time sweetly and unspeakably redolent. They took care by wise counsel to make arrangements for the honour of God and the necessities of his servants, and to augment the service of God, that for these things they might receive the good recom-

pense of eternal reward. The lord bishop Eanbald commanded the faith of the five councils to be recited." Here Simeon indicates the dogmatic articles from *The History of the Angles*, in a rough quotation from Bede's account of the synod of Haethfelth, and concludes: "Having asserted and confirmed these things they returned home, praising God for all his benefits" (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 798, Stevenson's transl. p. 460). The synod of Haethfelth in 680 was of course unable to affirm the sixth council (on the Monothelite heresy), that council commencing its sessions only in the same year; but why the sixth council was passed over at Pincanhalth also does not appear; perhaps this northern synod held it sufficient to adopt the precedent preserved by the great northern historian. The synod of Celchyth in 787 accepted the sixth council as well as the first five; but it was too early for it to express an opinion on the seventh council (on image worship), which was sitting only in that year. To this extent, then, the primitive church of England, as represented by these three synods, committed itself in dogma to the great conciliar decisions of its times. It never committed itself beyond. In 798 the seventh council was a recent event, and its decision on the image question was exciting great controversy. Alcuin, in the newly-discovered passage of his ep. 6, speaks of the dangers and divisions of the Catholic faith which he was resisting abroad; the image question was without a doubt the great disturber, and Eanbald, being then in conference with Alcuin, must have witnessed his uncompromising attitude in regard to it. The ignoring of the seventh council at the synod of Pincanhalth so soon afterwards was a victory on Alcuin's side in his own country, and may well be regarded as a sign of his influence.

To proceed chronologically with Eanbald; in the year 800 another of the suffragans of York, Eadbert bishop of Hexham, is consecrated, and the archbishop may be assumed to have officiated though he is not expressly mentioned (Rich. of Hexham, capp. 18, 19, in Twysd. *X. Scriptt.* col. 299). The consecration was at Ethingaham. In 800 or 801, Alcuin once more and for the last recorded time, addressed "the son of his prayers Symeon sacerdos" (Ep. 174, Frob. A.D. 800; *Mon. Alc.* ep. 80, p. 620, post, Ap. 3, 801; H. and S. iii. 534, A.D. 801). Here the archbishop's troubles come more distinctly into view. Alcuin suspects that they may have arisen partly from Eanbald himself, in case he has harboured the king's enemies or protected their possessions. If he suffers justly, why is he disturbed? If unjustly, he should remember the tribulations of the saints. Let him not, however, think of forsaking his church, but rather await the martyr's crown. Thus was Eanbald warned against a desertion of his flock like that so severely blamed by Alcuin in his brother archbishop of the south. Eanbald must stand fast as the standard-bearer of Christ. Let him remember how the venerable Mattathias, in the peril of death, exhorted his sons to contend against the Lord's adversaries. Eanbald has seen how kings and princes who persecuted his predecessors and the church of Christ came to untimely ends; let him be patient and prayerful; God will perhaps convert his opponents from foes to friends. This being the state of affairs, it may well be suspected that the recent synod of Pincanhalth was implicated in the dispute. Eminent laymen were present but not the king, though secular affairs as well as ecclesiastical were discussed; it was a quasi-parliamentary gathering under the archbishop, and may have been a general rallying-point of the Northumbrians to the spiritual power in opposition to the royal authority, for Eardulf was at strife with his lay subjects as well as with the great ecclesiastic, and in 808 was a fugitive from his throne.

In the year 800 Alcuin writes (Ep. 175; Frob. A.D. 800) that he has heard of the affliction of his beloved "Symeon." Calvinus and Cuculus must exhort him to be of good courage; his predecessors in the see had to endure the like; nay, all the saints have been sufferers, and the Baptist died a martyr to the truth. But let "Symeon" be jealous of any other cause of suffering than that of declaring the truth; for Alcuin fears he may be courting trial through his territorial wealth, and his harbouring the enemies of the king. And why does he number so many soldiers in his train? Apparently it is out of compassion to others, but that is a short-sighted compassion which injures the many, even the good, while seeming to benefit the few, and those perhaps not innocent. For "Symeon" is injuring the monasteries, when he takes a crowd of such followers into them to be entertained with him on his visits; never had his predecessors so numerous a retinue. From these expressions, and from other indications noticed in the course of this article, we seem to view a prelate generally on the move, keeping the rural roads, travelling from monastery to monastery, never far from the lands of the see, and scarcely, if at all, abiding in the city of York. Medallic testimony points much the same way, disclosing a great lord who coins his own money to circulate from the monasteries, and on the estates of the church. Mr. Edward Hawkins observes that the earliest known coins of the see of York, next to those of archbishop Egbert, belong to Eanbald, whose coins he was once disposed to regard as the earliest of all (1st ed. 1841, p. 53); and this Eanbald he concludes to be the second archbishop of the name from the fact that all the types and moneyers on his coins appear likewise on the coins of king Eanred, in whose reign Eanbald II. died. Nor is it without significance that in a hoard of 8000 coins found at Hexham in 1833 those of Eanbald were numerous enough to have made the specimens common, while out of 10,000 discovered at York in 1842 not more than one of Eanbald was found. (Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, 2nd ed. 1876, pp. 73, 109.)

In 801 Eanbald is mentioned in a letter of Alcuin addressed to Ethelhard (Ep. 173, Frob. A.D. 800; *Mon. Alc.* ep. 171, A.D. 801, p. 616; H. and S. iii. 532, A.D. 801). Alcuin is pleased that the two archbishops have met and conferred, one result of which he trusts will be that the churches of Christ will be exalted in honour, and the lives of those who minister in them will be amended. Very corrupt have those lives been, hardly above the level of the vain laity. Clergy and people seem to differ in nothing but the tonsure.

There occurs another consecration by him of

a suffragan, Egbert of Lindisfarne, probably on Trinity Sunday, June 11, 803, Eanbert of Hexham, Badulf of Withern, "and other bishops" assisting, the place being Biguella (Sim. Dun. *Hist. Ch. Durham*, Stevenson's note; Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.* p. 9). In 808 Eanbald is mentioned in the correspondence of pope Leo III. with the emperor Charles, in connexion with the expulsion of Eardulf from his kingdom, but it is uncertain what were the archbishop's relations with the dethroned king and his rival (H. and S. iii. 564, note); one of the letters shews Eanbald opposed, as well as the archbishop of Canterbury (now Wulfred), to Kenulf king of Mercia, who ruled in the south (Ep. of Leo III. to Charles, Mansi, *Concil.* xiii. 969; *Mon. Carolina*, ed. Jaffé, 311; H. and S. iii. 563); in another letter he is again mentioned, but with no light; he has sent a despatch to Charles, but his messenger has misunderstood his business, and offended the emperor by proceeding to Rome before delivering it. (Mansi, xiii. 974; Patr. Lat. xcviii. 535; H. and S. iii. 565.)

Here ends the clear contemporary light cast upon this Northumbrian metropolitan. It is but a few glimmers we get of him after this. The "praesul Eantbaldus," who loves pope Leo in Alcuin's poem (Carm. 226, *Opp.* ii. 228, Prob.) is probably Eanbald.

Eanbald was evidently on a visit to Alcuin when this little poem was written. There is independent proof that after his elevation to the see Eanbald was with Alcuin, but at what date cannot be determined, except that it must have been between 800 and 807, while George was patriarch of Jerusalem. In a letter to that prelate (Ep. 183, Frob.) Alcuin begs his intercessory prayers for "Symeon, bishop," for Onias and Martinus "sacerdotes," for Nathanael, archdeacon, and others, adding, "Who are with us, and never cease to intercede for your beatitude." As Alcuin died May 19, 804, the interval for this visit is defined within narrow limits.

How long Eanbald II. lived after 808 is uncertain. Simeon of Durham says that his successor, Wulfsy, was archbishop in the reign of Eanred (Sim. Dun. *Epist. de Archiep. Ebor.*, *Opp.* Surt. Soc. p. 134), and 812 is the year some have supposed (Raine, *Archbishops of York*, p. 111). Pits attributes to Eanbald II. a work entitled *Decreta Synodalia* (Pits, *Angl. S. Theol.* 164), and Tanner repeats the statement (Tann. *Bibl. Brit.* 248), but as Raine observes, without any foundation. [C. H.]

EANBERCHT, denounced with Hunraed and two others by Boniface archbishop of Mainz, in his *Life of Willibald*, as false brethren, who in the name of religion seduced the people into heresy. (*Monum. Mogunt.* p. 453, ed. Jaffé.) [C. H.]

EANBERHT (1), one of five presbyters in Thuringia, whom Lullus archbishop of Mainz directs to arrange in their localities for public prayers and a week of abstinence to avert a plague of rain which was then afflicting the country. Each was likewise requested to offer thirty masses for the deceased bishop of Rome, who is not named, and ten masses for the two laics Megenfrith and Hraban. During the episcopate of Lullus three bishops of Rome died, so that this letter may belong to any of the years 757, 767, or 772. (*Monument. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, 281.) [C. H.]

EANBERHT (2), an abbat to whom Ethelbald king of Mercia, in a charter attested by Cynewulf, of Wessex, and the West-Saxon bishops and abbats, granted lands "in dominium Christi ecclesiae." (Kemble, *C. D.* 100, A.D. 755–757.) The list of abbats of Malmesbury recently discovered by Mr. Birch contains the name of Aeambriht, who may be identified with this person and possibly with Eaba [EABA (2)]. (Birch, *Abbats of Malm.* p. 6.) [S.]

EANBERHT (3), ealdorman of the Hwiccii, and brother of Aldred and Uhtred. (Kemble, *C. D.* 102, 105.) The three brothers were benefactors to Worcester from 755 to 770. [HWICCII.] [S.]

EANBERHTTA (*Cod. Dip.* 100; Birch, *Abbats of Malmesb.* p. 6; id. *Fasti Monast.* 68), abbat. [EANBERHT (2); EABA (2).] [C. H.]

EANBERT (EADBERT; EANBERHT; OSBERT), bishop of Hexham, between Heardred and Tidferth. Richard of Hexham states that he was ordained at Ethingaham, A.D. 800, and sat fourteen years; but the Saxon Chronicle places his death in 806. His episcopate fell in the reign of Eardulf, king of Northumbria, and his metropolitan was Eanbald II. archbishop of York. Nothing further is known of him. (Ricard. Hagulst. cap. 18, 19 in Twysd. *Scriptores*, coll. 299, 300; Wend. *Flor. Hist.* ann. 800, ed. Coxe; *A. S. C.* ann. 806; Stubbs, *Regist. Sac.* 9, 181.) [C. H.]

EANBRYTH (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 800 in M. H. B. 671), bishop of Hexham. [EANBERT.] [C. H.]

EANBURGA, an abbess mentioned in a questionable charter of Offa, belonging to Worcester, and dated 781. In this the king confirms to Eanburga, for her life, lands in Homtune and Faehhaleage, which bishop Heathored had given her, subject to the rights of the mother church of Worcester. (Kemble, *C. D.* 141.) [S.]

EANFERTH, bishop of Elmham. [EANFRITH (3).]

EANFLED (1), a name inscribed on the fourth tablet of the taller pyramid in the cemetery at Glastonbury, which William of Malmesbury describes as of great antiquity. (Malm. *G. R.* i. § 21, ed. Hardy.) [C. H.]

EANFLED (2) (EONFLED), daughter of Edwin king of Northumbria, by his second wife Ethelburga of Kent. She was born on Easter Sunday, A.D. 626. On her birth Paulinus, who was the queen's chaplain, ascribed the safety of the mother and child to God's answer to his prayers, and Edwin, who was then wavering between Christianity and paganism, allowed Paulinus to baptize the infant. The ceremony was performed on Whitsunday. (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 9.) On the death of her father, in A.D. 633, the princess was carried by her mother into Kent. (*Id.* ii. 20.) About A.D. 643 she became the wife of Oswy king of Northumbria

(*id.* iii. 15), who at her request gave Ingetlingum (Gilling?) to Trumheri, to be the site of a monastery in memory of the murdered Oswin (*id.* iii. 24). Eanfled was a great patroness of religion, observing the Roman method of counting Easter, and having a chaplain of her own, named Romanus (iii. 15). It was by her assistance that the youthful Wilfrid was enabled to pay his first visit to Rome. (Eddi, cap. p. 213; Bed. *H. E.* v. 19.) Eanfled was buried with her husband at Whitby, in the monastery of which her daughter Elfleda was subsequently the abbess. (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 24.) [J. R.]

EANFRID (1) (ANFRID, EANFRITH), a son of Ethelfrid king of Northumbria, and himself king of Bernicia on the death of Edwin in A.D. 633. During his predecessor's reign he had been in exile with his brothers in Scotland, where he had been converted to Christianity and baptized. On becoming king he apostatized. In the following year he was treacherously slain by Caedwalla, whom he had incautiously sought with twelve chosen knights to sue for peace (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 1). [J. R.]

EANFRID (2) (Kemble, *C. D.* 198, A.D. 808, an error for 758 [EADULF (3)]), bishop. [EANFRITH (3).] [C. H.]

EANFRIGIDUS, Alcuin's agent on the continent. Alcuin in 790 writes from England to his disciple Josephus abroad begging him to send for Eanfrigidus, and confer with him as to the transmission of some silver, the proceeds apparently of his villa of Vurmec, and a goat's-hair dress, "vestimentum caprinum." (*Mon. Alcuin.* ed. Jaffé, p. 171, ep. 16, not in Froben's collection.) [C. H.]

EANFRITH (1) (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 593, 634; *M. H. B.* 526 b, 528 e; id. *Geneal. Reg. North. M. H. B.* 632), king of Bernicia. [EANFRID (1).] [C. H.]

EANFRITH (2), king of the Hwiccii, brother of Eanhere and father of Eaba queen of the South Saxons (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 13), about the year 661. He was probably father or near kinsman of Osric and Oshere, who, in the next generation, were benefactors of the Mercian churches. [HWICCII.] [S.]

EANFRITH (3) (EANFERTH), the fifth bishop of Elmham, called Lanferth in the printed lists. (*M. H. B.* 618.) His name occurs between that of Ethelfrith, who was consecrated in 736, and that of Ethelwulf, who attested a charter of 781. He may thus be identified with Eanfrith, who attests the grant of Cyneweulf of Wessex to Bath in 758 (Kemble, *C. D.* 193, for date cf. EADULF (3)), and possibly with the bishop Eanfrith, who, having been a monk of Glastonbury, died, according to William of Malmesbury, in 782. (*Antt. Glaston.* ap. Gale, p. 325.) [S.]

EANGHEARD, a priest of Canterbury, who subscribes a charter of archbishop Wulfred, dated April 21, 811. (Kemble, *C. D.* 195.) [S.]

EANGIST, a disciple of Alcuin, who is said to have been cured of his toothache by a touch of his master's comb. (*Vit. Alcuini Auct. Anonym.* ap. *Mon. Alcuin.* p. 33, ed. Jaffé.) [C. H.]

EANGITHA, an English abbess, mother of Heaburga otherwise called Bugga. [BUGGA (2).] A letter is extant addressed by her to St. Boniface, to be dated between 719 and 722. In this she complains of her many cares, the poverty of her monastic estate, the hostility of the king, and the fewness of her relations She refers also to the abbess Wale as her spiritual mother, and recommends a brother named Denewald to the good offices of Boniface. (Bonif. *Epist.* 14; Mon. Moguntina, p. 66.) If the identification of Bugga, or Heaburga, with Eadburga abbess of Minster, be allowed, then Eangitha must have been the widow of Centwin king of Wessex, and sister of Eormenburga queen of Northumbria. It is perhaps safer not to rely too much on the identification. [S.]

EANGYTH (*Monum. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, p. 66), abbess. [EANGITHA.] [C. H.]

EANHERE, brother of Eanfrith, king or viceroy of the Hwiccii. [EANFRITH (2).] [S.]

EANMUND (1) (Kemble, *C. D.* 114, between A.D. 759 and 765), king in Kent. [EALHMUND.] [C. H.]

EANMUND (2), founder and first abbat of a monastery of St. Peter, in Northumbria, the history of which, written by the monk Ethelwulf, is dedicated to bishop Egbert of Lindisfarne. [ETHELWULF (2).] [S.]

EANRED (1), presbyter of the diocese of Leicester, who attested the acts of the council of Clovesho, Oct. 12, 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024.) [C. H.]

EANRED (2), king of Northumbria, who succeeded Elfwold or Alfwold, A.D. 810, and reigned thirty-two or thirty-three years. Within the period embraced by this work, he was contemporary with Eanbald II. and Wulfsy archbishops of York, Egbert bishop of Lindisfarne, and Tidferth bishop of Hexham. (Symeon Dun. ed. Surtees Soc. pp. 134, 211, 219; Wend. *F. H.* ann. 810.) On Eanred's coins, see E. Hawkins, *Silver Coins of Eng.* ed. Kenyon, pp. 71–73. [C. H.]

EANSWITHA (EANSWIDA), a daughter of Eadbald king of Kent, who lived a virgin and was buried at Folkestone. (Flor. Wig. in *M. H. B.* 627, 635; Elmham, *Hist. Aug.* pp. 175, 176.) Her life (printed by Capgrave, fo. 97, and in the *AA. SS.* Bolland. Aug. vol. vi. pp. 686, 687) says that Eadbald built her a church at Folkestone, which was dedicated to St. Peter, near which she founded a nunnery, with a church of her own. She was asked in marriage by a king of Northumbria, but refused him. The day of her death was Aug. 31; the year is given as 640 or 673, alike without authority. Her relics, which had been at first buried in her own church, were subsequently translated to St. Peter's. The present church of Folkestone is dedicated to her conjointly with St. Mary, and that of Brensett, in Kent, is dedicated to her sole honour. On the seal of the corporation of Folkestone she appears carrying two fishes in a half-hoop. (Parker, *Anglican Kalendar*, p. 229, quoting Huserbeth's *Emblems of the Saints*. See also *Mon. Angl.* i. 451; Hardy, *Cat. Mat. Br. Hist.* i. 228, 229, 382.) [S.]

EANTBALD. This name with the title of praesul occurs in a poem of Alcuin addressed to pope Leo III. Eantbald is sending presents to Leo, and Alcuin sends a poem by his messenger. It is thought that Eantbald is the archbishop of York, Eanbald II., so often mentioned in Alcuin's works. (Alc. Carm. 226; *Opp.* ii. 228, ed. Froben.) [C. H.]

EANULF (1), a Mercian noble, son of Osmod and kinsman of Ethelbald king of Mercia (716–757). He founded the monastery of Bredon, in Worcestershire, about the year 716, with the advice of Ethelbald, who began to reign in that year, and of Egwin bishop of Worcester, who died soon after. His monastery was dedicated to St. Peter, and archbishop Tatwin was educated there. Eanulf was grandfather to king Offa, who was a great benefactor of Bredon. (Kemble, *C. D.* 120, 138, 140, 248, 261.) Besides Bredon, Eanulf had a grant of land at Westbury, which subsequently was given to Worcester. (Kem. *C. D.* 166; *Monast. Angl.* i. 607; vi. 1625.) [S.]

EANULF (2), a presbyter addressed by Alcuin in or before the year 804. Alcuin was then abroad, but where Eanulf was is not apparent. Eanulf, who had been a disciple of Alcuin, is counselled, among other things, not to wander about in his ministry, but remain where he was appointed to serve. The letter, which shews that he was a presbyter bound to regular discipline, gives a hint of what had been his previous life, and what were some of the temptations and difficulties of his office. (Alcuin, Ep. 226, ed. Froben.; Ep. 281, *Mon. Alcuin.*) [C. H.]

EANWALD, a priest of Worcester, who attests a charter of bishop Deneberht in or about 802. (Kemble, *C. D.* 181.) [S.]

EANWLF, an abbat of a monastery, unnamed, who addresses Lullus archbishop of Mainz, May 24, 773, expressing gratitude for a letter received from him and a deep sense of the honour. On the following day, May 25, he addresses Charles king of the Franks. It was about two years after Charles's accession, and when his expeditions against the pagan Saxons had commenced. The abbat counsels him to be zealous for their conversion, hunt down (insequere) idolaters, overthrow their temples, reform their manners by severity, by gentleness, by good example; Christ will then reward him in the next life, besides giving him a glorious name on earth to future ages. (*Monum. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, pp. 282, 283.) The letter indicates how the church was watching the opening career of the great Frank. [C. H.]

EAPPA, one of the priests of Wilfrid, who materially assisted him in A.D. 678 in the conversion of Sussex, baptizing many of the people (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 13). He afterwards became the head of the monastery of Selsey, and probably gave to bishop Acca an account of a miraculous vision at that place, with which his name is connected (*Id.* iv. 14). Eappa is not mentioned by Eddi. [J. R.]

EARCOMBERT, king of Kent, son of Eadbald and Emma, succeeded his father Eadbald in 640, and reigned until 664. According to the later writers he was younger than his brother Eormenred [EORMENRED], and secured the succession either by the will of his father (Sim. Dun. in *M. H. B.* 646), or by usurping the rights of his infant nephews (Elmham, pp. 176, 184), Ethelbert and Ethelred. Bede, however, says nothing about this, but describes Earcombert as a zealous Christian king, as the first English king who by his royal authority ordered the worship of idols to be abolished, and as having directed the observance of the Lent fast (*H. E.* iii. 8; *Chr. S.* in *M. H. B.* 310) under severe penalties. No laws, however, bearing the name of Earcombert have been preserved. He married Sexburga, the elder daughter of Anna king of the East Angles, who, after his death, became abbess of Sheppey, and subsequently succeeded her sister St. Etheldreda as abbess of Ely. By Sexburga Earcombert was the father of St. Earcongota (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 8), St. Eormenhild (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 627), and Egbert and Hlothere, who successively reigned in Kent. Earcombert is mentioned by Eddius (c. 3) and Bede (*H. E.* v. 19) as welcoming Wilfrid in his first visit to Kent, and Eddius in particular enlarges on the assistance afforded by Earcombert. Notwithstanding his piety, Earcombert does not occur as a monastic benefactor. He died after a reign of twenty-four years, July 14, 664, the same day as archbishop Deusdedit (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 1), and was buried at St. Augustine's. (Thorn. c. 1769.) [S.]

EARCONGOTA, the daughter of Earcombert, king of Kent, by his wife Sexburga. She is described by Bede (*H. E.* iii. 8) as a virgin of great virtue, and as a nun of the monastery of Farmoutier in Brie, recently founded by St. Fara or Burgundofara. Bede says that many stories were told of Earcongota's miraculous powers, and gives an account of the circumstances of her death. As the time, of which she had warning, approached, she visited the cells of the sisters and asked their prayers. She had seen a band of white-clad men approach the monastery, and when she asked their errand was told that they were come to fetch the coin of gold that had come from Kent. Some of the faithful saw her soul carried off by angels; her body was buried in the church of St. Stephen. (See Bede, *H. E.* iii. 8; Elmham, p. 191; *AA. SS.* Boll. 25 Feb. iii. 387, 388, 759; Hardy, *Cat. Materials for British History*, i. 369, 370.) Her life, written by John of Tynemouth, is still in MS. William of Malmesbury (*G. R.* lib. i. § 11) places Earcongota at Chelles, not at Farmoutier. [S.]

EARCONUALD (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 6; *M. H. B.* 217 d), bishop of London. [ERKENWALD.] [C. H.]

EARDRED, the third bishop of Dunwich after the division of the East Anglian diocese. (*M. H. B.* 618.) There is great difficulty in assigning the dates and even the relative position of the bishops of Dunwich. Aldberht, the bishop mentioned by Bede at the close of his work (*H. E.* v. 23) appears as the fifth bishop in the ancient list; if both these authorities are right, Eardred's date must fall within the first thirty years of the 8th century. If again he is identified with Eardulf, the East Anglian

bishop who attended the council of Clovesho in 747 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 360), Aldberht must be misplaced. [S.]

EARDULF (1), a king of Kent, who flourished about the middle of the 8th century, but of whom very little is known. The most important point of certainty in his history is his joining, after the year 755, with bishop Eardulf, of Rochester, in the letter to Lullus, of which an account is given in the notice of that bishop. In charters he appears as a benefactor to the Kentish monasteries; one of these, dated by Kemble in 747, is mentioned in the same notice (Kemble, *C. D.* 96, referred by Lappenberg to the year 758); another is a grant to Eadbert, or Heahbert, abbat of Reculver, of lands at Berhamstede. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1005.) If both the dates are to be accepted, Eardulf must have begun to reign in Kent before the death of king Eadbert, and have retained his rule during a great part of the sole reign of Ethelbert II. It is, however, impossible to fix his place either in the pedigree or in the chronology of the Oescings. He is unknown to the annalists, and no coins are extant on which his name occurs. Lappenberg (vol. i. p. 247) supposes him to have been a son of Eadbert, and nephew of Ethelbert II., and to have died before his uncle. But this is mere conjecture. [S.]

EARDULF (2) (Ardwulfus, Earduulf, Heardulf), king of Northumbria, son of Eardulf, a Northumbrian duke or ealdorman of the royal blood (Symeon, ed. Surtees Soc. 34, 211). During the reign of Ethelred, son of Moll, Eardulf incurred his master's displeasure. He was arrested, and carried to Ripon, and there seemingly executed before the entrance into the minster. The brethren of the place carried the body inwards with Gregorian music, and then laid it out on the outside, but in the morning the supposed victim was found alive in the minster (Symeon, 30). This made men look upon Eardulf with a reverence which was certainly undeserved.

After this Eardulf was in exile, from which he was recalled in A.D. 796, by the popular voice, to be king in the room of the murdered Ethelred. He was consecrated in York minster at the altar of St. Paul, on May 25, archbishop Eanbald officiating, assisted by three of his suffragans (Symeon, 34; *Saxon Chron.*). Alcuin wrote a letter to him on his elevation, reminding him of the incident in his earlier life, and urging him to be a just and a God-fearing king (*Epp.* ed. Jaffé, 303, 304).

In the following year Alcuin, writing to Osbert, expresses his opinion that Eardulf will lose his kingdom speedily as a punishment for putting away his wife, and taking a concubine in her room (*Epp.* ed. Jaffé, 350). In A.D. 798 the anticipated storm broke upon him. A revolt was made, apparently by those who had placed Eardulf on the throne, among whom were Alric son of Eardbert and Wada the duke. The rebels were utterly defeated near Whalley, in Lancashire, Alric falling on the field, and Wada securing safety by flight (*Saxon Chron.*; Symeon, 35). In A.D. 799 Eardulf made his throne more secure by putting to death Moll, a duke, who was probably a son of his old master Ethelred (Symeon, 37). In the next year another dangerous rival was arrested and slain at Eardulf's bidding, Alchmund son of Alcred, who was really the legitimate heir to the Northumbrian throne (Symeon, 38). Three enemies having been thus removed, Eardulf, in A.D. 801, led an army against Kenulf king of Mercia, whom he accused of harbouring and encouraging the conspirators against his life. No bloodshed, however, occurred, the bishops and nobles making peace between the intending combatants (Symeon, 39). These, however, were troublous times in Northumbria. Archbishop Eanbald II., like king Kenulf, found it necessary to keep soldiers in his retinue for protection, and is said to have protected the lands and persons of the foes of Eardulf. Alcuin blames him for this conduct (*Epp.* 621, 623), probably seeing that the only chance for Northumbria was having a stern king like Eardulf at its head. At last, in A.D. 808, a competitor of the name of Alfwold drove Eardulf from his kingdom. He was too active to be long in exile. He visited Charlemagne and pope Leo, who suspected archbishop Eanbald and king Kenulf of hatching the successful conspiracy, and in A.D. 809 the banished sovereign was restored through the interposition of Charlemagne (Einhard, apud Duchesne, ii. 255; Bouquet, v. 602; Mabillon, *Ann. Ben.* ii. 383). In the following year Eardulf died, and transmitted his kingdom to his son Eanred, who was the last independent monarch of Northumbria.

During the reign of Eardulf the province of Galloway came into the possession of the Picts. There are coins of Eardulf in existence, and those struck by his son are exceedingly numerous. [J. R.]

EARDULF (3) (Herdulf), a bishop of East Anglia, who was present at the council held at Clovesho in 747. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 360.) As Eanfrith was at this time bishop of Elmham, Eardulf must have been bishop of Dunwich; but nothing more is known about him, and his name does not appear in the ancient lists. [S.]

EARDULF (4), the twelfth bishop of Rochester. (*M. H. B.* 616.) He first appears in a grant made by Eardulf, king of Kent, to Rochester, the date of which (762) is corrected by the names of the witnesses to 747. If this charter and its correction be trusted, Eardulf must have become bishop the very year in which his predecessor Dunno had attended the council of Clovesho (Kemble, *C. D.* 96), and have been involved in a contest about the rights of his church with a person called Walhun. His successor, Diora, appears first in 775. Eardulf's dates fall between these two limits. Besides the charter of king Eardulf, this bishop received other grants for Rochester; land at Woldham from king Ethelbert in 750, and land in the city of Rochester from Sigiraed, king of half Kent, in 762. In 764 Offa and Sigiraed gave him twenty ploughlands at Eslingham, Frendesbury, and Wicham. (*Ann. Roff.* Ang. Sac. i. 341.) The charters by which these grants were secured are some of them preserved in the Textus Roffensis, but are not free from the suspicion of forgery, and add considerably to the difficulty of settling the chronology of the Kentish kings; see Kemble, *C. D.* 110, 111, 113, 114. The last two, which are less suspicious than the others, are of the time of archbishop Bregwin, and one is dated

765. Eardulf's name as witness also appears in a grant to Minster. (K. *C. D.* 112.) See *Ang. Sac.* i. 343. A more interesting relic of Eardulf is a letter addressed by him, in conjunction with Eardulf king of Kent, to Lullus of Mainz, the successor of St. Boniface. In this he calls Lullus the dearest of all bishops, addresses him as an intimate friend, and desires his prayers for both the Eardulfs. A little present, "reptis ruptilis," is sent with the letter; the bearer is the priest Laearored, and the names of three kinsmen are appended, for whom the prayers of Lullus are requested; Irmigi, Noththry and Duhcha. The date of the letter must of course be 755, or later, as in that year Lullus became bishop. (*Mon. Mogunt.* pp. 285, 286.) [S.]

EARDUULF (Kemble, *C. D.* 96), king of Kent. [EARDULF (1).] [C. H.]

EARDWLFUS (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 798 in *M. H. B.* 669 e, 670 a, 671 a, d), king of Northumbria. [EARDULF (2).] [C. H.]

EARNULF (*Chron. Mailr.* ann. 794), king of Northumbria. [EARDULF (2).] [C. H.]

EARPWALD (EORPWALD, AERTHWALD, *Lib. Eliens.* p. 13), the son of Redwald, king of the East Angles. Redwald had received Christianity in Kent, but had relapsed on returning to his own kingdom. Earpwald was converted under the influence of Edwin, king of Northumbria, and introduced Christianity into his dominions soon after Edwin's own conversion, and some time before the year 632, to which the event is referred by Florence of Worcester. (*M. H. B.* 528.) We have no account of the date of his succession to the throne. Shortly after his conversion he was murdered by a pagan named Ricbert. Smith, the editor of Bede, arguing from the chronology of the East Anglian bishops, places this event in 627; and Hussey remarks that at least twenty-eight years elapsed between the conversion of Earpwald and the death of archbishop Honorius (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 15), which would throw back the date to 625. The years of his reign are given by Lappenberg as 617–628. Redwald is last mentioned in 617. (*Chr. S. M. H. B.* 308.) Henry of Huntingdon ascribes the death of Earpwald to Penda. (*M. H. B.* 716.) [S.]

EASCULPH (*Angl. Sac.* i. 404), bishop of Dunwich. [ASTWULF.] [C. H.]

EASCWINUS (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 673, 676, ed. Coxe), king of Wessex. [ESCWINE.] [C. H.]

EAST ANGLES, KINGS OF. The kingdom of the East Angles, which in its later extension was co-extensive with the diocese of Elmham, Thetford, or Norwich, comprised in its earlier stages, besides the modern counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, some of the frontier lands which were afterwards parts of Mercia. The fen country of the Gyrvii, extending from South Lincolnshire to South Cambridgeshire, which, after the consolidation of the Merçian power, was regarded as part of Mercia, was earlier a debateable land between Mercia and East Anglia, and earlier still was a part of East Anglia itself. Ely, according to Bede, was in East Anglia (*H. E.* iv. 19); and Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury place Cambridgeshire also under the rule of the kings of the East Angles (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 644; W. Malmesb. *G. R.* ed. Hardy, lib. i. § 102). The East Angles were converted to Christianity before the Mercians, and hence probably the early foundation of the fen monasteries. The see of the first four bishops of the East Angles was at Dunwich, on the coast of Suffolk; the diocese was divided in 673 between two bishops, one of whom, at Elmham (Helmham, North Elmham), ruled Norfolk; the other, at Dunwich, ruled Suffolk. In the Danish ravages of 870 both lines of bishops were for a time extinguished, and when the church revived under the sons of Edward the Elder, Elmham was regarded as the sole see for the whole province.

The kings of the East Angles, within the period known to history, traced their descent from Woden through Wuffa in the ninth generation from the mythic patriarch. Wuffa (called by the hagiographers Offa) was father of Tytla or Tytil, who was father of Eni and Redwald. The East Angles must have been among the earliest of the German settlers; the details of their migrations are altogether unknown, but Henry of Huntingdon probably represents a true tradition when he asserts that, like Mercia, the East Anglian territory was long divided among a number of nameless "proceres." If Wuffa was the first who united the whole nation under one sceptre, this would account for the prominence given to him in the genealogy. As grandfather of Redwald he could hardly be dated earlier than 530 A.D. Henry of Huntingdon (*M. H. B.* 714) gives him the title of king, and makes him a contemporary of Ceaulin, king of Wessex, cir. 571 A.D. The dates assigned in the later chronicles are of no authority whatever. Matthew Paris, however, following Henry of Huntingdon, dates Uffa in 571, and Tytil in 578. (*Chron. Maj.* ed. Luard, pp. 248, 249.)

The first Christian king was Redwald, the son of Tytil [REDWALD]. No date is assigned for his accession; he is counted by Bede as the fourth of the kings who exercised supremacy over the whole of Britain, and by the Saxon Chronicle as the fourth Bretwalda. Such a position he could have acquired only after the death of Ethelbert I. of Kent, in 616. (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 5; *Chr. S.* A.D. 827, *M. H. B.* 843.) The date of the conversion and relapse of Redwald cannot be fixed. Earpwald [EARPWALD] succeeded him, probably about 624. Ricbert, who killed Earpwald, was a pagan, and a period of anarchy followed the murder. Sigbert, son of Redwald, restored unity to the kingdom about 631, reigning conjointly for a few years with his kinsman Egric, who succeeded him on his resignation. Sigbert and Egric both perished in battle against Penda, about A.D. 636 (Flor. Wig.). Anna, son of Eni the brother of Redwald, succeeded [ANNA], and reigned until 654 (*Chr. S.* cf. Smith's Notes on Bede, *H.E.* iii. 18, 19). Ethelhere, brother of Anna, the next king, perished at the battle of Winwaed, A.D. 655 [ETHELHERE]. Here at last a definite date is found. Ethelwald, brother and successor of Ethelhere, died according to Florence (*M. H. B.* 532) in 664. Aldulf, son of Ethelhere, was in the seventeenth year of his reign in 680 (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 17). [ALDULF (1).] His accession

is therefore definitely fixed. If the letter of pope Sergius on the appointment of archbishop Brihtwald (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 229) be genuine, Aldulf must have been alive in 692. Alfwold or Elfwald, his brother and successor, is mentioned in the genealogies without definite dates. There is a letter of a king Elbwald of the East Angles to St. Boniface, which must be dated about 747 (*Mon. Mogunt.* p. 210); and the death of Elfwald is given by Simeon of Durham under the year 749 (*M. H. B.* 663). A king named Selred, who is called king of the East Angles, and made (*Chr. Mailros.*) the predecessor of Elfwald, is really king of the East Saxons.

On the death of Elfwald, the East-Anglian kingdom was held conjointly or contemporaneously by two kings, whom Simeon calls Alberht and Hunbeanna, who divided the kingdom. Hunbeanna is perhaps a misreading for the name of Beorna, who in the genealogy by Florence (*M. H. B.* 636) is made a contemporary of Offa, and, in the Chronicle of Florence (*M. H. B.* 544), is represented as king in 758. Beorna was succeeded by Ethelred, who was the father of St. Ethelbert [ETHELBERT (3)], who perished in 792. Edmund, the martyr king of 870, is the only other king of English race known to have borne the title. The obscurity and uncertainty of the whole series is partly owing to the destruction of all national monuments during the Danish occupation, and partly to the fact that from the age of Ethelbald king of Mercia onwards the East Angles were entirely under the rule of Mercia, a state of things which may possibly be dated earlier, as it is clear that from the death of Anna the kings were in a very secondary position.

Some coins ascribed to East Anglian kings are in existence; a silver coin resembling a sceatta assigned to Beorna (or Hunbeanna); and coins bearing the name of Eadwald, with that of moneyer Wintred, who is known to have struck East Anglian coins under Offa and Kenulf, are referred to an East Anglian king of the name, but only conjecturally, as there is no other evidence that such a person ever existed (Hawkins, *English Silver Coins*, pp. 55–57). [S.]

EAST SAXONS. The kingdom of the East Saxons was conterminous with the old diocese of London. That diocese embraced the counties of Essex, Middlesex, and southern Hertfordshire; the last mentioned district, however, largely consisted of the territories of St. Alban's Abbey, and was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. This exemption was of much later date than the period embraced in this work; but it had the effect of continuing an uncertainty of boundary which existed earlier in consequence of the uncertainty of the boundary between Mercia proper and the East Saxon kingdom, which was almost invariably subject to the Mercian kings. London itself, although the seat of the East Saxon bishopric, and locally situated within that kingdom, was often regarded as Mercian, and occasionally seems to have admitted the influence of the Kentish and West Saxon kings in a way that is extremely difficult of explanation. Northern Hertfordshire belonged to the diocese of Lincoln, and was never regarded as part of the East-Saxon kingdom. The deaneries of Braughing, Edwinstree, and Hertford, containing twenty-nine parishes, and coinciding with the hundreds of the same names, were East Saxon and subject to the see of London. The archdeaconry of St. Alban's, containing twenty-two parishes in Hertfordshire and four in Buckinghamshire, was added to the diocese of London in the reign of Edward VI. The independence of the St. Alban's parishes dates a long way back into antiquity, and they may be regarded either as Mercian or as a border land between the two kingdoms.

The kings of the East Saxons traced their genealogy through Escwin, in the ninth generation from Woden; and the peculiar feature of their pedigree is that with one exception, that of Offa, all the names begin with the same letter, S. To Escwin, who is also called Erchenwin, no historian has ventured to assign a date; but he is regarded as the first king of the East Saxons. His son Sleda was married to Ricola, the sister of Ethelbert I. of Kent. Sebert, his son and successor, was the first Christian king, and must have been reigning under the supremacy of Ethelbert in the year 604, when the see of London was founded. Sebert, some time before the death of archbishop Laurentius, about 616, died, leaving his kingdom to his three sons (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 5), Sexred, Seward, and Sigebert, who all fell in battle against the West Saxons (*ib.* Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* p. 527). The date of this event is fixed by Matthew Paris (i. 272) in 623, but without authority. The next king was Sigebert the Little, the son of Seward (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 22; Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 629). Sigebert the Good, who succeeded Sigebert the Little, restored Christianity among his people, who had fallen away after the death of king Sebert; he was the son of Sigebald (or Seaxbald), a descendant of Sleda through another line, was baptized about 653 under the influence of Oswy king of Northumbria, and soon after (cir. 660) was killed by his subjects. Swithelm, his successor, seems to have been his brother (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 22; Flor. Wig. in *M. H. B* 637); he was baptized by Cedda in East Anglia Swithelm died apparently before the year 665, the year of the great plague, during which Bede (*H. E.* iii. 30) makes Sigheri and Sebbi kings of the East Saxons under the supremacy of Mercia. Sigheri was the son, and Sebbi the brother of Sigebert the Little (*M. H. B.* 629). Of the two kings Sigheri, with his people, apostatized during the plague; Sebbi continued faithful. Sigheri died before Sebbi, who reigned in all thirty years, and died about 695 (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 11). Sigheri left a son Offa, who possibly succeeded to his share of the kingdom, and left his kingdom in 709, retiring to Rome (Bede, *H. E.* v. 19). Sebbi had two sons, Sigheard and Swefred or Swebred, the latter of whom was probably a competitor for the kingdom of Kent with Wihtred. Offa seems to have survived these two kings, and to have united the kingdom again (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 637). On Offa's departure for Rome in 709, Selred, the son of Sigebert the Good (ib.), succeeded. His death is recorded by Symeon of Durham in 747 (*M. H. B.* 662). Swithred his successor (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 637) was king in 758 (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 544); he appears in the genealogy as Swithaed, and his position in the pedigree is not fixed. Selred had a son Sigeric (Flor. Wig. 639) or Siric, who went to Rome in 799 (*Chr. S. M. H. B.* 330); and Sigeraed was his son (Flor. Wig. 629).

This Sigeraed is mentioned in the Winchcomb charter of 811 (Kemble, *C. D.* 197) as present at the dedication of the church, in company with Kenulf. His is the last name in the genealogy; but another king, named Swithred or Swithed, is mentioned by Matthew Paris as conquered by Egbert in 828 (ed. Luard, i. 374, 375). The names mentioned in this article may be consulted.

The dense obscurity that hangs over every portion of East-Saxon history is not broken by any light derived from coins or charters. [S.]

EASTERWINE (Eosterwini), coadjutor abbat of Wearmouth, was the nephew of Benedict Biscop, founder and first abbat of that monastery. He was born in 650 (*Hist.* i. 157), the eighth year of King Oswy, and, being of noble birth, held the rank of a "minister" or "king's thane," under Oswy's son and successor Egfrid, before he was 24. At that age he renounced all secular prospects in order to join the community which his uncle was just then forming at Wearmouth. As a monk, he was so far from presuming on his "eorl-kin," that he took pleasure in sharing the homeliest work with his brethren; he was to be seen, conspicuous by his vigorous form and kindly demeanour, engaged in threshing, winnowing, milking, baking, gardening, cooking, always "lingua suavis, et animo hilaris" (Bede, *Hist. Abb.* 7). He was ordained priest in 679. After Ceolfrid had been sent with a new monastic colony to Jarrow, Benedict made Easterwine his own coadjutor at Wearmouth, "in the 9th year from its foundation," *i.e.* in 682–3. In this dignity he retained all his frank humility; whenever he came across monks at work, he would join them by handling plough or hammer or winnowing machine, as if simply one of themselves; he shared their meals, slept in their dormitory, and, while careful to maintain discipline, was accustomed, "from his innate and habitual affectionateness," to warn beforehand against the misconduct which, if it occurred, would bring a cloud of sorrow over his bright countenance ("limpidissimam vultus ejus lucem"). During Benedict's absence (on his last journey to Rome) Easterwine, with many others of the community, was attacked by the "yellow pestilence." Even after fatal symptoms appeared, he remained two days in the common dormitory, and then removed into a private room. On the day before his death he came out, sat in the open air, and summoning all the monks, gave them, "more naturae misericordis," the kiss of peace and farewell, while they were weeping over the imminent departure of "such a father and pastor." He died while matins were being sung in the church, on the 7th of March, 686, aged only 36 years. See Bede, *Hist. Abb.* 6, 7. [W. B.]

EATA (1), the first bishop of Hexham and the fifth of Lindisfarne. He was one of the twelve Northumbrian boys whom St. Aidan, in the first days of his episcopate at Lindisfarne, "received to be instructed in Christ" (Bede, iii. 26). One of his fellow pupils was Ceadda or Chad (*ib.* iii. 28). In the year of Aidan's death, 651, we find Eata presiding as abbat over a monastery at "Mailros," Old Melrose, a spot which Bede describes as almost surrounded by the windings of the Tweed (*ib.* v. 12). He happened to be absent when, in the winter of that year, Cuthbert applied for admission into the monastery, and was received by Boisil the prior (Bede, *Vit. Cuthb.* c. 6). When, "after a few years," the sub-king Alchfrid, son of king Oswy, gave Eata some land at Ripon for the construction of a monastery, the abbat sent Cuthbert with other monks to occupy the new home. Eata himself appears to have spent some time there, for we read that he with the other inmates was sent back home (*Vit. Cuthb.* c. 8), or as we may infer from another passage (Bede, *E. H.* v. 19), preferred to depart rather than adopt the Catholic Easter and other observances which differed from those of Lindisfarne. After the conference of Whitby, bishop Colman, on the eve of his departure from Lindisfarne, asked king Oswy to place Eata over that monastery; and the abbat of Melrose thus (contrary to the rule established in foreign churches, C. of Epaon, A.D. 517, c. 9) held in combination the government of two monasteries, and apparently won the affection of both communities by qualities which Bede commemorates in the brief description of him as "the gentlest and simplest of all men" (Bede, iii. 26, iv. 27). About the same time he lost his prior Boisil, who, as he himself, we are told, had forewarned Eata three years previously, died of the plague which then ravaged Britain, and was known in Ireland as "the yellow pest" (*Vit. Cuth.* 8). After some years, Eata transferred Cuthbert, who had succeeded Boisil as prior of Melrose, to the priorship of Lindisfarne and employed him in a task which, perhaps, was too rough for his own disposition, that of improving the discipline of the house (Bede, iv. 27 *Vit. Cuthb.* 16). By Eata's request Cuthbert framed a body of rules for the monks (Anon. *Vit. Cuthb.* l. 3). In 678, when the diocese of York was divided by archbishop Theodore and king Egfrid without the consent of bishop Wilfrid, Eata was selected for one of the new bishoprics. He was to preside over Bernicia, having his episcopal chair either in Hexham or in Lindisfarne. Three years later, in 681, a further subdivision took place; Eata retained Lindisfarne, while Trumbert was made bishop of Hexham (Bede, iv. 12). When in 685 Cuthbert was consecrated as successor of the deposed Trumbert, Eata yielded to his former prior's strong feeling in favour of Lindisfarne, and returned to Hexham, where he spent the remainder of his life. He died of dysentery (Bede, *Vit. Cuthb.* 8) on October 26, 686, after an episcopate of eight years, and probably about fifty years after he had come to Lindisfarne, as a boy, to be trained by Aidan. He was commemorated on the anniversary of his death, and a church, called after "St. Eata the Confessor," was standing at Attingham (Atcham) on the Severn, near Shrewsbury, in 1075. The village was the birthplace of Ordericus Vitalis, who was baptized in the church on the "Easter Saturday" of that year (*Ord. Vit.* v. 1, xiii. 45). See also Hardy, *Desc. Cat.* i. 292. [W. B.]

EATA (2) (*A. S. C.* ann. 738 in *M. H. B.* 329; EATE, Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1752 in *M. H. B.* 785), son of Leodwald, was the father of Eadbert king of Northumbria, and of Egbert archbishop of York [C. H.]

EATA (3) (Echa, Etha), an anchoret who lived at Crayke, in Yorkshire, and whose death in 767 is recorded by Simeon of Durham (*M. H. B.* 663). In a marginal note of the MS. of Simeon the event is placed in 752 (*ib.* 662). Under the name Echa, this person is described by Alcuin, in the poem on the saints of York, as a chaste man who had given up worldly honours to hold communion with God, and as endowed with the gift of prophecy. He makes him a contemporary of archbishop Egbert of York, A.D. 734–766 (*Mon. Alcuin.* ed. Jaffé, p. 123). His name appears in the list of anchorets in the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*, p. 6, as "Echha presbyter." [S.]

EATBERT (Bed. *H. E. Chronol.* in *M. H. B.* 288 c), king of Northumbria. [Eadbert (4).] [C. H.]

EATHED (Flor. Wig. *Nom. Praesul. Lindisf.* in *M. H. B.* 624 d, e; Id. *Chron.* ann. 677, 681), bishop of Lindsey. [Eadhed.] [C. H.]

EATTA (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 678, 686, ed. Coxe), bishop of Hexham. [Eata (1).] [C. H.]

EBAGNIUS, a magistrianus, or official of the magister officiorum in the imperial court (Ducange, *s. v.*). He was sent with a letter from the emperor Theodosius II. to Augustine inviting him to the council of Ephesus. On arriving at Carthage, Ebagnius learned from the bishop Capreolus that Augustine was dead; he then returned to Constantinople with a letter from Capreolus to that effect. (Liberatus Diaconus, *Breviarium*, c. 5, Patrol. Lat. lxviii. p. 977; Ceillier, viii. 417; Baronius, A.D. 430, lxxiv.) [W. M. S.]

EBALTERIUS, EBALTIUS, EBARCIS. [Ebarcius.]

EBARCIUS (1) Sixteenth bishop of Nevers, following St. Itherius, and succeeded by Opportunus. He flourished about A.D. 696, according to the *Gallia Christiana*. His date, however, is very doubtful. Coquille, in his list of the bishops of Nevers (*Hist. du Nivernois*, Paris, 1612, sub fin.), places Ouarcius or Evarcius between St. Deodatus (called by him Derdatus) and Galdo, while Le Cointe (ann. 766, n. x. tom. v. p. 692) mentions an Euarcius or Euardus as in occupation of the see in A.D. 766, as the successor of Waldo, or nearly a century later. It is possible, too, that the passages quoted under the head of Ebarcius bishop of Tours, may really refer to Ebarcius of Nevers (*Gallia Christiana*, xii. 628.) [S. A. B.]

EBARCIUS (2) (Ebaltius, Ebastius, Ebarcis, Ebalterius, Evaricus), 33rd bishop of Tours, succeeding Bertus, and followed by Palladius. He appears under the name of Ebarcis as a subscriber of a *privilegium* or charter of Agirardus, or Ageradus, bishop of Chartres, given, A.D. 696, to the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, on the Loire (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1228, and Mabillon, *de Re Dipl.* lib. v. tab. 21, who, however, conjectures him to belong to Nevers) and, again, in a *placitum* of Childebert III. concerning Noisy-sur-Oise (Nocito-Villa) (Bouquet, *Hist. de la Fr.* iv. 676). In a charter of Louis, king of the Aquitanians (the Pious), in favour of Noailles (Nobiliacum), mention is made of an Ebasius, who may have been identical with Ebarcius of Tours (see *Gall. Christ.* II. instrumenta, p. 346, and see also Eparchius bishop of Poitiers). In none of the above quoted passages is the see mentioned, so that it is at least possible that Ebarcius bishop of Nevers is the person referred to, or Eparchius of Poitiers (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 30). [S. A. B.]

EBARCIUS (3) bishop of Poitiers. [Eparchius (2).]

EBASIUS, bishop of Vicus Aterii, a town in the province of Byzacia in Africa. He subscribed the synodal epistle of Stephanus the primate of the province of Byzacia, purporting to be addressed to the emperor Constantine against the Monothelites. Hardouin (*Concil.* iii. 739) and Mansi (*Concil.* x. 927) both date this council and letter A.D. 649, when no Constantine was reigning, but Constans II., who succeeded Constantine III. in 641. Morcelli (*Afr. Christ.* i. 353), though referring to Hardouin as his authority, gives A.D. 641 as the year. Baronius (*Annal.* ann. 646. i.–vi.) gives 646 for the date, and reads Constans for the emperor. [C. H.]

EBASTIUS. [Ebarcius.]

EBBA (1) (Aebba, Aebbe, Ebbe, Malmesb. Gest. *Pontif.* 231, ed. Hamilton), abbess of Coldingham, a daughter of Ethelfrid king of Northumbria, by his second wife, Acha or Acca, sister of king Edwin, to whom he was married about A.D. 603. She was uterine sister of St. Oswald, and sister or aunt to several kings of Northumbria. After her father's death in A.D. 616, she sought refuge in Scotland with her brothers, where Donald Brek, the king, protected her (*Aberdeen Breviary*). Capgrave states that she was sought in marriage by Aedan king of Scots, and that to escape from him she fled to Coldingham, where she was protected by a miracle. This story may probably be dismissed when we remember that Aedan was vanquished in battle by Ethelfrid before Ebba was born. Capgrave says that Ebba received the veil from bishop Finan. Her brother king Oswy gave to her a small Roman camp, on the Derwent, in the western part of the county of Durham, which she turned into a monastery, and which was called Ebchester after her. The village church is also dedicated to her (Capgrave; Surtees, *Durham*, ii. 301).

Ebba was also abbess of Coldingham, in Berwickshire, and gave her name to St. Abb's Head, the bleak rock hard by, which juts out into the sea. Coldingham was a twin or double monastery, *i.e.* an establishment in which monks and nuns resided, apart indeed, but under one head. This system was at all times a dangerous one, and in this particular case, as history shews, had afterwards its peculiar disadvantages. Of Ebba's rule at Coldingham there is but little known. It was under her that Etheldreda her nephew Egfrid's wife placed herself when she took the veil in A.D. 671 (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 19). [Etheldreda (2).] Here Cuthbert visited Ebba at her desire, and went to pray by night on the deserted beach, where the seals came nestling up to him out of the water (*Id. Vita S. Cuth.* cap. x.) On

one occasion queen Ermenburga, Egfrid's second wife, was mentally afflicted under her roof, and Ebba ascribed it to the imprisonment of Wilfrid by Egfrid, and blamed her nephew severely for his conduct. She also described a miracle which Wilfrid is said to have wrought while he was in ward (Eddi, capp. 37, 39).

In A.D. 679, the monastery of Coldingham was destroyed by fire, an event which made a great sensation far and near (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 25). The buildings were probably of a very humble description, the walls of wood and clay, and the thatch of straw. Ebba did not long survive the destruction of her house. She is said to have died on August 25, A.D. 683 (on which day her festival was observed). Capgrave says that she was buried in her monastery, where a long while after her death her body was found by some shepherds. This was probably after its subsequent destruction by the Danes. Ebba's remains are said to have been removed, and placed on the south side of the altar. In a later day Aelfred, sacrist of Durham, a prowling relic-hunter, brought Ebba's bones, or some of them at least, to Durham, where they were laid beside those of her friend St. Cuthbert, in his shrine (Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dun.* iii. 7).

Ebba was worshipped as a saint, and divers miracles are ascribed to her agency. A life of her by Reginald, a monk of Durham, is in the Bodleian library (Fairfax, 6). It is short, and of little merit, compared with the other works of the same author, and although unpublished itself has been largely used by Capgrave. Cf. *Nova Legenda Angliae*, ff. 99–101; *Acta SS.* Aug. 25, v. 196–9; Forbes, *Scottish Saints*, 330; Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 288–290. [J. R.]

EBBA (2), an abbat who was sent to bishop Wilfrid in A.D. 709 by Ceolred, king of Mercia, to invite him to a conference on the state of the monasteries in his kingdom. (Eddi, *Vita Wilf.* cap. 61.) [J. R.]

EBBI, an abbat, probably in Northumbria, of whom we know nothing more save that he died in A.D. 775. (Symeon, *Chron.* ed. Surtees Soc. 24.) [J. R.]

EBBO (1), ST., the 29th occupant of the see of Sens, succeeding his uncle Gericus, was born towards the close of the 7th century at Tonnerre, of noble parents. In early life he was elected to the administration of the district, a post which had become almost hereditary in his family. Civil honours, however, were distasteful to him, and while still young he relinquished his post and entered the monastery of St. Pierre le Vif, near Sens, of which, on the death of Viraiboldus, he was elected abbat. He could not have remained here long, for in the first year of Dagobert III. (A.D. 711) he subscribes himself episcopus to a charter or deed, by which his sister Ingoara made over certain lands to the monastery of St. Pierre (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1258). According to the *Chronicon Fontanellense* (see D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. ii. p. 270) he was present at a convention of bishops at Tolpiac, which is assigned to A.D. 722 or 723. A few years later he is said to have saved the city of Sens. The Saracens, after laying waste the greater part of Gaul, arrived before Sens, and laid siege to it (A.D. 732). The garrison, reduced to the last extremity, besought the aid of Ebbo, who, after prayer, sallied forth, almost unaccompanied, and put the enemy to flight, their arms being miraculously directed against themselves. The latter portion of his life he spent in solitude and meditation at Arcea (Arce), a place situated a few miles from Sens, returning, however, at intervals to teach and console his flock. He died about A.D. 750, and was succeeded by Merulfus, or, according to the Bollandists, Arthbertus. He was buried at his old monastery of St. Pierre, by the side of his sisters, Ingoara and Leoteria. (*Chroniques de St. Denis*, liv. v. c. xxvi.; *Chron. Auct. Incert.*; *Vita Ebb. Episc. Sen. Auct. Anon. Saec.* x., all to be found in Bouquet, iii. pp. 311, 315, 650 respectively; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 94; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 12.) [S. A. B.]

EBBO (2) (EBULO, EBULUS), 29th bishop of Limoges, succeeded St. Cessator, and was followed by Asclepius. He is said to appear in the catalogue of the abbats of Solignac as "Ebulo Episcopus." Le Cointe (*Ann. Eccl.* a. 752 n. clvi. tom. v. 387) conjectures that he was abbat and bishop as late as the beginning of Pippin's reign A.D. 752. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 506.) [S. A. B.]

EBEDJESUS (1) (Ἀβδιησοῦς), the name of a bishop, three presbyters, a deacon, and a monk, in the Persian martyrdoms under Sapor, about A.D. 361.

(i) In a bare list of bishops mentioned by Sozomen (*H. E.* ii. 13) as suffering in that country at this period Abdas and Ebedjesus occur together, while Dausas, who closes the list, is briefly stated to have been taken captive at Zabde and martyred. Copious *Acta* of these two bishops and numerous companions were first printed in the original Chaldaic, with a Latin translation by Assemani (*Mart. Or. et Occ.* 1748, p. 144). The *Menology* of Basil also relates (May 16) how bishop Ebedjesus in Persia, denounced by his own nephew, a deacon, was martyred under Sapor with bishop Abdas and others.

(ii) Three presbyters, Ebedjesus, are named in the Assemani MS. just referred to as martyred with bishops Abdas and Ebedjesus.

(iii) In the same Chaldaic *Acta* occurs a deacon Ebedjesus, a mere name, in a company of deacons martyred with the two bishops. But in another of Assemani's Chaldaic MSS. (*ut sup.* p. 133), wherein the martyrdom of bishop Dausas is related, Ebedjesus appears as a distinct and prominent character. [DAUSAS.] Sozomen is silent as to this companion, whereas the *Acta* in Assemani are very full, and are supported by the *Menaea* (Ap. 9) which he cites. Assemani states that a mutilation in his MS. prevents any information being given concerning the death of deacon Ebedjesus.

(iv) The monk Ebedjesus is enumerated with other monks in the Assemani *Acta* (*u. s.* p. 144) as suffering with bishops Abdas and Ebedjesus. [C. H.]

EBEDJESUS (2) was a disciple of St. Abda Durkonensis, and flourished in the episcopate of Tamuza or Tomarsa, who was bishop of Seleucia about the end of the 4th century (Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* iii. 614). He founded the monastery

of Hirta, now a town three miles west of Cufa and the seat of a Nestorian bishopric; formerly the seat of a Jacobite bishopric (Asseman. *de Monophysitis*, 88; *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 400.)
[F. D.]

EBEREGISILUS (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Mart.* cap. 62. Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. col. 761), bishop of Cologne. [EBREGESILUS.] [C. H.]

EBERGISUS. [EBREGISUS.]

EBERHARD (1), a wealthy and powerful count in Alsace, the son of duke Adalbert. He granted land for a monastery to St. Pirminius, then an exile in those parts, and thus was founded the monastery of Morbacum, Murbach, or Münsterthal, on the river Rotbach among the eastern slopes of the Vosges mountains. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 783; xv. 533). In 728 a charter of confirmation and privileges was granted to it by Wedegern, bishop of Strasburg, in which diocese it then was, though it was afterwards included in that of Basel. In this document (which is printed among various ecclesiastical monuments in Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1281) the name is written Eborhardus, and the signature "Ebrobardus Comis." [C. H.]

EBERHARD (2), bishop. [ERARD.]

EBERULFUS, chamberlain and alleged murderer of Chilperic I. The crime was committed in A.D. 584, and the same year Guntram, Chilperic's brother, and king of Burgundy, announced his intention of investigating the matter. Fredegund, the widow, denounced Eberulfus, who, she said, had afterwards stolen part of his treasure and fled to Tours. Guntram thereupon swore before his nobles to take vengeance upon Eberulfus and his posterity to the ninth generation, that the sight of their punishment might arrest for ever this impious custom of killing kings. Eberulfus took refuge in the sanctuary of St. Martin at Tours. Whether he was guilty of this particular crime remains doubtful. According to Gregory of Tours his denunciation was due to the fact that he had offended Fredegund by refusing to remain with her after Chilperic's death. The author of the *Gesta Regum Francorum* imputes the crime to Fredegund herself, alarmed at the prospect of detection in her adultery with Landericus (c. 35, Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 1453–4), and in this is followed by Aimoin (iii. 57; Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 730, 731). But whether implicated in the murder or not, Eberulfus was one of the most lawless and desperate men of his time. Though a refugee in the sanctuary, and scarcely daring to quit the actual tomb, he put no check upon his violent nature. He blasphemed the saint, and committed murders at his very feet, and the shrine was polluted with his orgies and extravagances. A priest who hesitated to give him more wine, when he was already drunk, barely escaped with his life; and Gregory of Tours himself, to whose championship of the rights of the sanctuary he might at any moment have to look for his life, he outraged and threatened continually declaring that he should die contented if he could first slay him and every other of St. Martin's servants. Guntram sent one Claudius with instructions to draw him, if possible, out of the precinct, and then kill or take him prisoner, but to be careful not to violate the sanctuary. Arrived at Tours, he succeeded in ingratiating himself with Eberulfus by protestations of friendship and assurances of his good offices with the king. In the absence of Gregory, the two made a feast in the church, in the course of which Eberulfus was induced to send away his servants for more wine. Claudius and his attendants then fell upon him, and killed him within the sanctuary. They themselves lost their lives either in the combat, or from the indignation of the people, who resented the insult done to the saint. Such of his goods as had not been already pillaged when he first fell into disgrace were distributed by Guntram among his friends. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vii. 21, 22, 29.) [S. A. B.]

EBIONISM and **EBIONITES.** The name Ebionite first occurs in Irenaeus (circa A.D. 180–190; *Adv. Haer.* i. c. 22; [al. c. 26;] pp. 212–13, ed. Harvey). It was repeated, probably from him, by Hippolytus (circ. A.D. 225–235; *Refutat. Omn. Haeres.* vii. c. 34 [al. c. 22], ii. p. 406, ed. Duncker) and Origen († A.D. 254; *Contr. Celsum*, ii. c. 1) who set the example of introducing explanations of the name not always consistent with each other (cp. loc. cit. and *De Principiis*, iv. c. 1, § 22, Greek). In this, others imitated him, but offered different explanations (*e.g.* Eusebius [† c. A.D. 340], *Eccl. Hist.* iii. c. 27), while other writers fabricated a leader, "Ebion," after whom the sect was called [cp. Oehler, *Corpus Haeres.* i. for the opinions of Philastrius (p. 42), Pseudo-Tertullian (p. 275), Pseudo-Jerome (p. 290), Isidore of Spain (p. 306), &c.].

These derivations and explanations owe their origin to the tendency to carry back the character of Ebionism, or the date of its founder, as far as possible. Thus the "Ebionite" was (according to his own statement) the "poor" man (אביון), he who voluntarily strove to practise the Master's precept (Matt. x. 9) in Apostolic times (Acts iv. 34–7; cp. Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx. c. 17); and the correctness of the etymology is not shaken by the Patristic scorn which derived the name from "poverty of intellect," or from "low and mean opinions of Christ" (see Eusebius, l. c.; Origen, *de Princ.* l. c.; Ignatius, *Epist. ad Philadelph.* c. 6, longer recension). "Ebion," as a name first personified by Tertullian, was said to have been a pupil of Cerinthus, and the Gospel of St. John to have been as much directed against the former as the latter. St. Paul and St. Luke were asserted to have spoken and written against Ebionites. The "Apostolical Constitutions" (vi. c. 6) traced them back to Apostolic times; Theodoret (*Haer. fab.* ii. c. 2) assigned them to the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96). The existence of an "Ebion" is, however, now surrendered. Ebionism, like Gnosticism, had no special founder; but the belief that its birth-place was the Holy Land, and its existence contemporary with the beginning of the Christian Church, is, with certain reservations, probably correct. A tendency to Ebionism existed from the first; gradually it assumed shape, and as gradually it developed itself in the two special forms presently to be noticed.

The records of the Church of Jerusalem contained in the Acts of the Apostles prove how

strong was the zeal for the Law of Moses among the Jewish converts to Christianity. Gradually the leading Apostles there, SS. Peter, James, and John, whose powers of restraint and conciliation cannot be over-estimated, passed away, or were withdrawn. The fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) took place, and the Church was formed at Pella under Symeon. The Jewish Christians were from the time of this visitation of God brought face to face with two leading facts. The first was that the temple being obliterated, and the observance of the Law and its ordinances being possible to them only in part, there was valid reason for doubting the necessity of retaining the rest. The second was that if they adopted this view they must henceforth expect to find in the Jews their most uncompromising enemies. As Christians they had expected a judgment predicted by Christ, and, following His advice, had fled from the city. Both prediction and act were resented by the Jews. What the Jews were prepared to do, and actually did, is shewn not only by the contemptuous term (Minim) they applied to the Jewish Christians (Grätz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, iv. p. 89, &c.), but by the share they took in the death of the aged bishop Symeon (A.D. 106). The breach was further widened by the refusal of the Jewish Christians to take part in the national struggles—notably that of Bar-Cochba (A.D. 132)—against the Romans, by the tortures they had to suffer for their refusal, and lastly, by the erection of Aelia Capitolina (A.D. 138) on the ruins of Jerusalem. The Jews were forbidden to enter it, while the Jewish and Gentile Christians who crowded there read in Hadrian's imperial decree the abolition of the most distinctively Jewish rites, and they practically signified their assent to it by electing as their bishop a Gentile and uncircumcised man—Mark (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 6).

Changes hitherto working gradually were now rapidly developed. Jewish Christians, with predilections for Gentile Christianity and its comparative freedom, found the way made clear to them for a more open preference of the freer forms; others in attempting to be both Jews and Christians ended in being neither, and exposed themselves to the contempt of Rabbin as well as Christian (Grätz, p. 433); others lastly receded farther from Christianity, and approximated more and more closely to pure Judaism. The Ebionites are to be ranked among the last. By the time of Trajan (A.D. 96–117) political events had given them a definiteness of organization to which they had been previously strangers, and their position as a sect opposed to Gentile Christianity became fixed by the acts which culminated in the erection of Aelia Capitolina.

The Ebionites were known by other names, such as "Homuncionites" (Gk. "Anthropians" or "Anthropolatrians") from their Christological views, "Peratici" from their settlement at Peraea, and "Symmachians" from the one able literary man among them whose name has come down to posterity [SYMMACHUS]. Acquaintance with Hebrew was then confined to a few, and his Greek version of the Old Testament was produced for the benefit of those who declined the LXX adopted by the orthodox Christians, or the Greek versions of Aquila and Theodotion accepted by the Jews. Many, if not most, of the improvements made by the Vulgate on the LXX are due to the Ebionite version. (Field, *Origenis Hexaplarum quae supersunt.* Preface.)

Ebionism presents itself under two principal types, an earlier and a later, the former usually designated Ebionism proper or Pharisaic Ebionism [see NAZARENES], the latter, Essene or Gnostic Ebionism. The earlier type is to be traced in the writings of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, &c.; the later in those of Epiphanius especially.

(*a*) *Ebionism proper.*—The term expresses conveniently the opinions and practices of the descendants of the Judaizers of the Apostolic age, and is very little removed from Judaism. Judaism was to them not so much a preparation for Christianity, as an institution eternally good in itself, and but slightly modified in Christianity. Whatever merit Christianity possessed was possessed as the continuation and supplement of Judaism. The divinity of the Old Covenant was the only valid guarantee for the truth of the New. Hence the tendency of this class of Ebionites to exalt the Old at the expense of the New, to magnify Moses and the Prophets, and to allow Jesus Christ to be "nothing more than a Solomon or a Jonas" (Tertull. *de Carne Christi*, c. 18). Legal righteousness was to them the highest type of perfection; the earthly Jerusalem, in spite of its destruction, was an object of adoration "as if it were the house of God" (Irenaeus, *l. c.*); its restoration would take place in the millennial kingdom of Messiah, and the Jews would return there as the manifestly chosen people of God.

They divided the life of Jesus Christ into two parts; one preceding, the other following, His Baptism. In common with Cerinthus and Carpocrates, they represented Him to have been "the Son of Joseph and Mary according to the ordinary course of human generation" (Iren. *l. c.*). They denied His birth of a Virgin, translating the original word in Isa. vii. 14 not *παρθένος*, but *νεᾶνις*. He was "a mere man, nothing more than a descendant of David, and not also the Son of God" (Tert. c. 14). But at His Baptism a great change took place. The event is described in the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" current among them, and the description is an altered expansion of the record of St. Matthew (iii. 13, 14). The voice from heaven spake not only the words recorded by the Evangelist, but also the words: "This day have I begotten Thee" (Ps. ii. 7). A great light suddenly filled the place. John the Baptist asked, "Who art Thou, Lord?" and the Voice answered as before. John prostrated himself at the feet of Jesus, "I pray Thee, Lord, baptize me," but Jesus forbad him, saying, "Suffer it to be so," &c. &c. (Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx. 13). The day of Baptism was thus the day of His "anointing by election and then becoming Christ" (cf. Justin Martyr. *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. xlix.), it was the turning-point in the life of Jesus: from that moment He was endued with power necessary to fill His mission as Messiah; but He was still man. The Ebionites knew nothing of either pre-existence or divinity in connexion with Him. They are said to have freed themselves from the common Jewish notion that the Messiah was to be an earthly king; they were not shocked, as were so many of the Jews, at

the humbleness of the birth, the sufferings, and crucifixion of Jesus; but they agreed with them in looking upon the advent of Messiah as future, and in deferring the restitution of all things to the millennium.

In conformity with these opinions upon the relationship between Judaism and Christianity, and upon the person and dignity of Jesus Christ, the Ebionites proper insisted that the Law should be strictly observed not only by themselves but by all. They quoted the words of Jesus (Matt. v. 17), and pointed to His practice (cp. Matt. xxvi. 55; John vii. 14, &c.). It was the natural tendency of this view to diminish the value of *faith* in Christ and a corresponding life. Of far greater moment to them, and as necessary to salvation, was the due observance of circumcision, the sabbath, the distinction between clean and unclean food, the sacrificial offerings—probably with the later Pharisaic additions (cp. Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* vi. c. 17)—and the refusal of fellowship or hospitality to the Gentiles (cp. Justin, c. xlvii.). They even quoted the words of Jesus (Matt. x. 24, 25) as their warrant, and affirmed their motto to be: "We also would be imitators of Christ" (Origen, quoted by Schliemann). Jesus, they asserted, "was justified by fulfilling the Law. He was the Christ of God, since not one of the rest of mankind had observed the Law completely. Had any one else fulfilled the commandments of the Law, he would have been the Christ." Hence, they concluded, "when Ebionites in like manner fulfil the Law, they are able to become Christs." (Hippolytus, *l. c.*)

As might be expected, the Apostle Paul was especially hateful to them. They repudiated his official character, they reviled him personally. In language which recalls that of the Judaizers alluded to in the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians, they represented him as a teacher directly opposed to St. Peter, St. James, and St. John; they repudiated his Apostolical authority because (as they affirmed) he had not been "called of Jesus Christ Himself," nor trained with the other Apostles in the Church of Jerusalem. They twisted into a defamatory application to himself his employment of the term "deceiver" (2 Cor. vi. 8); he was himself one of the "many which corrupted the word of God" (2 Cor. ii. 17); he proclaimed "deliverance from the Law" only "to please men" (Gal. i. 10) and "commend himself" (2 Cor. iii. 1). His personal character was held up to reproach as that of one who "walked according to the flesh" (2 Cor. x. 2), puffed up with pride, marked by levity of purpose (2 Cor. iii. 1), and even by dishonesty (2 Cor. vii. 2). They rejected his Epistles—not on the ground of authenticity—but as the work of an "apostate from the Law." (Euseb. iii. c. 27; Iren. *l. c.*) They went so far as to assert that by birth he was not a Jew but a Gentile (wresting his words in Acts xxi. 39), who had become a proselyte in the hope of marrying the High-Priest's daughter, but that having failed in this he had severed himself from the Jews and had occupied himself in writing against circumcision and the observance of the sabbath. (Epiphanius, *adv. Haer.* I. xxx. 16, 25.)

In common with the Nazarenes and the Gnostic-Ebionites, the Pharisaic Ebionites used a recension of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which they termed the "gospel according to the Hebrews." It was a Chaldee version written in Hebrew letters, and was afterwards translated by Jerome into Greek and Latin, who declared it to be identical with the "gospel of the Twelve Apostles," and the "gospel of the Nazarenes" (see Herzog, *Real-Encyklopädie*, "Apokryphen d. N. Test." p. 520, ed. 1877). In the Ebionite "gospel" the section corresponding to the first two chapters of St. Matthew was omitted, the supernatural character of the narrative being contradictory to their views about the person of Jesus Christ. It is difficult to say with certainty what other books of the New Testament were known to them; but there is reason to believe that they (as also the Gnostic-Ebionites) were familiar with the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke. The existence among them of the "Protevangelium Jacobi" and the Περιοδοι του Πέτρου indicates their respect for those Apostles.

(*b*) *Essene or Gnostic Ebionism.*—This, as the name indicates, was a type of Ebionism affected by external influences. The characteristic features of the ascetic Essenes were reproduced in its practices, and the traces of influences more directly mystical and oriental were evident in its doctrines. The fact that Ebionism generally passed through different phases at different times renders it, however, difficult to define with precision the line which separates Gnostic and Pharisaic Ebionism. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* xxx.) is the chief authority on this class of Ebionites. He met them in Cyprus, and by personal inquiry obtained information upon points in which the older Heresiologists had failed him (cp. R. A. Lipsius, *Zur Quellen-Kritik d. Epiphanios*, pp. 138, 143, 150, &c.).

Their principal tenets were as follows:—Christianity they identified with primitive religion or genuine Mosaism, and as distinguished from what they termed accretions to Mosaism, or the post-Mosaic developments described in the later books of the Old Testament. To carry out this distinction they fabricated two classes of "prophets," προφῆται ἀληθείας, and προφῆται συνέσεως οὐκ ἀληθείας. In the former class they placed Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Aaron, Moses, and Jesus; in the latter David, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, &c. In the same spirit they accepted the Pentateuch alone among the Old Testament writings, and emasculated it; rejecting whatever reflected questionably upon their favourites. They held that there were two antagonistic powers appointed by God, Christ and devil; to the former was allotted the world to come, to the latter the present world. The conception of Christ was variously entertained. Some affirmed that He was created (not born) of the Father, a Spirit, and higher than the angels; that He had the power of coming to this earth when He would, and in various modes of manifestation; that He had been incarnate in Adam, and had appeared to the patriarchs in bodily shape; others identified Adam and Christ. In these last days He had come in the person of Jesus. Jesus was therefore to them a successor of Moses, and not of higher authority. They quoted from their gospel a saying which was attributed to Him, "I am He concerning Whom Moses prophesied, saying, A prophet shall the Lord God raise unto you like unto me,'" &c. (*Clem. Hom.* iii. c. 53), and this

was enough to identify His teaching with that of genuine Mosaism. But inasmuch as they declined to fix the precise moment of the union of the Christ with the man Jesus—a union assigned by the Pharisaic Ebionites to the hour of Baptism—they admitted His miraculous origin.

In pursuance of their conception that the devil was the "prince of this world" they were strict ascetics. They abjured flesh-meat, repudiating passages (*e. g.* Gen. xviii. 8) which contradicted their view; they refused to taste wine, and communicated with unleavened bread and water. Water was to them "in the place of a god;" ablutions and lustrations were imperative and frequent. In one point they rejected asceticism for truer rules; they held the married life in honour, and recommended early marriages. To the observance of the Jewish sabbath they added also the observance of the Christian Lord's day. Circumcision was sacred to them from the practice of the patriarchs and of Jesus Christ; and they declined all fellowship with the uncircumcised. On the other hand they repudiated the sacrifices of the altar and the reverence of the Jew for the Temple. In common with the Ebionites proper, they detested St. Paul, rejected his Epistles, and circulated stories discreditable to him. The other Apostles were known to them by their writings, to which they assigned inferiority in comparison with their own gospel.

It may perhaps be impossible to state precisely when Gnostic Ebionism replaced Ebionism proper, just as it is impossible to state definitely when Essenism became affected by Gnosticism; but the conjecture appears not improbable that as the siege of Jerusalem under Titus gave an impetus to Ebionism proper, so the ruin under Hadrian developed Gnostic Ebionism. Not that Gnosticism began then to affect it for the first time, but that Gnostic ideas hitherto held in solution were precipitated and found a congenial home among men who through contact with oriental systems in Syria were already predisposed to accept them. The Essene Ebionite in accepting Gnosticised Christianity brought to it the customs to which he was most attached. (Cp. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, Lect. viii.)

This is further evident from the book of Elchasai and the Clementine Literature (see these names). These works are the production of the Essene Ebionites; and where they speak of Jesus Christ and His Apostles, His sayings and their lives, they do so, not in the words of the canonical Gospels and Epistles, but with additions or omissions, with that colouring which transforms (*e.g.*) St. Peter, St. Matthew, and St. James the Just into Essenes, and yet with that Gnostic tendency of thought which makes them lineal descendants of the Judaizers who imperilled the church at Colossae. (See Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 73, &c., and *Essenism and Christianity*, p. 397, &c.)

The Essene or Gnostic-Ebionites differed from the Pharisaic Ebionites in another respect. By missionary zeal, as well as by literary activity, they sought to obtain converts to their views. In the earlier part of the 3rd century the Ebionite Alcibiades of Apamea (Syria) repaired to Rome. He brought with him the book of Elchasai, and "preached unto men a new remission of sins (proclaimed) in the third year of Trajan's reign" (A.D. 101). Hippolytus, who gives an account of the matter (*Haer.* ix. c. viii. &c. ed. Clark), exposed the decided antinomianism which penetrated the teaching of the mythical teacher and of the pupil, but it is evident that many "became victims of the delusion." The immorality which the book—in imitation of the teaching of Callistus—indirectly encouraged probably attracted some, but could not fail to discredit the dogmatic views of the missionary.

Ebionite Christianity did not, however, last very long, neither did it exercise much influence west of Syria while it lasted. In Palestine the discomfiture accorded to "a certain one" (probably Alcibiades) who came to Caesarea about A.D. 247 maintaining the "ungodly and wicked error of the Elchasaites" (Euseb. vi. c. 38; cp. Redepenning, *Origines*, ii. p. 72) was in keeping with the reception accorded to less extreme Ebionite views from the time of the reconstitution of the mother Church at Aelia Capitolina. Judaism of every kind gradually passed out of favour. The attitude of the bishops of Palestine in the Paschal controversy of the 2nd century was the attitude of men who wished to stand clear of any sympathy with Jewish customs; the language of Justin Martyr and of Hegesippus was the language of the representatives of the Samaritan and the Hebrew Christianity of the day, not of the Ebionite. And outside of Palestine Ebionism had even less chance of survival. From the very first, the instructions and memories of St. Paul and St. John excluded it from Asia Minor; in Antioch the names of Ignatius, Theophilus, and Serapion were vouchers for Catholic doctrine and practice; and the daughter-Churches of Gaul and Alexandria naturally preferred doctrine supplied to them by teachers trained in the school of these Apostles. Even in the Church of Rome, whatever tendency existed in Apostolic times towards Ebionism, the separation—also in Apostolic times—of the Judaizers was the beginning of the end which no after-amalgamation under Clement could retard. The tone of the *Shepherd of Hermas*—a work which emanated from the Roman church during the first half of the 2nd century (see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 99, n. 3)—however different from the tone of Clement and St. Paul is not Ebionite; the slightest comparison with another so-called Roman and certainly later Ebionite work—the Clementine writings—is sufficient to prove it. The end of Ebionism had actually come—so far as the Roman Church was concerned—when in the 2nd century Jewish practices—notably as regards the observance of Easter—were unhesitatingly rejected. The creed of the Christian in Rome was the creed which he held from Irenaeus in Gaul and Polycarp in Asia Minor, and not from the Ebionite. When the above-named Alcibiades appeared in Rome (A.D. 219), Hippolytus denounced his teaching (that of Elchasai) as that of "a wolf risen up against many wandering sheep, whom Callistus had scattered abroad:" it came upon him as a novelty; it had "risen up," he says, "in our own day." (*Haer.* ix. cc. 8, 12.) The bishop's language is a proof of the oblivion which had certainly befallen any previous propagation of Ebionism in Rome.

For a couple of hundred years more, Ebionism—especially of the Essene form—lingered on. A few Ebionites were left at the time of Theodoret, about the middle of the 5th century: the rest had either returned to strict Judaism and to the

utter rejection of Christianity, or to a purer Christianity than that which Ebionism favoured.

The Patristic notices on the Ebionites will be found in the works referred to (cp. on their value, R. A. Lipsius, *Die Quellen d. ältesten Ketzergeschichte*, 1875). The literature on the subject is further collected by (int. al.) Schliemann, *Die Clementinen*, 1844; Ritschl, *Die Entstehung d. alt-katholischen Kirche*, 1857; Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*; Dissertation III. *St. Paul and the Three*, 1876. [J. M. F.]

EBODICHUS. [EDOBICUS.]

EBORAS, a Persian presbyter, martyred with Miles a bishop, and Seboa a deacon, during the reign of Sapor II. (A.D. 346). He was commemorated Nov. 13. (*Menol.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

EBORICH, king of the Suevi in Spain. [EBURIC.]

EBORINUS (EBROINUS), sixteenth bishop of Toul, succeeding Theodefridus and followed by St. Leudinus. He is one of the bishops addressed in the charter of Numerianus archbishop of Treves in favour of Deodatus bishop of Nevers, the founder and abbat of the monastery of Vallis-Galilea in the Vosges (circ. A.D. 664). (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxviii. 1191; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 963, instr. 291.) [S. A. B.]

EBORIUS (1). The name of "Eborius episcopus de civitate Eboracensi provincia Britannia" is attached, with those of Restitutus and Adelfius, to the acts of the council of Arles in 314. [ADELPHIUS.] He is possibly the person called Hibernius in the synodal letter to pope Sylvester (Mansi, ii. 469). The name may represent the British Ivor, Ebur, or Ibar. (See Haddan and Stubbs, i. 7; Mansi, *Conc.* ii. 466, 467; Labbe, *Conc.* i. 1430.) [EBURIUS.] [S.]

EBORIUS (2), king of the Suevi in Spain. [EBURIC.]

EBRAISILUS (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 694), bishop of Meaux. [EBRIGISILUS.] [C. H.]

EBREGESILUS (EBREGISILUS, EBEREGISILUS), ninth bishop of Cologne, succeeding Charentinus, and followed by Remedius, or, according to some, eighth, preceding Charentinus. In Gregory of Tours the name appears in a double connexion, as borne by an ambassador of queen Brunechild, and a bishop of Cologne. Although there is no statement to that effect, it is by no means improbable that the two are identical. In the former capacity he was sent by the queen to Spain with a golden shield and two costly bowls as presents for the king, but Guntram, at Paris, being informed that gifts were on the way to the sons of Gundobald, his enemies, and suspecting that the embassy was intended to excite hostilities against himself, intercepted the ambassador, and condemned him to death. He escaped, however, by affirming that the presents were for king Richaredus, the betrothed of Chlodosuinda, sister of Childebert II.

As bishop, he was sent by king Childebert in A.D. 590 to assist in quelling the scandalous disturbances which had arisen in the monastery of the Holy Cross in Poitou, and he took part in the council of Poitiers, which was necessitated by them. [CHRODIELDIS.]

Two miracles are related by Gregory in connexion with him. Being seized with pains in the brain, he was healed by the application to his head of some of the dust of those fifty of the Thebaean Legion, who were said to have been buried at Cologne. He was also famous as the discoverer at Oppidum Bertunense of the body of St. Mallosus. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ix 28; x. 15; *De Glor. Mart.* lxii. lxiii.; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 625; Labbe, *Sacros. Conc.* vi. 1317.) [S. A. B.]

EBREGISILUS (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi 694), bishop of Meaux. [EBRIGISILUS.] [C. H.]

EBREGISUS (EBERGISUS, EVERGISUS), ST twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth bishop of Tongres (afterwards Liége), succeeding St. Perpetuus. In the *Gesta* of Herigerus bishop of Liége (ob. A.D. 1009), the following words occur after a notice of St. Perpetuus, "Beatus quoque Ebergisus succedens 24 in Trumonia ejusdem episcopatus villa fuit tumulatus" (*Gesta*, xxviii. Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 1033). In a short Chronicle of Liége (see *Gall. Christ.* iii. 820) it is stated that he was bishop in A.D. 618. According to the compilers of the *Gallia Christiana*, his day of commemoration is the 28th of March, as distinguished from that of Evergislus of Cologne, with whom he has been confused, and whose day is the 24th of October (cf. Usuard, *Martyrologium*; Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 884, cxxiv. 616, 617, 618). He is said to have died in A.D. 623, and to have been buried at Dortmund (Trumonia). His successor was Joannes. (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* ann. 609, n. 15, ann. 623, n. 6, tom. ii. pp. 609, 723.) [S. A. B.]

EBRELINDUS, bishop of Laon. [ELINANDUS.]

EBREMUNDUS (EVREMOND), saint and abbat. Migne and the Bollandists agree in the account of his life, but place it at quite different periods; the former saying he was born about the middle of the 7th century, and died about A.D. 720; the latter placing his death before A.D. 584. He was born at Bayeux, of a noble family, and passed his youth at court, Thierry III. being then king according to Migne, and Chilperic I. according to the *Acta* and Du Saussay. There he was rich and honoured, and married a wife of noble birth. Reading one day the words of our Lord "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me," he resolved to renounce the world, and with the consent of his wife, who took the veil, retired from court and founded the abbey of Fontenay, in the diocese of Séez. He was afterwards made by the bishop of that diocese abbat of Mont Maire. Many miracles are related of him. His body was buried at his monastery, but was translated to Creil in the 10th century, for fear of the Norman incursions. It was burned by the Huguenots in 1567, with the exception of part of the head, which, being in a separate reliquary, was preserved by the monks.

The common source of the various accounts of the saint seems to be a life of doubtful authority, taken from a breviary of Senlis, and given at length in the *Acta*, which places him in the time of King Chilperic, who was assassinated in A.D. 584, and makes him a contemporary of St. Ebrulphus or Evroult, and of St. Alnobert or Anobert,

bishop of Séez, who attended a council at Rouen in A.D. 689, and died in A.D. 701. The same life says he was buried by Lothaire, bishop of Séez, who is said to have been either next or fourth in succession from Alnobert. Migne seems to have chosen one mode of cutting the knot and the authors of the *Acta* the other. (Migne, *Hagiographia*, 967; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 285. The life in Du Saussay, *Mart. Gallic.* is given verbatim in the *Acta.*)

The abbey of Fontenoy founded by St. Evremond must not be confounded with the better known abbey of the same name in the diocese of Bayeux which was founded in the reign of William the Conqueror. The former abbey was destroyed by the Normans and never restored. Its site was two leagues north of Séez. (*Gallia Christiana*, xi. 413, 712.) [F. D.]

EBRETINGUS, bishop of Laon. [ELINANDUS.]

EBRIGISILUS, ST. (EBREGISILUS, EBRAISILUS), twenty-third bishop of Meaux, the successor of St. Patusius. He is said to have been a monk of Jouarre (Jotrum), near Meaux, and the brother of Aguilberta, the abbess of the nunnery in the same place. His date is quite uncertain, but perhaps may be placed towards the end of the 7th century. He was succeeded by Edoldus. He was buried in the burying-place of the monastery, but in 1627 his remains, together with those of his sister and St. Theodechild, were disinterred in the presence of the queen Maria de Medicis, and placed in the church of Jouarre (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1601; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 694).

[S. A. B.]

EBRINUS (Bed. iv. 1), mayor. [EBROINUS.]

EBROINUS (1) was set up by the Frankish chiefs as mayor of the palace in Neustria and Burgundy about the year 658 (*Gesta Reg. Fr.* 45). Balthildis, mother of Clotaire III., regent during the minority of her son, was in some degree a check upon Ebroin. With her retirement in 664 to the monastery of Chelles, Ebroin's unrestrained tyranny began. He was arbitrary, rapacious, and cruel; he sold justice for money; he trampled under foot both nobility and clergy [pro levi offensâ sanguinem nobilium multorum fundebat innoxium (*Vita Leodegarii*, c. 2, ap. Bouquet, ii. 611)]. In 670, on the death of Clotaire, Ebroin determined to set up Theodoric (or Thierry), Clotaire's brother as king, without calling together the customary Frankish assembly. The chiefs who, uninvited, came to salute the new king were repulsed with insults (*V. Leodeg.* c. 3). A conspiracy was formed. Childeric of Austrasia was set up as king of the whole realm, Theodoric deposed and banished to a monastery; Ebroin was also banished to Luxeuil. The leader in this revolution was Leodegar bishop of Autun. Three years later Leodegar himself shared the same fate at the hands of Wulfoald. Wulfoald's tyranny again brought about the murder of Childeric, and universal anarchy prevailed (magna turbatio patriae, *V. Leod.* c. 7). In Neustria Theodoric was set up as mayor by the Burgundian party under Leodesius, Erchinoald's son, and Leodegar, who had returned from banishment. In Austrasia Dagobert II. was king of one party (Wulfoald's), a supposititious son of Clotaire II. of another. Ebroin escaped from Luxeuil, formed a party of his own, and entered Neustria. Theodoric and Leodesius fled, but the former was taken, and compelled to acknowledge Ebroin as his mayor (*Gesta*, 45). Leodesius was treacherously put to death, Leodegar taken and blinded, and a few years afterwards also put to death. Ebroin then turned against Austrasia, overthrew Wulfoald, caused Dagobert to be murdered, and compelled the Austrasians to acknowledge Theodoric (A.D. 678). Pippin of Héristal, however, the grandson of Pippin the elder, organized resistance in Austrasia. The Austrasian forces were defeated, Martin, Pippin's brother, betrayed and executed. Ebroin was now at the summit of his ambition, being supreme tyrant of the whole Frankish kingdom. Fortunately for that kingdom he was shortly afterwards (681) murdered by the hand of Erminfred, a Frankish chief (*Gesta*, 47).

Ebroin has been treated, especially by Fauriel (*Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, ii. p. 461), as the champion of the crown against the nobles, of the Neustrian semi-Roman monarchical power against the old Frankish and Austrasian free aristocracy. This struggle, which had been proceeding with varying success for a considerable period in the separate Frankish kingdoms, was definitely decided in Neustria and Burgundy by Ebroin against the nobility. The results of victory however went not to the king but to the mayor, and in this respect the career of Ebroin is important as preparing the way for the Carolingian mayors and the Carolingian kings. (Cf. Bonnell, *Anfänge d. Karolingischen Hauses*, p. 117.) His relations towards the nobility give us the key to his relations towards the clergy. It was the strong political position of the bishops as allies and members of the Frankish nobility in withstanding the royal and mayoral power that rendered Ebroin so cruel and truculent towards the church. [Ebroino alias strenuo viro, sed in nece sacerdotum nimis feroce, *Vita S. Praejecti*, c. 8, ap. Mabillon quoted by Fehr, *Staat und Kirche im Fränkischen Reiche bis auf Karl den Grossen*, p. 109, note.] It is useless to attempt to palliate, as Bonnell (p. 118) has done, the conduct of Ebroin by attributing to him on mere conjecture high political motives. Fehr (pp. 109, 110) rightly withstands the attempt which compels its advocate to exaggerate the importance of certain trivial facts in the life of Ebroin, and to throw perhaps undue discredit on our chief authorities, the *Vitae Leodegarii* (Bonnell excurs. vi. pp. 154–6). The judgment of G. Richter (*Annalen d. Deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter*, i. p. 175, note 2), though negative, is probably as near the truth as can be got: "That Ebroin," he says, "had any higher aim than the satisfaction of his ambition is by no means justified by the authorities." Compare also Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, ii. 696, n. 1, and generally Pertz, *Geschichte d. Merovingischen Hausmeier*, pp. 46–51. [T. R. B.]

EBROINUS (2), the 42nd occupant of the see of Bourges, following St. David, and succeeded by St. Agiulfus or Aigulfus. Nothing further is known of him than that he was in possession of the see in 810, as we learn from dimissory or commendatory letters (*literae for-*

matae), addressed by him to Magno archbishop of Sens on behalf of a priest named Dodebert. These letters bear date the 10th year of the empire of Charles the Great, and the 43rd of his reign, and may be found in Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* vol. vii. p. 156. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 20.) [S. A. B.]

EBROINUS (3) (charter of archbishop Numerianus, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 191), bishop of Toul. [EBORINUS.] [C. H.]

EBRUINUS (Fredegar. *Chron. Contin.* cc. 92, 96, 97, 98, in Patr. Lat. lxxi.), mayor. [EBROINUS (1).] [C. H.]

EBRULFUS (1), ST. (EVROUL, EVROULT), founder of the monastery of St. Evroul d'Ouche, at Uticus (Ouche) in the diocese of Lisieux in Neustria. Brought up at the court of Childebert I., and holding high place under his brother and successor Clotaire, he was remarkable for his learning and wealth. Reading the scriptures he was struck with the passages which dwell on the renunciation of the world for Christ, which, in the spirit of his time, he interpreted as commands addressed to himself to embrace the monastic life. Accordingly he distributed his goods among the poor, persuaded his wife to enter a nunnery, and himself became a monk in the diocese of Bayeux. But this did not content him long. His fellows revered his superior sanctity, and he dreaded the pride of heart which might follow. He longed also for a more solitary life. Departing with three faithful friends into the wilderness, he was guided by an angel to take up his abode at a place called Mons-fortis (St. Evroul de Montfort) in the pagus Oximensis (Exmes), A.D. 571. Orderic Vit. *H. E.* lib. vi. c. 6, ed. Migne, P. L. clxxxviii. 470. But here his popularity brought him too many visitors, and after a few months he moved again, and struck into the forest of Ouche, at that time the haunt of robbers and wild beasts. Here he built a little hut of boughs for himself and his companions. It is related that so numerous were the disciples who flocked thither, that he built fifteen monasteries for men and women, though he himself did not desert his hut. This life he led until his death in A.D. 596, only interrupted in A.D. 593 by a plague which attacked the community, and carried off seventy-eight of the brethren, and which was the occasion of two miraculous resuscitations related of him. He is commemorated on the 29th of December, on which day he appears in the *Martyrologium* of Usuard. The fortunes of his monastery for the 400 years succeeding his death are unknown, as all the records were destroyed by Danish pirates, according to Ordericus Vitalis. But we know it was restored A.D. 1051. (Mabillon, *Acta SS. Benedict.* saec. i. p. 354; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* ann. 565, n. xi.; ann. 571, n. vii.; ann. 572, n. ix.; ann. 593, n. xvi. xvii.; ann. 596, n. xvii.; tom. ii. pp. 58, 126, 130, 407, 446. Lipomanus, *de Vitis SS.* tom. vii. p. 335, Dec. 29.) [S. A. B.]

EBRULFUS (2), eighteenth bishop of Noyon and Tournai, following Chrasmarus, and succeeded by Bertundus or St. Acharius. According to Le Cointe he died in A.D. 621, but he is placed earlier than 575 by the compilers of the *Gallia Christiana*. Nothing is known of his life. (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* ann. 621, n. ii. tom. ii. p. 716; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 981.) [S. A. B.]

EBRULFUS (3) (EVROLT, EVROULT), **ST.**, said to have been abbat of the monastery of St. Fuscien-aux-Bois, near Amiens, probably towards the close of the 6th century. A life of him written by an anonymous author not earlier than the 9th century, was first published by Mabillon from a very old MS. (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 366, Paris, 1668–1701), and again from another MS. by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 25 Jul. vi. 194). Historically it is probably worthless. He was born at Beauvais of French parents, in answer to the prayers of his mother, who had been long barren. From earliest childhood he was prompt in obedience and averse to evil. Soon, for the love of Christ, he withdrew himself from his parents, esteeming the carnal affections as enemies of his soul, and passed his youth in fasting and reading the scriptures. After a time he assumed the monastic habit, and built himself a cell at the place which afterwards was called, from its numerous houses of prayer, Oratorium (Oroër). The fame of his sanctity reached the bishop of Beauvais, who summoned him to his presence, and ordained him a deacon. In due course he became a priest, and his eminent piety was evidenced by the performance of many miracles. The monastery built on the spot where St. Fuscianus and St. Victoricus had suffered martyrdom, near Amiens, lost its abbat, and queen Fredegund, who, according to this most improbable narrative, venerated Ebrulfus, persuaded the nobles of her court to confer on him the office (cf. *Gall. Christ.* x. 1302). A vision directed him to accept it, though against his will. In the monastery he shewed himself humbler than the lowest of the brethren. It was vouchsafed to him to find the body of Maxianus or Maximianus (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 461), directed in a vision by St. Lucian, the fellow-sufferer of that martyr. He died July 25, and was buried in the oratorium, in the territory of Beauvais, where he had formerly dwelt, and which was afterwards called by his name. Some years later his tomb was adorned and enriched by a pious and noble matron named Theclana or Teolana, and Theodebert, or Chrodobertus, bishop of Paris (*Gall. Christ.* vii. 25), built a church over it. A nunnery too was established there, which in the time of the first abbess Angadrisma was saved from conflagration by the presence of the saint's body (cf. *Gall. Christ.* ix. 813). When the Northmen devastated France his body was translated to Beauvais and placed in the church of St. Peter (circ. 850). The life is followed in the *Acta SS.* by an account of his miracles (p. 196) by another anonymous and still later author. Though his death is assigned to July 25, and is marked under that date in the martyrologies (*e.g.* Usuard auct. Reg. Suec. in Migne, cxxiv. 297), the church of Beauvais commemorates him on the 26th. There has been some discussion as to his date. Mabillon and the Bollandists (obs. praev. ut supra, p. 192) follow the life, which plainly speaks of the reign of Chilperic I. towards the close of the 6th century. Le Cointe would place him a century later, but this view is generally dissented from. (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, vi. 88.) [S. A. B.]

EBULUS (1) (EVOLIUS, EMILIUS), third bishop of Limoges, placed by the Sammarthani next to St. Aurelianus, whose death they date A.D. 89. He fled through fear of persecution to Evahonium (Évaux) in Bria, where he remained in concealment till his death. Jordanus, a bishop of Limoges in the 11th century, mentions him by the name of Ebulus. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 500; Jordanus, *Epist. ad Bened. viii. pap.* in Patr. Lat. cxli. 1159 a; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 564.) [R. T. S.]

EBULUS (2) (EUBULUS), sixth bishop of Avignon, succeeding one unknown, A.D. 202, according to an ancient manuscript quoted in the *Gallia Christiana* (i. 852), where it is stated that he was ordained and sent to Vienne from Rome by pope Victor at the close of his pontificate, and that having sat sixteen years and above eight months (the last three years being spent in the desert), he died in his church before the altar of St. Mary in the act of blessing his clergy and people, on 12th June (the year being by computation 219), having previously consecrated the presbyter Joannes as his successor. The Sammarthani in this place conjecture that he was the Eubolus who carried the letter of Victor (about the fifth year of his pontificate (cir. 194) to Desiderius bishop of Vienne, Victor calling him "de collegio nostro," and begging for him a favourable reception as one ready to live and die with Desiderius. This letter of Victor occurs in Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 198, xvii.), and Baronius, on the strength of it recognises Desiderius as bishop of Vienne. But the later compilers of the *Gall. Chr.* (xvi. 9 B) reject this Desiderius, and Jaffé prints Victor's letter as spurious (*Reg. Pont.* 922). The doubt cast upon Desiderius of course makes the existence of Eubolus questionable [C. H.]

EBULUS (3), EBULO, 29th bishop of Limoges. [EBBO (2).]

EBUR, or, according to another reading, YWOR, a bishop who is said in the *Annales Cambriae* to have died A.D. 501, "anno cccl. aetatis suae." (*Annal. Camb.* ann. lvii. *i.e.* A.D. 501, in *M. H. B.* 830 b.) In the *Annals of Tigernach*, where he is named Ibar (O'Conor, *Scriptt.* ii. 127), he is said to have died 9 kal. Mai. A.D. 503, aged 303 years. [EBORIUS (1).] [C. H.]

EBURIC (EBORICH, EBORIUS, and in Gregory of Tours EURICUS), king of the Suevi in Spain. He succeeded his father Miro A.D. 583, and immediately after his accession acknowledged the supremacy of the Goths under Leovigild. "He asked for Leovigild's friendship, rendered him the oath of allegiance as his father had done, and received from him the kingdom of Gallicia," says Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* vi. 43), an act which may possibly have given umbrage to the national party among the Suevi, and caused the rising of Eburic's brother-in-law, Audika, in 584. Eburic was deposed and forced into a monastery. (Isid. *Hist. Suev.* apud *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 506, and Baron. *Annal.* ann. 584, ix.) Audika then married Miro's widow, Sisigunthis, Eburic's step-mother, his first wife being apparently dead. His success, however, was short-lived. In the following year, 485, Leovigild took him prisoner and condemned him to the same fate that he had previously forced upon Eburic, says Isidore (l. c.). Leovigild, however, took no steps to reinstate Eburic, of whom we hear nothing further, and the Suevi were incorporated in the Gothic state (Joannes Biclarensis, ann. 585, apud *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 346). Eburic therefore was the last of the native Suevian kings. From 584 onwards the Gothic kings are often found bearing the title of Rex Suevorum. (Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, Vte. Abth. 571.) [M. A. W.]

EBURIUS (second council of Arles, Isidor. Merc. *Collect. Decretal.* in Patr. Lat. cxxx. col. 379, reads and punctuates thus: . . . "Leontius diaconus ex provincia Bitania, Eburius episcopus ex civitate Culnia, Adelsius ex civitate Romanorum." . . . In the *Concilia* of James Merlin, Cologne, 1530, ff. xc. . . . "Leontius diaconus, ex provincia Bitania, Eburius episcopus, ex civitate Culnia Adelsius, ex civitate Romanorum, Liberius episcopus;" Pet. Crabbe, second council of Arles, in *Concilia Omnia*, i. 293, col. i. ed. 1551: "ex provincia Byzacena, civitate Tubernicensi, Eburius episcopus"), bishop of York. [EBORIUS.] [C. H.]

EBWALT (Bonif. Mogunt. *Epp.* ep. 29, ed. Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix.), king of East Anglia. [ELFWALD.] [C. H.]

ECBERCHTUS (*Mon. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, p. 249), **ECBERTH** (*Monum. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, p. 178), **ECBRUTH** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1741, *M. H. B.* 785), archbishop of York. [EGBERT (6).] [C. H.]

ECBERCTUS (Bed. *de Sex Aetat.* in *M. H. B.* 100 d), **ECBERT** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1659, in *M. H. B.* 784), **ECBRIHT** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1725, in *M. H. B.* 785), presbyter. [EGBERT (5).] [C. H.]

ECBERITH EATINC (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1755, in *M. H. B.* 785), **ECBRITH EATINC** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1751, in *M. H. B.* 785), king of Northumbria, son of Eata. [EADBERT (4).] [C. H.]

ECBERT (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 2215, in *M. H. B.* 791), **ECBRITH** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 2235, 2249, 2256, 2257, 2268, 2278, 2295, 2345, 2353, 2356, 2361, 2368, 2375, 2386, 2529, in *M. H. B.* 791–794), king of Wessex. [EGBERT (4).] [C. H.]

ECBRICTH (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1389, in *M. H. B.* 781), **ECBRITH** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1407, in *M. H. B.* 781), king of Kent. [EGBERT (1).] [C. H.]

ECBRITH (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 2181, in *M. H. B.* 790), king of Kent. [EADBERT PRAEN.] [C. H.]

ECCA (1), Mac h-Uca, of Lethcain, is in the *Mart. Tallaght* at Jan. 20, and attempts have been made to represent him as the same person with St. Fechin, of Fore, or with Aenna Ua Laighsigh, both commemorated on this day, or again with Acca, bishop of Hexham, but his name, family, and place are alike unknown (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 379–385). [J. G.]

ECCA (2) (Flor. Wig. *Nom. Praesul. Mageset.* in *M. H. B.* 621), bishop of Hereford. [HECCA.] [C. H.]

ECCA (3) (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 727 e, marg. EATA), king of Northumbria, father of Edbrict. [EATA (2).] [C. H.]

ECCA (4) (Surius, *de Prob. Hist. SS.* tom. iv. Oct. 205), bishop of Elmham. [ETTI.] [C. H.]

ECCLESIA, one of the eight primary aeons in the system of VALENTINUS (Iren. I. i. p. 7, v. p. 17; Hippol. *Ref.* vi. 30, p. 187; Epiph. *Haer.* 31, pp. 165, 169). This higher Ecclesia was held to be the archetype of the lower Ecclesia constituted by the spiritual seed on earth (Iren. I. v. 6, p. 28). In a Gnostic system described by Irenaeus (I. xxx. p. 109) we have also a heavenly church, not, however, as a separate aeon, but as constituted by the harmony of the first existing beings. According to Hippolytus (v. 6, p. 95), the NAASSENES counted three Ecclesiae.

It is especially in the case of the church that we find in Christian speculation prior to Valentinus traces of the conception, which lies at the root of the whole doctrine of aeons, that earthly things have their archetypes in pre-existent heavenly things. Hermas (*Vis.* ii. 4) speaks of the church as created before all things and of the world as formed for her sake; and in the newly discovered portion of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians (c. 14) the writer speaks of the spiritual church as created before the sun and moon, as pre-existent like Christ Himself, and like Him manifested in the last days for men's salvation; and he even uses language which, if it were not sufficiently accounted for by what is said in the Epistle to the Ephesians as to the union between Christ and His church, might be supposed to have affinity with the Valentinian doctrine of the relation between Anthropos and Ecclesia. In the notes to the passages just cited, in Lightfoot's and in Gebhardt and Harnack's editions will be found references to other early writers who have used similar language concerning the church. It need not be supposed that this language was directly suggested to those who first used it by the Platonic philosophy, for there are passages in the New Testament which sufficiently account for it; and the so-called Clement claims to have derived his doctrine from "the books and the apostles." The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews quotes the direction to Moses to make the tabernacle after the pattern shewn him on the Mount (a passage cited in Acts vii. 44), and his argument dwells on the inference that the various parts of the Jewish service were but copies of better heavenly archetypes. This same heavenly tabernacle appears as part of the imagery of the book of the Revelation (xi. 19, xv. 5). In the same book the church appears as the Lamb's wife, the new Jerusalem descending from heaven; and St. Paul's teaching (Eph. i. 3) might be thrown into the form that the church existed in God's election before the foundation of the world. [G. S.]

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS [HISTORIANS, ECCLESIASTICAL].

ECCLESIASTICI. It would seem from Irenaeus, iii. 15, that this title was first used by Valentinians as a nickname for the members of the church who refused to join their sect. However this may be, it soon became a recognised appellation for members of the church, whether of the church as opposed to the world (Cyril. Hier. *Cateches.* 15. 7, p. 226), or more usually as opposed to heretics. On the uses of the word, see DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES. Further illustrative references will be found in Du Cange, in the notes of Valesius and Heinichen on Eus. *H. E.* ii. 25, and of Massuet and Touttée respectively on the passages cited from Irenaeus and Cyril. But it is to be noted that several of the instances cited by these authorities of the early use of the word to denote members of the clergy are not at all decisive, and that when the word first came to be so used, it was limited to the inferior orders of the clergy. [G. S.]

ECCLESIASTICUS, one of the aeons in the system of VALENTINUS (Iren. I. i. p. 7; Hippol. *Ref.* vi. 30, p. 187; Epiph. *Haer.* 31, pp. 165, 169). [G. S.]

ECCLESIUS (1), bishop of Ravenna, from c. 522 to 532, between Aurelianus and Ursicinus. July 27, according to tradition, was the day of his death. He accompanied pope John I., whom Theodoric compelled to go on a mission to the emperor Justin in 526. (Anonymus Valesianus, *i.e.* the Chronicle of Maximian archbishop of Ravenna, so Waitz and Holder Egger, *Monum. Rerum Italicarum et Langob.* p. 273, ed. Gardthausen, 1875, p. 303.) He had some disputes with his clergy, and the matter was carried to pope Felix IV., who summoned Ecclesius to Rome. The matter was arranged by a decree of the pope (Agnellus, *Liber Pont.* cap. 60), and the customs instituted under Ecclesius were appealed to by later archbishops. (Cf. Agnellus, *Vita Theodori*; Jaffé, *Regest. Pontif.* ann. 526–530, p. 71.)

Ecclesius built the church of Sancta Maria Major in Ravenna. (Rubeus, *Hist. Ravenn.* p. 154.) Under his direction also was begun the celebrated basilica of St. Vitalis in Ravenna, built by Julianus Argentarius, and consecrated in 547 by archbishop Maximianus. Agnellus, cap. 77, records an inscription in the narthex of the church commemorating the work. It is mentioned also on the gravestone of Ecclesius, who was buried in the church of St. Vitalis. (Richter, *Die Mosaiken von Ravenna*, 1878, p. 72.) In the central mosaic of the apse of this church the angel on the left introduces Ecclesius bearing a model of the church. (Kugler's *Handbook of Painting, Ital. School*, Lady Eastlake's 4th ed., pt. i. p. 32; Richter, p. 92, and note.) In the church of St. Apollinaris in Classe, whose mosaics belonging to the end of the 7th century are intended to place the church of Ravenna on a level with that of Rome, Ecclesius appears among the four bishops of Ravenna beneath the apse. (Richter, p. 104; Kugler, p. 60.) For the life of Ecclesius, the chief authority is Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Rav.* ed. Holder Egger, *Monum. Rerum Italicarum, etc.* 1878, pp. 318–322. [A. H. D. A.]

ECCLESIUS (2), bishop of Chiusi (Clusium), A.D. 600–602, the second known bishop of that see standing in the list between St. Florentinus and Marcellinus (Ughel. *Ital. Sacr.* iii. 587, where he is called Eulogius; Gams, *Ser. Ep.*

752). He received two letters from Gregory the Great (lib. x. indict. iii. *Ep.* 34 and *Ep.* 45). In lib. xii. indict. v. *Epist.* 47 Gregory sends to Ecclesius, through Venantius bishop of Perugia, a cloak on account of the severe cold (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 1090, 1102, 1251).
[A. H. D. A.]

ECDICIA, a lady to whom St. Augustine wrote a letter of rebuke, on account of her conduct towards her husband. Having partly persuaded him to adopt the rule of matrimonial continence, she persevered in her resolution when he wished to put an end to the engagement; and not only so, but by assuming widow's weeds and withdrawing from his society she so irritated him as to induce him to give way to the temptation to adultery. Besides this, she had given away to some wayfaring monks nearly all the money of his that she had in her possession, and thus excited in him a general spirit of indignation against persons of this class. Lastly, with the view of training their son for the monastic life, she had stinted him in necessary food. Augustine, therefore, rebukes her sharply, in a letter full of sound sense and clear spiritual discernment. (Aug. *Ep.* 262; see also *Serm.* 354.)
[H. W. P.]

ECDICIUS (1) or **ECDITIUS**, martyr, Mar. 10. [SEBASTE, FORTY MARTYRS OF.]

ECDICIUS (2), a civil officer of high rank under the emperor Julian. He was governor of the great diocese of Egypt in the praefecture of the East, in succession to Hermogenes, and as such enjoyed the dignity of "praefectus augustalis," and resided at Alexandria (*Cod. Theod.* XIV. xxvii. 1). As Georgius, the previous bishop of Alexandria, had been a great collector of books, and left a considerable library, Julian wrote to Ecdicius that he would do him a personal favour if he would search for those literary treasures and have them sent to him. However Ecdicius may have fulfilled these instructions, he would appear to have been somewhat remiss in the discharge of his official duty with regard to paganism. The heathen of Alexandria had long been accustomed to celebrate a great festival at the rising of the Nile, when, among other ceremonies, the praefect of Egypt cast "golden presents" into the river (Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* iv. 2). Constantine had forbidden this festival, but an edict of Julian had re-established it (Euseb. *u. s.*; Sozomen, v. 1). Julian evidently had his doubts about the heartiness of Ecdicius in the revival, and accordingly wrote to him a characteristic letter on the subject, telling him that he had heard of the "rise of the Nile from Theophilus the Stratopedarch, and that "perhaps he would like to know it" (Julian. *Ep.* 50, Heyler, p. 93). Ecdicius was the officer charged by Julian with the expulsion of Athanasius, and appears to have been lukewarm in that proceeding. There is extant another letter from Julian to Ecdicius. In this the emperor declares his great personal interest in "music," and charges the praefect to encourage it in Alexandria "by all means," making especial mention of the pupils of Dioscorus, a "musician" of the city (*Ep.* 56, Heyler, 108; Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 16). Ecdicius would be the "Rector Aegypti," who took a prominent part in Julian's ostentatious display of his paganism at Antioch, and read a composition in praise of Apis on that occasion (Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 14). There are two edicts of Julian addressed to Ecdicius in the Codex Theodosianus, both of which were issued at Antioch, and are dated Dec. 2, A.D. 362 (XV. i. 8, 9, ed. Ritter, v. 317, 318; Prosopogr. *ib.* vi. pt. ii. 50 b).
[T. W. D.]

ECDICIUS (3), a presbyter spoken of by Basil with contempt and abhorrence, intruded into the bishopric of Parnasus in Cappadocia Tertia by Demosthenes vicar of Pontus, in the synod called by him at Ancyra in Galatia in the middle of the winter of A.D. 375, in the place of Hypsinus, whom Demosthenes had caused to be deposed. (Basil. *Epist.* 226, 237, 239, 73, 264, 101, in Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxii.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 415.)
[E. V.]

ECDICIUS (4), murderer of his friend Edobicus in his revolt against Honorius, A.D. 411 (Sozom. *H. E.* ix. 14).
[W. M. S.]

ECDICIUS (5) (according to Gregory of Tours, but HECDICIUS according to Apollinaris Sidonius, and DECIUS according to Jornandes) was the son of Avitus emperor of the West, A.D. 455, 456 (Idat. *Chron.* Olymp. cccviii. cccix.; and brother of Papianilla, wife of Apollinaris Sidonius (Apoll. Sid. Ep. v. 16). He was a native of Arverna (Clermont), where he early acquired some distinction as a man of letters, and became very popular with his fellow-citizens (Apoll. Sid. iii. 3). When Euric, whom Apollinaris calls Evarix, brother and successor of Theodoric king of the Visigoths, invaded the provinces which the Romans still retained in Gaul, inflicting great cruelties on the inhabitants (Apoll. Sidon. vii. 6; Greg. Tur. ii. 25), Ecdicius was Roman "dux," and held Arverna in that capacity. He at first successfully repelled the invader, and with an incredibly small force (Apoll. Sidon. iii. 3; Greg. Tur. ii. 24; Jornandes, xlv.), but afterwards had to yield the city, when peace was made with the Visigoths (Baron. *Annal.* s. a. 474, viii.; Pagi, *Crit. in loc.*). Ecdicius then went to Burgundy (Jorn. *u. s.*; Greg. ii. 24; Apoll. Sid. ii. 1). While he was there, a terrible famine occurred, and he munificently fed large numbers of the starving inhabitants at his personal expense (Greg. Tur. *u. s.*). The emperor Nepos soon sent for him to Rome, and at the same time made him "patricius." Num. xx. of the "Carmina" of Apollinaris Sidonius is addressed "Ad suum Sororium Hecdicium."
[T. W. D.]

ECDICIUS (6), bishop of the island of Tenos in the Aegean, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553, at Constantinople. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 943; Mansi, ix. 394.)
[L. D.]

ECDICIUS (7), bishop of Vienne. [EDICTIUS.]

ECEBOLIUS, an assessor of the governor of Cappadocia, to whom Gregory Nazianzen appealed in behalf of his widowed sister Gorgonia and her children, A.D. 385. (Greg. Naz. Ep. 196; Patr. Gr. xxxvii. col. 319.)
[E. V.]

ECEBOLUS [HECEBOLUS.]

ECFERD (1) (Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 1393, 1479, 1485, 1495, 1499, 1622, in *M. H. B.* 781, 782, 784), **ECFERTH** (*A. S. C.* ann. 670, in *M. H. B.* 318), **ECFRED** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 1453, 1592, in *M. H. B.* 782, 783), king of Northumbria, son of Oswy. [EGFRID (1).] [C. H.]

ECFERD (2) (Gaimar, *Estorie*, 2175, *M. H. B.* 790), **ECFRID** (Kemble, *C. D.* 162, spurious or doubtful charter of Offa king of Mercia, A.D. 793, signature; EGFRID in the body), king of Mercia, son of Offa. [EGFRID (2).] [C. H.]

ECGBALD (1), abbat. [EGBALD.]

ECGBALD (2) (Kemble, *C. D.* 133, 143), bishop. [EGBALD (3).] [C. H.]

ECGBERCT (1) (Bed. iv. 1, 5, 26; v. 24, Recapit. Chron. ann. 673), **ECGBERHT** (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 667, *M. H. B.* 533 a; Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* in *M. H. B.* 648 d), **ECGBERT** (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* init. in *M. H. B.* 645 c; Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 685, 691, 725, in *M. H. B.* 537 a, 538 d, 541 c), **ECGBRIHT** (*A. S. C.* ann. 664, in *M. H. B.* 317), **ECGBRYHT** (*A. S. C.* ann. 694, Eng. transl. in *M. H. B.* 324), **ECGBYRHT** (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A. M. H. B.* 645 c; *A. S. C.* ann. 669, 673, 694 [text]; in *M. H. B.* 318, 324; Flor. Wig. *Geneal. Reg. Cant.* in *M. H. B.* 627), king of Kent. [EGBERT (1).] [C. H.]

ECGBERCT (2) (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 4, 27; iv. 3, 26; v. 9, 10, 22, 23, 24, Recapit. Chron. ann. 716, 729), **ECGBERT** (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 692, in *M. H. B.* 538 d), **ECGBRYHT** (*A. S. C.* ann. 716, 729, in *M. H. B.* 326, 327), presbyter. [EGBERT (5).] [C. H.]

ECGBERCT (3) (Bed. *H. E.* v. 24, Addend. in *M. H. B.* 289 b), **ECGBERHT** (*A. S. C.* ann. 734, 766, in *M. H. B.* 328, 334; Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 766 in *M. H. B.* 663 d), **ECGBERT** (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 744, in *M. H. B.* 543), **ECGBIRTH** (Nenn. *Hist. Brit.* in *M. H. B.* 75 b), **ECGBRYHT** (*A. S. C.* ann. 738, in *M. H. B.* 329), **ECGBYRHT** (Ethelwerd, *Chron.* ii. 15, in *M. H. B.* 507 d), archbishop of York. [EGBERT (6).] [C. H.]

ECGBERHT (1) (*A. S. C.* ann. 803, in *M. H. B.* 341), **ECGBERT** (Flor. Wig. *Nom. Episc. Lindisfarn.* in *M. H. B.* 626 c), bishop of Lindisfarne. [EGBERT (7).] [C. H.]

ECGBERHT (2) (Kemble, *C. D.* 113, 132, 135, 160, A.D. 765, 778, 779, 765–791), king of Kent. [EGBERT (2).] [C. H.]

ECGBERHT (3) (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 802, in *M. H. B.* 672 e, 673 d), **ECGBERTH** (Asser. *de Reb. Gest. Aelfr. M. H. B.* 468 a), **ECGBERT** (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 823, 835, 836, 849, *M. H. B.* 547, 548, 549; id. *Ad Chron. App.* ib. 618 e, 735 e, 737 c, 741 c), **ECGBRYHT** (*A. S. C.* ann. 800, 813, 827, 833, 836, 855, in *M. H. B.* 340, 342, 343, 344, 345, 348), **ECGBYRHT** (Ethelwerd, *Chron.* iii. 2, 3; iv. 3, 4, *M. H. B.* 509 e, 510 a, e, 511 a, 512 a, 514 d, 519 b), king of Wessex. [EGBERT (4).] [C. H.]

ECGBIRHT (Kemble, *C. D.* 162, A.D. 793), king. [EGBERT (2).] [C. H.]

ECGFERTH (1) (*A. S. C.* ann. 678, 684, 685, 697, in *M. H. B.* 321, 322, 325, Ethelwerd, *Chron.* ii. 7, in *M. H. B.* 506 b), **ECGFIRD** (Nenn. *Hist. Brit.* in *M. H. B.* 75 b), **ECGFRID** (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 24, 28; iv. 5, 12, 17, 18, 19, 21, 26, 27, 28; v. 1, 19, 24, Recapit. Chron. ann. 673, 685; *M. H. B.* 198 a, 206 b, 215 c, 222 c, 227 c, 228 c, 229 c, d, 232 d, 241 a, 242 b, 244 a, 249 a, 271 c, 272 a, 285 d, e; Flor. Wig. *Chron.* in *M. H. B.* 537 a; id. *Ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 624 d, 638 b, 639 d, e; Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 794, in *M. H. B.* 668 e), **ECGFRITH** (Flor. Wig. *Geneal. Reg. Northan.* in *M. H. B.* 632), king of Northumbria, son of Oswy. [EGFRID (1).] [C. H.]

ECGFERTH (2) (Kemble, *C. D.* 118; ECGFRITH, 119, 164, 165, 167; *A. S. C.* ann. 785, 794, in *M. H. B.* 336, 338; Ethelwerd, *Chron.* inchoat. in *M. H. B.* 509 d; Flor. Wig. *Geneal. Reg. Merc.* in *M. H. B.* 630; id. *Ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 638 c; Sim. Dun. G. R. A. ann. 796, in *M. H. B.* 669 c), **ECGFRID** (Kemble, *C. D.* 151, 161; Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* in *M. H. B.* 75 a), **ECGFRITH** (Kemble, *C. D.* 152, 155, 157, 166, 170, 171, 173, 174), king of Mercia, son of Offa. [EGFRID (2).] [C. H.]

ECGFRITH, king of Mercia. [ECGFERTH.]

ECGLAF (EGLAF), the sixth bishop of Dunwich. (*M. H. B.* 618.) He must have flourished during the latter half of the 8th century, as his successor Headred was at the council of Brentford in 781. Only his name is known. [S.]

ECGRIC (1) (Flor. Wig. *Gen. Reg. Or. Angl.* in *M. H. B.* 628; id. *Ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 636 b, 637 d), **ECGRICE** (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 18, in *M. H. B.* 190; Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* ii. in *M. H. B.* 716 e, 717 b), king of the East Angles. [EGRIC (1).] [C. H.]

ECGRIC (2), reader (lector), mentioned by Simeon of Durham as dying in 771. (Sim. Dun. *M. H. B.* 664.) He was one of the same class of teachers with Higlac and Colcu, the contemporaries of Alcuin. [S.]

ECGULF (Kemble, *C. D.* 129 a, d, spurious or doubtful charter of Offa king of Mercia, A.D. 765–775), **ECGUULF** (Kemble, *C. D.* 112, spurious or doubtful charters of Offa king of Mercia, A.D. 759–764; Flor. Wig. *Nom. Episc. Lund.* in *M. H. B.* 617), bishop of London. [EGWULF.] [C. H.]

ECGWALD, abbat of Tisbury, in Wiltshire, in 759. He is known only from a charter found in the Shaftesbury chartulary, preserving a notice of a grant made by Coenred, the father of Ina, to an abbat named Bectun, between the years 670 and 676. Catwali, the successor of Bectun, sold the land to Wintra abbat of Tisbury. A dispute arose between Ecgwald the successor of Wintra and Tidbald the successor of Catwali, and the land was in 759 adjudged by king Cynewulf to Ecgwald (Kemble, *C. D.* 104). The interest of the matter lies in the fact that Wintra abbat of Tisbury was an early friend of St. Boniface, and from this charter we get a glimpse at the early monastic life of Wessex. (See Willibald's *Life of Boniface*, cap. 4; *Mon. Moguntina*, p. 439.) It is just possible that this

Ecgwald may be identical with Egbald bishop of Winchester. [EGBALD (3).] [S.]

ECGWIN (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 708, 717, in *M. H. B.* 540 a, 541 a; id. *Nom. Praesul. Wicc. ib.* 622 e; Id. *Ad Chron. App. ib.* 637 b; Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 417), **ECGUUINI** (Kemble, *C. D.* 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 64, 68, all spurious or doubtful Mercian charters between A.D. 714 and 717), bishop. [EGWIN.] [C. H.]

ECHA, anchoret at Crayke. [EATA.]

ECHDACH (EACHAD, *Ann. Tig.*), son of Eudin (Cutin) king of the Saxons, clericated and put in confinement (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 730; *Ann. Tig.* A.D. 731; O'Conor, *Scriptt.* ii. iv.). He has not been identified in the Anglo-Saxon royal families. The name is generally used by the Annals of Ulster for EOCHAIDH. [J. G.]

ECHEA, niece of St. Patrick. [ECHI.]

ECHEN, ECHEUS. [ETCHEN.]

ECHFERD (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1932, in *M. H. B.* 787), king of the Mercians. [EGFRID (2).] [C. H.]

ECHFIRD (Nenn. *Hist. Brit.* in *M. H. B.* 74 b), **ECHGFRID** (Nenn. *Hist. Brit.* in *M. H. B.* 74 b), king of Northumbria, son of Oswy. [EGFRID (1).] [C. H.]

ECHFRITH (ATFRITH), the fifth abbat of Glastonbury in William of Malmesbury's list. He presided, according to the same authority, from 719 to 729, during which time Ina's greatest privileges were granted to the monastery (Will. Malmesb. *Antt. Glast.* ap. Gale, pp. 310, 313, 328). The name does not appear in the more ancient list given in MS. Tiberius B. 5; Memorials of St. Dunstan, p. lxxxii. See EAHFRITH. [S.]

ECHI (ECHEA, ACHEA), niece of St. Patrick, commemorated Aug. 5. In Evinus' *Life of St. Patrick* (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 132, c. 21, 175 n.[58]) mention is made of the three sons of Conis and Darerca, sister of St. Patrick, and also of their two daughters, St. Echea of Killglaiss in the region of Teffia (now Annaly, co. Longford), near the church of Ardagh to the south, and St. Lalloca of Senlios in Connaught. St. Aengus the Culdee (*de Matr. Sanct.* iv. c. 6), O'Clery, and other Irish authorities, refer to the two sisters with more or less distinctness, yet of their history nothing is really known, and attempts at identification are fruitless (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 362). Of St. Echi's nunnery in the parish of Kilglass, co. Longford, there are now no remains; Senlis, Senlios, or Senlos, where her sister's nunnery is said to have been, is unidentified, but was probably in the county of Roscommon, on the west side of Slieve Baun. (Todd, *Book of Hymns*, Fasc. i. 111; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 211, calling Darerca his (*sic*) mother; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 231, col. i. 227, nn. [7], [8].) [J. G.]

ECHLECH, son of Daighre and brother of Cuimmein and Caemhan, is commemorated on Aug. 14 (*Mart. Doneg.*). [J. G.]

ECHTACH (ECTACIA), commemorated Feb. 5. In the *Life of St. Corbmac* (Mar. 27) it is related (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 753, c. 13) that St. Corbmac fixed his monastic seat among the sons and posterity of Amhalghaidh son of Fiachra, that is, in the present barony of Tirawley in the county of Mayo, and that there they, with their relations who were descended from Dathi, another son of Fiachra, venerated the most pious stranger and his successors with great readiness, till in course of time their devotion gradually turned away to a number of saints, and among others to St. Ectacia, virgin. Colgan (*Ib.* 756 n. [30]) says this is the Echtach virgin whose dedication is given (*Mart. Doneg.* and *Tall.*) on Feb. 5. [J. G.]

ECHTBRANN, abbat of Glendaloch, co. Wicklow, died A.D. 795 (*Ann. Inisf.* in O'Conor, *Scriptt.* ii.). [J. G.]

ECHU. [EOCHAIDH.]

ECIA, a lady of "glorious memory," mentioned by pope Gregory the Great, *Ep.* 55 (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 516). [C. H.]

ECIANUS, bishop of Cluainfoda. [ETCHEN.]

ECLECTICS. Eclectic philosophers have existed in many ages of the world: and the early history of Christianity furnishes a remarkable instance of such a system. It was impossible that the early Christians, when once they had received into their body men of culture and learning, should not be struck with that noblest product of ancient morality, the philosophy which took its birth from Socrates, and was thenceforward known by the names of its divergent branches, as Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, etc. Hence arose attempts to reconcile the various forms of philosophy with Christianity, and to present the whole under one view. The author of the Epistle to Diognetus, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Pantaenus, Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, are the chief names connected with this tendency.

It is to be observed that this eclecticism differed in its animating principle from every ordinary eclectic philosophy, in that it aimed in the first instance to reconcile philosophy with religion, and only as a secondary aim and by a sort of consequence to reconcile the different philosophies with each other. The following very remarkable passage from Justin Martyr displays the first and principal aim in its purest form: "We have been taught that Christ is the firstborn of God, and we have before shewn Him as being the word (or reason), in which every race of men has obtained participation; and they who lived by the aid of this word (or reason) are Christians, even though they were esteemed atheists, as among the Greeks Socrates and Heraclitus and those like to them, and among the barbarians Abraham and Ananias" (*τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ προεμνύσαμεν λόγον ὄντα, οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε· καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοί εἰσι, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν· οἷον ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς· ἐν βαρβάροις τε Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἀνανίας.* Apolog. prim. p. 71.) It will be seen from this passage that Justin laid stress (and

with perfect truth) on the spiritual element of the ancient philosophers as the uniting point between them and Christianity; with their system-making he had less concern, though he had been converted from Platonism to Christianity, and when a Christian always esteemed Platonism as far above the other ancient philosophies. Of the secondary aim above-mentioned, the reconciliation of the different ancient philosophies with each other, though always in subordination to Christianity, Clemens Alexandrinus is the typical example. He ridicules the fear which many have of the Greek philosophy, calling it a bugbear (*Strom.* lib. vi. cap. 10, p. 278). "By philosophy," he says, "I mean not the Stoic, nor the Platonic, or the Epicurean, or the Aristotelian; but whatever things have been spoken well by each of these sects, and which teach righteousness along with a pious knowledge, all this eclectic (or selected) matter I call philosophy" (*φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωϊκὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν ἢ τὴν Ἐπικούρειόν τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρέσεων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετ' εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν τὸ ἐκλεκτικὸν φιλοσοφίαν φημί—Strom.* lib. i. cap. 7, p. 124). Clement looked upon the ancient philosophies as definitely leading men on the way to absolute truth. It may be doubted if he went to the heart of the matter as much as Justin had done; and his idea that the ancient philosophers borrowed from the Hebrew Scriptures was baseless and untrue. But of all the ancient Fathers, none presented so much of the type of an eclectic philosopher as Clement.

In Origen, philosophy, in so far as it is apparent, returns again to the Platonic form; and after Origen, attempts to reconcile Christianity with philosophy, though not quite unknown, are very rare among the early Fathers; for the use which Christian theologians afterwards made of the terms of Greek philosophy is quite different from any reconciliation of religion and philosophy. Whether Heraclas, the pupil of Origen and bishop of Alexandria, continued the philosophical tradition is uncertain, though at an early age he had been a pupil of Ammonius Saccas. Synesius of Cyrene at a much later date was well known in philosophy; and Proaeresius, the Neoplatonist, is said to have been a Christian. Doubtless the rise of the Neoplatonic school, with its tendency to present itself as at once the rival and the antagonist of Christianity, kept Christian writers in the main far removed from the domain of philosophy. But the approximation had been very close at the end of the second century A.D.; the founder of the Neoplatonic school, Ammonius Saccas, was himself born a Christian, and it is even not quite certain whether he did not continue such throughout.

None of the writers above mentioned called themselves Eclectics, or would appear to have been called by this name in ancient times.

With reference to this whole subject see especially Vacherot's *Histoire Critique de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. ch. v. pp. 223–302, from which chapter the quotations in the present article have been derived. See also the names of the writers here mentioned in the present Dictionary. [J. R. M.]

ECLECTUS (ELECTUS), chamberlain of the emperor Commodus. On the last day of A.D. 194, that prince, after shedding during a long period the noblest blood of Rome, had determined on the following morning to execute amongst others Marcia his favourite concubine, Eclectus his chamberlain, and Laetus his Praetorian praefect. Learning their intended fate, they determined to prevent it by the death of the tyrant, and the same night they introduced to his chamber a wrestler, who strangled him without a struggle. [W. M. S.]

His name has suggested a suspicion that he was a Christian (see vol. i. p. 611), and though this ground is but slight, the name Eclectus being found in non-Christian inscriptions (Gruter, 403–5, 691–4, 996–5, 1142–6; Boeckh, 4105, 6224, 6579), yet the conjecture receives some confirmation from the fact that he became the husband of MARCIA, who was a Christian, certainly in sympathies, and possibly by profession. His Christianity is not disproved even if it be true that though he personally took no part in the assassination of his master, he was an accessory to it before the fact. He had ascertained that by his remonstrance against a mad and murderous project he had so stirred the tyrant's deadly resentment that it was only by the emperor's death the lives of himself and of those who had joined in his advice could be saved. The question is not how in such circumstances a Christian ought to have acted, but whether it can be pronounced improbable that a professing Christian might have acted as Eclectus is said to have done. His conduct on this occasion may claim the more lenient judgment on account of his fidelity to his new master. When a mob of soldiers came in to take the life of Pertinax, Eclectus was the only one of his attendants who did not desert him, and he died fighting in his defence against overwhelming odds; on which his contemporary, Dion Cassius remarks that he had before that considered Eclectus a good man, but then gave him real admiration. On the other hand, Tertullian (*Apol.* 35) has no suspicion that any of the murderers of Commodus was a Christian. Eclectus was by birth an Egyptian; he had been a freedman of L. Verus, on whose death he was retained by M. Aurelius, passed then into the service of Quadratus, where Marcia was his fellow servant, and on the destruction of Quadratus was taken with her into the service of Commodus. (Dion Cass. lxxii. 4, 19, 22, lxxiii. 1; Capitolin. *Ver.* 9, *Pert.* 4, 11; Herodian. i. 51.) [G. S.]

ECPHYSIUS, martyr. [EPHYSIUS.]

ECTGAILE, son of Bait, abbat of Muicirt, died A.D. 787 (*Ann. Ult.* in O'Conor, *Scriptt.* iv. 113). [J. G.]

ECTHESIS, a declaration on the nature of the Person of the Son issued by the emperor Heraclius, in A.D. 639.

During the greater part of the 7th century the Greek church was disturbed by the Monothelite controversy. The name arose from the party who maintained that the Saviour had one will and not two. For the details of the controversy reference should be made to MONOTHELISM, SERGIUS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, THEODORE, BISHOP OF PHARAN,

Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Maximus, a Monk. It is only necessary to say here that about 616 Sergius had met with words ascribed to his predecessor, Mennas, "one will and one life-giving operation," that after consulting bishop Theodore about them, he adopted them; that correspondence arose, and that the opposite contention was that there were two wills acting in the same direction. At the same time the emperor Heraclius was, from political motives, anxious to reconcile the great Monophysite party to the ruling church of the Greek empire. In his campaigns against the Persians in 622 and the following years he met many Monophysite bishops. It occurred to him that the formula "one divinely human mode of working and willing in Christ" might serve as a ground on which Chalcedonians and Monophysites might both stand. Or, at any rate, these words became the subject of his inquiries and correspondence. Both parties recognised the Greek father Dionysius; and Dionysius attributed to Christ an *ἐνέργεια θεανδρική*. Sergius the patriarch, when consulted by the emperor about the phrase (Harduin. *Concil.* iii. 1338), could not object to it.

But Cyrus of Phasis doubted its propriety. He consulted Sergius. Sergius, in a letter which displays a most servile adherence to patristic language, replied that many fathers had used the expression *one mode of working*, none had spoken of two. If one had done so, it would be necessary to follow him. The scruples of Cyrus were removed. In 630 he found himself patriarch of Alexandria. He brought back thousands of Monophysites by a compromise in nine points, placing the Monophysite tenets beside the language of Chalcedon.

But there was in Alexandria a zealous monk of Palestine named Sophronius. The doctrine of the phrase seemed to him to lead to Monophysitism. He opposed it. The matter was referred, by mutual consent, to Sergius. Sergius, approving rather the "one mode of working and willing," did not wish to make it binding on the church; against two modes of working and willing he was decided. He persuaded Cyrus to abide by the forms in use; and Sophronius promised he would speak neither of one mode nor two, and avoid all dispute. In 634 Sophronius was elevated to the patriarchate of Jerusalem (Hard. iii. 1315).

This gave a new turn to affairs. Sophronius would now have to issue his profession of faith, and might be considered a more independent authority. Sergius invoked the aid of pope Honorius. Honorius wrote twice to Sergius, in concurrence with his views; he wrote also to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem. Although his language may be in some points questionable, he was, with much good sense, opposed to logical determinations on such a subject. Christ must have one will. He approved the *οἰκονομία* or accommodation which had reunited the Monophysites of Alexandria and elsewhere with the Catholic church. But on the one hand, "one mode of working" might lead to Nestorianism; "two modes" might end in Eutychianism. Both expressions should be avoided.

Meantime the customary encyclical of Sophronius had appeared on his assumption of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Without rejecting the phrase *ἐνέργεια θεανδρική*, he insisted on two modes of operation, each belonging to the different natures, acting in the harmony of the one Christ. The Saracens soon afterwards separated Palestine from Christendom. But this revival of the controversy was the origin of the Ecthesis.

The emperor Heraclius, anxious to nip in the bud a danger so menacing to the peace of the empire, issued in A.D. 638 this document, *ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως*. It expressed the opinions of Sergius, and was probably his work. According to the teaching of the Catholic councils it upheld the doctrine of one Christ in two natures, one and the self-same person working that which is divine and that which is human. But the phrase one *ἐνέργεια* was to be avoided, because, though it occurred occasionally in the writings of the fathers, yet it caused uneasiness to some persons, as it seemed to deny the duality of the natures. So, likewise, it was forbidden to speak of two *ἐνέργειαι*, because the expression had been used by no authority, and gave offence to many. It might involve two contradictory wills in Christ, and that was beyond even Nestorius. "The humanity with its own rational soul had never determined itself of its own will in opposition to the *λόγος* united with it, but always so as the divine *λόγος* willed."

The tendency of this document was evidently in favour of the Monothelites. And as far as it could help the peace of the church, it could only be by concealing real differences instead of removing them. It remained in force about ten years.

The Ecthesis received the sanction of councils at Constantinople under Sergius and his successor Pyrrhus, and at Alexandria under Cyrus, no opposition could arise from Antioch and Jerusalem, which were in the hands of the Arabs. Honorius was dead; his successor in the papacy, Severinus, appears to have rejected it, and the following pope, John IV., condemned it with a council. The emperor thereupon disowned it, telling John that Sergius was its author, and that it had been only issued at his urgent request.

Heraclius died in 641. Constantine, Heracleonas, and Constans II. followed in quick succession. John IV. and his successor, Theodore, begged these emperors to suppress the Ecthesis, and at length, in 648, it was superseded by the Typus of Constans. The Monothelite tendency of the Ecthesis had been vigorously opposed by Maximus.

(Harduin. *Concil.* iii. 1338, &c.; Sophronius, Patrol. Graec. lxxxvii. part 3; Honorius, *Epist.* Patrol. Lat. lxxx., numb. 5; Baronius, *A. E.* ann. 639, i.–xvii.; Neander, v. p. 242, &c. (edit. Bohn, 1851); Robertson, *Hist. of Christian Church*, ii. p. 43, &c.) [W. M. S.]

ECTIGENIUS, ECTIGERN. [Eutighern.]

ECUUIN (Kemble, *C. D.* 53), bishop. [Egwin.] [C. H.]

EDA (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 198, note), one of the names of Aidan or Maidoc bishop of Ferns. [Edan.] [C. H.]

EDA (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* anno 801, in *M. H. B.* 672 b), dux and afterwards abbat. [EDWINE.] [C. H.]

EDALDUS (1), bishop of Vienne, the supposed recipient of an undated letter from pope John III. (560–573). This letter, which purports to be in answer to inquiries of the archbishop on some point of ritual in the service of mass, and to be accompanied by a gift of the pallium and relics, was first published by Joannes à Bosco, and is supposed, from internal evidence, to be a forgery. It is given by Migne (Patr. Lat. lxxii. 18). Edaldus does not appear in the list of Viennese bishops given in the *Gallia Christiana* (xvi. 26), where Naamatus and Philippus occur as the contemporaries of John III. There was a later Edaldus in this see. [EOALDUS.] (Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs sacrés*, xi. 334.)
[S. A. B.]

EDALDUS (2), bishop of Meaux. [EDOLDUS.]

EDALDUS (3), forty-first bishop of Vienne. [EOALDUS.]

EDAN, a common form of AEDHAN, is most frequently attached to St. Maedhog, of Cluain-mor-Maedhog (Apr. 11), brother of bishop Etchen (Feb. 11), of Clonfad. Edan was alive A.D. 598 [MAEDHOG]. See also Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 188. [J. G.]

EDANA. [ETAOIN.]

EDANCIUS, magister militum, and duke of Sardinia, alluded to in a letter of Gregory the Great to the deacon Honoratus, concerning the better treatment of the inhabitants of the island. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. Ep. 49 in Migne, lxxvii. 512.) [A. H. D. A.]

EDAPHIUS, one of the three deacons of Constantinople whom Chrysostom was accused of having maltreated. (Phot. *Bibloth.* cod. 59, p. 18 a; Patr. Gr. ciii. 107.) [E. V.]

EDATIUS, presbyter of Arthona, now Artonne, a village of Auvergne, dep. Puy-de-Dôme. (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Conf.* cap. 5.) [C. H.]

EDBALD (*A. S. C.* text, anno 640, in *M. H. B.* 310; Malmesb. *G. R. A.* i. §§ 10, 48, ed. Hardy), king of Kent. [EADBALD (1).]
[C. H.]

EDBALT *Brut y Tywysogion*, Engl. tr. in *M. H. B.* 842), king of the Saxons. [ETHELBALD.] [C. H.]

EDBERGE (EDBURGE), Mercian princess, venerated in Flanders (Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, June 20; Chambers, *Book of Days*, i. 798). [IDABERGA.] [J. G.]

EDBERT (1) (Malm. *G. R.* i. § 15, ed. Hardy; Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 724 e), king of Kent, son of Wihtred. [EADBERT (2).]
[C. H.]

EDBERT (2) (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 675. ed. Coxe), bishop of London. [HEATHOBERT.] [C. H.]

EDBERT (3) (Kemble, *C. D.* 122), bishop, signs charter of Offa king of Mercia, A.D. 774, with Berthun bishop of Lichfield, and Ceolwulf bishop of Lindsey. [EADBERT (9).] [C. H.]

EDBERT (4) (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1937, in *M. H. B.* 787), king of Northumbria. [EADBERT (5).] [C. H.]

EDBERT (5) (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 730 c), archbishop of York, preceding Ethelbert and just before called EGBERT. [EGBERT (6).] [C. H.]

EDBERT (6) (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 731 a), archbishop of York, preceding Eanbald. [ETHELBERT (6).] [C. H.]

EDBERT (7) (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 726 c), bishop of the East Angles. [ALDBERHT (1).] [C. H.]

EDBIRT, king of the West Saxons, mentioned in a spurious charter of A.D. 801 (Kemble, *C. D.* 178) as conferring land in Bodecanleage to his minister Eadgils. Kemble thinks that "Edbirtus rex" in the body of the charter was a mistake of the writer for "Eadburh regina," "Eadburh" being said at the conclusion to be the grantor of the charter to Glastonbury. But may not "Edbirt" have been an error for Brihtric king of Wessex, who was the husband of Eadburh or Eadburga? [C. H.]

EDBRICTUS (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 727 e), king of Northumbria, succeeding Ceolwulf. [EADBERT (2).] [C. H.]

EDBRIHT (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 734 b), king of Kent, son of Wihtred. [EADBERT (2).] [C. H.]

EDBRIT (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 728 b), king of Kent, who reigned twenty-two years and died in the ninth year of Cuthred. [EADBERT (2).] [C. H.]

EDBRITH PREN (Malm. *G. R.* i. § 95, ed. Hardy), king of Kent. [EADBERT (4) PRAEN.] [C. H.]

EDBURGA (1) (Dugd. *Monast.* i. 531, 542; Birch, *Fast. Mon.* 64), queen of Mercia, and afterwards abbess of Gloucester. [EADBURGA (4).] [C. H.]

EDBURGA (2) (Elmh. p. 219, ed. Hardwick; Dugd. i. 448), EDBURH, abbess of Minster in Thanet. [BUGGA (2).] [C. H.]

EDDANUS (*Gall. Christ.* v. 784), bishop of Strassburg. [ETHO.] [C. H.]

EDDI (Kemble, *C. D.* 19, A.D. 680), bishop, who grants lands in Lantocal and Ferramere to abbat Hemgislus. [HEDDA, bishop of Winchester.] [C. H.]

EDDIUS (or "AEDDI," named STEPHEN, as Bede calls him (iv. 2), "AEDDE" as he calls himself (*Vit. Wilfr.* 14), was distinguished as a chanter in Kent, when Wilfrid, unable to obtain possession of the see of York for which he had been elected and consecrated, visited Egbert king of Kent, during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, and performed episcopal work in that diocese. He says of himself simply that Wilfrid returned from Kent into Northumbria with the chanters "Aedde and Aeona." Bede says that Wilfrid "invited him from Kent, and that he was the first teacher of chanting in

many Northumbrian churches, excepting James," the deacon (iv. 2). He lived on confidential terms with Wilfrid, and accompanied him to Rome, on his second journey as an appellant, in 704 (see *Vit. Wilfr.* 50, 51). After Wilfrid's death he was requested by Acca bishop of Hexham and Tatbert abbat of Ripon to write the life of their common master and patron. He undertook the task (so he says in an elaborately modest preface), as a matter of obedience, but also as conscious of the "great gain" to himself personally involved in his remembrance of "bishop Wilfrid."

He tells the tale like one who had heard from Wilfrid himself the most minute particulars of his personal history. But he is not only, as was natural, credulous as to whatever might enhance the glory of his hero, but inaccurate in regard to other persons; and the accusation which he makes (and in which Bede follows him) against queen Bathildis, or "Balcthild," as having been the cause of the execution of Wilfrid's early patron, the archbishop of Lyons, has been usually reckoned among these errors, — Bathildis being a devout woman whom the Frankish church learned to honour as a saint. Eddius also confounds the name of the archbishop (who was really called Aunemund) with that of his brother count Dalphinus (Mabillon, *Ann. Bened.* i. 425, 438). He calls Colman metropolitan bishop of York—a double mistake (c. 10), and, stranger yet, his text exhibits "papa" after the name of that presbyter Agatho who took part in the Whitby conference (*ib.*; cf. Bed. iii. 29). While he does full justice to Chad's excellence ("religiosissimum, admirabilem doctorem," "servus Dei verus et mitissimus"), he makes him admit—what in all probability he never would have admitted—that he had "sinned" by receiving consecration from Wini and the two British bishops. He apparently exaggerates the rites performed by Theodore in regard to Chad (c. 15). He sometimes substitutes vague generalities for precise narrative, as in the account of the uncanonical division of Wilfrid's diocese in 678 (c. 24). He calls the Lombard king Pertharit "king of Campania" (c. 28). He seems to have had somewhat imperfect information as to Wilfrid's mission work in Sussex. He represents Theodore as humbling himself to Wilfrid in a strain which outruns probability (c. 42). He does not bring out the fact that both the first and the second restorations of Wilfrid were arrangements in the nature of a compromise, and that the second was still less favourable than the first to his original claim as bishop of York. On the whole he writes like a hearty partisan, but he cannot be called unfair or disingenuous. He does not conceal the harshness of Wilfrid's speech at Easterfield ("duris sermonibus," c. 45; he uses "duris" in a like sense in c. 37), and when he speaks of him as coming on one occasion from Ripon, "cum filio suo proprio" (c. 57), he uses words which have raised some question as to Wilfrid's character, but which have been naturally explained by his own anecdote about Eadwald, the bishop's adopted son (c. 18). He was a well-educated man after the ecclesiastical standard of his own age; his Latin is occasionally rather anomalous, but he makes his readers see what he depicts, and his book has some passages at once terse and impressive. His "praefatio" contains a quotation from Horace, *Carm.* ii. 10, 11. The date at which he flourished, according to Gale (Scr. xv. vol. i.), is 720. [W. B.]

EDDO (1), bishop of Curia Rhaetorum, now Chur or Coire, a town of the Grisons. He stands sixth in the list, between Sidonius and St. Valentianus, and is believed to have sat from about the year A.D. 500 to about 530, during which period Rhaetia was for the most part at peace under the rule of Amalasuntha and Theodatus in the reign of Theodoric (Ambr. Eichhorn, *Episcopat. Curiensis*, 1797, p. 9). [C. H.]

EDDO (2) (*Gall. Christ.* v. 784; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 315), bishop of Strassburg. [ETHO.] [C. H.]

EDDRAN, Irish bishop. [ETHERNAN.]

EDELARD (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 38, ed. Hardy), king of Wessex. [ETHELHARD (1).] [C. H.]

EDELBALD (1) (Gaimar, *Estorie*, 1105, in *M. H. B.* 778), king of Kent. [EADBALD (1).] [C. H.]

EDELBALD (2) (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. 725 e, 727 e, 728 a, d, e, 729 a, b, 734 d, 735 c; Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 1656, 1730, 1749, 1764, 1765, 1798, in *M. H. B.* 784, 785, 716), king of Mercia. [ETHELBALD.] [C. H.]

EDELBERT (1) (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1073, in *M. H. B.* 777), **EDELBRIT** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 955, 977, 1108, in *M. H. B.* 776, 778), **EDELBRITH** (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 723 b), king of Kent. [ETHELBERT (1) I.] [C. H.]

EDELBERT (2) (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 15, ed. Hardy), **EDELBRICHT** (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 730 b), **EDELBRIHT** (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. *M. H. B.* 734 b), king of Kent. [ETHELBERT (2) II.] [C. H.]

EDELBERT (3) (H. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 730 c, 732 e), bishop of Candida Casa (Whithern), afterwards of Hexham. [ETHELBERT (7).] [C. H.]

EDELBRICT (Hen. Hunt. iv. *Hist. Angl.* in *M. H. B.* 632 b), king of East Anglia, beheaded by order of Offa. [ETHELBERT (3).] [C. H.]

EDELBRITH (Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 2210, 2306, in *M. H. B.* 791, 792), king of Kent. [EADBERT (4) PRAEN.] [C. H.]

EDELBURC (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1691, *M. H. B.* 785), **EDELBURH** (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 724 e), wife of Ina king of Wessex. [ETHELBURGA (5).] [C. H.]

EDELBURG (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1247, in *M. H. B.* 779), daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent, wife of Edwin king of Northumbria. [ETHELBURGA (1).] [C. H.]

EDELBURGA (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 90, ed. Hardy), daughter of Offa king of Mercia, wife of Brithric king of Wessex. [EADBURGA (1).] [C. H.]

EDELDRUD (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1469, in *M. H. B.* 782), daughter of Anna king of East

Anglia, wife of Egfrid king of Northumbria. [ETHELDRYTHA.] [C. H.]

EDELFEID, EDELFFED, is given as chorepiscopus of Caerleon or Llandaff; he is also claimed by London, Colchester, and Lincoln, being probably the same as Adelphius, who sat in the council at Arles, A.D. 314. [ADELPHIUS (1).] (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 623; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 154.) [J. G.]

EDELFERT (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* ii. in *M. H. B.* 714 d, e, 715 b, 719 d), **EDELFRID** (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* ii. in *M. H. B.* 715 a, c, d; Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 1009, 1141, 1147, 1160, 1258, in *M. H. B.* 777, 778, 780), **EDELFRIT** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1081, in *M. H. B.* 778), **EDELFRIZ** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 1007, 1017, in *M. H. B.* 777), king of Northumbria. [ETHELFRID (1).] [C. H.]

EDELHARD (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1761, in *M. H. B.* 785), king of West Saxons. [ETHELHARD (1).] [C. H.]

EDELHERE (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* ii. in *M. H. B.* 717 a), king of East Anglia, brother of Anna. [ETHELHERE.] [C. H.]

EDELRED (1) (H. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* ii. iv. in *M. H. B.* 718 c, 723 c, 724 c, 725 b, 727 d, 735 b; Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 1467, 1653, "EDELRED PENDING," in *M. H. B.* 782, 784), **EDELRET** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 1423, 1565, in *M. H. B.* 782, 83), king of Mercia. [ETHELRED (2).] [C. H.]

EDELRED (2) (H. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 730 d, 732 a, b), **EDELRET** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 1977, 2140, 2174, in *M. H. B.* 788, 790), **EDELRETH** (Gaimar, *Estorie*, vv. 2018, 2129, in *M. H. B.* 788, 790), king of Northumbria, son of Moll. [ETHELRED (4).] [C. H.]

EDELRED (3) (H. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 732 b, 733 a, marg.), archbishop of Canterbury. [ETHELHARD (3).] [C. H.]

EDELWALCH (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 34, ed. Hardy), king of the South Saxons. [ETHELWALCH.] [C. H.]

EDEN, Ἐδέμ, Hippol. *Ref.* v. 26, pp. 150–159. [JUSTINUS.]

In the system of SIMON (Hippol. vi. 14, p. 168) the account of Eden and its four rivers is explained as allegorically representing the womb in which man is formed, and the veins and arteries which proceed from it, and in the system of the NAASSENES (v. 9, p. 120) there is a speculation apparently derived from this, in which Eden is made to denote the brain. [G. S.]

EDENUS, sixteenth bishop of Meaux, consecrated about A.D. 552. His predecessor and successor were Medoveus and Baudowaldus respectively. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1598; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* ii. 657.) [S. A. B.]

EDESIUS (1), martyr. [AEDESIUS.]

EDESIUS (2), one of the shorthand writers at the inquiry concerning Donatism held before the consul Theophilus, A.D. 320. (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 29.) [DONATISM, vol. i. p. 882.] [H. W. P.]

EDESIUS (3) (AEDESIUS) shared the romantic fortunes of his brother Frumentius, the first bishop of Auxumis (Axum), in the 4th century. [FRUMENTIUS.] The biographical details at our disposal consist of a lengthy narrative, introduced on the authority of Edesius, by Rufinus into his *Ecclesiastical History* (lib. i. 9). This narrative has been copied, with slight deviations by Socrates (*H. E.* i. 19), Sozomen (ii. 24), and Theodoret (i. 23, 24). Compare also Baronius (*Ann.* 327, viii. ix. x.). Frumentius, and Edesius, the young relatives of Meropius, a Syrian philosopher (merchant), accompanied him on a voyage of adventure to India. On their return to Phoenicia by way of the Red Sea, they landed "at a certain port," where there was "a safe haven," and there suffered from the barbarous assault of the "Indians," who murdered every individual of the ship's company, with the exception of the two youths, upon whom the savages looked with compassion, and whom they conveyed as prizes to the king. This personage appointed Frumentius and Edesius to positions of trust, the former becoming the treasurer and the latter the cupbearer of the king. By their means Christianity was introduced among "the Indians." The names they bear in Ethiopian documents given by Ludolf (*Hist. Eth.* iii. 2) were Fremonatos and Sydvacus. (Cf. Gesenius, *Aethiop. Kirche* in Ersch and Gruber, and Hoffmann in Herzog's *Encyc.*) The word "India" is used with the same indefiniteness as we elsewhere find Ethiopia and Libya used. From the time of Aristotle to those of Eratosthenes and of Hipparchus, India and Africa were believed to unite with each other at some unknown point south of the Indian Ocean. (*Dict. Anc. Geography*, vol. ii. p. 45, art. India; Plin. vi. 22–24.) These "Indians" were, from the subsequent career of Frumentius, no other than Abyssinians. The king, according to Ludolf's Ethiopian Codex, was called Abreha, and on drawing near his end, offered their liberty to the two youths. The queen mother earnestly besought them to remain, to undertake the education of the young prince Erazanes, and to assist her in the regency during the minority of the heir to the throne. They consented, and moreover lost no opportunity of diffusing a knowledge of Christ. They sought and discovered Christian merchants trading in the country, gathered Christian disciples, and built houses of prayer, "that worship might be offered, and the Roman ecclesiastical routine observed." (Sozomen, *l.c.*) They were, however, destitute of orders, and the infant church was not incorporated into the general organization of the church until their condition had been made known. The two brothers sought permission at length to return to their friends. Edesius remained at Tyre and became a presbyter of the church in that city, where Rufinus came into contact with him. Frumentius, the more energetic of the two, went to Alexandria, and laid the whole case before Athanasius. It is uncertain when this occurred. Theodoret places this visit to Alexandria "about the time" of the persecution of Eustathius, other hints seem to bring the event to the period when Athanasius had returned from his second exile. The consequence of the visit can hardly be doubted. Frumentius himself was appointed bishop of "the Indians" at Auxumis, and received the

title of Abba Salama, and was regarded as the founder of the church in that country, the *Abocna* deriving his ecclesiastical rank from the patriarch of Alexandria. [Ethiopian Church.]
[H. R. R.]

EDESIUS (4) (Aedesius), a philosopher in the 4th century, by birth a Cappadocian, of a noble but impoverished family. He was sent by his father to Greece to learn some trade, but applied himself instead to the study of philosophy, his father reluctantly consenting. He travelled to enlarge his knowledge, and went into Syria to hear Jamblichus, and became almost his equal, and succeeded to his school on his death. He was obliged, however, to conceal his talents during the reign of Constantine. In reply to his prayers a god appeared to him in his dreams and uttered an oracle, to the effect that he had two lots open to him, either to dwell in cities and direct the minds of young men, by which he would win immortal fame, or to take a farm and turn shepherd, by which he would be reckoned among the blessed. He chose the latter life, but was compelled by the entreaties of the students who besieged his dwelling to return to the society of men. He accordingly left Cappadocia, and fixed his residence at Pergamus in Asia, where crowds, both of Greeks and natives, came to hear him. He shewed much kindness to Sosipatra, the widow of Eustathius, his successor in Cappadocia, when after her husband's death she came to live at Pergamus. Julian (afterwards emperor), at the age of twenty-three, A.D. 354, was attracted to Pergamus by the fame of Edesius, now advanced in years and in weak health, and wished to remain with him; but Edesius, feeling his health unequal to the task of instructing him, advised him instead to give the greater part of his time to his disciples Eusebius and Chrysanthius, which Julian accordingly did, without however leaving Edesius. He was a man of genial disposition, and would converse with carpenters, smiths, and others whom he met, about their trades, for which he was rebuked by Priscus, one of his disciples, as betraying the dignity of philosophy. (Eunapius, ed. Stephani, 1616, *Lives of Edesius, Maximus, and Priscus*, 32–66, 69–70, 92.) [F. D.]

EDESIUS (5), deacon of Cyril of Alexandria, who, with his fellow-deacon Peter, was at Constantinople when Alexander bishop of Antioch came there to urge the restoration of St. Chrysostom's name to the diptychs. Edesius and Peter brought back to Cyril an account of the state of things at Constantinople. When the patriarch Atticus wrote to Cyril to ask him for the sake of peace to restore Chrysostom's name to the sacred diptychs, he wrote also to Peter and Edesius, urging them to use their influence with Cyril on the side of peace, so that the Egyptian bishops might not be the only ones to resist the imperial desires, and to disturb the universal tranquillity. At the end of the letter Atticus hopes they will soon return to Constantinople, as he misses the pleasure of their society, and finds his present companions less agreeable. (Nicephorus Callistus, xiv. c. 26, 491, 494, in Migne, Patr. Gr. cxlvi. 1138–1144; Ceillier, *Aut. Sacr.* viii. 15.) [F. D.]

EDESIUS (6) (Aedesius), Christian orator and poet. The only knowledge we possess of this author is derived from the Life of St. Hilarius bishop of Arles (who died A.D. 449), of which Honoratus bishop of Marseilles is supposed by some to be the author. In this Life two quotations occur from Edesius, whom the author honours with the title of saint, and calls "rhetoricae facundiae et metricae artis peritissimus vir." The first quotation describes the writer's astonishment at seeing Hilarius at the same time reading and dictating to his secretary, and also making a net with his hands; the second describes the bishop's sympathy with charity towards the suffering. (*Life of St. Hilarius*, c. 12, in Migne, Patr. Lat. l. 1233, 1239; *Hist. Lit. de la France*, 1865, ii. 352.) [F. D.]

EDESSA, MARTYRS OF. In the reign of Trajan a fierce persecution was carried on at Edessa. Barsimaeus was bishop there at the time; he was arrested, subjected to cruel tortures, and according to Baronius was martyred (A.D. 114). In the Menology of Basil, however, the account is that he was flogged and kept in prison, that as soon as the persecution was over he was released, that he died in peace, presiding over the church of Edessa. Sarbelius, together with his sister Barbea, who had both been baptized by Barsimaeus, were martyred during this persecution. Special cruelties were practised towards Sarbelius in consequence of his having been an idol priest before he became a Christian. They are commemorated Jan. 30. (*Menol.* Bas.; Baron. *Annal.* 107, 1, 2.) [T. S. B.]

EDESTUS, martyr. [Hedertus.]

EDEYRN (1) (Edern, Edvrn, Edyrn) son of Gwrtheyrn (Vortigern) king of the Britons 449–466). He belonged to the company under St. Cattwg (Cadoc), and gave his name to Llanedyrn in Glamorganshire, where he had a community with three hundred members. It has been conjectured that he is the Faustus mentioned by Nennius as a son of Vortigern, and as having his residence on the banks of the river Renis. Faustus was the child of incest, and according to the legend was attributed by Vortigern to St. Germanus (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 108, 186, 337; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 12, wks. v. 439–40).
[J. G.]

EDEYRN (2), commemorated January 6; a bard who embraced a life of sanctity, and whose memory is preserved in the chapel of Bodedeyrn, under Holyhead, in Anglesey, and in Edeyrn, county Caernarvon. He was the son, or grandson (by Nudd), of Beli ab Rhun, descended from Cunedda Wledig (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 23, 40; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, iii. 298, 323; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 593, 601). In the mediaeval legends he assumes a wholly military garb, and as one of the chivalrous knights of his court, under the name of Hider, accompanies king Arthur in his celebrated expedition to the continent against the Roman emperor (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 339; Geoff. of Monm. x. 4; cf. Lady Charlotte Guest, *Mabinogion*, ii. 153-4, et al.). [J. G.]

EDGILS (Aedgils), a priest in the monastery of Coldingham, who, after its destruction by fire in A.D. 679, took up his residence at Jarrow, where he died. He was a friend of Bede,

and gave him some information about Coldingham and its inmates. (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 25.) [J. R.]

EDGUIN (Nenn. *Hist. Brit.* in *M. H. B.* 75 b), king of Northumbria. [EDWIN.] [C. H.]

EDGYN, called brother of Cyngar and son of Geraint ab Erbin in the *Pedigrees of Welsh Saints*, but he does not appear as either of these in Professor Rees's list (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 598; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 113). [J. G.]

EDHAMAIR (AEDAMAIR, AUDOMARA, EADHAMAIR, EUDOMARA), virgin, daughter of Aedh, commemorated Jan. 18. Eadhamair, or Edhamair, is commemorated on this day in *Mart. Doneg.* (by Todd and Reeves, 21), and as Aedamair, in *Mart. Tall.* (Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* xiii.), and in both is called daughter of Aedh. But Colgan (*Acta SS.* 598, c. 3), in classing her among the saints of the house of St. Mochoemocu or Pulcherius (Mar. 13), and race of Conmac, gives both a different form of the name and a different genealogy: "S. Audomara seu Eudomara, filia Eugenii, f. Taly, f. Anlenii, f. Brugacii, f. Caredii, &c., colitur 18 Januarii." Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 112 n. [82]) seeks to identify her with the Cethuberis, who appears to be known under so many names in the *Lives of St. Patrick* [CETHUBERIS] (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 325–26). [J. G.]

EDHNIUCH (EGNACIUS), son of Erc, abbat of Liath, died A.D. 767 (*Four Mast.*). His place is supposed by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 598, c. 4, who calls him Egnacius) to have been Liath-mor-Mochaemhog, now Leamokevoge, in the parish of Two-Mile-Burris, in the barony of Elyogarty, co. Tipperary (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 266 n. [b], 371). [J. G.]

EDIBIUS (1), ST., bishop of Soissons A.D. 451, preserved his city from an assault by Attila "through the intercession of the martyrs SS. Crispinus and Crispinianus." Commemorated on Dec. 10. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 335; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 632.) [R. T. S.]

EDIBIUS (2), sixth bishop of Amiens, one of the subscribers of the first council of Orleans, held in the year A.D. 511. He followed Audoenus, and was succeeded by Beatus. (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* vol. i. p. 288; *Gall. Christ.* x. 1152; Labbe, *Conc.* v. p. 549.) [S. A. B.]

EDICTIUS (EDICIUS, ECDICIUS, HECDICUS), ST., said to have been the thirty-fourth occupant of the see of Vienne, between St. Syndulphus and Chaldeoldus. Ado, who wrote in the 9th century, says in his *Chronicon*, "Sindulpho episcopo defuncto, Hecdicus Viennensis Ecclesiae praesulatum suscepit, magnae religionis vir." He goes on to say that Hecdicus died at the close of the reign of Justinian (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 115). But this chronology is generally rejected as extending his life too long. A Necrologium of Vienne (quoted in the *Gallia Christiana*, xvi. 31) speaks of him as living in the times of Constantine, the son of Constans, while Dagobert II. was still on the throne, and at the time of the condemnation of Macarius of Antioch. Dagobert II. died in A.D. 678. A spurious letter purporting to be addressed to him by pope Agatho is extant. He is commemorated on Oct. 23 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. x. 71). [S. A. B.]

EDILALD, "illustrious virgin," commemorated by Mar. O'Gorman at April 21 (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 107 n. [4]). [J. G.]

EDILBALD (Bed. *H. E.* v. 24, Addend. ann. 740, 750, in *M. H. B.* 288 b, c), king of Mercia. [ETHELBALD (1).] [C. H.]

EDILBERCT (*Annal. Juvavens. Maj.* in Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.* Scriptt. i. 87, ann. 620), Cantuariorum rex, filius Irminrici, obiit 6 kal. Mart. feria 4, **EDILBERT** (*Annal. Cambr.* ann. cl. *i.e.* A.D. 594, in *M. H. B.* 831 c), king of Kent. [ETHELBERT I.] [C. H.]

EDILBERT (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 724 e), king of Kent, son of Wihtred. [ETHELBERT II.] [C. H.]

EDILBIN, eleventh bishop of Llandaff (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 156), and probably the same as Ufelwy, a bishop in Ergyng. [UFELWY.] (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 624; Godwin, *de Praesul. Angl.* 623). [J. G.]

EDILFYW appears to have been bishop of Llandaff, and to have died in the middle or latter part of the 7th century. Beyond his receiving from Gwrgan and Bonus two pieces of land, devoted to God and to St. Dubricius, for the good of their souls, we know nothing of him. He is probably to be distinguished from both ELVOGUS and EDILBIN (*Liber Landav.* by Rees, 415, 626). [J. G.]

EDILHARDUS (Bed. *H. E.* v. 24, Addend. ann. 739, in *M. H. B.* 288 b), king of Wessex. [ETHELHARD (1).] [C. H.]

EDILHUN (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 27, ed. Moberly), brother of Ediluini. [ETHELHUN.] [C. H.]

EDILTRUDIS. [ETHELDREDA.]

EDILUALD (Bed. *H. E.* v. 23, in *M. H. B.* 283 c), **EDILWALD** (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 726 d, 727 a), bishop of Lindisfarne. [ETHELWOLD.] [C. H.]

EDILUINI (Bed. iii. 27, iv. 12, ed. Moberly), bishop of Lindsey. [ETHELWIN.] [C. H.]

EDILUUALD (Bed. *H. E.* v. 25, add. ann. 759, in *M. H. B.* 289 a), king of Northumbria. succeeded Oswulf. [ETHELWALD MOLL.] [C. H.]

EDIRSEEL. [ETIRSCEL.]

EDLFERD FLESAUR (Nenn. *Hist. Brit.* in *M. H. B.* 74 b), king of Northumbria. [ETHELFRID.] [C. H.]

EDNYFED is said to have been the son of Macsen Wledig (the Roman emperor Maximus), by Elen, daughter of Euddaff, a wealthy lord of Carnarvon; but though he is counted among the Welsh saints, like his brothers Owain and Peblig, he is not remembered in any church dedication or name (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 108, 115; Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, ii. c. 27). [J. G.]

EDOBICUS (EDOVICUS, EDOCHIMUS, EBODICHUS, EDOBECCUS, ODOBECCUS), a general of the

rebel Constantinus, tyrant of Gaul, in the time of the emperor Honorius, A.D. 407–411.

Constantine was at his court at Arles. Hearing that his general in Spain, Count Gerontius, had revolted from him and invested Maximus with the purple, he sent his general Edobicus across the Rhine to get the aid of the Franks and Alemans. Meanwhile, the army of the emperor Honorius besieged Arles, under the command of Constantius, the father of Valentinianus Augustus. Tidings arriving that Edobicus and his allies were coming, the imperial generals seem to have lost heart, and to have made preparations for returning to Italy and carrying on the war there. When the camp of Edobicus was already close by, they threw their troops across the Rhone. Their tactics at any rate proved successful. Constantius awaited the enemy with the infantry; Ulfila his colleague lay in ambush with the cavalry. The forces of Edobicus were allowed to pass the ambush, and were beginning to engage with Constantius, when the horsemen of Ulfila broke upon their rear. They were at once scattered; some fled, some were slaughtered, others threw away their arms and begged quarter. Edobicus himself mounted a horse and fled to a country house, where he had a friend named Ecdicius, whom he had in past days loaded with benefits. Forgetful of these claims, Ecdicius appeared in the imperial camp with the head of the fugitive, hoping for great rewards and honours. Constantius behaved with much good sense. He ordered the head to be received: said that the state owed its thanks to Ulfila for what Ecdicius had achieved; and when Ecdicius wished to remain with him, ordered him off, expressing his opinion that the company of such a man was serviceable neither to himself nor to his army, as he had served his old friend so abominably. "So Ecdicius, who had dared the wicked murder of his friend in misfortune, 'gaping in vain,' as the saying is, made away."

(Sozom. ix. 13, 14, in Patr. Gr. lxvii. 1621–1624; Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 9, p. 61, in Patr. Lat. lxxi. 206, quoting Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus.) [W. M. S.]

EDOCHIMUS. [EDOBICUS.]

EDOLDUS (HELDOALDUS) is placed twenty-fourth in the list of the bishops of Meaux, after St. Ebrigisilus, and preceding Adulfus. His date may be about the close of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1602.) [S. A. B.]

EDOVICUS. [EDOBICUS.]

EDRABORDUS, an unknown or corrupt name of an abbat who attests the reception of the acts of the Legatine Synod of 787 in the southern province. It may represent Ethelhard (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) or Forthred, a prominent Mercian abbat of the time. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 462.) [S.]

EDRIC (1) (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 26, in *M. H. B.* 242 a; Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 686, in *M. H. B.* 537 d; Malm. *G. R. A.* i. §§ 13, 14, ed. Hardy), king of Kent, son of Egbert. [EADRIC (1).] [C. H.]

EDRIC (2) (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 34, ed. Hardy), successor of Ethelwalch king of S. Saxons. [EADRIC (1).] [C. H.]

EDRIC (3), son of Eeni and the father of Aldulf (or Ealdwulf) king of the East Angles, according to Nennius, who is the only authority for his existence. He would thus be a brother of Anna king of East Anglia. Lappenberg's pedigree of the East Anglian kings makes Edric uncle, not father, of Ealdwulf. (Nenn. *Hist. Brit.* in *M. H. B.* 74 c; Lappenb. *Hist. Engl.* i. 287.) [C. H.]

EDULF (Malm. *G. P.* i. § 7, ed. Hamilton, p. 16; Id. *G. R. A.* i. § 87, ed. Hardy), bishop of Sidnacester, suffragan of the archbishop of Lichfield. [EADULF (4) II.] [C. H.]

EDUS, ST. (MS. *Vita*, referred to in Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 189), one of the names of Aidan, Aedhan, or Maidoc, bishop of Ferns. [EDAN.] [C. H.]

EDWALD (*Annal. Cambr.* ann. cccxiii. *i.e.* A.D. 757, in *M. H. B.* 833 c, and note), king of the Saxons; perhaps ETHELBALD king of Mercia. [C. H.]

EDWEN, a female saint of Saxon descent, has been allowed a place among the saints of Wales. She is said to have been a daughter or a niece of Edwin of Northumbria, and the statement derives probability from the circumstance that Edwin was brought up in the court of Cadfan king of North Wales, at Caerseiont or Carnarvon (Lappenberg, *Hist. Eng.* i. 145, transl.). Llanedwen in Anglesey is dedicated to her, and her festival has been kept on Nov. 6 (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 303, 324). She is to be distinguished from Adwen or Edwen, whose name is found in Advent, or St. Adven, Cornwall (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 303, 324; *Myv. Arch.* ii. 40). [C. W. B.]

EDWIN (AEDGUIN, AEDWINE, AEDWINI, EADWINE, EDWINE) was the son of Ella or Alla, who for at least thirty years was king of Deira. On the death of Ella in A.D. 593, Edwin was a child, and was deprived of his inheritance by Ethelric, whose son Ethelfrid had married Acha, the boy's sister. Ethelric reigned three years, and then his son Ethelfrid continued his father's usurpation. Between the brothers-in-law there was naturally much suspicion and jealousy. Edwin was obliged to flee, and for many years was in banishment or retirement. At last he found shelter with Redwald king of East Anglia, who was tempted by Ethelfrid with bribes and threats to surrender him. His faithless host resolved either to kill his guest or give him up. A trusty friend conveyed to Edwin the tidings, and promised to shew him a place of security. Edwin was incredulous, and said that, should his news be true, he had rather perish there than continue his wanderings. The friend retired, and Edwin, sick at heart, was sitting in front of Redwald's palace, when during the night a man came up to him, strange in features and dress. The visitor cheered the sad-hearted prince with his words, suggesting to him the possibility of safety and future power, and seeking and obtaining a promise of the manifestation of the listener's gratitude if his suggestion should be verified. Finally, he asked him what he would do if, in addition, the speaker should

be able to put before him a method of life and security better far than any of his kindred had attained to. Edwin at once promised to adopt it. The stranger then laid his hand upon his head, and bade him, when that sign was repeated, remember and keep his pledge. He was gone as suddenly as he had come. The young prince sat still, anxious although less sad than before, and he was sitting there when his friend returned with the happy news that Redwald, at the request of his queen, had now made up his mind to protect him. War thereupon broke out between Redwald and Ethelfrid, which ended in the rout and death of the latter in a battle near the river Idle in Nottinghamshire. This was in A.D. 616. By the death of Ethelfrid, Edwin obtained the kingdom of Deira, and that of Bernicia as well. (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 12.)

During his exile, Edwin married Coenburga, daughter of Cearl king of the Mercians, by whom he had two sons, Osfrid and Eanfrid. In A.D. 625 he took for his second wife Ethelburga or Tatae, daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent. The princess was a Christian; and for a time her brother Eadbald refused to give his sister to a pagan. The difficulty was settled by Edwin undertaking to allow the princess and her suite the most ample use of their own creed. The missionary bishop, Paulinus, accompanied the lady into the North as her chaplain. (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 9.)

In A.D. 626 a desperate assault was made upon Edwin with a poisoned weapon, by an assassin named Eumer, who was sent on his base errand by Cuichelm king of Wessex. Edwin was at his royal villa on the bank of the Derwent when the attempt was made, which was only frustrated by a faithful servant named Lilla interposing his body and dying in his master's stead. This was on Easter Day. In the evening of the same day the queen bore Edwin a daughter, who was called Eanfled. The king in the presence of Paulinus thanked his gods for the boon, but Paulinus ascribed the mercy to Christ, and said that it was through his intercession that the life of the queen had been preserved. This pleased Edwin, who promised to become a Christian if he could punish Cuichelm for his treachery, and as a pledge of his sincerity he permitted Paulinus to baptize, on Whit Sunday, his new-born child. The victory over Cuichelm was gained; but Edwin, although worshipping idols no longer, shrank from adopting Christianity. Many conferences on the subject took place between the king and his nobles and Paulinus (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 9). Every spiritual agency was brought to bear upon the wavering monarch. Bede preserves two letters which pope Boniface addressed to Edwin and his queen, urging on the great religious change (*id.* ii. 10, 11). It was at this critical period, as Beda tells us, that the mysterious stranger at Redwald's palace re-appeared in Paulinus, who laid his hand upon Edwin's head, and bade him remember and be faithful. Edwin gave way, but wished to consult his council, that, if possible, the change should be a national one. The opinion of Coifi, the pagan chief priest, swayed the rest, and their idolatry was abandoned. This was evidenced by the destruction of the great heathen temple at Goodmanham, near York, on which Coifi himself [COIFI] made the first assault (*id.* ii. 13).

The barriers were now broken down, and Edwin with his nobles and a vast multitude of his people became Christians. The king was baptized on Easter Day, A.D. 627, in the church of St. Peter, in York, which he had hastily constructed of wood for that purpose, and for catechetical instruction. At the same time he made York the seat of a bishopric for Paulinus, who prevailed upon the king to begin the erection of a larger and grander edifice of stone, enclosing in a square the wooden shrine in which the baptism had recently taken place. Edwin, however, never saw its completion. Meanwhile, the progress of Christianity was most rapid. All the king's children were baptized, and the people flocked in crowds to that holy rite. Every help was given to Paulinus, who was often in attendance upon the court. We hear of him spending thirty-six whole days at Adgefrin (Yevering), in Bernicia, with the king and queen, instructing and baptizing the hosts which came to him. When the missionary baptized in the Trent Edwin was with him. But the details of the conversion of Northumbria must be reserved for the life of PAULINUS (Bed. ii. capp. 14, 16). Edwin did not confine his religious fervour to his own people. He induced Earpwald king of East Anglia, the son of his old friend Redwald, to embrace Christianity with his subjects (*id.* ii. 15). In A.D. 634, when Honorius became pope, he wrote a letter to Edwin, praising him for his good works and fervour, and urging him to still greater efforts (*id.* ii. 18). News travelled slowly in those days, evil or good. When the letter was written, Edwin was dead.

In A.D. 633, Caedwalla, a British king, rose against Edwin in rebellion, aided by Penda king of Mercia, who was eager to release his province from Northumbrian thraldom. The battle was fought at Haethfelth (probably Hatfield Chase), which is called Meican by Nennius, and ended in the utter rout of Edwin's forces and his own death. Nennius says that not one of his men escaped (p. 52). Everything was then disorganized. Edwin's head was brought to York, and buried in the minster, in St. Gregory's porch. His body was interred at Whitby (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 24). Paulinus and his royal mistress Ethelburga returned to Kent by sea, conducted by Bassus, a trusty soldier, and brought with them Eanfled and Vuscfrea, the royal children, with Iffi the son of Osfrid, Edwin's grandson (Bed. ii. 20).

By his first wife Coenburga Edwin had two sons, Osfrid, who fell at Haethfelth (*id.* ii. 20), and Eadfrid, who was afterwards put to death by Penda, with whom he had taken refuge (*id.* ii. 19). By his second wife, Ethelburga of Kent, Edwin had several children. Ethelhun and Etheldreda, a son and daughter, died young and were buried at York (*id.* ii. 14). Vuscfrea, another son, was sent with his sister Eanfled for protection and education to the court of Dagobert king of France, and died there (*id.* ii. 20). Eanfled, the only surviving child, married Oswy king of Northumbria, and is interred at Whitby. In an after day the monks of St. Alban's imagined the existence of another daughter, Rosella, who is said to have

been baptized at Tynemouth, in a wooden chapel or church which her father had built. There is no early evidence of anything of the kind.

The kingdom of Edwin was small at the first, but grew to a very considerable size. His father Ella was king of Deira, which extended from the Tees to the Humber; the West Riding, or Elmete, being an independent British state. On the death of the intruder Ethelfrid in A.D. 616, Edwin recovered not only his own kingdom of Deira, but acquired that of Bernicia as well. Bernicia extended from the Tees to the Frith-of-Forth, and included Reged. Edwin added to Deira the British kingdom of Elmete, and we hear of his subjugating the Mevanian islands, by which we must understand Anglesey and Man (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 9; Malmsb. *de Gestis Regum*, i. 69). On the death of Redwald he attained the dignity or office of Bretwalda, which he exercised over the whole of England save Kent, that kingdom being exempted, according to Malmesbury, because Edwin would not exert jurisdiction over the brother of his wife (William of Malmesbury. 68). Over Mercia he was more directly the sovereign, and the native British states generally recognized his over-lordship. He had thus a very large dominion. Still his subjects were composed of various races, especially in Northumbria. More than half the people in this province must have been Britons at this time, particularly in the west, and over these Edwin's hold must at all times have been precarious. That it was so is abundantly shewn by the success of the rebellion which, in spite of a long reign of peace and toleration, not only destroyed Edwin, but brought to an end the rule of his children.

Eoferwic, or York, was the chief city in Edwin's dominion, but the principal temple of pagan worship was at Goodmanham, near Market-Weighton; there was a royal town on the Derwent, and another at Campodonum, which is probably the modern Doncaster. Catterick on the Swale was the centre of a large population. In Nottinghamshire there was the city of Tiowulfingacaester on the Trent. Edwinstow, in the same county, probably derives its name from Edwin, but Edwin's-path, the scene of a council in Wilfrid's days, is changed by the light of modern criticism into Aetswinapath, the swine's path. In the north, the modern Bambrough, king Ida's towers, was a royal residence of renown; there was another at Adgefrin, or Yevering, and the whole neighbourhood of the Cheviots in Edwin's time was densely populated. Still farther northwards, it is probable that Edinburgh is Edwin's-burgh, the town or burgh of Edwin.

The reign of Edwin was eminently prosperous and happy. Bede tells us that so profound was the peace in those days that in the writer's time it was still a proverbial saying that, when Edwin was king, a woman with her new-born child could walk from sea to sea without being molested. It was told of him that at the springs by the highway-sides he fixed posts with bronze basins fastened to them for the use of travellers, which none would carry away. Not only in war were banners borne before him, but in the times of peace, whenever he walked abroad, a standard-bearer went in advance, bearing an ensign called a *Tuuf*, i.e., a tuft of feathers fastened to a spear's point (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 17). In the days of turmoil which followed, many would look back with longing to the peaceful reign of Edwin.

Edwin's name appears on the calendar on Oct. 4. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vi. 108–119, and Capgrave, ff. 116–20.) [J. R.]

EDWINE (EDWINUS, EDA), described by Simeon of Durham as once a dux of the North-umbrians, afterwards abbat of Et-Gegenforda, mighty in the service of God, who died a "miles emeritus," Jan. 15, 801, at his monastery in the presence of the brethren, and was interred with much honour in the church of the monastery (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 801, in *M. H. B.* 672 b). He may have been the "dux Wada" who was put to flight in the rebellion of 798, as suggested by Mr. Hinde (Sym. Dun. p. 39, ed. Surtees Soc.). A similar instance of a military leader in Northumbria turning ecclesiastic about the same time occurs in the case of "Alric quondam dux," who died a cleric at York in 796 (Sim. Dun. s. a.)

Gegenforda must be the modern Gainford on the Durham side of the Tees, between Darlington and Barnard Castle, described by Camden (ed. Gough, 1789, iii. 112) and Surtees (*Hist. Durh.* 1840, iv. 8). Shortly after abbat Edwine's time Egred bishop of Lindisfarne (A.D. 821–845) "built a church at the vill which is called Gegnford, and gave it to St. Cuthbert, and all belonging to it from the river Tese as far as the Weor." (*Hist. S. Cuthbert*, in Sim. Dun. ed. Surtees Soc. p. 142; see also Sim. Dun. *Hist. Eccles. Dun.* ii. 5.) From this passage Surtees infers that Gainford was thus early considered, what it certainly is found to be afterwards, the head of a district, but he does not notice Simeon's record of Edwine's monastery given above. That passage seems the only one that mentions the existence of a monastery at Gainford. The *Chronicle of Melrose* (ed. Stevenson, 1835, p. 13), calling him Edwinus and Eda, "quondam dux," and dating his death Jan. 15, 801, states that he was buried in his church at Geinforda, but it says nothing as to a monastery. Tanner and Dugdale are equally silent with Camden and Surtees as to any tradition of one. Birch (*Fasti Monastici*, p. 71) includes abbat Eda in his list (calling him also "rex," not "dux") without naming his abbey, and referring only to *Chron. Mailr.* dating his death Jan. 15, 800. Mr. Hinde, in a note on Simeon, remarks (p. 39) that "some interesting remains of an early ecclesiastical settlement have been recently (1867) discovered" at Gainford. [C. H.]

EGBALD (1) (EGBALTH, ECGBALD, EGCBALD), mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as third abbat of Peterborough or Medeshamstede (*M. H. B.* 322). The insertion of the name in the list of abbats is due to the fact that a charter is found in the Peterborough Chartularies in which land at Hogh, in Heburheage in Kent, is granted to an abbat Ecgbald, and the grant is confirmed at Medeshamstede by Ethelred king of Mercia, and Saxulf his bishop. The charter, which is full of difficulties, would claim a date about A.D. 690; but, even if it is not spurious, it proves no connexion between Egbald and Medeshamstede (Kemble, *C. D.* 40; *Monast.*

Angl. i. 384). The fact, however, that an abbat named Egbald flourished about this time is proved by the attestation of a charter by which land is granted to a monastery at Beddenham, and which is confirmed by Sebbi king of Essex, and Erkenwald bishop of London (Kemble, *C. D.* 35). [S.]

EGBALD (2) (EGBALT, EGWALT, EGILWALD, EGILWARD), a West Saxon abbat, whose monastery was at Waltheim (probably Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire), and who flourished early in the 8th century. It was to his care that Willibald, afterwards bishop of Eichstaedt, was committed when five years old. As Willibald was consecrated bishop in 741, in the forty-first year of his age, Egbald's date will fall in the very first years of the century, and he may be the true Egbald (No. 1) to whom the abbacy of Medeshamstede is ascribed. (*Vita Willibaldi*, Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. S. B.* saec. iii. pt. 2, p. 334.) [S.]

EGBALD (3), the tenth bishop of Winchester (*M. H. B.* 619). His name is attached to a charter of Cynewulf king of Wessex, dated 778, and to an act of the synod at Brentford in 781. He was succeeded by Dudda, and Dudda by Kynebert before the year 787. (Kemble, *C. D.* 133, 143; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 438, 439.) [S.]

EGBERHT (1) (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 672, in *M. H. B.* 534 a), presbyter. [EGBERT (5).] [C. H.]

EGBERHT (2) (Flor. Wig. *Nom. Archiep. Ebor.* in *M. H. B.* 625 b), archbishop of York. [EGBERT (6).] [C. H.]

EGBERHT (3) (*A. S. C.* ann. 784, in *M. H. B.* 336), king of Wessex. [EGBERT (4).] [C. H.]

EGBERT (1) I., king of Kent, son of Earcombert and Sexburga, succeeded his father in 664, and reigned until 673. (See *Ann. Cant.* in Hardy, i. 364; Pertz, *Scr.* iv. 2.) Like all the Anglo-Saxon kings of the age, he has a history with two sides, one veritable and the other legendary. The veritable details of his reign we learn from Bede. His father Earcombert having died on the same day as archbishop Deusdedit, July 14, 664, Egbert's first important task was to obtain a new archbishop. The slow development of the episcopate in the south and the scarcely healed division between the Scottish and Roman partisans in the north, made it extremely desirable to obtain for the church a ruler about whose title there could be no question. Accordingly Egbert joined with Oswy king of Northumbria in selecting for the vacant post an English priest, Wighard, whom they sent to Rome for consecration. Wighard died at Rome, and pope Vitalian, thinking it incumbent on him to find a substitute, sent Theodore in his place. Theodore was consecrated in 668, and arrived at Canterbury in 669, accompanied by Raedfrith, whom Egbert had sent to conduct him to Britain (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 29, iv. 1). During the interval Egbert had invited Wilfrid to Canterbury, where he ordained priests and deacons and discharged other episcopal offices (Edd. *V. Wilfr.* c. 14, ed. Gale, p. 58). In the year 669, after Theodore's arrival in Kent, Egbert bestowed on his priest Bass land at Reculver for the foundation of a monastery (*Chr. S.* in *M. H. B.* 318), which became the burial-place of some of the later Kentish kings. He died in 673, on the 4th of July (*Annal. Cantuar.* in Pertz, *Scriptores*, iv. 2; Bede, *H. E.* iv. 5), leaving by a wife, whose name is not recorded, at least two sons, Eadric and Wihtred, who ultimately succeeded him. His immediate successor was his brother Hlothere. He is regarded by Eddius as a religious prince, and was certainly a powerful one, for his authority must have extended over Surrey, where Erkenwald bishop of London, partly under his auspices, was founding the monastery of Chertsey. Legend, however, has thrown a dark shadow over the history of Egbert. According to the Canterbury traditions, Earcombert had succeeded to the throne of Kent in spite of the claims of Ethelbert and Ethelred, the infant sons of his brother Eormenred, and had left to Egbert a throne embarrassed by a doubtful title. In order to gain favour with Egbert, Thunor, one of his thegns, murdered the two princes, who were accounted martyrs; and Egbert, who had connived at the murder, or rather had shewn himself negligent in preventing it, gave to their sister Eormenburga or Dompneva as much land as a hind could run round in a day. On this she founded the monastery of Minster in Thanet. [EORMENBURGA (1); ETHELBERT (5); ETHELRED (1).] [S.]

EGBERT (2) II., king of Kent. A second Ecgberht reigned in Kent, or a part of it, in the latter half of the 8th century. His existence is proved by several charters which are found in the *Textus Roffensis*, and by coins which apparently can be referred to no other period or country. If these are to be depended upon, Egbert began to reign at least as early as 765, in which he granted land at Rochester to bishop Eardulf in a charter which was confirmed by the kings Heaberht [EADBERT (3)] and Offa (Kemble, *C. D.* 113; *Monast. Angl.* i. 166), another king named Sigered claiming half Kent about the same time. Another grant of Egbert is dated at Canterbury in 778; in this he bestows land at Bromgeheg (Bromley) on Rochester (Kem. *C. D.* 132; *Monast. Angl.* i. 166); and this is confirmed by another grant of the next year (K. *C. D.* 135; *Monast. Angl.* i. 167). Another undated grant, confirmed by Heaberht, bestows land at Halling on the same church (Kem. *C. D.* 160; *Monast. Angl.* i. 166). Unfortunately all these documents proceed from the same chartulary, and must stand or fall together. If they stand, Egbert must have retained power longer than any of the other Kentish pretenders of the age, and have even survived the subjugation of the kingdom by Offa in 774. He is noticed by none of our historians, unless he be the Egfert who, according to Henry of Huntingdon (*M. H. B.* 734), ruled Kent for thirty-four years, after the death of Ethelbert II. His coins are described by Hawkins (*English Silver Coins*, ed. Kenyon, pp. 31, 32), as struck by two moneyers, Udd and Babba, who also struck coins of Offa; so that all through his reign he may possibly have been under Offa's supremacy. But this must remain conjectural. [S.]

EGBERT (3) (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. init.

in *M. H. B.* 721 e; Malm. *G. R. A.* i. §§ 65, 69, 70, 72), king of Northumbria, son of Eata, also called Eadbert. [EADBERT (5).] [C. H.]

EGBERT (4) (EGBERHT, ECGBRIHT), king of the West Saxons 802–839. Although the longer and more important part of the reign of Egbert falls outside of the period comprised in this work, his position and power render the reign itself a mark of an epoch which in English history answers to that furnished by the reign of Charles the Great in the general history of Europe. It is desirable, therefore, to point out briefly the main features of the reign and its special bearing on the unity and continuity of our ecclesiastical and civil history.

Egbert was the son of Ealhmund, who was the great-grandson of Ina's brother Ingild. Since the resignation of Ina in 725 the West-Saxon crown had been worn by a succession of kings who, whatever were their relation to the main line of Cerdic, were not in the direct line of succession. Ethelhard, Cuthred, Sigebert, Cynewulf, and Beorhtric are all described as kinsmen to one another, but in no case is the pedigree preserved. It is probable then that the direct line of Ingild having been set aside in favour of Ethelhard who had to contend likewise with a more distant competitor, Oswald, the restoration of the fortunes of the house was first attempted by Ealhmund, who is said in the Chronicle to have been king in Kent in 784, or perhaps, allowing for two years' variation, in 786. Nothing can be affirmed positively as to his relations to Beorhtric [BEORHTRIC], but it is obvious that if both began to reign in 786, and both claimed to be kings representing the house of Cerdic, their relations could not be friendly. As no more is heard of Ealhmund, it must be inferred that his pretensions to Wessex, if he made any, were defeated; his position in Kent seems to have been taken up ten years later by Eadbert Praen; and his son Egbert, who would probably be a child in 786, appears first in 802, on the death of Beorhtric. Beorhtric was a mere dependant of Offa; and to the agency of the two kings the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the authorities that followed it ascribe the banishment of Egbert and his exile at the court of Charles. Of the fact there need be no doubt, but the length of the exile is doubtful; the more ancient authorities (*Chr. S.*, Flor. Wig., H. Hunt.) making it three years, William of Malmesbury, who probably had other authorities for the West-Saxon history, making it thirteen. If Egbert returned from exile in 802, three years would be too short, as Offa had then been six years dead; but he may have returned on the death of Offa, and taken his chances with Eadbert Praen; two dates may therefore be suggested, 793–796 and 789–802; the other two, 783–796 and 799–802, being excluded by the mention of Offa and Beorhtric as acting together. As, however, Offa's hold on Wessex was finally established by the marriage of Beorhtric and Eadburga in 789 (*Chr. S.* 787) and thirteen years from that date bring us to the accession of Egbert in 802, probability, as contrasted with evidence, is in favour of this computation. If this be accepted Egbert must have witnessed some of the most important acts of the career of Charles, especially his assumption of the imperial crown, and must have returned to England qualified by education and experience for the great part which he afterwards played. On the death of Beorhtric, which occurred in 802 (*Chr. S.* 800), Egbert seems to have succeeded to the throne with little trouble.

England under Kenulf [KENULF] was in a very different condition from that in which it had been under Offa, who had either subjugated all the other kingdoms, or reduced them, by bestowing his daughters on the kings, to the condition of humble allies. Before his death Northumbria had broken away from him, and his son-in-law Ethelred had been murdered; Kent had risen under Eadbert Praen, and Wessex itself was disquieted by the intrigues of Eadburga. Egfrid the son of Offa had reigned only a few months, and Kenulf, who was only a distant kinsman, possessed neither the policy nor the alliances of Offa. Still Kenulf during great part of his reign retained supremacy in Kent and East Anglia, and was the most powerful king in England. What slight opposition was offered to Egbert's succession must have been owing to Kenulf's suggestion. According to the *Chronicle*, on the day of Egbert's succession, possibly in consequence of something which occurred at his election, Ethelmund, the ealdorman of the Hwiccii, made an incursion into Wiltshire. Weoxtan the ealdorman, with the men of Wiltshire, withstood him, and although both leaders fell in the battle the invaders were routed.

From this year to 815 (813 *Chr. S.*) the annals of the reign of Egbert are blank. There is indeed a legend, or rather fabricated story, that in the first year of his reign Egbert called together his witan at Winchester, and decreed that for the future his kingdom should be called Anglia (*Monast. Angl.* vi. 608), but the story need only to be mentioned to be rejected; it is clearly a forgery of a late date, at which Egbert had come to be popularly regarded as king of all England. Neither letter, charter, nor legend breaks the silence for fourteen years. Matthew Paris alone seems to antedate the later conquests of Egbert, by placing the conquest of Cornwall in 808, and that of the northern Welsh in 810 and 811. These years were given, if we may argue from the results, to the consolidation of the West-Saxon power at home, and on the western border. Not a word is said of any participation of Egbert in the struggle between Canterbury and Mercia, nor does his name appear in the correspondence of the emperor: there are no West Saxon synods, nor even a monastic charter.

Egbert, in some of his later charters, which are regarded as genuine, adopts with the computation of his regnal years, a method of dating by the years of his "ducatus," dating from 812: in charters of 826 the twenty-fourth year of the reign answers to the fourteenth of the "ducatus." (Kemble, *C. D.* 1035, 1036, 1038.) It may be inferred from this that the year 812 or 813 was marked by the initiation of hostile measures, probably against the Welsh. Whether the "ducatus" implies the assumption of the character of Bretwalda, or the national hegemony, or whether the charters in which the term occurs are genuine, may be moot questions, but Egbert certainly had not in 812 or 813 performed any historical exploits that entitled him to such a claim; and the form was adopted only in his later years when his suc-

cesses had justified the assumption. Anyhow his military activity begins about this time, and in 814 we have the first gleam of light on the ecclesiastical history of the West-Saxon realm. In 814 (*Chr. S.* 812), bishop Wigthen of Winchester went to Rome in company with archbishop Wulfred. From that period seems to date the gradual coolness between Wulfred and Kenulf, which broke out later into an open quarrel, and possibly also that closer intercourse with Wessex which still later grew into a strong alliance.

In 815 (813, *Chr. S.*) Egbert laid waste West Wales or Cornwall from east to west. If his victories in this struggle suggested to him the assumption of a new title, as he had seen Charles assume the imperium, he may now have assumed the "ducatus," dating it by the commencement of his expedition. After this another blank of ten years occurs, during which the great synod of Cealchyth in 816 was held, no mention of Egbert being made in it. King Kenulf died in 821 (*Chr. S.* 819), Ceolwulf his successor was deposed, and Beornwulf was placed on the throne 823. In 824 we have the first notice of a meeting of the West-Saxon witan under Egbert; it was held at Acleah, Oakley (probably the Hampshire Oakley, near Basingstoke), and approved of a grant made by the king to his "praefectus" or reeve Wulfheard (Kemble, *C. D.* 1031, from the Codex Wintoniensis). The next year he was again at war, and his career of aggrandisement began. As before, his first expedition was against the Britons of Cornwall: the men of Devon fought with them at Camelford, there was great slaughter, but the result is not stated. (*Chr. S.*; H. Hunt. in *M. H. B.* 733.) Egbert himself was probably employed in this campaign: for there are two charters drawn up with the date Aug. 19, 825, at Creodantreow, "in hoste quando Egbertus rex Gewissorum movit contra Brittones." (K. *C. D.* 1033, 1035.) The same year was fought the battle of Ellandune, between Egbert and Beornwulf, which was the first of the decisive encounters between Mercia and Wessex. The place is uncertain, but it was probably not far from Winchester, as Hun the ealdorman of Somerset who fell at Ellandune was buried at Winchester. (Ethelwerd, *M. H. B.* 510.) If Beornwulf had penetrated so far into Wessex as this, he must have taken advantage of Egbert's absence on the British frontier. The battle was a cruel one, and the streams ran with blood. Egbert was completely victorious, and the tottering fabric of Mercian supremacy fell at once. Into Kent Egbert sent his son Ethelwulf with the ealdorman Wulfheard and bishop Ealhstan of Sherborn to recover the kingdom of his father Ealhmund, which, as the Chronicler says, had been unjustly lost. (*M. H. B.* 343.) Surrey, Sussex, and Essex submitted at once; East Anglia, whither Beornwulf had betaken himself, made overtures to Egbert, and there Beornwulf himself was killed by the people. The Mercians, divided among themselves, continued the unequal struggle for some few years. In 825 or 826 Ludecan succeeded Beornwulf; he fell in an attempt to recover East Anglia, after a reign of two years. (Flor. Wig. in *M. H. B.* 548.) Wiglaf his successor, who seems to have acquired the throne in 828, was immediately attacked and deposed by Egbert (829, *Chr. S.* 827). It is at this period that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* applies to the victorious king the title of Bretwalda. After two or three years of exile Wiglaf was restored in 831 to the throne of Mercia by Egbert as a tributary king. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 557.) It was probably about this time or a little earlier that Egbert gave the kingdom of Kent to his son Ethelwulf. The *Chronicle*, under the year 827 (corr. 829), mentions an expedition of Egbert against Northumbria: he advanced to Dore (Derbyshire) and there received the submission of the nation. Another expedition against the North Welsh completes this portion of the reign. During these years there is a very little light from charters; in 828 Egbert, together with Ethelwulf, whom he calls in the charter king of Kent, granted to the church at Rochester immunity for its estates from public imposts except the three regular exactions (Kem. *C. D.* 223). In 830, as king of the West Saxons and the Kentishmen, Egbert gave lands in Kent to his thegn Etheric (Kem. *C. D.* 224). In 833 he gave a small estate in Kent to an abbat named Dunn and his church at Sandon (Kem. *C. D.* 234), and that year held his court on St. Stephen's day at Dorchester, where he decided a cause touching land in a charter preserved in the Shaftesbury Cartulary (Kem. *C. D.* 232).

Shortly after this occurred the first alarms on the south coast from the northern sea kings. In 832 (corr. 834) Sheppey was ravaged by the heathen; in 833 (corr. 835) Egbert, in a battle at Charmouth (Carrum), had to contend with thirty-five ships of the Danes; he was defeated, and lost in the fray two bishops and two ealdormen. In 835 (837) the Danes and Cornishmen united and were defeated by the king at Hengistsdown. (*M. H. B.* 344, 345.) This was Egbert's last victory, although after the intermission of a year the Danes renewed their attack.

During this period of war and danger, archbishop Ceolnoth had established himself in the see of Canterbury; he had thus been brought into closer intercourse with Ethelwulf, and perhaps with Egbert himself. Ethelwulf was, as his later history shews, peculiarly open to religious impressions, and Egbert seems in his last years to have shewn a strong inclination to strengthen himself by obtaining ecclesiastical support. Up to this time none of the West Saxon kings, except Ine, had shewn themselves liberal founders of churches; their charters are very few, and unless we suppose that the benefactions of later kings have been referred back to Ine, their gifts were neither many nor large. Egbert's own benefactions had been chiefly bestowed on Winchester, and for the first twenty years of his reign no extant charter is producible; nor is he found in attendance in any synod. The interdiocesan and other disputes of his bishops are settled in the synods of Clovesho and Cealchyth, under the direct influence of the Mercian kings, and with no notice of his participation; and of his bishops, two or three, Herefrith, Wigthen, and Ealhstan are known as warriors rather than as ecclesiastics, whilst the others can scarcely be said to be known at all. The apparent parsimony of the West-Saxon monarchs may be accounted for by the poverty of the kings, or the smallness of the folkland of Wessex; the secular character of both kings and prelates by the constant needs of defensive warfare and internal

organisation. In this latter point it is even possible that more was done by Egbert than appears on the surface, and that we should refer to him the appointment of bishops and ealdormen for each shire of his West-Saxon kingdom, an institution of which there are traces somewhat later, but not earlier. The year 838 seems to be marked by a step in advance. In a council held at Kingston-on-Thames, if the Canterbury Cartulary is to be trusted, archbishop Ceolnoth concluded an alliance with Egbert and Ethelwulf, for themselves, their heirs and successors for ever. (Kem. *C. D.* 240; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 617, 618.) It appears from the document that an estate at Malling had been given to the church of Canterbury by king Baldred while flying before his enemies; the title of the convent was therefore regarded as imperfect, and the kings were moved by the prayers of Ceolnoth to complete it. This was done on the understanding that they and their heirs should receive from Ceolnoth and the convent, and their successors, firm and unshaken friendship, patronage and protection; all the Kentish monasteries, which had chosen the two kings as defenders, were included in the alliance; the bishops agreed to it, and with the addition of certain immunities it was recorded and ordered to be kept among the "telligraphia" of the church of Canterbury. A very similar document embodied a like alliance between the kings and the church of Winchester. (Kem. *C. D.* 1044; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 619.) Some doubts may be thrown on the genuineness of these charters, but those doubts arise rather from the nature of their contents than from their diplomatic unsoundness; the Winchester charter, which may have been drawn up in imitation of the Canterbury one, is the one to which these doubts mainly apply. It is, however, by no means impossible that we have in this record a monument of great importance, an alliance, so to speak, between church and state in Kent, which was pregnant of consequences for later times. It was afterwards confirmed by Ethelwulf as sole king. This was nearly the last act of Egbert. His death, placed by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the authors who have followed its guidance, in 836, really took place in 839; an important point of chronology which is proved both by the charters of Egbert, and by the number of years assigned to him by all authorities. He reigned thirty-seven years and seven months, which, dating from 802, fix the period of his death about the middle of the year 839. Ethelwulf calls 839 the first year of his reign after his father's death (Kem. *C. D.* 240), and the year 802 may (notwithstanding the computation of the *Chronicle*) be safely accepted as the first year of Egbert.

Egbert's coins are described by Hawkins (*Silver Coins of England*, ed. Kenyon, pp. 111–113). Some of them were struck at Rochester; about twenty different moneyers seem to have been employed. The inscription is "Egbert (spelled variously Ecgbearht, Aegcbearht, Hecbearht) Rex"; in some of them the word "Saxo" occurs instead of the royal head, indicating the title of "Rex Saxonum," and in some the Mercian M and the East Anglian A are possibly discernible. The title by which he appears in charters is "Rex Anglorum," A.D. 828 (K. *C. D.* 223); rex occidentalium Saxonum, A.D. 824 (K. *C. D.* 1031), 826 (K. *C. D.* 1036), 830 (K. *C. D.* 224); 833 (K. *C. D.* 232); 835 (*ib.* 236); rex Cantiae necnon et aliarum gentium, A.D. 833 (K. *C. D.* 234); regali fretus dignitate (K. *C. D.* 1038–59); rex Gewissorum, 825 (K. *C. D.* 1033–1035); or rex simply, 838. (K. *C. D.* 239, 240, &c.) Possibly the "rex Anglorum" may be a corruption of the copyist; but the same title had been assumed by Offa. [S.]

EGBERT (5) (ECGBERCT), presbyter, a Northumbrian of noble descent, born in 639 (cf. Bede, iii. 27, and v. 22), went as a youth (*ib.* iv. 3) into Ireland for purposes of study and devotion (*ib.* iii. 4, 27). Many Englishmen of that age did the like, visiting the "cells" of different Irish teachers, and receiving gratuitous instruction, together with a supply of books and of food. But Egbert stands out pre-eminently among these English students. Among his companions were Chad (Ceadda; *ib.* iv. 3) and Ethelhun (*ib.* iii. 27). Egbert and Ethelhun were together in an Irish monastery called Rathmelsigi, which Smith, in his note on the latter passage in Bede, identifies with Mellifont near Drogheda, but which has also been placed in Connaught (Lanigan, *Eccl. H. Irel.* iii. 95). Here they were both attacked by the pestilence which appeared in Ireland and England during 664. Egbert, thinking that he should die (so runs the story, which one who heard it from him recounted to Bede), went out one morning from the "cubiculum" reserved for the sick, and, "sitting down alone in a convenient place, began to think over his life," and prayed that he might have time to repent of the negligences of his youth or childhood, or "exercise himself more abundantly in good works." He vowed that if his life were prolonged he would never return to his own country,—that, if in health, he would daily recite the whole psalter, beside the psalmody of the canonical hours,—and that every week he would fast a whole day and night. He then went back to the monastery, lay down to rest, and was presently assured by Ethelhun that he would receive what he had prayed for. Ethelhun died the next night; Egbert recovered, and was afterwards ordained priest, and became eminent for humility, "gentleness, continence, simplicity, righteousness," so that he set an example to the other English residents, and to the native Irish, and to the Irish Picts or Cruithne, and was widely revered for his "knowledge of the scriptures," his "diligence" and winning "sweetness" as a teacher, his earnestness in living up to what he taught, his authoritativeness in rebuking, and his benevolence in bestowing on the poor whatever he had received from the rich (Bede, iii. 4, 27; v. 22). He was regarded as having chosen the life of a sojourner in a foreign land for "Christ's sake," and "in order to gain a country in heaven." He not only carried out his vows of ascetic and devotional observance, but "added to them" by taking food only once a day throughout Lent, and also during forty days before Christmas, and forty after the "Quinquagesima" or "Pentecostal period" of Eastertide, the food at these times consisting of a little bread and of milk, which he poured into a bowl, when fresh over night, and drank it skimmed in the morning. He seems to have had a dream on the night of March 2, 672, in

which he thought he saw the soul of bishop Cedda descend with angels to take the soul of Chad into the "heavenly kingdom" (Bede, iv. 3). Egbert remonstrated with king Egfrid of Northumbria, when in the spring of 684 he was planning an invasion of Ireland (*ib.* iv. 26): "Why should he attack a country which had done him no harm?" But, says Bede, Egfrid "refused to hearken." Egbert, some two or three years later, was fired with that missionary ardour which at that time so powerfully animated the Irish church: he thought of "sailing round Britain" in order to evangelise some of the German tribes, as Frisians, Old-Saxons, Boructuarians, &c., or, if this could not be done, he meditated a pilgrimage to the "threshold of the apostles" at Rome (*ib.* v. 9). He had selected his companions, and provided all necessaries for the voyage, when one morning a monk, who had lived at Melrose under Boisil, told him of a dream in which he had been warned by Boisil to say to Egbert, in Christ's name, that he was not able ("non valet") to accomplish the intended journey, and must rather go to teach "the monasteries of Columba." "Say nothing about this," said Egbert, "lest it should prove an illusion." He himself, "considering the matter in silence, feared that it might be true, yet did not like" to give up his missionary enterprise. After a few days the monk told him that he had been rebuked in another dream, for having given the warning negligently and coldly: he must go again and say to Egbert, "that will he, nill he, he must come to the monasteries of Columba, because their ploughs do not go straight: that it is his duty to recall them to the right path." Egbert no longer doubted, and yet according to the story, he made one more attempt to carry out his one purpose. His vessel was laden and was awaiting a fair wind, when a storm arose, destroyed some portion of the freight, though nothing of what belonged to Egbert and his friends, and left the ship "lying amid the waves near the shore." Then, at last, Egbert gave way. He remained, however, in Ireland until 716, and then went to Icolmkill, where, "by his pious and diligent exhortations," he persuaded abbat Dunchad and the community to adopt the "Catholic Easter" and the crown-like tonsure, and then, in Bede's view, "consecrated" the island afresh "to Christ" by bringing it into "the light of church fellowship" (*ib.* v. 22). He spent there the remaining thirteen years of his life, dying happily on Easter-day, the 24th of April, A.D. 729. Bede had a special veneration for this "most reverend and holy father," this "servant of Christ and friend, to be named with all honour" (iii. 4, v. 9, 22), who was sometimes commemorated as St. Egbert. [W. B.]

EGBERT (6) (Eamberth, Ecgberht, Hechbertus), archbishop of York, the son of Eata, and a scion of the royal family of Northumbria. He was sent by his father, in his infancy, to a monastery to be educated, and, when grown up, Egbert went to Rome with his brother Egred, where he was ordained deacon. Egred died there, and Egbert returned home. In A.D. 732, bishop Wilfrid II. died, and Egbert was appointed his successor by king Ceolwulf. (Symeon, *H. E. D.* ii. 3.) The Northumbrian chronology places Egbert's accession in A.D. 732 (apud Bedam), the *Saxon Chron.* two years later. Other dates are given, which are manifestly erroneous.

Soon after Egbert's accession, Bede addressed to him a most admirable letter, which gives a clearer insight into the history of the northern church than any other document of that age. In the first place Bede exhorts Egbert not only to personal piety, but to the observance and dissemination of sound doctrine as well. Instead of abrupt changes from grave to gay, instead of seeking after worldly society and amusements, he bids him study God's word, and ordain more priests to preach and administer the sacraments in the country villages; to translate, also, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer out of Latin into Saxon, for the guidance of teachers and listeners. Bede then goes on to speak of the neglected state of the diocese. He says that there are towns and hamlets in the more inaccessible districts, which, although taxed for the support of a bishop, not only never see him from year to year, but are also without any resident teacher or minister. Hitherto the great hindrance to the much-needed subdivision of dioceses has been the greed of bishops. Against this evil a wise and salutary remedy was provided by the prescience of pope Gregory, who directed that there should be twelve bishops in the northern province, and Bede exhorts his friend to obtain for himself the pall, which will give him metropolitan authority, and to obtain the permission of king Ceolwulf to appoint suffragans. The creation of these can be effected by an arrangement with the monasteries, which may be made episcopal centres; the power of election might rest in them, at all events they might facilitate it. Bede then draws a sad picture of the condition of these monasteries. They were hot-beds of vice and iniquity, without discipline or supervision. For the last thirty years and more it had been a habit among the laity to purchase lands for the establishment of monasteries, which, when they were established and freed from secular jurisdiction, became the hereditary property of the founders and their families, who paid no attention to celibacy or anything else. There was scarcely a prefect who had not founded a monastery in this way, and the officers and servants of the king had followed their example, and this prefect or officer called himself an abbat. The whole diocese, Bede said, was full of disorder, corruption, and luxury, and stood in need of the most vigorous and searching reform. (Bede, *Opp.* ed. Smith, pp. 305–12.)

The advice and the warnings of Bede were not lost upon Egbert. In A.D. 735 he got the pall at Rome from Gregory III., thus becoming the metropolitan of the north, and the first archbishop of York since the time of Paulinus (*Saxon Chron.*). In A.D. 738 his brother Eadbert became king, so that he could now rely upon the support of the secular arm. There is no record, however, of his making any attempt to increase the number of his suffragans—territorial reasons were probably against this—but there is strong evidence to shew that Egbert was not only a learned, but at the same time a wise and successful ruler. His literary works were of great repute. Alcuin commends him for the way in which he distributed his wealth, especially among the poor. Egbert was evidently a digni-

fied ecclesiastic, accustomed to patronize and to be looked up to, and yet with more suavity and geniality than might have been expected in a schoolmaster. He had also splendid tastes. He acquired many sacred vessels for his churches made of silver, and ornamented with jewels and gold, together with figured curtains of silk, apparently of foreign manufacture. He was also a reformer of church music, and seems to have introduced the observance of the hours. (Alcuin, *de SS. Ebor. Eccl.* 1262–1271.)

Egbert's chief claim to the gratitude of posterity was his establishment of the school or university of York, and his commencement of the library in connexion with it. The school was attached to the minster, on which it has conferred an enduring fame. Egbert himself was the moderator or head, and gave the religious instruction, whilst Ethelbert or Albert was the vice-domnus or abbas, and had the charge of grammar and the arts and sciences. Scholars flocked to York from all parts of Europe, and among the pupils was the illustrious Alcuin, who speaks affectionately of the piety and goodness of Egbert, telling us what an excellent instructor he was, how just and yet gentle. We gain also through Alcuin a glimpse of Egbert's scholastic life. It was his wont in the morning, as soon as he was at leisure, to send for some of the young clerks, whom he instructed in succession, sitting on his couch as he did so. At noon he went into his private chapel, and celebrated mass. When dinner was over, at which he ate sparingly, it was a pleasure to him to hear his scholars discuss literary questions. In the evening he said compline with them, and then each received his blessing, kneeling at Egbert's feet. (*Vita B. Alcuini*, ed. Jaffé, 10–11.)

Towards the close of his life, Egbert resigned to Albert and Alcuin the management of his school, and devoted himself exclusively to his spiritual work. His brother king Eadbert laid aside his crown, and came to live with him in A.D. 757 in religious retirement at York. The archbishop died first, on Nov. 19, A.D. 766; his brother survived him until Aug. 19, A.D. 768. They were laid side by side in one of the porches or chapels of York Minster. (*Saxon Chron.*; Symeon, *H. R.* ed. Surtees Soc. 20, 22–3.)

Egbert, in conjunction with his brother, struck coins, of which several types have been discovered. It was the fashion at one time to ascribe them to the kingdom of Kent.

Egbert was the most practically able man that had hitherto ruled the church of York. We do not hear of him as a great reformer; he strove rather to secure the next generation on the side of order and godliness by his educational efforts, and his own gentle yet firm example. His books are class or text books, pointing to what must then have seemed a very ideal state of discipline and purity, and setting up a possible standard of the most exalted kind. He had the advantage of living in a peaceful time, with his own brother on the throne, so that his plans had every reasonable chance of success, and he lived long enough to see them have a fair trial. It is not too much to say that the gentle influences of the school of York and its teachers kept Northumbria together until the close of the century in which Egbert lived. When we mark the political changes, and the violence and bloodshed of the times, we can only wonder that it endured so long. At the last, when Northumbria became hopelessly disorganized, the discipline and the learning of Egbert were enlightening other countries than that which they were intended to humanize. The children of the school of York taught the schools or universities of Italy, Germany, and France.

Among the letters of Boniface there are two addressed to Egbert, in one of which Boniface asks him to send him into Germany a part of Bede's Commentary; in the other he sends Egbert transcripts of the epistles of Gregory made for him at Rome, and unknown, as he thinks, in England. The letters shew that the writer valued the archbishop's opinion, and are very genial and instructive (*Epp.* ed. Giles, i. 87, 113). York had a great deal to do in the 7th and 8th centuries with the evangelization of Germany. There is also a letter extant, written in A.D. 757, in which Paul I. chides, apparently, both Egbert and his brother Eadbert, for an injustice done to abbat Fordred (Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 144; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 394). The name of Egbert ought not to have been inserted in it, as the rebuke was intended for the king, not for the archbishop.

Egbert was an author of note and fame, his works having for their aim the elevation of the moral tone of his clergy and diocese generally. They consist of the following.

1. A *Pontificale*, or volume of episcopal offices, printed for the first time by the Surtees Soc. (vol. xxvii.), from a MS. in the national library at Paris, formerly belonging to the church of Evreux. There are extracts from it in Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* t. ii.; lib. ii. c. xiii.; cf. Maskell's *Monum. Ritualia*, var. loc.

2. *Succinctus Dialogus Ecclesiasticæ Institutionis*, a treatise on various points of church discipline, in the form of question and answer; printed first by Sir James Ware, 8vo. Dubl. 1664, pp. 91–114; afterwards by Labbe, vi. 1604–11; Johnson, ed. Baron. i. 161–179; Wilkins, i. 82–86; Mansi, xii. 482–88; Thorpe, *Laws and Instit.* ii. 87–96; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 403–13; cf. Leland, *de Scriptt. Brit.* i. 114 Oudinus, i. 1796.

3. *Excarpsum de Canonibus Catholicorum patrum, vel Poenitentiale ad remedium animarum*, printed in Martene and Durand, *Ampl. Coll.* vii. coll. 40–8; Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen, etc., pp. 231–247; Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* iii. 413–31, where there is a learned and exhaustive note on the history of this work. The text printed by H. and S., and derived from Wasserschleben, seems to be the original work of Egbert, but it was subsequently overlaid with added materials from other sources, which are sometimes called a Confessionale and Poenitentiale. These are printed in a variety of forms by Labbe, vi. coll. 1611–19; Spelman, 281–8; Wilkins, i. 113–44; Mansi, xii. 459; Thorpe, ii. 128–239; cf. Wanley, ii. 109; Lel. *de Scriptt. Brit.* i. 114; Oudinus, i. 1796; Wright, *Biogr. Lit.* i. 305; see also Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* b. ii. 101.

To Egbert there are also ascribed a series of *Excerptiones*, or extracts from the fathers and canons of the church, on matters of discipline. Wasserschleben, however, has shewn that they cannot be Egbert's, as they contain extracts from the Capitularia of Charlemagne (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 415). They are printed as Egbert's

work by Spelman, pp. 258–80; Labbe, vi. cc.. 1586–1604; Johnson, ed. Baron, i. 184–233; Wilkins, i. 101–12; Thorpe, ii. 326–42, cf. Wanley, ii. 109; Mabillon, *Ann. Ben.* ii. 210–11; Oudinus, i. 1796.

Bale and his followers ascribe to Egbert other works, sc.:—*Eruditiones Discipulorum*, lib. i.; *Homiliae et Lectiones*, lib. i.; *Ad Ecclesiarum pastores*, lib. i.; *Ad Zachariam pro pallio*, epist. 1; *Ad Eadbertum fratrem regem*, epist. 1; *Ad Atincum diaconum epistt. plures*, &c. (Bale, *Scriptt. Brit.* cent. ii. 109; Pitseus, 153–4); cf. Smithi *Flores Hist. Eccl.* 153; Harpsfeld, 148; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 627; Oudinus, i. 1796; Wright, *Biogr. Brit. Lit.* i. 297–305; Dixon and Raine, *Lives of Archbishops of York*, i. 94–100. [J. R.]

EGBERT (7), bishop of Lindisfarne. Florence of Worcester (ann. 802) says that Egbert being elected on the death of Higbald was consecrated on June 11 by archbishop Eanbald. Simeon of Durham (Twysd. *Scriptt.* col. 119) writes: "Anno dccciii. Higbaldus episcopus obiit et Egbertus ei successit." The MS. however, has an hiatus after "Egbertus," and "ei successit" is supplied by Twysden from the continuation (see note in Sym. Dun. ed. Surtees Soc. p. 42, and *M. H. B.* 673 E), but this fault in the manuscript affects Egbert's succession less than that of Ceolnoth archbishop of Canterbury. June 11, 803, was probably the day of Egbert's consecration, as that day was Trinity Sunday, and this is the date adopted by Wharton (*Angl. Sac.* i. 698) and Stubbs (*Regist. Sacr.* 9). Wendover also gives 803. We are indebted to Simeon of Durham (*Dunelm. Eccl.* ii. 5, Twysd. 13) for the information that Egbert was ordained bishop at Biguella, and that the assisting bishops were Eanbert of Hexham and Badulf of Whithern. Biguella is identified with Bywell on the north bank of the Tyne (Sym. Dun. *ut sup.* ed. Stevenson), an account of which spot is given in E. Mackenzie's *Northumberland*, ii. 350, ed. 1825.

Egbert's successor was Heathored, A.D. 821. His metropolitans were therefore Eanbald II. and Wulfsy; the kings of Northumbria contemporary with him were Eardulf and Eanred. [Ethelwulf (2).] [C. H.]

EGBIRHT (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. §§ 15, 96, 98, 106, 107, 108, ed. Hardy), EGBIRT (id. § 43), EGBRICHT (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. v. in *M. H. B.* 733, 734, 735), EGBRICT (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* v. in *M. H. B.* 737 c. 750), king of Wessex. [Egbert (4).] [C. H.]

EGBRICHT (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 726 a), archbishop of York. [Egbert (6).] [C. H.]

EGBRICT (1) (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 735 a), king of Northumbria. [Eadbert (5).] [C. H.]

EGBRICT (2) (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* ii. in *M. H. B.* 719 b), EGBRIHT (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 673, in *M. H. B.* 534 a), EGBRITH (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 723 b), king of Kent. [Egbert (1).] [C. H.]

EGBURGA, EGBURG, who writes to bishop Boniface A.D. 716–722; Ep. 32 in Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 732; *Mon. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, p. 63. She is "ultima discipulorum vel discipularum ejus"; she describes her regard for him in enthusiastic and almost fond terms, telling him how she has transferred to him, her abbat and her brother, all her sisterly affection since the death of his friend her brother Oshere. A new bereavement has befallen her, by her beloved Wetburga's incarceration at Rome. But Wetburga is a happy confessor; Winfrid too is an honoured apostle; while she, the miserable Egburga, not deemed worthy of being a companion with such servants of God, is left to bemoan her own sinfulness in the vale of tears. Deprived of the privilege of seeing Winfrid in the flesh, she implores him, on whom alone she leans, to place her upon the rock of his supplications, and moreover to send her some relics, a few written lines also, that by those tokens she may be able to think of him as present with her. Her amanuensis Ealdbeorcth may be responsible for the Latin and for some of the exuberance of style; but the sentiments are those of one who has wound herself up to believe she cannot serve God in the common round, despairing of being anything because her lot is not an heroic one. One of the variants of Eadburga abbess of Repton [Eadburga (3)] is Aegberga; but whether Boniface's correspondent was any of the known Eadburgas may be questioned. [C. H.]

EGCBALD (Kemble, *C. D.* 35), presbyter and abbat. [Egbald (1).] [C. H.]

EGCLAF (Kemble, *C. D.* 87), bishop of Dunwich. [Eglaf.] [C. H.]

EGCULFUS (Kemble, *C. D.* 193), bishop of London. [Egwulf.] [C. H.]

EGCUUINI (Kemble, *C. D.* 124), bishop of Worcester. [Egwin.] [C. H.]

EGDUNUS, a presbyter, martyred at Nicomedia with seven others. They were amongst the first victims of the Diocletian persecution (A.D. 303). Egdunus was hung up by his feet and suffocated with smoke. (*Mart.* Adon., Usuard.) He is commemorated March 12. [T. S. B.]

EGELBERHT (*A. S. C.* ann. 552 in *M. H. B.* 302), king of Kent. [Ethelbert I.] [C. H.]

EGELBRIHT, ST. (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 97, in § 86 Ethelbriht), king of East Anglia, slain by Offa. [Ethelbert (3).] [C. H.]

EGELRED (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 70, ed. Hardy), king of Northumbria. [Ethelred (4).] [C. H.]

EGEMONIUS (Aegemonius, Ignomus), bishop of Autun, mentioned by Gregory of Tours (*De Gloria Conf.* c. 75) as possessed of every episcopal virtue; died A.D. 374. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 333; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 499.) [R. T. S.]

EGEREDUS, bishop of Salamanca in A.D. 646. His signature appears among those of three councils, the seventh, eighth, and tenth of Toledo, in the years 646, 653, and 656, under Kindasvinth and Rekesvinth. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 276; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 423, 448, iv. 158.) [Eleutherius (14).] [M. A. W.]

EGFRID (1) (ECGFRID, ECGFRITH, ECHGFRID, EGFERD, EGFERTH, EGFRED), one of the younger sons of Oswy king of Northumbria and Eanfleda daughter of king Edwin. In A.D. 655, when his father was in the midst of his bitter struggle with Penda king of Mercia, Egfrid, then about five years of age, was kept as a hostage in Mercia by Cynwise the queen (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 24). After this we hear nothing of him until A.D. 670, when he succeeded his father on the Northumbrian throne as his eldest surviving son (*ibid.* iv. 5). He was in every way fitted to rule, and inherited a kingdom which his father at his death had left in profound peace.

Egfrid's first wife was Etheldreda, a daughter of Anna king of East Anglia, and widow of Tonbert, one of the rulers of that kingdom. The alliance with Egfrid was forced upon her, as she was under a vow of virginity, to which during her twelve years' alliance with him she carefully adhered. Wilfrid was high in the favour of both husband and wife, and Egfrid is said to have solicited the bishop's aid to enable him to overcome the objections of his wife, but to no purpose. The ill-matched couple were divorced, and Etheldreda became a nun at Coldingham, whilst Egfrid took as his second wife Ermenburga, sister-in-law of Centwine king of Wessex. They had no children. (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 19.)

The part which Wilfrid had taken in the domestic affairs of the Northumbrian palace was partly, no doubt, the cause of the trouble in which he was afterwards involved. In queen Ermenburga he had a determined and energetic foe, and her influence soon brought over her husband to her side. The wealth, the love of splendour, the wide-spread popularity of Wilfrid, and, above all, his success made the queen and her husband look upon him with suspicion and dislike. An opportunity soon occurred for diminishing Wilfrid's power. Archbishop Theodore was invited into Northumbria by Egfrid, and without Wilfrid's consent his large diocese was subdivided. A bishop was placed at Hexham, and another in Lindsey. To these changes Wilfrid made a vehement but unsuccessful resistance, and finally appealed to Rome in defence of his rights. After a long journey thither and many delays, he came back to the Northumbrian court with a papal decree in his favour, to find it treated with derision and contempt. He was robbed, cast into prison, and finally banished. The dread of Egfrid's revenge denied him also a shelter in Mercia and Wessex, and it was in heathen Sussex at last that he found a temporary home. In the meanwhile other changes were made in the Northumbrian diocese. Bosa became bishop of York, Eadhed came back from Lindsey to Ripon, whilst Trumbert, Eata, and Trumwin were also prelates in the province. Wilfrid was thus excluded from his diocese, and as long as he lived Egfrid denied him access to his kingdom.

In the management of Northumbria Egfrid was a bold and vigorous ruler. He made but few additions to his kingdom towards the south, Mercia being in his way. He held indeed Lindsey for a short time, but soon lost it. With Ethelred of Mercia he waged, in A.D. 679, a bloody war, in the course of which Egfrid's own brother Elfwin, was unhappily slain, and a long struggle seemed to be imminent when peace fortunately was restored by the intervention of Theodore. Egfrid was thus enabled to turn his arms with greater success in a different direction. He consolidated his power far and wide by treaties or annexation, subjecting to his rule the independent states of Cumberland, North Lancashire, and Galloway. Strathclyde would also have been secured had Egfrid lived.

Egfrid was a true and generous friend to the Northumbrian church. In its management and welfare he took the greatest interest. He was present at the ecclesiastical synod at Haethfelth (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 17). In A.D. 684 he was at the synod at Twyford on the Alne, at which Cuthbert was elected bishop of Lindisfarne in his absence. Egfrid tried in vain to induce him to accept the office. At last he went himself, and with great persuasion and difficulty obtained his assent and brought Cuthbert back to the synod (*H. E.* iv. 28). Egfrid was afterwards present when Cuthbert was consecrated at York (Symeon, *H. E. D.* i. c. 9). Between Cuthbert and Egfrid there existed the most intimate and affectionate relations. The king and archbishop Theodore gave the saint divers lands in the city of York, where there is still a church which bears his name. They gave him also the village of Crayke near York, and the country around it three miles in circuit, that Cuthbert might be able to halt there as he went to and from York. The charter, however, which professes to record the gift is a fictitious one (Beda, ed. Smith, App. 782). As this benefaction was small, Egfrid added to it the city of Luel or Carlisle, with a circuit of fifteen miles. He also gave him Cartmel in North Lancashire and all its Britons, and the vill of Suthgedliut, together with Carham in Northumberland (*Hist. de S. Cuth.* ed. Surtees Soc. 140–1). Benedict Biscop also experienced Egfrid's bounty. The king gave him the land at the mouth of the Wear on which Benedict erected his monastery of Wearmouth (*Vitae Abb.* auct. Beda). He was also, no doubt, connected with the building of Jarrow, the dedication stone of which still exists, stating that it was put there in the fifteenth year of king Egfrid's reign (*Jarrow and Wearmouth*, ed. Surtees Soc. pref. 26). The place itself, which is situated at the confluence of the rivulet Don with the Tyne, was called Portus Egfridi (Symeon, *H. E. D.* ii. c. 5). Well might the memory of Egfrid be dear to the Cuthbertines and the houses of Wearmouth and Jarrow.

In A.D. 684 the lust of empire induced Egfrid to send an expedition under Berctus to Ireland, Christian country although it was. The outrage evoked the expostulations of Egbert [EGBERT (5)] for the unjust onslaught upon a peaceful and friendly people. The expedition seems to have failed, but it caused much misery and destruction of sacred places, and generated a bitter feeling, which was more injurious to Egfrid than a reverse in the field (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 26).

In the following year Egfrid attacked the Picts, whose king, as Nennius (p. 50) says, was his kinsman, contrary to the entreaties of Cuthbert and his own friends and advisers. The Picts lured him on until they got him entangled among the hills, and then they fell upon him and slew the invader and most of his army at a place called Nechtane's Mere or the Pool of Nechtan. The king's body was interred at Hii, or Iona (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 26; Symeon, *H. E. D.*

i. 9). Bede tells us that the disaster was known beforehand to Cuthbert. In the preceding year he made Egfrid's sister, Elfleda abbess of Whitby, acquainted with the approaching termination of her brother's life and dominion (*Vita S. Cuth.* c. 24). At the time of the defeat in Pictland Cuthbert was at Carlisle, his own town, where Ermenburga the queen was anxiously awaiting some news from the north in a monastery, recently founded by Cuthbert, of which her sister was the abbess. The inhabitants escorted the saint over the city to shew him the walls and a fountain, built by the Romans, of wonderful construction. All at once Cuthbert bent over his staff, turning a saddened face to the ground. A vision seemed to pass before him. He raised his eyes and groaned as he spake aloud, "Perhaps now the crisis is over." "Whence knowest thou?" asked a priest near him; he would reveal no more; but went quickly to the anxious queen and bade her return with speed to the royal city in case the battle should have gone ill with her lord (*Vita S. Cuth.* c. 27). The spite of one of the biographers of Wilfrid represents that saint as beholding in Sussex, whilst he was celebrating mass, two demons carrying off the soul of the slaughtered monarch from the battle-field to the abode of the lost (*Vita S. Wilf.* auct. Eadmer. cap. 43). Bede, however, speaks of Egfrid as "piissimus rex!"

Egfrid was in many respects a great king. He possessed the power of organization which was so rare among the princes of his time, and had he only been free from restlessness, he would perhaps have established on the firmest and most lasting foundations the overlordship of Northumbria. Egfrid was most munificent to the church. In every territory which he acquired he seems to have planted bishops and set apart lands for ecclesiastical purposes. With men of Cuthbert's stamp Egfrid was always on the best of terms, although he did not always listen to their advice; but he was strictly in favour of the position and rights of a national church, and on that account the Ultramontanism of Wilfrid was excessively distasteful to him. He set his face against it once and for all. It was upon Egfrid's force of character and personal influence, often overstrained, that the cohesion of his dominions depended. As soon as he fell the process of dissolution began, "Spes caepit et virtus regni Anglorum fluere, ac retro sublapsa referri," says Bede. The Picts, flushed with victory, recovered what they had lost in the north, and bishop Trumwin retired from Whithern to Whitby to die. We hear no more of Cartmel and Carlisle as belonging to Cuthbert and Lindisfarne. Lindsey went irrevocably to Mercia, and the supremacy of Northumbria, which had lasted for more than a century, came to an end for ever.

About the beginning of this century a small hoard of copper coins, which have been ascribed to Egfrid, was found in the churchyard of Jarrow. On the reverse was the word LV or LVX. In the York Museum there are two other coins of the same monarch, but of a different type. [J. R.]

EGFRID (2) (EGGFERTH, EGGFRITH, EGFERD, EGFERT, EGFERTH), king of Mercia. He was the only son of Offa and Cynethritha, and was from an early age destined to be the heir to his father's extensive power. In the year 787 (*Chr. S.* 785; *M. H. B.* 336) he received the royal consecration, the projected arrangement being probably one of the matters which were discussed at the legatine council held by the Roman legates George and Theophylact in that year. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 444, 446.) Henry of Huntingdon (*M. H. B.* 731) supposed that Egfrid was made king of Kent on this occasion, but the assumption is not borne out by the charters, and it is far more probable that he was thus admitted to a share, or prospective share, of his father's full power. From the year 787 Egfrid frequently attests his father's charters as king; thus in 788 he, as "rex Merciorum," consents to a grant to Rochester (Kemble, *C. D.* 152); as "Ecgfrith rex," he sanctions other grants to Rochester in 789 (*ib.* 155 and 157) at the council of Cealchyth. In two charters of Worcester (K. *C. D.* 164, 167) of the year 794, he signs as "filius regis." His attestations as king are not, however, confined to Kentish charters, as would be the case if he were king of Kent, for he attests a Peterborough charter of abbat Beonna (787–796), K. *C. D.* 165), as "rex Merciorum." Nothing particular seems to be known about him during his father's lifetime. On Offa's death, July 29, 796, Egfrid succeeded him, but retained his royal power for a few months only, dying before the end of the year. (*Chr. S.* 794; *M. H. B.* 338.) William of Malmesbury (*G. R.* lib. i. § 94) says that during his short reign he shewed himself anxious to redress the evils that his father's cruelty had wrought, that he restored the monastic charters which his father had annulled, and in particular gave back an estate which had been alienated from Malmesbury. Several charters were issued by him during his short reign, one granted at Bath to Ethelmund, ealdorman of the Hwiccii (Kemble, *C. D.* 170, 171), one to Malmesbury (Kem. *C. D.* 174; Malmesb. *G. P.* ed. Hamilton, p. 388), besides two questionable or spurious grants to St. Albans (Kem. *C. D.* 172, 173), dated in synod at Cealchyth. There can be no doubt that the break-up of Offa's empire had begun even before his death, and that Egfrid's reign comprised some part of the Kentish troubles under Eadbert Praen. But there are no other traces of personal action. Alcuin, in a letter to the Northumbrian ealdorman Osberht, expressed his belief that Egfrid's early death was a sign of divine judgment on the bloody means by which Offa had procured his advancement. (*Mon. Alcuin.* ed. Jaffé, p. 350.) Florence of Worcester gives the exact length of his reign as 141 days, which would fix the day of his death at about Dec. 17. He was succeeded by his distant relation Coenulf. [KENULF.] [S.]

EGHLIONNA, virgin, commemorated Jan. 21. She is commemorated along with Faincher a virgin, and they are both in Cluain-Caoi or Cluain-Caein, in Eoghanacht, of Cashel (*Mart. Doneg.*; *Mart. Tall.*). This is now Clonkeen, a parish in the barony of Clanwilliam, co. of Limerick, and the living is a mensal to the see of Cashel; it is probably the same as the Cluain-caein-Modimog (*Four Mast.* ii. 936, n. [h], 937), which O'Donovan says was in the territory of Eoghanacht Chaisil, which he considers to be the present barony of Middlethird, in the county of Tipperary. The barony of Middlethird is

contiguous to that of Clanwilliam on the east (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 395–96). [J. G.]

EGIALEUS (Aegialeus), Grammaticus, one of the judges between Manes and bishop Archelaus (Baron. *Ann.* 277. 13). [C. H.]

EGICA (1), bishop of Segontia (Siguenza) in A.D. 655. His signature appears last but one among those of the eleventh council of Toledo. He died before 680. (*Esp. Sagr.* viii. 126; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 247.) [M. A. W.]

EGICA (2), Gothic king of Spain, from A.D. 687 to 701. He was the son-in-law of his predecessor Ervig (q.v.), having married his daughter Cixilo. Lucas of Tuy makes him the nephew of Wamba (iii. 69, apud Schott, *Hisp. Illus.*), while Sebastian of Salamanca (*Esp. Sagr.* xiii. 477) speaks of him as Wamba's cousin (consobrinus). It is tolerably certain, from the contemporary evidence that remains, that he belonged either to the family or party of Wamba, and that his elevation to the throne may be regarded on the one hand as an atonement on Ervig's part ("Zeichen . . . schlechten Gewissens," Dahn, v. 218) for the treatment which Wamba and his adherents had received [Ervig, Wamba], and on the other as a triumph of the less over the more strongly ecclesiastical forces of the Gothic state.

Egica was anointed king by Julian, the metropolitan of Toledo, Nov. 24, 687. Six months later, May 11, 688, the fifteenth council of Toledo met in the church of the Holy Apostles, under the presidency of Julian. The ceremonial observed was exactly the same as under Ervig. The king appears, asks, kneeling (humo prostratus), for the prayers of the bishops, and then hands to them the *tomus*, in which his wishes and his reasons for summoning the council are contained. He asks the advice of the bishops upon a point of conscience—How is he to reconcile two contradictory oaths? At the time of his marriage with Ervig's daughter (her name does not appear until the seventeenth council in 694) Ervig had obliged him to swear that he would at all future times, and on all possible occasions, protect the lives and property, and further the interests of Ervig's children and his wife's relations. The text of this curious oath is given later on in the acts, and is well worth attention. (Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can.* ii. 545.) Afterwards, when he became king he had taken the usual constitutional oath of justice and fidelity towards his people, also in the presence and with the knowledge of Ervig, and he now complains that it is impossible for him to keep both oaths. On the one hand he fears to incur the guilt of perjury by unjustly defending the family of Ervig against the just claims of his people, or on the other by dealing justly with his people at the expense of those whose interests he had sworn to advance and protect. Ervig is said (ut fertur) to have treated many with injustice and cruelty, degrading some from the condition of nobles to that of slaves, torturing and oppressing others, but all plaints are suspended because of the royal oath, and because also of the general oath, which Ervig had extracted from the whole nation on behalf of his family. Reference is here made to can. 4 of C. Tol. xiii. *de Munitione Prolis Regis*, a solemn engagement on the part of the council, and of the people as represented by them, which was repeated almost verbatim at the sixteenth council (can. 8), in the interests of Egica's family, and was a common constitutional formula (conf. C. Tol. v. 2, and vi. 16). The council after the profession of faith and after approbation of the second apologetic of Julian of Toledo addressed to Rome on the Apollinarist heresy [Julian of Toledo], which is inserted entire in the text of the acts, proceeded to deliver judgment on the king's case. After a skilful explanation and defence of the general oath, in which they saw nothing contrary to justice and equity, and which was only meant to secure the royal family from malicious and factious attacks, the council absolved the king (ab illis vinculis juramenti, quibus socero ante juravit), so wording the dispensation, however, as to avoid as much as possible giving offence to Ervig's adherents, who were still no doubt a formidable political party. The acuteness and plausibility with which the whole subject is treated betray the clear head and practised hand of Julian of Toledo, who presided at the council, and by whom in all probability the acts were drawn up. Sixty-one bishops, five vicars, eight abbats, and seventeen viri illustres were present.

Five years later, May 2, 693, the sixteenth council of Toledo assembled in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, the last council of Toledo, of which both acts and subscriptions have come down to us. The *tomus*, which seems to have answered tolerably closely to our speech from the throne, pointed out five subjects for legislation, the repair of churches, many in the kingdom being in a ruinous condition, the defence of parochial churches against unjust episcopal exaction, the extirpation of idolatrous rites, such as stone-worship, tree- and fountain-worship, divination, &c., the position of the Jews, and the frequency of conspiracy against the king's life and family. With regard to the last point the expressions in the *tomus* are unusually emphatic, and remind the reader of the famous Julian conspiracy, which did indeed accomplish eighteen years later what is here foreboded. "And since," says the *tomus*, "there are some swollen with pride who do not aspire to the throne by the concession of God, but think to obtain it by insolence and boasting, you will ordain that whosoever of the palatini, of whatever rank or honour, shall have attempted to compass the slaying of the king, or *the ruin of the race and country of the Goths* (excidium gentis et patriae Gothorum), or who within the bounds of Spain shall have endeavoured to stir up any tumult, shall be, together with their posterity, expelled from all the palatine offices, and obliged to serve the treasury as tributaries, losing, moreover, all their personal property except such as the clemency of the king shall preserve to them." (Comp. can. 65 of C. Tol. iv. on the same subject, where only ecclesiastical penalties are threatened.)

After the retirement of the king, and the recital of the confession of faith, ten canons were promulgated. The first against the Jews prescribed the careful execution by the judges of all previous laws on the subject. The Jews must either abjure or be destroyed ("quo aut tandem corrigantur inviti aut valide sic atterantur ex Domini in aeternum judicio perituri"). To

those, however, who are willing to forsake their errors various rewards and inducements are held out, and nothing is said of the specially atrocious provisions which disgrace the succeeding councils. (For a discussion of the Jew-laws of Ervig and Egica see Helfferich, *Entstehung und Geschichte des Westgothen-Rechts*, 192–207.) Canon 5, *De Reparatione Ecclesiarum*, &c. provides that the thirds (tertias quas antiqui canones de parochiis suis habendas episcopis censuerunt) shall be applied to the repairs of the church fabrics. Only if the church is in proper order is the bishop to appropriate them, and in no case is he to exact from the parochial churches more than the thirds either for the payment of the royal taxes (pro regiis inquisitionibus), or for the salaries of officials (causa stipendii). It is also forbidden that one presbyter shall under any pretext take charge of several churches. Every church which possesses ten slaves (the meaning of this condition is doubtful, Dahn, VIte Abth. 492; Tejada y Ramiro, note to C. Tol. xvi. 5) must have a presbyter of its own.

Canon vi. corrects certain errors in the Eucharistic ceremonial. The clergy are commanded to use bread specially prepared, and not to cut pieces from the ordinary bread made for their own use. In the seventh canon we get a glimpse into the procedure by which the acts of these national councils were made known and enforced throughout the country. The bishops are ordered on their return home, within six months at the latest, to gather together all the abbats, presbyters, deacons, and clerks of their dioceses, in order to read to them publicly the acts of the council, and make them fully known and understood by them. And whoever shall despise the acts, or shall endeavour to discredit them, or excite others to rebellion against them, is to be punished with two months' excommunication. In canon viii. we have a repetition of the oath *de Munimine Prolis Regiae*, referred to in the preceding council as having been sworn to Ervig on behalf of his family, and now renewed in the case of Egica's children. The council enumerates the king's many virtues, his gifts to churches, his moderation in matters of taxation, his magnanimity towards his enemies, and his generosity in restoring those who had forfeited their liberty to a free condition, and out of gratitude, not only grants him the oath of protection, but decrees that in future in all churches whenever mass is celebrated prayer shall be made for the king and his children, his grandchildren, and all who belong to him. Canon ix. decrees the deposition and excommunication of Sisebert, the traitor metropolitan of Toledo, who had plotted the destruction of the whole royal family—king, queen, sons, and daughters. [SISEBERT.] Before the opening of the council Sisebert's case had been adjudicated upon and his successor appointed, in order that the council might not begin without a president. (Since JULIAN, *q. v.*, the metropolitan of Toledo had presided irrespective of antiquity of ordination.) This is proved by the *Decretum Judicii* annexed to the acts. The decision is, however, now repeated so far as it concerned Sisebert, omitting the various translations of bishops [FELIX OF TOLEDO], and is then fitly followed by the tenth canon, *De his qui juramenti sui profanatores extiterint*, modelled upon C. Tol. iv. 75, and repeating three times by common acclamation, as in the earlier canon, the council's anathema upon those who shall plan the death of the king, or the forcible seizure of the kingdom. Then with thanksgiving to the omnipotent and indivisible Trinity the proceedings of the council come to an end. The decree concerning Sisebert is inscribed immediately after the acts, and the royal confirmation of the acts follows. It is given in the form of a speech from Egica (Ecce sanctissimi in Christo patres, &c.), and contains one or two curious points. Egica represents himself as inclined to treat those who have rebelled against him with gentleness, and he asks the council's opinion as to the advisability of clemency. They know how many times he has been the victim of treachery, and how many disturbances have been raised in the state. Let them say whether the authors of them can be fitly pardoned. But although the council is asked for its opinion upon exceptional cases, the king reserves full liberty of action for himself and his descendants in all future cases of conspiracy. (For the case of *Theudemund Spatarius noster*, also mentioned in Egica's speech, see FESTUS.) The answer of the council upon the points thus raised has not come down to us. Sixty bishops, of whom five were metropolitans, three vicars of the sees of Denia, Pampelona, and Ossonoba, five abbats and sixteen *comites et viri illustres*, attended the synod.

Nearly two years later, Nov. 4, 694, the seventeenth council of Toledo met in the church of St. Leocadia without the walls of the city. The king appeared *et in medio nostri consistens inclytum caput reclinans*, commended himself to the blessing and prayers of the council. The royal speech, drawn up probably, like that delivered at the sixteenth council, by the metropolitan Felix, puts forward in the first place among the matters to be dealt with by the council a conspiracy lately discovered between the Spanish and African Jews against the Gothic government. "Praesertim quia nuper manifestis confessionibus indubie invenimus hos in transmarinis partibus hebraeos alios consuluisse ut unanimites contra genus christianum agerent." Egica recalls his mild treatment of the Jews in making all possible efforts for their conversion, and in allowing them the use of Christian slaves, which had been previously forbidden to them. Now, however, seeing that all such efforts are in vain, the council is invited to proceed to extremities against them. From their decrees, however, are to be exempted the Jews living in the mountainous parts of Gallia Gothica (Galliae provinciae—intra clausuras—habitatores), because of the depopulation of that region by pestilence (plagae inguinalis interitu) and invasion (externae gentis incursu), and because also no doubt of the unlikelihood of their being concerned in the plot of their southern brethren. For the connexion of this passage with a war with the Franks mentioned only by Sebastian of Salamanca see below. Next among the subjects for legislation comes the crime of those priests who say masses for the dead in the case of men still living, meaning thus to bring harm upon persons who have injured or offended them, a strange point, which throws light upon the debased condition of the lower Spanish clergy at the time; and finally, the council is exhorted to revive the custom of monthly litanies, with the especial object ap-

parently of counteracting the seditious tendencies of the time. (Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 595.)

The first canon of the council, which ordains that only spiritual and ecclesiastical subjects are to be discussed during the first three days of the council, seems to indicate a feeling on the part of those composing these synods that the councils had of late become too much secularised. The growing preponderance of the secular element in the councils of Toledo, from the eighth onwards when we first find the signatures of the *palatini* is indeed evident to any student of these much-debated assemblies. The seventeenth council, the last which has come down to us, has to some extent the air of an attempt to return to the earlier and more purely ecclesiastical traditions. Of its eight canons six are concerned with ecclesiastical matters, the closing of the gates of the baptistery at the beginning of Lent, can. 2, the washing of feet on Holy Thursday, the misuse of the ornaments and properties of churches, the celebration of the *missa defunctorum* for those who are still living, and the monthly celebration of litanies (which is enjoined upon all the churches of Spain and Gothic Gaul, as a practice prescribed by ancient canons, and now revived because of the prevalence of crime and perjury). Of the two other canons the first provides for the safety of the queen and the royal children in case of Egica's death, and the second deals with the Jews. The canon *de Munitione Conjugis atque Prolis Regiae*, is partly a repetition of a formula with which preceding councils have made us familiar (C. Tol. xvi. 8 and C. Tol. xiii. 4), and partly a special provision for Cixilo, Egica's wife, and (according to later chroniclers) Ervig's daughter. The canon *de Judaeorum Damnatione*, the last canon of a Gothic council remaining to us, is a striking witness to the spirit of intolerance, cruelty, and persecution which marked the later years of Gothic Christianity. All Jews in all the provinces of Spain (with the exception, however, made in the *tomus* ?) are condemned to perpetual slavery, together with their wives, children, and descendants. They are to be exiled from their homes, and dispersed wherever the king pleased. The Christian slaves of the Jews are to receive from their property whatever the king may choose to assign to them. Those to whom Jews are given as slaves are to watch them strictly lest they observe any of their own ceremonies or follow in any way the "perfidy" of their fathers. Finally, as soon as Jewish children of both sexes reach the age of seven they are to be taken from their parents and given to Christians to bring up in the Christian faith, with the object of marrying them, when grown up, to Christian wives and husbands. Then with the customary thanksgiving and *lex de confirmatione concilii*, the proceedings of the council come to an end.

The acts of the seventeenth council of Toledo bring us to an end of the historical material available for these last years of the Gothic state. Just as the plot thickens and the interest reaches its highest point all information fails us. The nearest chronicler to the events of the last seventeen years of the Gothic rule is Isidore of Beja (circa 750), from whom only very scanty details are to be gleaned of the three last reigns. We learn from him, however, that in the aera 736, A.D. 698, Egica associated his son Wittiza with him in the government, and that in 701 Egica died at Toledo, and Wittiza succeeded to the kingdom. Later chroniclers add that Egica assigned Tuy in Gallicia on the Minho to Wittiza as his place of residence, perhaps in order to keep the scarcely amalgamated Suevi in order. Coins are extant bearing the joint names of father and son, which is the case also with various laws in the Fuero Juzgo (Masden, ix. 33–36; Helfferich, 217, *note*).

The repudiation of his wife Cixilo by Egica is not mentioned before the 9th century (Chron. Albeld. *Esp. Sag.* xiii. 449), and is sufficiently contradicted by C. Tol. xvii. 7. The war with the Franks appears first in Sebastian of Salamanca — "adversus Francos inrumpentes Gallias, ter praelium egit, sed triumphum nullum cepit" (apud *Esp. Sag.* xiii. 477). Sebastian seems to be supported by the *externae gentis incursu* of C. Tol. xvii. mentioned above, and it may be easily supposed that some forays of Eudes of Aquitaine into Gallia Gothica may have led to these indecisive hostilities.

With regard to the general political meaning of the reign, it may perhaps be inferred from the acts of the three councils, and from the relation of Egica's legislation generally to that of Ervig (Helfferich, 206 seq.; Dahn, VIte Abth. 486), that Egica represented the Gothic party as opposed to what Helfferich calls the Byzantine-Roman party of Ervig and Julian, and that his relation to the church was not so docile a one as that of his predecessor. He appointed a Goth (Sisebert) for the first time to the see of Toledo upon Julian's death in 690, an experiment repeated later in the appointment of Gunderich or Guntherich, about 699. We may suppose him to have been less Romanised than Ervig—more of a barbarian, and Ervig certainly appears to have recognised him as the head of Wamba's party, the Gothic and comparatively speaking anti-clerical party, when he attempted to buy his support by the hand of his daughter, and exacted from him the oath of protection towards his wife's relations. But in the darkness of these times it is rash to attempt to lay down with any certainty lines of general politics, though no doubt by a careful sifting and comparison of all materials much has been done of late years in Germany to clear up difficulties, and more light may still be hoped for. (Acts of 15th, 16th, and 17th councils of Toledo in Aguirre, iv.; Gams, *Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, ii. 175, 181, 183; Hefele, *Conc.-Gesch.* iii. 295, 318, 322, or Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can.* ii. 528, 553, 588; Isid. Pacensis, *Esp. Sagr.* viii.; Seb. of Salamanca, *ib.* xiii.; Chron. Albeld. *ib.*; Lucas of Tuy and Rod. of Toledo, apud Schott, *Hisp. Illustrata*; *Fuero Juzgo*, Madrid Academy edition, 1815; Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, VIte Abth. 218, 224; VIte Abth. 486–501. For complete list of literature see the preface to Dahn's VIte Abth. For an inscription at Baylen containing Egica's name, see *Inscrr. Hisp. Christ.* Hübner, p. 55.) [M. A. W.]

EGIDIUS (AEGIDIUS, GILLES), nineteenth occupant of the see of Rheims, succeeding Mapinius (A.D. 565), not to be confused with the popular St. Giles. [AEGIDIUS.] He was a liberal benefactor of his church, and hospitably received at Rheims Gregory of Tours, whom he

consecrated to the office of bishop. But despite the zeal for his flock, eloquence, learning, and benevolence which Venantius Fortunatus discovered in him (iii. 20 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 141), and his "admiranda sanctitas," commemorated by the biographer of St. Basolus (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 65, Paris, 1733), he was one of the most ambitious and intriguing prelates of his time. One of the first known acts of his episcopate was the consecration of Promotus as bishop of Châteaudun, in contempt of the rights of Pappolus of Chartres, in whose diocese Châteaudun was situated. This was the occasion of the fourth council of Paris, from which emanated a letter of grave reproof to Egidius, and another of remonstrance to king Sigebert, who had encouraged the infringement. Upon the death of Sigebert in 575, and the accession of his infant son Childeric II. to the throne of Austrasia, he became largely mixed up with the plots and intrigues of the several Frank kingdoms. Employed on embassies, ostensibly on behalf of the young king, to his uncle Chilperic, to concert measures of hostility against Guntram, he contrived to ingratiate himself with Chilperic and the notorious Fredegund, in whose behalf he appears to have plotted against his master. To the queen his wily and unscrupulous nature especially commended him, and he was universally credited with aiding her in the murder of her stepson Merovechus (A.D. 577). In the end, however, he overreached himself, and became an object of suspicion. In A.D. 583 or 584, while he was in attendance upon Childebert in his camp, the soldiery rose against him and the other counsellors of the young king, and his life was saved only by instant flight to Rheims. A little later, being sent by Childebert on an embassy to Guntram, the latter openly upbraided him, and sent to his nephew to warn him against one who was forsworn, both to him and his father before him. The occasion of his downfall, however, was the conspiracy against Childebert of Rauchinus and Ursio, which he was suspected of having favoured. For the time, by dint of his persuasive tongue and rich gifts, he reconciled himself to the king, but a little later, one of the conspirators, under the influence of torture, implicated him. He was arrested, but released again upon the remonstrances of the bishops against this indignity, and summoned to appear at the council of Metz, in the autumn of 590. The office of accuser was delegated to Ennodius count of Tours, who charged him with being a friend and ally of Chilperic against his master and queen Brunechilde, and with receiving large sums of money as the price of treason. The bishop stoutly denied the charges, but the proofs derived from his letters and the evidence of his subordinates left no room for doubt. At evening the council was adjourned till the third day, to hear anything he might have to say in justification. Upon its reassembling Egidius, despairing of acquittal, pleaded guilty to the charge of high treason. Upon the intercession of the bishops his life was spared, but he was deposed from his see and exiled to Strassburg. The large treasure discovered in his palace was duly apportioned between the church and the royal treasury. He was succeeded by Romulfus (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 19, vi. 3, 31, vii. 14, 33, ix. 14, x. 19; Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rom.* ii. 2, 3; Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxv. 94, 97; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 14; Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* ix. 865, x. 459, Florence, 1759–98). [S. A. B.]

EGILA (1), bishop of Osma from about A.D. 633 to 656. His signatures appear among those of the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh councils of Toledo. To the eighth, being then probably old, he sent a priest, Godescalcus, to represent him. There is no trace of him in the ninth council, but in the tenth, A.D. 656, an abbat, Argefredus, signs for him. (*Esp. Sagrada*, vii. 289; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385, 405, 413, 423.) [M. A. W.]

EGILA (2), bishop of Eliberi (?). In the *Codex Emilianensis*, a MS. of the 10th century, used by Florez in the *España Sagrada*, as one of his main authorities for the episcopal catalogues of the various sees up to that time (see *Esp. Sagr.* iii. appendix xxxiii. for a description of it) the name of Egila appears in the catalogue of Eliberi in a position which seems to suit with the end of the 8th century. On these grounds only, the Egila of Eliberi has been identified with the Egila to whom pope Adrian I. addressed two letters in the years 781 and 782, and of whom he speaks in his letter to the Spanish bishops (785) in which the first mention of Adoptionism occurs. [ADOPTIONISTS.] Egila, however, was a common Gothic name, and on the whole the balance of evidence inclines against the identification of the Egila of Eliberi with the Egila of Adrian's letters. Very little is known of this last Egila, but that little raises one or two interesting points. According to Adrian's second letter (the second in order in the *Cod. Carol.* Migne, Patr. Lat. xcviii. 326, but the first in date, as it was a copy of one previously sent and lost on the way) Egila was ordained bishop by Wulcharius, archiepiscopus Galliarum (identified by Florez and others with Wilichar, archbishop of Sens, who signed the Lateran council of 769, and journeyed to Rome in 777. On this subject see Cenni's notes in a contrary sense to *Cod. Car.* Migne, xcviii. pp. 326, 337 n.). "Cui et licentiam dedimus," says Adrian, "de vestris ordinationibus, atque auctoritatem dirigere vos pro orthodoxae Fidei, Sanctae Catholicae Ecclesiae praedicatione in partibus Spaniensis Provinciae." As to the nationality of Egila and the history and purpose of his consecration we shall have more to say presently. In the letter to the Spanish bishops the pope adds that he made it a condition of the consecration that Egila should act only as regionary bishop "et nullam quamlibet sedem ambiret vel usurparet." After his arrival in Mohammedan Spain, the date of which is uncertain, Egila addressed a letter to Adrian, giving an account of his work, and asking for advice upon certain points. This letter, which is not extant, was carried to Rome by two messengers, who were to bring back the answer. From some unknown reason, the answer never reached Egila, and Egila applied to Charles the Great for help in the matter. Charles, through his *Missus* Peter, bishop of Pavia, requested the pope to send a copy of the former letter. Adrian did so in 782, writing also a fresh letter, in which he shortly admonished Egila to resist the attempts of the heretics who would overthrow his faith, and to observe the Saturday fast. The first letter, of which a copy was enclosed, and

which was in answer to one from Egila, now lost, contained instructions on the following points: (1) the observance of Easter, with regard to which Adrian is informed that certain persons in Spain refuse to follow the rule laid down by the council of Nicaea, and that when the full moon falls on a Saturday, instead of celebrating Easter on the following Sunday, they postpone it to the Sunday after. (Hefele, *Conc. Gesch.* i. 315, ii. 590.) (2) The eating of things strangled, and of the blood of swine and other animals. The pope reports on Egila's authority that certain persons in Spain had denounced any one who refused to eat such things as "rudis aut ineruditus." [EVANTIUS.] Adrian, however, forbids the practices. (3) Intercourse between believers and unbelievers. "Many calling themselves Catholics lead a common life with Jews and unbaptized pagans, both in eating and drinking, and in divers false doctrine, declaring that they are thereby in no way polluted." Such persons give their daughters in marriage "infidelibus," and their pseudo-sacerdotes ordained without preparation, marry women whose husbands are still living. All these, says Adrian, are Priscillianist errors. (4) Predestination and free will. Some say, "Why should we trouble ourselves to win everlasting life if, notwithstanding, all depends upon God only?"—and others, "Why do we pray to God, *Lead us not into temptation*, when our will is free?" Adrian lays down the orthodox doctrine. The letter winds up with an exhortation to Egila to be watchful and constant, lest old errors should break out afresh, and his own faith be overthrown. The next mention of Egila occurs in Adrian's letter to the Spanish bishops in 785. (*Esp. Sagr.* v. app. or Migne, l.c.) From this we learn that Egila, whom Wulcharius, according to Adrian, had "too much praised," had been led away by the errors "of his master, Mingentius" [MIGETIUS], and the Spanish bishops are warned to grant him no authority or obedience.

Until 1759 this was all that was known of Egila. In that year Florez discovered a MS. in the cathedral library of Leon, containing the acts of a synod held at Cordova in 839 in consequence of certain complaints made by Recafred, bishop of Cordova, and (temporarily) of Aegabro (Cabra), and by Quiricus, bishop of Accifuadir, as to the proceedings of a heretical sect, "nomine Casianorum," within their dioceses. The tenets described in the acts are evidently those of the Migetians, though some new points are added which are not to be found in Elipandus's letter to Migetius. (*Esp. Sagr.* v. appendix, or Hefele, *Conc. Gesch.* iii. 586.) The heretics are described as Acephalos, *i.e.* separatists, vagi clerici. [ACEPHALI.] (Isidore gives two definitions of the word. It seems to be used here in the sense described in cap. 3, lib. ii. of the *De Off. Eccl.*) "Advancing little by little, by a tortuous road, from the seashore, they have entered Epagro in the territory of Aegabro (*Esp. Sagr.* xii. 2), and have there practised their abominable rites in corners and caves, the authors of the evil-doing *giving themselves out as sent from Rome* (proponentes se a Roma missos) with their traditions, which are not agreeable to our doctrines. The passage which follows is extremely corrupt and defective, but it appears to be an argument against one who had assumed the position of bishop of the sect. The council declares that no one can be a bishop "quem nec clerus nec civium conventus eligit." It is a crime to believe that anyone can be a bishop who is without place and city, "quem nec clerus nec populus propriae civitatis exquisivit." The tenets of the heretics are then described. They refuse to eat and drink with Gentiles (compare Adrian to Egila (3), and Elipandus to Migetius, *Esp. Sagr.* v. 543, or Hefele, *Conc. Gesch.* iii. 586). They fast on Christmas Day should it fall on a Friday. They separate themselves from the Catholic church, thus following the example of Dathan and Abiron. They refuse to venerate the relics of the saints. They baptize with saliva, saying *effeta*, in imitation of the miracle performed by Christ upon the deaf man. They boast of being saints, "se jactant esse Sancti" (conf. Elipandus to Migetius, l.c.), refuse to eat with others, and communicate out of different chalices at the sacrament. They are not to be admitted into the ministry of the church, for the synod cannot hold those to have been rightly ordained who say that Agila of Ementia or Emerita (Florez, printed "Abafilanen Ementiae," which Gams, *Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, ii. 2, 314, reads "ab Agilanem Emeritae") had alone the right of conferring ordinations, which is against all sound doctrine. (Such seems to be the general sense of an extremely corrupt passage.) Further on the synod anathematizes, "damnabilem illam doctrinam cum suorum auctores, vel Antifrasium illum Quinericum cum socios suos," and we are told that the sect had a church in the sandy waste lands near Epagro (arenas) dedicated to St. Casian, who in the beginning of the acts is spoken of as "auctor eorum Casianus."

In this curious and almost unintelligible document (*fast unbekannt*, as Helfferich says, and not used by Hefele) it seems tolerably clear that Egila's followers are described, and that he himself and his successor, Hunerich or Gunerich, ordained by him are mentioned. The bishop of the sect has no particular see, his followers speak of themselves as sent from Rome, and the sect maintain the asceticism preached by Migetius, and controverted by Elipandus, but very possibly supported in their eyes by the passages in Adrian's letter to Egila, in which those who eat unlawful foods, and those also who eat and drink with Jews and unbaptized pagans are anathematized. Two things may be inferred from these acts with regard to Egila; (1) that he was dead in 839; (2) that in all probability the tradition which connects him with the see of Eliberi is a mistaken one, though what the word Ementiae is to be taken to mean is very doubtful. The name Casianisti, applied to the sect and their church of "St. Casian," are not altogether easy to explain. Elipandus, however, calls Migetius "magister Casianorum et Salibanorum," which Hefele, taking it in connexion with the predestination errors mentioned by Adrian in his letter to the Spanish bishops in the same breath with Migetianism, interprets as referring to Cassian the semi-Pelagian. (The author of the *Collationes* was well known in Spain. Braulio possessed his works, and Fructuosus had some of the Collations, and asked Braulio for a loan of the rest [FRUCTUOSUS, ST.].) Gams mentions two recognised saints of the name (*K. G.* ii. 2, 315), to one of whom he supposes the church to have been dedicated, but considering that the council ex-

pressly mentions Casianus as auctor eorum, it seems most probable that their church was really dedicated to the founder of the semi-Pelagianists, whom they had made their patron saint. With regard to the connexion with Rome put forward by the sect, it should be remembered that Migetius taught that Rome was the centre of holiness, from which all good things came (Elip. to Migetius, l. c.) and that Egila was the envoy of Adrian. Elipandus shews great jealousy of the Roman claims in his letter to Migetius, and Egila, a bishop consecrated abroad by permission from Rome, and appearing in their midst with an undefined position, and claims to superior authority, was probably extremely unpopular with the majority of the Spanish episcopate, which was at that time thrown into an attitude of hostility towards Rome and the empire by the influence of Adoptionism.

Of what country was Egila a native, and what is the real history of his consecration? Florez holds him to have been a member of one of the Gothic families of Gallia Narbonensis. Ferreras—in defiance of the documents—boldly makes him a priest of Eliberi, who journeys into France on the death of bishop Baldwig, to seek consecration from Wulcharius (*Hist. Gén. d'Espagne*, ed. D'Hermilly, ii. 511). It is at least a plausible conjecture that Egila may have been a native of Seville (or of the neighbouring Emerita?) the home of Migetianism, and that his connexion with Migetius may have begun before his journey to France, and may, in fact, have prompted it. The Spanish episcopate at the time was in a most unsatisfactory state. The right of nominating bishops had passed from the Visigothic kings to the Omaiyades (Dozy, *Hist. des Mussulmans d'Espagne*, ii. 47), and the office was frequently sold to the highest bidder, with the natural result that many of the sees were filled with men of heretical beliefs and immoral lives. Alvaro of Cordova, in the 9th century, accuses Saul of Cordova of having paid a large sum to the eunuchs of the palace for his post (*Ep.* 13, *Esp. Sag.* xi. 169), and Samuel I. of Eliberi (*Esp. Sag.* xii. 167), and Hostegesis of Malaga (Dozy, *l. c.*) are further instances of the degradation of the episcopate. On the other hand we have the renown of Charles the Great as the champion of the church and of Christendom. Elipandus's letter to him on behalf of Felix of Urgel (*Esp. Sagr.* v. 556) is a sufficient proof of the respect with which even the isolated and disaffected Adoptionist bishops regarded his position. It seems allowable, therefore, to take Egila's career, and to some extent Migetianism in general—as a protest against the disorganised and corrupt state of the Spanish church under the Mohammedans. He belonged apparently to a strict ascetic party, which disapproved of the various compromises effected between the rival religions, and especially resented the manner of episcopal elections. Hence the journey into Charles's dominions, the consecration by Wulcharius, and the close connexion both with Charles and Rome, which the various Egila documents disclose. The whole story, with its strange sequel, throws a ray of curious light on Spanish ecclesiastical history during the 8th and 9th centuries.

(*Esp. Sagr.* xv. preface, x., 2nd ed. Madrid, 1792, pp. 363, 525; Helfferich (Ad.), *Der Westgothische Arianismus und die Spanische Ketzergeschichte*, Berlin, 1860; Gams, *Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, ii. 2, 311.) [M. A. W.]

EGILBART, EGILBERT, bishop of Würzburg. [EGILWALD.]

EGILO, EGILONA, the wife of Roderic, last Gothic king of Spain. Our only information about her comes from Isidore of Beja (Isid. Pacensis, cap. 42, apud *Esp. Sagr.* viii.), where the best sense of a corrupt passage seems to be: "In the *era* 753, the ninth year of his rule, and the ninety-seventh of the Arabs, Abdallaziz, after having kept Spain quiet under his tributary yoke for three years, while at Seville, surrounded by riches and honours, and having taken in marriage the queen of Spain (regina Hispaniae in conjugio copulata), corrupted and shamelessly carried off the daughters of kings and princes. A conspiracy was made against him, and while at prayers he was slain by the advice and plot of Ajub. He (Ajub) holding Spain (we read *retinente* here for *renitente*) after a month had gone by, Alahor succeeded to the government (in regno *Hesperiae*, if Florez's reading is the right one), and was informed concerning the death of Abdallaziz, that he was endeavouring by the advice of queen Egilo, his wife, formerly the wife of king Roderic, to throw off the yoke of the Arabs (*i.e.* of the Caliphs), and to recover for himself the conquered kingdom of Iberia." This Abdallaziz was the son of Mousâ-ibn-Nocair, the Yemenite governor of Africa, whose Berber lieutenant Taric, won the battle of the Guadalete (July 19, 711), and who arrived in Spain to reap the fruits of Taric's campaigns in June 712. Abdallaziz came with his father, and assisted in the conquest of Medina-Sidonia, Carmona, Merida, and Seville (Dozy's *Hist. des Mussulmans d'Espagne*, i. 37, 43, and *Recherches*, &c. i. 59). Egilo is said to have been captured among the prisoners made at Merida in June, 713 (Lucas Tud. conf. Lafuente, *Hist. de España*, iii. 30, 42). In September, 714, Mousa left Spain to give an account of himself to the caliph Walîd. He left his son Abdallaziz behind him as governor of the conquered province, assigning Seville as his place of residence. Here then Abdallaziz lived with Egilo, and here he was murdered in 715.

What influence this marriage may have had (if any) upon Abdallaziz's government of the Christian population, what kind of general relation it implies between the conquerors and those of the ruling Gothic class who had not sought refuge in the northern mountains or in France, who Egilo was and what were her relations to the old Gothic parties?—these are questions to which one would like to find answers, but none remain, and, as ill luck will have it, this is perhaps the only story of the conquest which has not received comment and illustration at Prof. Dozy's hands. For the later legends on the subject see Lafuente l. c. and the extract from the old Spanish translation of the *Moor Rasis* given in Florez, *Reynas de España*, i. 27. [M. A. W.]

EGILULFUS, bishop of Asta. [GILULFUS.]

EGILWALD, abbat. [ECGWALD.]

EGILWARD (1) (Anon. *Vit. Willibald.* c. i.

§ 2 in Boll. *Acta SS.* 7 Jul. ii. 512 D), abbat of Waltheim. [EGBALD (2).] [C. H.]

EGILWARD (2) (EIGILWARD, AGILWARD, EGILBERT, EGILBART), fifth bishop of Würzburg, succeeding Liuterich, and followed by Wolfgar. Little is known of him. He is stated to have received the episcopal office (episcopale munus) on June 16, 803, and Ussermann understanding this expression to mean his episcopal consecration, assumes that the year must have been 804, when (and not in 803) June 16 was a Sunday. According to the same authority he died April 24, 810. Gams also accepts these dates. (Ussermann, *Episcopatus Wirceburgensis*, 1794, i. 18; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 324.) [C. H.]

EGINHARD, biographer of Charlemagne. [EINHARDUS.]

EGINO, twenty-first bishop of Constance, succeeded Johannes III. and was followed by Wolfleoz (A.D. 781 to 813). At this time the traditional policy of the see was the annexation of the monastery of St. Gall. Egino threw himself into the contest with unscrupulous energy. By heavily bribing the nobles about the king he influenced Charlemagne in his favour, who tried to settle the quarrel by subjecting Waldo, the abbat, to the jurisdiction of the bishop. But Waldo refused to exchange the fealty he owed to the king alone for obedience to any "vilior persona," and preferred to withdraw to a neighbouring monastery, of which he afterwards became abbat. Egino thereupon appointed a secular priest ("presbyterum forensem"), a tool of his own, to the abbey. The monks demurred, and Werdo, yielding, adopted the garb of a monk, and was then received. Henceforth the bishop and abbat together did very much as they wished with the monastery. (Ratpertus, *de Casibus Mon. S. Galli*, cap. iv. v.; Migne, Patr. Lat. CXXVI. 1062.)

We know nothing more of him than that he gave to the church of Constance a cross made of gold and silver and set with precious stones, on which were three dedicatory lines in Latin to the Virgin (*Chronicon Constant.* Jac. Manlii, to be found in Pistorius, *Rerum Germin. Scriptores*, tom. iii. p. 704; *Gall. Christ.* v. 896). [S. A. B.]

EGINO, bishop of Verona in 796. He gave up his see and retired to the monastery of Reichenau in 799, and died there in 802. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, x. 753.) He built and dedicated the church of St. Peter at Augia (Reichenau), where he was buried. (Herimanni Augiensis *Chronicon*, in Pertz, *Monum.* v. 101; Bouquet, v. 365 C, E.) [A. H. D. A.]

EGLAF (Stubbs, *Regist. Sac.* 168), bishop of Dunwich. [ECGLAF.] [C. H.]

EGNACIUS (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 598, c. 4, Irish saint. [EDHNIUCH.] [J. G.]

EGNATIUS (Cypr. *Ep.* 34, ed. Migne), uncle of Celerinus, martyr. [IGNATIUS.] [C. H.]

EGOALDUS (EPPOALDUS), twenty-fifth bishop of Geneva, succeeding Aridanus and followed by Albo. The compilers of the *Gallia Christiana* mention an unauthenticated tradition that he was expelled from his see by Chilperic II., but restored later on, between 660 and 672, at the bidding of pope Vitalian. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 383.) [S. A. B.]

EGREAS (EIGRAD, EUGRAD) appears in Caradoc's *Life of Gildas* (Albanius), as brother of St. Gildas [GILDAS], son of Caw. With his brother Allaecus and sister Peteona, he renounced the world and retired into Radnorshire; there the three built monasteries for themselves near each other, and all at some distance from the monastery of their brother St. Maelog or Meilig, at Llowes, in the rural deanery of Elfael ("Lyuhes in pago Elmail"). But Professor Rees is of opinion that Egreas, his brother, and sister, when they withdrew "in extrema parte regionis illius," went to Anglesey, in the extreme north-west of Wales, and are known as Eigrad, Gallgo, and Peithien, their names being given to Llaneigrad, Llanallgo, and perhaps Llugwy. In *Myv. Arch.* ii. 42, 51, he is called Eugrad, brother of Peirio at Rhosbeirio. (Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 15, wks. vi. 217; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 228, 230, 324; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 476; *Lib. Landav.* 392, 523; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* i. 116–118.) [J. G.]

EGRED, a son of Eata, and brother of Egbert archbishop of York, and Eadbert king of Northumbria. When his brother Egbert went to Rome in early life, Egred accompanied him and died there. (Symeon, *Hist. E. D.* l. ii. cap. iii.) [J. R.]

EGREGORI (*ἐγρήγοροι*, watchers), a name for angels, derived from Dan. iv. 13 (versions of Aquila and Symmachus) and used by Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* ii. 9, p. 218). In the book of Enoch (Cedrenus, *Comp. Hist.* vii.) this title is given to the band of angels who matched with the daughters of men (Gen. vi. 2), and so Suidas interprets *ἐγρήγοροι* as denoting the sons of Seth. For the patristic references as to the names of the different orders of angels, see Cotelier (*Const. Ap.* viii. 12), and as to the interpretation of Gen. vi. 2, see Suicer (*s. v.* Ἄγγελος, p. 38). [G S.]

EGRIC (1), king of the East Angles. He was allowed by his kinsman Sigebert, who acquired the kingdom after the usurpation of Richert, to share his authority, and when Sigebert retired to his monastery, obtained the entire sway. When Penda invaded East Anglia, the people drew Sigebert from his monastery to assist them in battle, but he was slain, and Egric with him. Anna succeeded to the kingdom (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 18). There is great uncertainty about the dates of these events; they are noted by Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B.* 529) under the year 636, which may, perhaps, be the year of Anna's succession. Smith (on Bede, *H. E.* iii. 19) places the death of Egric and Sigebert in 635; and the same may be inferred from the evidence of the *Liber Eliensis*, which gives Anna, who fell in 654, a reign of 19 years (*Lib. Eliens.* ed. Stewart, p. 23), but places the fall of Egric in 637 (*ib.* p. 14). If, as seems probable, bishop Felix began his ministry in East Anglia as early as 630, the whole reign of Egric will fall within the period of his episcopate. [S.]

EGRIC (2) (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann 771 in

M. H. B. 364 a, also in Twysd. x Scriptt. col. 107, "Egric et Lector;" *Chron. de Mailros*, ed. Stevenson, "Egric lector"), reader. [EGGRIC.] [C. H.]

EGRILIUS (AGRICOLA), martyr at Caesarea in Cappadocia, commemorated Nov. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Tillem. *Mém.* iv. 312; Migne, *Hagiog.*) [C. H.]

EGRYN is given by Professor Rees (*Welsh Saints*, 71, 304) among the Welsh saints of the latter half of the 7th century, as the son of Gwrydr Drwm ab Gwedrog of the line of Cadell Deyrnllug, and founder of Llanegryn, Merionethshire (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 40). [J. G.]

EGTAN, king of the Scoti (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1013, in *M. H. B.* 777). [AIDAN.] [C. H.]

EGULF (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 675, ed. Coxe), bishop of London. [EGWULF.] [C. H.]

EGUUALD (1), a bishop witnessing a spurious charter of Caedwalla, king of Wessex, Aug. 3, 683, bestowing land at Selsey on Wilfrid for a monastery. The charter bears the signature also of archbishop Brihtwald, who was not consecrated until 693 (Kemble, *C. D.* 992). Perhaps the forger intended ERKENWALD bishop of London. [C. H.]

EGUUALD (2) (Kemble, *C. D.* 104), abbat. [ECGWALD.] [C. H.]

EGWAD is placed by Professor Rees (*Welsh Saints*, 298, 330) among the Welsh saints of the first part of the 7th century, as son of Cynddilig ab Cennydd ab Gildas, and as founder of Llanegwad and Llanfynydd, Carmarthenshire. [J. G.]

EGWALT, abbat. [EGBALD (2).]

EGWIN (ECGWINE, EGUUINE, EGWINE), third bishop of Worcester (*M. H. B.* 623), and founder of the abbey of Evesham. He is not mentioned by Bede; his history has therefore to be made out of the very questionable biographies, the Chronicles and Cartulary of Worcester, and the History of Evesham.

According to Florence of Worcester, he succeeded to the see in 692 (*M. H. B.* 539), and died in 717 (*ib.* 541). The first date probably requires correction, as the names of Brihtwald archbishop of Canterbury and Oftfor bishop of Worcester occur in the same charter of Oshere (Kemble, *C. D.* 36; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 232); Brihtwald only returned from France in 693, and must have been archbishop when Egwin was appointed. Egwin's name does not appear in dated charters before the year 704, in which the ealdorman Ethelward, with the consent of Coenred, king of Mercia, granted him lands at Ambersley for his church at Cronuchome (Kemble, *C. D.* 56; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 279). All the Evesham charters are liable to the charge of spuriousness, and cannot be cited safely. The name of Egwin appears, however, in some Worcester grants which are of better authority: in a grant of Ethelward and Ethelheard to Cudswitha, which is also attested by Coenred (Kemble, *C. D.* 53); and in a gift of Ethelbald to the "family" at Worcester of land at Salwarp, which must belong to 716 or 717, as Ethelbald's reign began in the former year, and Wilfrid, Egwin's successor, was in office in 718 (Kemble, *C. D.* 67, 69). The evidence is thus very slender, but so far as it goes, it tends to establish the dates given by Florence. Egwin took part in the council of Clovesho in 716, in which the privilege of Wihtred was confirmed (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 300).

The biographers are much more circumstantial. According to these, Egwin was a member of a royal house in Mercia, who had quitted the world and become a priest in the days of Ethelred, and, against his will, was appointed by the wishes of king, clergy, and people to the see of Worcester. In this office he was very zealous, converted the heathen, enforced the sanctity of marriage, and preached strongly in favour of reform in morals. By his strictness in the last point he lost his popularity, and complaints against him were laid before both the king and the pope. He determined to clear himself at Rome, and therefore set out thither, having first bound his feet with iron fetters, fastened by a key which he threw into the Avon. On his arrival at Rome he went to pray at St. Peter's, and prepared to celebrate Mass; whilst he was doing so, his servants brought a fish in the belly of which the key was found. Egwin then released himself from his fetters, presented himself to the pope, and, having obtained from him a favourable determination of his cause, returned home, where he was immediately restored to his see, and undertook the tuition of the king's sons. His next act was to obtain from Ethelred a gift of land on which he built the monastery of Evesham, so called from the shepherd Eoves, who had seen in the wood where the monastery was built a vision of three holy virgins, one of whom was the Blessed Virgin Mary. The apparition was reported to Egwin, who went to the place, saw the same vision, and determined to build there. From Ethelred he obtained also the gift of an old monastery at Fladbury. Coenred, Ethelred's successor, was a close friend of Egwin, and gave him more land in the vicinity of his monastery. After the death of Aldhelm, whom he buried at Malmesbury, Egwin went to Rome in 709 with Coenred of Mercia and Offa of Essex. On this second journey he obtained from pope Constantine a great privilege of exemption for Evesham. In the consecration of his monastery Egwin is said to have been assisted by St. Wilfrid, a story which, if it contains any vestige of truth, shews that Evesham was dedicated before the second visit to Rome, and not in 714, to which year it is referred by the biographer. After this work was completed, Egwin devoted himself to sacred studies and preaching. The castle of Alcester, which was inhabited by men who despised his preaching, was destroyed by an earthquake. The biographer gives his last words to his disciples, and gives as the day of his death Dec. 30, about the year 720. Such is a sketch of Egwin's career as described in the life written by a monk of the 11th century, and printed by Mabillon. There is another life, ascribed without authority to one Brihtwald, who was not, as has been supposed, the archbishop of that name, which is said to have been based on Egwin's own narration; this is still unprinted, but fragments are given by Mabillon, and in Wright's *Biographia Literaria*, pp. 228, 229. It seems to contain much the same matter,

but more copiously told, and apparently with more regard for chronological probabilities. It is described by Macray in his preface to the Chronicle of Evesham (pp. xiii. sq.), where also is a full account of the legendary materials for Egwin's life.

According to Florence of Worcester, Egwin died Dec. 30, 717, Wilfrid, his successor, having been appointed before his death (*M. H. B.* 541).

See Wright, *Biog. Lit.* pp. 223–229; *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. iii. pt. i. pp. 316–324; *Acta SS.* Boll. Jan. 11, tom. i. pp. 707–711; and *Chron. Evesham*, ed. Macray; Will. Malmesb. *G. P.* ed. Hamilton, pp. 278–296; Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 415–420. [S.]

EGWULF, the seventh bishop of London (*H. M. B.* 617), and successor of Ingwald, who died in 745 (Sim. Dun. in *M. H. B.* 662). Egwulf was present at the council held at Clovesho in 747 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 360); and his name appears among the subscriptions to charters of 748 and 758 (Kemble, *C. D.* 98, 193), and to a grant of Offa to Worcester, which, being attested also by archbishop Jaenbert, must be dated as late as 766. His successor, Wighed, is first heard of in 772. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 402.) [S.]

EGYPTIANS, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO. [Gospels, Apocryphal.]

EHOARN, hermit and martyr in Brittany, cir. A.D. 520, mentioned in the anonymous *Vita* of Gildas Sapiens (cap. vii. § 40, in Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 965). He dwelt in a cell adjoining the church of the monastery of St. Gildas de Rhuis in the diocese of Vannes, placed by the Sammarthani on the coast south of Vannes (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 1, map), but by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 568) on the left bank of the Blavet. Ehoarn's abode was broken into by a band of robbers, one of whom, Leopardus, dashed out the hermit's brains with an axe on the threshold of the church. He was commemorated Feb. 11. [C. H.]

EHRENFRIED (Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 271), bishop of Constance. [Ernfridus.] [C. H.]

EIBEACHTA, one of St. Patrick's attendants (*Four Mast.* A.D. 448). [J. G.]

EICHBERICHT (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 728), Egbert the priest. [Egbert (5).] [J. G.]

EIDDIGIRN, abbat of the monastery of Docunnus, in the diocese of Llandaff. He witnessed several grants to that see in the time of St. Oudoceus, but the site of his monastery is unknown (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 381–87). [J. G.]

EIDDILFFRED, clerical witness to the grant of the village of Is-pant by Cuchein, son of Glywi, to Guodoloiu bishop of Llandaff in the 6th century (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 415). [J. G.]

EIDDILIG, Welsh saint. [Iddawe.]

EIELBRIHT (Malm. *G. P.* ed. Hamilton, § 170, p. 305), king of the East Angles. [Ethelbert (3).] [C. H.]

EIGEN, in the legendary accounts of Wales, has the honour of being regarded as the first female saint among the Britons. She was the daughter of Caradog (Caractacus) ab Bran, the chief of the Silures, who fought so long and manfully against the Roman legions in the middle of the 1st century, and obtained the favour of the emperor Claudius, who carried him a captive to Rome to grace the imperial triumph. Eigen was married to Sarllog, lord of Caer-Sarllog, now Old Sarum. If any reliance is to be put upon the legend (and difficulties surround it on all sides), Eigen was the daughter who, with her mother and uncles, was made captive and conveyed to Rome, as related by Tacitus (*Ann.* Lib. xii. c. 33 sq.), and was liberated with her father and friends. (On the whole question, as treated in the Welsh Triads, see Rees, *Welsh Saints*, sec. iv. 77 sq.) [J. G.]

EIGILWARD, bishop of Würzburg. [Egilward.]

EIGRAD, Welsh saint. [Egreas.]

EIGRON is enumerated among the many sons of Caw the father of Gildas, and founded a church in Cornwall in the 6th century (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 230). [J. G.]

EILUNWY, a Welsh saint in the first half of the 7th century, was brother of Drydaw, and son of Helig Foel ab Glanawg; he thus belonged to Carnarvonshire, but has left no trace in feast or church dedication (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 599; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 298). [J. G.]

EIMBETHA (Einbetta), ST., a virgin, commemorated with two others, Vorbetta and Villibetta, on the 16th of September. They are unknown to the older martyrologies, but in the *Auctaria* of Molanus to that of Usuard occur the words "In territorio Argentinensi (in Alsace) sanctae Einbeth virginis, praeclarae sanctitatis" (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 478). The legend is that they were three of the companions of St. Ursula left by her to tend St. Aurelia when she fell sick of a fever on the return journey from Rome to Cologne (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. v. 315). [S. A. B.]

EIMHIN (Emin, Evin), son of Eoghan, bishop of Ros-glas and Ros-mic-Triuin, commemorated Dec. 22. The name is evidently a phonetic form of the Irish *aeibhinn* [pron. eevin], joyous, delightful, beautiful, written with *m* aspirated (Ḋiṁin), instead of *b*, or without aspiration (Aṁin and Ḋin) (Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 2 ser. p. 63). An account of this saint is given in the *Life of St. Corbmac* (Mar. 26), his brother, which Colgan (*Acta SS.* 751) has abridged from the *Book of Lecan* and rendered into Latin. [Corbmac (5).] He belonged to Munster by birth, and was son of Eoghan, son of Murcadh, of the race of Fiacha Muillethan, son of Eoghan Mor, son of Oillill Olum; his mother was Iamhnat, daughter of Sinell (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 345). According to the *Life of St. Corbmac*, he left Munster for the province of Leinster, and on the banks of the Barrow, in a town near the top of the frith, he built his noble monastery, the place being formerly called Ros-mic-Treoin or Ros-mic-Triuin, and now New Ross, in the county of Wexford. There he

formed a numerously attended school, mostly gathered from his native province, and such was the reverence shown to the memory of the first founder that after his death it was regarded as a sure asylum and place of sanctuary. His bell, called Bernan-Emhin, or bell of St. Evan, was used long after for taking oaths and determining disputes. But some doubt its foundation by St. Evin, as in the *Life of St. Abban* (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 617, c. 261; 623 n. 3), it is said that it was St. Abban (Mar. 13) who built the monastery of Ros-mic-Triuin, and that St. Eimhin was only abbat there in the lifetime of St. Molua (Aug. 4), and perhaps also of St. Abban. He also built a monastery at Ros-glas, in Ui Failghe, now called from him Mainister-Eimhin or Monasterevan, a parish, post-town and market-town, in the barony of West Offaly, co. Kildare. His chief feast is Dec. 22, and the commemorations at Jan. 7 and Dec. 18 may also be his. According to Ussher he flourished A.D. 580, and Joceline says he wrote a *Life of St. Patrick*, partly in Irish and partly in Latin. This is the seventh or tripartite life as given by Colgan (in *Tr. Thaum.* 117–169), or at least, Colgan gives it as the one referred to by Ussher and Joceline (cap. 186), discusses (*Ib.* 170 n. 1, 217, col. 2) the question of authorship, and argues for attributing it to St. Evinus of Ros-mic-triuin, giving his reasons and replying to objections. Ware and others refer to it as generally attributed to St. Evin in the sixth or seventh century; while O'Donovan accepts more definitely of St. Evin as the original author, and adduces many easily assignable reasons for the interpolation of the work by later writers according to the exigencies of the times. But Lanigan cannot in any way receive the Tripartite Life as the work of St. Eimhin of Ros-mic-triuin, and thinks it rather belongs to some part of the 10th century; in this, however, Lanigan appears to assign far too late a date. Eimhin is also said to have written a *Life of St. Maidoc*, bishop of Ferns, but Colgan considers this most unlikely; also a *Life of S. Comgall*, and the so-called *Book of Kilkenny*, but the latter is evidently much later. (*Gen. Hy-Fiach*, by O'Donovan, 140 n. [u]; Petrie, *Round Towers of Ireland*, 132, 156; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 3, § 4, ii. c. 14, § 3; Tanner, *Bibl.* 271; Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. ii. 783; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 522; Archdall, *Mon. Hib.* 180; Ware, *Irish Writ.* i. c. 4.) [J. G.]

EINBETTA. [EIMBETHA.]

EINGAN (ENEAN) is commemorated on Apr. 21, and styled "king of Scots," about A.D. 590. This is probably Aidan, son of Gauran, whom St. Columba inaugurated as king of the Dalriadic Scots (A.D. 571–605, ap. Chalmers), and accompanied to the synod of Drumceatt [COLUMBA (1)] (Adamnan, *Vit. S. Columbae*, i. cc. 8–34, iii. c. 6); he was buried in the church of Kilcheran, in Campbelton (Chambers's *Book of Days*, i. 531). Or it may be Aidan's son, Eochafin, who fell at the battle of Leithredh in 590. [J. G.]

EINHARD (EYNARDUS), ST., a solitary. In the *Auctaria* of Grevenus to the *Martyrology* of Usuard these words occur: "In Altona castro, comitatus de Marka, sancti Eynardi eremitae et confessoris" (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 876) Altona was in Westphalia. He is commemorated on the 25th of March (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 587). [S. A. B.]

EINHARDUS, EINHARD (EGINHARD is not found in contemporary documents), biographer of Charlemagne. He was the son of Einhard and Engilfrita, persons of good birth and station in Franconia, was born circa 770, and received his education in the monastery of Fulda. He is described as of small stature "homuncio," "statura despicabilis" (Walafrid, *Prol.* in Einhardi *Vitam Car.* ap. Jaffé, *Monum. Car.* 507–8), and there are epigrams extant by Alcuin and others directed against him on this account. (*Mon. Car.* 492, and Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, vol. i. 139.) He married Emma or Imma, sister of Bernhard bishop of Worms. (Einh. *Epist.* 3, Jaffé.) The tradition that Emma was the daughter of Charlemagne, and the romance of Eginhard and Emma do not date before the 12th century. (*Mon. Car.* 492, note 6; *Hist. Poët. de Charlemagne*, par Gaston Paris, pp. 404–5.)

His intelligence and industry soon made him known at Fulda, and he was sent by the abbat Baugulf to the court of Charles. There he quickly became most intimate with the king, who looked upon him as a son. He was distinguished also as a craftsman, probably in the precious metals, whence he got the literary name of Bezaleel (Exodus xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30) at Charles's court. In one of his letters he speaks (*Ep.* 56, Jaffé) of his studies in Vitruvius, and appears to have superintended some of Charles's architectural works, though it is doubtful whether he possessed any architectural skill himself (cf. Jaffé, 490 note, and Wattenbach, i. 140). His removal to Charles's court probably took place after 791, for there are six documents in the *Codex Dipl. Fuldensis* (cited by Jaffé, 488) written by Einhard, the latest of which is dated Sept. 12, 791. Einhard was an important personage at the Frankish court, and was charged, amongst other duties, with editing the official annals of the court (see below). In 806 he went on a mission to the pope with regard to a proposed scheme for the division of the empire (Einh. *Ann.* s. a.), and in 813 it was at his advice that Lewis was nominated emperor (Nigellii *Carm.* ap. Pertz, Script. ii. 479).

Einhard's position suffered no diminution on Charles's death. Lewis made him counsellor to Lothar, the young emperor, in 817, and in 830 he acted as a mediator between father and son. His public life, however, had become less active during these latter years; several abbeys had at different times been conferred upon him (*Mon. Car.* 493–494), especially that of Michelstadt in the Odenwald, to which, and from 828 onwards to Mulinheim (Seligenstadt on the Main), he began to retire more and more from court life.

To the latter place he had transferred his precious relics of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus, and there his wife Emma died in 836, and Einhard himself on March 14, 840. (For the date, Jaffé, 499, note 6.) His epitaph by Raban Maurus is extant, *e.g.* in Jaffé, 500. Besides the *Vita Caroli* and the *Annals* attributed to him Einhard was the author of a *Libellus de adoranda cruce* (not now extant), and a treatise *De trans-*

latione et miraculis SS. Marcellini et Petri (ap. Teulet, *Œuvres d'Eginhard*, ii. 175–376; cf. Wattenbach, 154–5). Teulet (ii. 397) is inclined to follow Mabillon in attributing also to Einhard the *Rhythmus de passione Christi martyrum Marcellini et Petri*. Of Einhard's letters, seventy-one are extant, many imperfect; they are to be found ap. Duchesne, Teulet, and Jaffé, pp. 440–86. Einhard was author or editor of the official annals of the court, known as the *Annales Laurissenses Majores* [CHARLES, p. 456], from 796 to 829, when he permanently retired to his abbey. (So Wattenbach, Einhard's editorship lasted only till 814 according to Giesebrecht.) The *Annales Einhardi* are a re-edition of the official annals for this period, possibly also by Einhard's hand. The whole question with regard to the official court chronicle, and its authorship is very obscure. (See Ranke, *Zur Kritik fränkisch-deutscher Reichsannalen*, Berlin, 1855; Giesebrecht, *Die Fränkischen Königsannalen und ihr Ursprung, im Münchener Hist. Jahrbuch*, 1864, pp. 186–238; Wattenbach, vol. i. pp. 142 sq.)

It is as the author of the Life of Charles that Einhard has obtained his greatest fame. He appears to have begun that work very shortly after the emperor's death, for it is mentioned by contemporaries as early as 820 (Watten. 152) and Walafrid (died 849) divides it into chapters, and wrote the prologue above referred to. It very early became the most widely read book of the middle ages. More than sixty MSS. of it are extant, and more than twenty editions have been published of it, the best is that by Jaffé, including the prologue of Walafrid, ap. *Mon. Car.* pp. 507 sq. As is well known, in form and language it is a very close imitation of Suetonius. Jaffé, in his preface (*Mon. Car.* pp. 502–3) and in the notes has elaborated the comparison, and the imitation detracts to a certain degree from the historical value of the work. As has often been pointed out, the *Vita* is not so much a biography as an attempt at giving a genuine living consistent picture of what Charles was; and although there are many inaccuracies of fact there can be no doubt that the general picture is a true one. Comp. Ranke ap. Wattenb. i. pp. 150–3. Besides the works above referred to, Ideler's *Leben und Wandel Karls des Grossen beschrieben von Einhard* (2 vols. Hamburg, 1839) contains the *Vita* by Einhard, with an elaborate commentary and illustrative documents. The life of Einhard by Otto Abel prefixed to his translation of the *Vita* in the *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit* is also valuable. For other literature connected with the subject see Potthast, s.v. [T. R. B.]

EINION (EINNYAWN, EINYAUN), surnamed Frenhin, is called "King in Lleyn," in the pedigrees of the Welsh saints, and was son of Owain Danwyn ab Einion Yrth ab Cunedda Wledig; his brothers were SS. Seiriol and Meirion. He founded the church of Llanengan, or Llaneingion Frenhin, in his own district in Carnarvonshire, the college of Penmon in Anglesey, over which he placed Seiriol as first president, and a monastery in the island of Bardsey, whose first abbat was St. Cadfan. His festival is February 9, and his date about the first half of the 6th century [CADFAN (1)] (*Myv. Arch.* Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 593; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 111, 212, 332; Williams, *Emin. Welshm.* 137). [J. G.]

There was a late inscription on the tower of Llanengan containing the words *Eneanus rex Walliae*, and the name Enniaun occurs on an inscribed cross at Margam in Glamorganshire (Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Christ.* No. 73): "Enniaun pro anima Guorgoret fecit." Einion's festival day was February 9. [C. W. B.]

EIRENACH. [ERNADHACH.]

EIRENE, according to Basilides daughter of Dikaiosyne, having with her mother her abode in the Ogdoad (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 25, p. 637). [G. S.]

EITHNE (ETHNE, ETHNEA) appears to have been a common name among the women of Ireland, so that we find it often among the saints and the mothers of the saints (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 416; Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. lxx.).

(1) Daughter of Bait, Mar. 29. On this day are commemorated in *Mart. Doneg.* (by Todd and Reeves, 89) "Eithne and Sodhealbh, two daughters of Bait, by the side of Sord Coluim Cille;" the entry in *Mart. Tallaght* (Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* p. xx.) is "Ingena Baite, quae nutriebant Christum, Ethne ocus Sodelbia nomina earum." Colgan (*Acta SS.* 785) gives some account of the two virgins Ethnea and Sodelbia, daughters of Aidh, king of Leinster, and says they flourished about or after the middle of the 6th century, but he thinks that Bait may have been a surname of Cairbre their grandfather (*Ib.* 416 n. [1]), or that "daughters of Bait" should be interpreted as "daughters of ardent charity," from the love they bore to Christ, who is said by Cath. Maguire, in his Additions and Scholia to the *Felire of Aengus*, to have come into their arms in the form of an infant to be embraced and kissed. They and their sister Cumania were daughters of Aidh, son of Cairbre, king of Leinster; and we read in the *Life of St. Maedhog* (Jan. 31), bishop of Ferns, how that bishop visited them, and how the ox he brought with him to plough their land, and gave to a leprous woman, had its place supplied by another that daily came up from the sea. No account is given of their own dates, but their grandfather Cairbre, son of Cormac, died A.D. 546 according to the *Four Mast.* Their chief festival is Mar. 29, but others are appropriated to them. Their abode called Tech-ingen-baithe, or the House of the daughters of Bait or Charity, was near Swords in the barony of Nethercross, co. Dublin, and Killnais, another place where their memory was honoured, seems to have been near the same (Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, 108). Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 14, § 7) affirms only the certainty of their being distinguished by their piety, and of their living in a nunnery, "but the history of Ethnea, Sodelbia, and Cumania, and whether such were the names of the holy daughters of king Aidus, or how many were these daughters, is so involved in the obscurity of jarring documents, that I shall do no more than refer to Colgan who treats of them at Mar. 29."

(2) The Fair, daughter of Laeghaire. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 54–6, 415–6) at Jan. 11, and Feb. 26, has given extracts from the *Lives of St. Patrick* regarding the two daughters of king Laeghaire, named Ethnea the Fair and Fedelmia the Ruddy, who, he thinks, may be commemorated on these days, though in the kalendars there are merely

the names, without place or parentage. The story of the two sisters Ethnea and Fedelmia is given at less or greater length in Colgan's Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Lives of St. Patrick, and is recorded by Tirechan (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 12 a a). Colgan places it in A.D. 432. King Laeghaire had sent his two daughters to Connaught to be under the charge of two Druids or Magi, named Mael and Caplit. St. Patrick had come to the royal cemetery of Crochan or Cruachan, now Rathcroghan, the very ancient residence of the kings of Connaught in Roscommon. On the side of the fort there was a well called Clebach, and when St. Patrick and his attendants or synod of bishops were assembled there one morning at sunrise, the two virgins came early to the well to wash, and, finding St. Patrick and his companions there, the young maidens thought they were supernatural beings. St. Patrick, however, entered into conversation with them, as related by Tirechan, and the result was that they believed and were baptized; and on their desiring to see the Lord's face, they received the sacrifice of Christ and soon passed in death to see the Unseen. They were buried beside the well of Clebach, and upon them was placed a Ferta, Relec, or sepulchral mound, which became the property of St. Patrick and his successors. The two Druids, their guardians, were also converted by St. Patrick. (Todd, *St. Patrick*, 451–55; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 163–71, ii. 716; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 108–9; O'Curry, *Lect. Anc. Ir.* ii. 201–2.)

(3) Daughter of Cormac or of Manius, virgin, commemorated July 6. The *Mart. Tallaght.* (Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* p. xxviii.) has on this day "Tri ingena Maine in Airiud-Boinne, i.e. Dermor ocus Etne ocus Cumman," and *Mart. Doneg.* (by Todd and Reeves, 189) has "Dermor, daughter of Maine, of Airiudh Bainne," also as a separate entry "Ethne, and Cumman." To this last Dr. Todd (*ib.* p. 189 n. [2]) has appended the note, "Ethne and Cummán were both virgins and sisters, daughters of Cormac, son of Ailill, of the race of Cathair Mór, king of Ireland (*Sanct. Gen., B. of Lecan*)." But Colgan in his note, commenting upon the story, in the Tripartite Life, concerning the chieftain Manius and his wife being converted, and of the latter, when blessed by St. Patrick, bearing "duas proles foemellas," accepts the reading of the *Martyrology of Tallaght* that there were three daughters, and that July 6 was their feast (*Tr. Thaum.* 149, c. 2, 184 n. [8], 270, col. 1). Cormac, son of Ailill, died A.D. 535, according to the *Four Masters*. [J. G.]

EITHRAS has no pedigree given him among the Welsh saints; it is merely stated that he was one of Cadfan's companions, when the latter came from Armorica into Britain in the beginning of the 6th century, and that afterwards he was with Hennwyen in Bardsey (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 24, 40; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 594, 598; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 213, 224). [J. G.]

ELADIUS, ST. (Heladius), fourth bishop of Auxerre, cir. A.D. 387. He followed St. Valerianus, ruled for twenty-three years, and was succeeded by St. Amator, whom he had admitted to the priesthood, and who wrote his *Acta*. He is commemorated on May 8. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 262; *Acta SS.* Mai. viii. 300.) [R. T. S.]

ELAETH, surnamed Frenhin or Vrenin "the king," was a bard and saint, but though his genealogy is traced to Coel Godebog, and thus is purely Welsh, Elaeth is only found in his latter days living in Wales. In the *Pedigrees of the Saints* it is said:—"Elaeth (king) was the son of Meyric, the son of Idno; and Onnengrec, daughter of Gwallawg, son of Lleenawg, was his mother." He seems to have been in early life a chieftain in the north, and, on being driven from his possessions, to have found refuge in the monastery of Bangor, or in Seiriol's College at Penmon in Anglesey, in the middle of the sixth century, or, according to others, in the seventh. He was founder and patron of the parish church of Amlwch on the north coast of Anglesey. His festival is November 10. As a bard there are several poems attributed to him. The *Myvyrian Archaiology*, i. 161, has a collection of Moral Triplets. From the *Black Book of Caermarthen* (fol. 35 b), Dr. Skene (*Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 501–503, ii. 35–37) has printed *The Cynghogion of Elaeth*, of seven stanzas, and another poem of the same length, both written in a strain of deepest piety; in the latter he says he loves "to praise Peter, who can bestow true peace," and, "in every language is, with hope acknowledged as the gentle, high-famed, generous porter of heaven." (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 25, 40–1; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 271; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 596; Skene, *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, i. 19, ii. 344.) [J. G.]

ELAFIUS (1), a British chief who appears in the story of Germanus returning to Britain to put down the Pelagian heresy. Hearing a rumour of the saint's coming, Elafius went to meet him, taking his son, who was suffering from a withered leg, and all the country flocked after him. Germanus and his company of priests arrived; the youth was healed by their prayers, and by this miracle the Catholic faith was confirmed in the minds of the people. See the life of Germanus by Constantius, copied by Bede and subsequent writers. (Bed. *H. E.* i. 21; Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* in *M.H.B.* 709; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vii. 216; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 435, xvii.) [C. H.]

ELAFIUS (2) (Ruricius, *Epp.* ii. 7, in Patr. Lat. lviii. 86), founder of a church. [Elaphius.] [C. H.]

ELAFIUS (3) (Greg. Tur. *H. F.* v. 41), bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne. [Elasius.] [C. H.]

ELAGABALUS. The short reign of this feeble and profligate emperor, though not presenting any points of direct connexion with the history of the Christian church, is not without interest as a phase of the religious condition of the empire. His grandmother, Julia Moesa, was the daughter of a Phoenician named Bassianus. Her sister, Julia Domna, became the second wife of the emperor Septimius Severus, and was the mother of M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, commonly known as Caracalla, and of Geta. By her husband, Julius Avitus, Moesa had two daughters, Julia Soëmia and Julia Mammaea, of whom the former became the mother of Elagabalus by Sextus Varius Marcellus, and the latter the mother of Alexander Severus by Gessius Marcianus.

The name given to the young prince on his birth, Varius Avitus Bassianus, recorded the main facts in the genealogy just given. He was born at Emesa, in Syria, about A.D. 205. Both his mother and his aunt were devoted to the worship of *El-gabal* (= God the Creator, or, according to another but less probable etymology, God of the Mountains), and he and his cousin Alexander Severus were in early childhood consecrated as priests in the temple of that deity in his native city, and the young Bassianus took the name of the god to whom he ministered. On the murder of Caracalla by Macrinus, his grandmother, who had shared with her sister Julia Domna the splendour of the imperial court, was compelled to retire into Syria, where she watched for an opportunity of revenging herself on the usurper and regaining her lost power. The discontent caused among the troops of the empire by the rigid discipline of Macrinus presented an opening which she was not slow to use. A report was circulated that Caracalla was the real father of the son of Soëmia. Largesses were freely given to the soldiers stationed on the Phoenician border, and they received the boy-prince, with his mother and grandmother, into their camp, and saluted him by the title of M. Aurelius Antoninus, on the 16th of May, A.D. 218. Macrinus, after an unsuccessful attempt to quell the revolt by sending Julianus with a body of troops, came in person, was defeated in a pitched battle on the border of Syria in Phoenicia, and after an attempt to escape in disguise was taken and put to death. A letter was at once despatched in the name of the young prince to the Roman senate, in which, without even waiting for their formal consent, he assumed all the titles of imperial sovereignty, Caesar, Imperator, Pius, Felix, Augustus, with the tribunitian authority, and with vague promises of reform declared that he proposed to himself to follow in the footsteps of the first and greatest of the emperors. Neither senate nor people offered the slightest opposition; and when the Fratres Arvales met in the Capitol on the 14th of July, within five weeks after the death of Macrinus, they offered up their prayers for the welfare of the new emperor

The letter was written from Antioch, where the young emperor for some time held his court. His mother would seem to have been simply a devotee of the Syrian sun-god, but his aunt Julia Mammaea had more eclectic tendencies, and by her invitation the great Origen came to Antioch (probably, however, after the death of Elagabalus), and was received with many marks of honour. Eusebius, who relates the fact (*H. E.* vi. 21), speaks of her as a woman of exceptional piety (*γυνὴ θεοσεβεστάτη εἰ καί τις ἄλλη γεγονυία*), and we may legitimately trace her influence in the character of her son Alexander Severus. [SEVERUS.]

After spending some time at Nicomedeia, where he entered on his second consulship, the young emperor proceeded in A.D. 219 (we may note, in passing, that it was the year in which Callistus succeeded Zephyrinus as bishop of Rome) to the capital. His short reign there may be described as a frenzy of idolatrous impurity. He laid the foundation of a splendid temple on the Palatine in honour of his patronymic god, and transferred thither the conical stone which had been the symbol of his divinity at Emesa, and which was now carried to its new abode in a triumphal chariot, drawn by the six white horses and driven by the emperor himself. To that temple was also brought the sacred stone of Cybele from Pessinus, and the image of the Syrian Astarte from Carthage. Preparations were made for celebrating the nuptials of that goddess with the sun, and a heavy tax was levied on the people of Rome to defray its expenses. The dignity of the senate was outraged by his nominating a council of women, over which his mother was to preside. As if disposed to recognise the religion of his Jewish subjects, he abstained from swine's flesh and accepted the rite of circumcision, while, at the same time, dark stories were current as to his offering boys in sacrifice, in order that he might divine the future by the inspection of their viscera.

The subserviency of the senate and people of Rome to the master of the legions, so long as he could count on the support of the Praetorian soldiers, led them to tolerate even these enormities. His jealousy and suspicion led him to imprison his cousin Alexander Severus, whose virtue attracted the admiration both of soldiers and people, and whom, in deference to his mother's advice, he had adopted and proclaimed as Caesar soon after his arrival in Rome, and the troops rose and rescued their favourite. The two sisters, each with her son, appeared at the head of their supporters, and the followers of Severus were victorious. Soëmia and the boy-emperor were thrown into the Tiber (hence the epithet Tiberinus afterwards attached to him in derision), and the senate met and branded his name with eternal infamy. (Dion Cass. lxxvii. 30–41, lxxix.; Herodian, v. 4–23; Lamprid. *Elagab.*; Capitolin. *Macrinus*; Eutrop. viii. 13; Aurel. Victor, *de Caes.* xxiii., Epit. xxiii.)

[E. H. P.]

ELAIR (ELARIUS, HELARIUS, HILLARIUS), of Inis Locha-Cre, commemorated Sept. 7. This saint is commemorated in the *Mart. Doneg.* and *Mart. Tallaght* on this day. To him was dedicated the church built upon the island in Lough Cre; this lough is now a bog, with the ruins of the church still standing in it, in the townland of Monaincha or Monahincha, from which the bog takes its name, in the parish of Corbally, barony of Ikerrin, and county of Tipperary. The ruins stand about two miles south-east of Roscrea. St. Elair, anchoret and scribe of Loch-Crea, died A.D. 802 (rectè 807) according to the *Four Mast.* (by O'Donovan, 412 n. [t], 413, the note giving an account of Loch-Crea and its ruins; *Irish Nennius*, by Todd and Herbert. 216 n.]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iv. c. 30, § 15; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 253). But Colgan treats Elair or Loch-Cre as one with Elair or Hilary, nephew of St. Columba by Sinech St. Columba's sister. This other Elair was son of Fintan, descended from Cian, son of Oilill Olum, and hence was one of the Mocukein; but though placed by Colgan on Sept. 7, both this and the connecting him with Loch-Cre have sprung from Colgan's desire to find a place in the kalendars for the nephew of St. Columba. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 478 n. [6], 479 n. [23], 490 n. [71].)

[J. G.]

ELANC, bishop of Menevia, now St. David's, but possibly the same as ELVAED (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 155). [J. G.]

ELAPHIUS (1), a notary to whom, in reward for his services, Gregory Nazianzen bequeathed some articles of clothing and twenty pieces of gold. (Greg. Naz. *Testam.* 203, in Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxvii. 394.) [E. V.]

ELAPHIUS (2), a gentleman residing in a castle among craggy rocks, in the diocese of the Rutheni (Rodez), addressed by Sidonius Apollinaris bishop of Auvergne (Sid. Apol. *Epp.* iv. 15, in Patr. Lat. lviii. 520). Elaphius had built a church on his estate, but as the diocese was without a bishop, like many other dioceses in the south of Gaul then in Gothic occupation (*ib.* vii. 6), he requests Sidonius to come and consecrate it. Sidonius consents, and hopes, in common with the Ruthenians, that Elaphius, now offering altars for himself, may one day offer sacrifices for them. This was a hint of the priestly office, or even perhaps, considering Elaphius's rank and the dearth of bishops, of the episcopate, and so Ceillier understands it, who adduces in confirmation an epistle of Ruricius bishop of Limoges, addressed "Domno sublimi semperque magnifico fratri Elafio" (Rur. *Epp.* ii. 7, in Patr. Lat. lviii. 86). The lists do not sustain the inference (Ceillier, *Aut. Sacr.* x. 382). [C. H.]

ELAPHIUS (3), bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne. [ELASIUS.]

ELAPIUS (ELAPHIUS), fifteenth bishop of Poitiers, succeeding Adelphius and followed by Daniel, about A.D. 535 to 540. His name only appears in the list of the bishops of that diocese (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 1154; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* ann. 533, n. xli., tom. i. p. 402). [S. A. B.]

ELASIPPUS, Melasippus, and Speusippus, "tergemini fratres," were Cappadocians by birth, horse-breakers by profession, and martyrs in the reign of Aurelian. They were still heathens at the age of 25, when, having invited their grandmother Necnilla to a feast, she discoursed of Christ while they made offerings to Jupiter. Convinced by her words, they rose from table and broke their idols in pieces. In vain their masters sought to reconvert them, and after cruel tortures the brothers suffered death in a furnace. They were commemorated on Jan. 17 in the church of Langres, whither their relics were subsequently conveyed (Bas. *Menol.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.; *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 76–80). [C. H.]

ELASIUS (ELAPHIUS), ST., seventeenth bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, succeeding Tattinodus and followed by his brother, St. Leudomer, was a native of Limoges. He is said to have granted large estates to his church, and to have obtained the subscription of Egidius, archbishop of Rheims to the deed of gift (see Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 747). He died of fever, with which he was seized while on an embassy from queen Brunichild to Spain, cir. A.D. 580. His remains were brought back to Châlons for burial, and were translated in A.D. 1164 to the church of St. Pierre-aux-Monts in the same diocese. He is commemorated Aug. 19. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 41; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 747; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 862.) [S. A. B.]

ELAVE, bishop of Menevia, possibly the same as ELVAED (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 155). [J. G.]

ELBODG (*Annal. Cambr.* ann. cccLxv. *i.e.* A.D. 809, in *M.H.B.* 834), ELBODUGUS (*Annal. Cambr.* ann. cccxxiv. *i.e.* A.D. 768, in *M.H.B.* 834), ELBOT (*Brut y Tywysog.* in *M.H.B.* 843; Nenn. *Hist.* init. in *M.H.B.* 47 b), archbishop of Gwynedd. [ELBOD.] [C. H.]

ELBODUS, ST., became bishop (or archbishop) of Bangor in 755, and induced the people of North Wales to adopt the Roman cycle of Easter, the one really important revolution in the Welsh church from the 5th century to the 12th. The bishops of South Wales refused to comply, and the dispute continued until 777, when the time of Easter was altered there also. On Elbodus' death, in 809, the controversy was again renewed, and there is reason to think that the Welsh were still slow to surrender their ancient custom (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 148, 203–4).

Nennius used the nineteen years' cycle which Elbod had introduced; but it is first used in the Liber Landavensis under the year 1022, and by the *Brut y Tywysogion*, 1005, and by both erroneously. Ussher traces the last echo of the British Easter controversy in a statement of the anonymous Life of St. Chrysostom, written about 950, which says that certain clerics of those who dwell at the ends of the earth amid the ocean, came to Constantinople in the days of the patriarch Methodius (842–847), to inquire of certain ecclesiastical traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of Easter. [C. W. B.]

ELBWALD, king of the East Angles. [ELFWALD.]

ELCHASAI. [ELKESAI.]

ELCWOLD, stated by William of Malmesbury (*G.R.A.* i. § 97, ed. Hardy) to have been king of East Anglia, the brother of Aldulf [ALDULF (1)] in the latter part of the 7th century. They were the sons of Ethelhere king of East Anglia and St. Hereswitha, succeeded their uncle Ethelwald, and according to Malmesbury were succeeded by Beorna. Wendover calls him Eadwald. (Flor. Wig. *Geneal.* in *M.H.B.* 628; Id. *Ad Chron. App.* in *M.H.B.* 636 c; Wend. *F. H.* ann. 655, ed. Coxe, note.) [ELFWALD.] [C. H.]

ELDAD (HELDAN) is the name of two Welsh saints mentioned by Prof. Rees.

(1) Son of Arth. This person, whose pedigree the Welsh genealogists profess to trace in an unbroken line from Caractacus, the British chieftain in the time of the emperor Claudius, was son of Arth ab Arthwg Frych ab Cystennyn Goronog (A.D. 542). He is said by Rees to have been a member of the college of St. Illtyd, at Llantwit Major, and is classed among the Welsh saints of the beginning of the 7th century (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 89, 298).

(2) Son of Geraint ab Carannog. He was in the fifth degree of descent from Cadell Deyrnllug, and a member of St. Illtyd's College. He afterwards became bishop of Gloucester, and is said to have given Christian burial to the followers of Vortigern when they were slain by the treachery of Hengist and his Saxons near Salisbury

Pitseus attributes to him *Orationes invectivas*, lib. i. and places him after A.D. 490, but Rees includes him in the list of the Welsh saints who flourished from A.D. 600 to A.D. 634; he was slain by the pagan Saxons. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 161, 298; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 12, wks. v. 475–476; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 153; Pitseus, *de Ill. Brit. Scrip.* 90.) [J. G.]

He is mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth as having buried the British nobles slain by Hengist (lib. vi. 15), and as urging his brother Eldol to kill Hengist and spare his son Octa. (*Ib.* viii. 7, 8.)

He deserves a place here only as having sometimes been identified with St. Aldate, an unknown saint, to whom churches in Oxford and Gloucester are dedicated. He is commemorated on June 14. (Parker, *Angl. Kalend.* p. 181; Peshall, *Hist. Oxf.* p. 144.) [S.]

ELDEBERT, impostor. [ALDEBERT.]

ELDULF (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 732, in *M. H. B.* 657 c), bishop of Rochester. [ALDULF (2).] [C. H.]

ELDUNEN, ELDUVEN, fifteenth bishop of Menevia or St. David's (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 155; Girald. Camb. *Itin. Kamb.* ii. c. 1, wks. vi. 105). [J. G.]

ELEAZARUS, martyred with eight sons at Lyons, in company with Minervius; commemorated Aug. 23. The Martyrologies give the names only in the genitive, Eleazari being the form in Ado and Eleazarii in Usuard. Grevenus and Molanus in their notes to Usuard alter (but on conjecture alone, and contrary to manuscript authority) "cum filiis octo" into "cum aliis octo" on the ground that "filiis" makes Minervius and Eleazarus husband and wife; while Migne's annotator defends "filiis" on the ground that the true nominative is Eleazarum, denoting a woman. But this criticism seems doubtful, and the received reading gives sufficient sense (*Mart.* Adon., Usuard, ed. Migne; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 561-565). [T. S. B.]

ELECTI, ELECTAE, one of the two classes into which the Manichaeans were divided, the other being called "Auditores" (Possidius, *Vit. Augustin.* xvi.; Augustin. *de Haeres.* xlvi.; Prosper, *Anathem.* ap. Labbe et Cossart, iv. 1658). The Electi were regarded as being more holy than the Auditores, and seem to have been under restrictions from which the Auditores were exempt (Augustin. *de Morib. Manich.* ii. 18; *Contr. Faustum*, xx. 23). It was from the Electi that the Manichaeans chose their officials; "Princeps," "Magistri," "Episcopi," "Presbyteri," and "Diaconi" (Praedestinat. *de Haeres.* xlvi.). Augustine was one of these Electi for some time (Possidius, *u.s.*). [MANICHAEANS.] There are traces of similar classes among the Catholics. (Electi, *Sacramentale Rom.* c. 26; *Missale Gallic. Vet.* p. 449. Auditores, Audientes, Catechumeni, Isid. *Orig.* c. 4: Tertullian, *de Poenitentiâ;* Nicolaus, P. *ad Rivolard.* A.D. 858 × 867; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 252, Mansi, xv. 388, "Dominici gregis." Du Fresne *s. v.* Electi, Auditores.) [T. W. D.]

ELECTION. [PREDESTINATION, VOCATION.]

ELECTUS, chamberlain. [ECLECTUS.]

ELEDANIUS, legendary bishop of Alclud or Dumbarton, said to have been appointed by king Arthur in 519 (Galf. Monum. ix. 15; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 153). [J. G.]

ELEEMOSINARIUS. [INDEARCAIGH.] [J. G.]

ELEFANTUS, bishops. [ELEPHANTUS, ELIFANTUS.]

ELELETH, one of the four luminaries in the Barbeliot system (Irenaeus, i. 29, p. 108). [G. S.]

ELEN (HELENA). Elen or Helen Llywyddawy, daughter of Coel Coedhebawg, has been represented in monkish legend, the Welsh Bruts, and the equally fabulous history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, as the wife of Constantius Chlorus and mother of the Emperor Constantine the Great. Eglwys Ilan, co. Glamorgan, Tref Ilan, co. Cardigan, and Llanelen, co. Monmouth, may be dedications to Elenor or St. Helena (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 207; Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* v. 12; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 80, 138; Tanner, *Bibl.* 388–90). [J. G.]

ELENARA (ELEVARA), martyr with Sponsaria, virgins, in Gaul, under Rictiovarus in the reign of Diocletian; commemorated at St. Riquier, May 2. (*Chron. Centulens.* lib. iii. c. 29, in D'Achery, *Spicileg.* ii. 329, ed. 1723; Boll. *Acta SS.* 2 Mai. i. 181.) [C. H.]

ELENOG, a Welsh saint of the 7th century (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 307). He might be the same as Elnog son of St. Tudglyd of Holyhead, but that the latter must have flourished in the preceding century (Rees, *Camb. Brit. Saints*, 599). [J. G.]

ELEOCADIUS (Ughell. *Ital. Sac.* ii. 327).

ELEOCHADIUS (Gams, *Ser. Episcop.* 716), bishop of Ravenna. [ELEUCHADIUS.] [C. H.]

ELEPHANTUS (ELEFANTUS) I., eleventh bishop of Uzes, succeeding Arimundus and succeeded by Walafridus, is said by the compilers of the *Gallia Christiana* (vi. 616) to have been living in A.D. 800. All we know of him is that in the year following the death of Louis the Pious he was commissioned by Bernard duke of Septimania to conduct his infant son from Uzes, where he had been lately born, to his presence in Aquitaine. (See the praefatio to the *Liber Manualis* given by Dodana the wife of Bernardus to her son, quoted by Bouquet, tom. vii. p. 23 n., and Migne, Patr. Lat. cvi. 109). [S.A.B.]

ELEPHAS has been placed seventh in the list of the bishops of Valence, succeeding Ragnoaldus and followed by Salvius I., at the close of the sixth century. But the old authorities are silent, and his existence is very doubtful (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 294; Gams, *Series Episc.* 648). [S. A. B.]

ELERI (ELIRI, MELERI) (1). In the *Pedigrees of the Welsh Saints*, Eleri is entered as "daughter of Brychan, and wife of Ceredig, the son of Cunedda Wledig, and mother of Sandde, the father of Dewi" (St. David). As belonging to the family of Brychan, one of the "three stocks of saints of the island of Britain," Eleri is numbered among the saints, and is placed by Prof. Rees in the middle of the 5th century.

In the *Account of Brychan of Brycheiniog* she is called Meleri (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 41; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, iii. 137, 147; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 600, 604).

(2) Another is placed among the saints of the end of the 6th century, and lived at Pennant, in Gwytherin, Denbighshire. She was daughter of Dingad ab Nudd Hael, and has her genealogy traced from Macsen Wledig, *i.e.* Maximus the Roman emperor of the West; her mother was Thenoi, Tlevoc, or Tonwy, daughter of Llewddyn Llueddawg, of Dinas Eiddin or Edinburgh, and she had five brothers, saints and members with her of the college of Bardsey (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 24, 42; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 108, 275; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 594). [J. G.]

ELERIUS was a Cambrian monk, who lived in the vale of Clwyd, Denbighshire, and is to be distinguished from Elerius or Helerius, a martyr in Jersey. In the legendary *Life of St. Winefred* (Nov. 3), she is represented as receiving the veil from St. Elerius at her monastery of Gwytherin in the county of Denbigh, and as being soon afterwards buried by him there. The *Vita S. Wenefredae Virginis et Martyris* (in MS. Cott. Claud. A. v. ff. 138–141, and printed by Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 191–209) is said to have been written by Elerius, and is only slightly different from that published by Surius and Capgrave, and attributed to Robert, monk and prior of Shrewsbury, who flourished about A.D. 1140. [WINEFRED.] Elerius died about A.D. 660, and is commemorated on June 13 (Pitseus, *de Illust. Brit. Scrip.* 109; Tanner, *Biblioth.* 258; Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. 179–184; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 297, 321; Bp. Nicolson, *Engl. Hist. Libr.* 97, 3rd ed.; Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* xvi. 8).

[J. G.]

ELESBAAN. The difficulties which beset the biography of this king, hermit, and saint (Rome, Oct. 27; Ethiopia, Ginbot, xx. May 15; cf. Ludolphus, p. 415), are acknowledged by all who have tried to trace consistency in the history of Ethiopia during the 6th century. (Cf. Ludolphus, *History of Ethiopia*, ed. 1684, p. 167. Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, ed. 1827, viii. 47, note 4. Walch, in *Novi Commentarii Soc. Reg. Gottingen.* tom. iv. *Historia Rerum in Homeritide Saec.* vi. *Gestarum*, p. 4.) The importance of those crusades on which his fame rests is attested by Gibbon, who justifies the mention of his wars by the assertion that, had their purpose been attained, "Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the civil and religious state of the world." (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xlii. sub fin.)

It may be well to mention, and very briefly to estimate, the authorities from whom come both the records of his life and the confusion in which they are involved. First in importance are two Syriac writers, of whose work fragments are extant in manuscripts in the Vatican library and edited by Asseman, with a Latin translation, in the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, pp. 341 seq.; Simeon, surnamed Sophistes, bishop of Beth-Arsam in Persia, between 510 and 525 A.D., a Catholic according to Asseman's estimate, though he accepted the Henoticon; and John, the Monophysite bishop of Asia (for his life cf. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. ii. pp. 83 seq.), a native of Amida in Mesopotamia, during the latter half of the 6th century, and the author of an ecclesiastical history, begun from the reign of Theodosius the younger, and carried on to the death of Justinian. To these must be added Procopius, Theophanes, and Joannes Malala: (cf. *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn., pt. x. vol. i. p. 104 seq.; *Id.* pt. viii. p. 433 seq.; *Id.* pt. xxvi. pp. 346–7); but the witness of the first, though contemporary, is incomplete, and becomes untrustworthy if his notorious inconsistency and secret attachment to Paganism be considered (cf. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. xl.): while Theophanes (who only contributes an evident blunder in saying that the king of Ethiopia was a Jew), and Malala, a native of Antioch, in the earlier and more important part of this period, closely and uncritically follow John of Asia; the importance of the last being further impaired by the great uncertainty of his own antiquity and position, Walch placing him later than Theophanes, while others hold him to be contemporary with Justinian. A most valuable fragment is the record of Nonnosus, himself an ambassador to Elesbaan, preserved in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius (Cod. 3.). But the details of the saint's wars and character are drawn from the *Acta S. Arethae*, extant in two forms: of which the earlier and more authentic, found by Lequien in the Colbert Library (*Oriens Christianus*, ii. 428), is referred by the Jesuit author of the *Acta Sanctorum*, to a date not later than the 7th century; while the later is, at best, but the recension of Simeon Metaphrastes, in the 10th century. Not much is contributed for the elucidation of the period by the Arabian historians adduced by Walch; and very little by the Ethiopian documents to which Job Ludolphus had access in the 17th century. (Cf. the translations from the Senkessar appended to the life of Elesbaan in the Bollandist *Acta*; October, vol. xii.)

Of the majority of the later writers who have used or abused these authorities (as Baronius, Geddes, Migne, Gieseler, Rohrbacher, Alban Butler) it is not necessary to speak; but three among them are eminent, by their sense of the difficulty of the period, and their critical treatment of its records. First should be cited J. G. Walch, as author of two papers, contributed to the *Novi Commentarii* of the Royal Society of Göttingen (vol. iv.), and entitled "Historia Rerum in Homeritide Saeculo vi. Gestarum." Lebeau's history of the period has been greatly increased in value by the careful annotations of his editor, St. Martin. (*Histoire du Bas Empire*, vol. viii. It may be noted that Baronius and Pagi had access only to the Greek authors, and are therefore useless.) Lastly, the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* give, under the name of St. Elesbaan and the date of October 27, a very full and fairly critical account of all the evidence which has yet been gathered. (Cf. also their history of St. Arethas and his fellow-martyrs: Oct. vol. x.) It is here impossible to follow at length the arguments which these writers confute and urge: it is therefore intended in this article to give those facts in the life of Elesbaan which seem most clearly attested; and to speak paren-

thetically of the mistakes by which it has been obscured, and whose correction must presuppose a knowledge of the disputed events.

One confusion must however be resolved at the outset. The wars against the Homeritae which form the central interest of Elesbaan's reign in Ethiopia are associated by different historians with at least ten different names; nor can these be corruptions of less than three originals. The hero of these wars is called Caleb in the Ethiopian Senkessar (cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, Octob. xii. p. 328), Caled, by Gibbon: Ellatzobaa by Cosmas Indicopleustes, a contemporary writer: Elesbaas, Elesboas, and Elesbaan, by other Greek writers; Elaatzbah, in the Ethiopian rendering of his name given in the Bollandist *Acta:* Hellestheaeus by Procopius: Aidog, by John of Asia: Andas, by John Malala, and Adad by Theophanes. It seems probable that the first two forms express his proper name, which may be written Caleb; the following six are variants of Ela-Atzbah (*i.e.* benedictus), the vernacular title of canonization;[a] the last three misrepresent Ela-Ameda, the name of his grandfather, with whom, as will be seen, he was confounded by John of Asia and his followers. The name Elesbaan will be most convenient for uniform use, since it has supplanted in most writings the more distinctive name of Caleb.

It was probably during the later years of Anastasius's reign, and shortly before the accession of Justin in 518, that Elesbaan succeeded his father Tazena on the throne of Ethiopia.[b] The diverse lists of the Ethiopian kings have been reduced by Dillmann to three originals, whereof one is confused at this period; the other two give the following order of succession:—

Saladoba,
His son Al-Ameda,
His son Tazena,
His son Caleb,
His son Gabra Masqal.

(Cf. Dillmann, *Cod. Aeth. Musaei Britannici*, p. 348.) In two inscriptions of Tazena, discovered at Axum in 1830, and translated by Sapeto and by Dillmann, the king calls himself the son of El-Amida; and in the second he uses language which could only be used by a Christian. It will presently be seen that there are reasons for thinking that the faith was restored throughout Ethiopia in the reign of his father, Al-Ameda, the grandfather of Elesbaan.

The kingdom of Elesbaan was greatly dependent for its welfare upon the good will and good order of the people of Yemen, the Homeritae, from whom it was separated by the narrow strait of Bab-el-Mandeb: for through the territory of the Homeritae the merchants of Syria and of Rome came to the great port of Adulis (cf. *Assemani Bibl. Orientalis*, i. p. 360), near whose ruins in Annesley Bay the Arabian traders still unlade their ships (cf. Henry Salt, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, ch. ix. p. 451). A Greek inscription discovered at Axum, and a law of Constantius bearing date in the year 356, prove that even in the 4th century the princes of Axum bore the style "King of the Homeritae" (cf. *Id. ib.* p. 411; Lebeau, *Bas Empire*, viii. 46, n. 2); but the range and reality of their power in Arabia seems very uncertain; Letronne (*Matériaux pour l'Histoire du Christianisme en Nubie*, p. 39) speaks slightingly of the "fanfaronnades communes chez ces rois barbares." When Elesbaan became king of Ethiopia, the Homeritae had greatly obscured the Christianity which they had received in the reign of Constantius, but the language of Cosmas Indicopleustes (Migne, Patr. Gr. vol. lxxxviii. p. 170), shews that it was not wholly extinct. They were subject to a king whose name is variously written as Dunaan and Dhu Nowas; also by John of Asia as Dimion; by Theophanes as Damian. He had been raised to the throne about 490, by the people whom he had freed from their gross tyrant Laknia Dhu Sjenatir; and having shortly after his accession forsworn idolatry and embraced Judaism, he determined to enforce his new creed with the sword (cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. vol. x. p. 693). Professing a zeal of retaliation for the sufferings of the Jews throughout the Christian empire, he exacted heavy tolls from all Christian merchants who came through his territory to the port of Aden and the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and, according to the account given by John of Asia (cf. Assemani *Bibl. Orientalis*, i. 360), put many Christians to death. The effects of this action were felt in the commerce of all the neighbouring peoples, but nowhere so injuriously as in the kingdom of Ethiopia; and Elesbaan soon after his accession sent to Dhu Nowas an useless remonstrance, and then prepared for war. About the year 519 he crossed the straits, attacked and utterly defeated the Arabian forces, and driving the Jew to refuge in the hills, left a viceroy to bear Christian rule over the Homeritae, and returned to Ethiopia (Asseman, *ib.* p. 362). Of this expedition and victory no details are recorded; its time is incidentally and approximately marked by Cosmas Indicopleustes, who tells us that he was at Adulis "ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστίνου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασίλεως" (A.D. 518–527), when the king of the people of Axum, being about to undertake an expedition of war against the Homeritae, sent to the governor of Adulis to ask for a copy of a certain inscription; which copy Cosmas and another monk were charged to make (Migne, Patr. Gr. vol. lxxxviii. p. 102).

It is necessary at this point to consider the first great error by which the witness of the bishop of Asia and of those who follow him in regard to these events is marred (Johannes Malala, and Theophanes). The conqueror in this war, while proved by the sequel of their story to be identical with Elesbaan, is called by them Aidog, Adad, or Andas: he is said to have vowed before leaving Ethiopia that, since he fought as the champion of Christ, he would, if victorious, renounce his false faith and become a Christian; and after the defeat of Dhu Nowas it is told how, in fulfilment of this vow, he sent to Alexandria to pray that a bishop and clergy

[a] Some doubt may be entertained as to Hellestheaeus, but it seems most likely that the majority of critics are right in tracing it to a confusion between β and δ. Cf. St. Martin's note on Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, tom. viii. p. 49, note 4. According to Ludolphus (*Hist. of Ethiopia*, p. 165) Atzbeha is the Ethiopic name of Baptism. It is hardly necessary to notice that Nicephorus calls the king David.

[b] The Bollandist *Acta* adopt with hesitation a conjectural date, 512. The kingdom is variously called Ethiopia, Abyssinia, and Axum.

might come to form the church of Christ in Ethiopia. Then John of Asia goes on to record that this message was forwarded from Alexandria by one Licinius to the emperor, who bade the ambassadors choose a bishop; that they chose John, the Paramoniarius of the church of St. John, at Alexandria, by whom Aidog and all his princes were presently baptized, and the church, which St. Frumentius had founded in the 4th century, was quickened afresh (Assemani *Biblioth. Orientalis*, i. 362–3).

But this is scarcely consistent with the language of the *Acta S. Arethae*, which speak of Elesbaan at the time of his first war as Rex Christianissimus (cf. Bollandist *Acta*, October x. p. 697). Or with the inscription of Tazena discovered at Axum, and shewing that he, the father of Elesbaan, was a Christian; or with the Ethiopian Senkessar, which tells that Elesbaan about the year 525 consulted St. Pantaleon, who had at that date lived forty-five years in Ethiopia (cf. the translation from the Senkessar, jointly with the *Acta S. Arethae* in the Bollandist *Acta*, October xii. 331); or lastly, with the Ethiopian chronicle of great antiquity, extant in MSS. in the Bodleian Library and British Museum, which says that in the reign of Alameda, son of Saladoba, nine saints, whose names are especially commemorated in the Senkessar, came to Ethiopia and brought the true faith; while another copy says that in that reign many monks came from Rûm, or the Graeco-Roman empire.[c] All these authorities would make it clear that Elesbaan was from the first, and by birth, a Christian; and that there must be some error in the accounts which make his victory over Dhu Nowas the occasion of his baptism.

The error may probably be traced to a confusion of the exploits of Elesbaan with a previous defeat of the Homeritae by his grandfather Al-Ameda, and the consequent conversion of that king and of his people. The evidence of these events is fragmentary and inconclusive: but the balance of probability seems in favour of the belief that they occurred. No slight force must be allowed to the connexion of names which seem to represent that of Al-Ameda with the victories of Elesbaan over the Homeritae: for such a connexion would be inexplicable unless like exploits had been associated with the earlier reign. Again, it appears from a letter written by Justin to Elesbaan in 523 or 524, that Dhu Nowas' accession to the throne of the Homeritae had required and received the sanction of the king of Ethiopia (cf. Bolland. *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. xii. p. 311): and a phrase in a letter of Dhu Nowas to Mundhir III., king of the Arabs of Hira, on the skirts of Arabia Deserta,[d] seems to imply a like relation of dependence: a relation such as would ensue upon a recent defeat. But two stronger reasons remain to be urged in support of this theory: it solves two difficulties with a simplicity which greatly commends it. For first, John of Asia ends his account of this expedition with the death of the Arabian king whom he calls Dimion, and for whom no place can be found in the list of the Arabian kings at this time, unless he be identified with Dhu Nowas.[e] But Dhu Nowas reappears in the persecution which provokes Elesbaan's second expedition in 525, an event attributed to him alike by Greek, Syriac, and Arabic historians. Here then the story of John of Asia seems unaccountably wrong, save on this supposition of the defeat and slaughter by Al-Ameda (or Andas) of a previous king of the Homeritae, whom John has confused with Dhu Nowas just as he confuses Al-Ameda himself with Elesbaan. And this supposition is at once confirmed by the Arabic historians, who hide in significant silence the end of Hassan, second from Dhu Nowas on the throne of Yemen, the last of a long dynasty, and succeeded by the despot Dhu Sjenatir; while the time of his death is marked by a revolt of the Maaddeni, a frequent sign of weakness among the Homeritae (Bollandist *Acta*, October, vol. x. p. 310), and a likely result of such a blow as they may have received by the defeat and death of Hassan at the hands of Al-Ameda. Secondly and lastly, the supposition that it was Al-Ameda's victory over Hassan which led to the mission of the bishop and clergy from Alexandria, John the Paramoniarius and his companions, exactly coincides with the witness of the Ethiopian Senkessar, telling how in that reign the nine great saints came from the Graeco-Roman empire to revive the church of Ethiopia; and also with the statement of Theodorus Lector (ii. 58) that Christianity was introduced among the Homeritae in the reign of Anastasius; for the new faith of Al-Ameda would not be slow to reach across the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb towards the people whose conquest had given it birth.

These convergent lines of circumstantial evidence seem to point to the belief that those parts of the bishop of Asia's story of Elesbaan's life, which are irreconcilable with other authorities, are taken from an imperfect knowledge of an expedition into Arabia, wherein the grandfather of Elesbaan defeated and killed Hassan, predecessor of Dhu Sjenatir, predecessor of Dhu Nowas; and that to this earlier date, towards the close of the 5th century, must be referred the name of Aidog or Andas, the religious revival in Ethiopia and Yemen, and the death in battle of the Arabian king, so much of the bishop's account being retained as was given before this long digression, which might well be lengthened by the consideration of the probable orthodoxy of John the Paramoniarius.[f] Henceforward the historians are more nearly consistent.

It was probably in the year 522 or 523 that the death of the viceroy whom Elesbaan had left in Yemen, encouraged Dhu Nowas to come down from his hiding place in the hills ("tanquam daemon carne indutus," *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. xii. 316), and reassert himself as king of the Homeritae and champion of Judaism. Choosing a

[c] Cf. Dillmann, Catalogus Codd. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. pt. vii., and the translation from the Ethiopian appended to the Bollandist *Life of Elesbaan*. A seeming contradiction in the life of St. Za-Michael is invalidated by a lacuna. Cf. Dillmann, Catalogus Codd. MSS. Orient. in Musaeo Britann. pt. iii. p. 50.

[d] "Ut Christianum Regem *de more* constituerat." The letter is extant in the Syriac MS. of Simeon of Beth-Arsam, Assemani *Bibl. Orientalis*, i. 365.

[e] Cf. Walch in *Novi Comment. Soc. Reg. Scient. Gottingensis*, iv. p. 50. Walch's support cannot be claimed for the whole of this theory.

[f] From which patriarch of Alexandria did he come? Cf. article ETHIOPIAN CHURCH, p. 249.

season when the Arabian Gulf would be an impassable barrier to the intervention of Elesbaan, he gathered a force which presently numbered 120,000 men, and having put to death all the Christians whom he could find, and turned their church into a synagogue, he pressed on to Negran, the head-quarters of the Ethiopian viceroyalty, and held at this time by Arethas, the phylarch.[g] Here he found the garrison forewarned and the gates closed: nor were they opened to the terror of his threats, when coming to the wall and holding up a wooden cross he swore that all who would not blaspheme the Crucified and insult the sign of His suffering should die. At last by treachery Dhu Nowas won an entrance, promising that he would hurt none of the citizens, and demanding nothing harder to be yielded than an exorbitant tribute: but having entered he began at once the reckless massacre which has won him a title in Arabian history, and left its mark even in the Koran (cf. Walch's paper in the *Göttingen Commentarii*, p. 25, and article ETHIOPIAN CHURCH, p. 250). Arethas and Ruma his wife died with a defiant confession on their lips: more than four thousand Christian men, women, and children were killed (commemorated in the Roman calendar on October 24); and from the fiery dyke into which the victims were thrown, Dhu Nowas received the name Saheb-el-Okhdud, "Lord of the Trench."[h]

It happened that at this time, probably in the January of 524, Simeon, the bishop of Beth-Arsam, had been sent by Justin, together with one Abraham, a priest of Constantinople, to gain the alliance of Mundhir III., king of the Arabians of Hira, a friend valuable alike for reasons of commerce and in regard to the war with Persia. As the ambassadors drew near to the royal presence (the story is told by Simeon in a letter to the abbat of Gabula) they were met by a crowd of Arabs crying that Christ was driven out of Rome and Persia and Homeritis; and they learnt that messengers were present from Dhu Nowas with letters to king Mundhir, which presently they heard read. They heard at great length the recital of the treachery by which Negran had been taken, of the insult done to the bishop's tomb, of the slaughter of the Christians, of the triumph of Judaism; they heard the confession of the martyr Arethas, and the speech wherewith Ruma urged the women of Negran to follow her to the abiding city of the divine Bridegroom, praying that the blood of the martyrs might be the wall of Negran while it continued in the faith, and that she might be forgiven for that Arethas had died first. They heard the story of her brutal murder, and then the appeal of Dhu Nowas that Mundhir should at once enact a like massacre throughout his kingdom. For a moment their own end must have seemed very near; but the courage of a soldier who stood forth as spokesman of the many Christians in Mundhir's army decided the hesitation of the king, and the ambassadors went on their way unhurt (but apparently unanswered) to Naaman, a port in the Arabian Gulf. There they heard more fully the story of the massacre, especially in regard to the constancy of a boy, who was afterwards known to the bishop of Asia at Justinian's court. Simeon of Beth-Arsam thus closes his letter, praying that the news of the martyrdom may be spread throughout the church, and the martyrs receive the honour of commemoration, and that the king of Ethiopia may be urged to help the Homeritae against the oppression of the Jew. (Cf. Assemani *Bibl. Or.* i. 364–379.)

When this message reached Elesbaan, it was reinforced by a letter from the emperor Justin, elicited by the entreaties of Dous Ibn Dzi Thaleban, one of the few Christians who had escaped the persecution of Dhu Nowas (cf. Wright, *Early Christianity in Arabia*, p. 56). This letter is given in the *Acta S. Arethae*; where also it is told how the patriarch of Alexandria, at the request of Justin, urged Elesbaan to invade Yemen, offering up a litany and appointing a vigil on his behalf, and sending to him the Eucharist in a silver vessel. Without delay Elesbaan collected a great army, which he divided into two parts; 15,000 men he sent southwards, in order that they might cross at Bab-el-Mandeb, and marching through Yemen divert the strength of Dhu Nowas's forces from the movements of the main body of the Ethiopians, which Elesbaan intended to send by sea to some place on the south coast of Arabia. For the transport of these latter he appropriated sixty merchant vessels then anchored in his ports, adding ten more, built after the native fashion, the planks being held together by ropes. On the eve of the enterprise he went in procession to the great church of Axum, and there, laying aside his royalty, he sued *in formâ pauperis* for the favour of Him whose war he dared to wage; praying that his sins might be visited on himself, and not on his people. Then he sought the blessing, the counsel, and the prayers of St. Pantaleon; and received from within the doorless and windowless tower, where the hermit had lived for forty five years, the answer, "Ἔστω σὺν σοι ὁ συμβασιλεύων σοι," and again, "Ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τὰ δάκρυα Ἰουστίνου καὶ ἡ θυσία ἡ εὐωδεστάτη τῶν μαρτύρων ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τοῦ νοεροῦ θυσιαστηρίου." And so the armament was sent on its twofold route.

In regard to the chief facts of this expedition, the Arabic historians quoted by Wright and Walch agree fairly well[i] with the Greek writers and with the brief account of the bishop of Asia; differing chiefly in regard to the presence of Elesbaan himself, which is asserted by the Greeks, denied by the Arabians, and in regard to the manner of Dhu Nowas's end. For the 15,000 Bab-el-Mandeb was indeed a gate of tears: they died of hunger, wandering in the desert. The rest of the force were safely embarked, and sailed southwards down the Gulf of Arabia towards the straits; which Dhu Nowas had barred by a huge chain, stretched across the space of two furlongs from side to side. Over this chain, however, first ten ships and then seven more, were lifted by the waves, the Ethiopian admiral being on board one of the seven; the rest were driven back by stress of

[g] Thought by Walch and by Wright to be identical with the Abdallah Ibn Athamis of the Arabian historians.

[h] All mention is here omitted of the many details of this great martyrdom which are given in the *Acta S. Arethae*, and the MS. of Simeon of Beth-Arsam.

[i] Walch seems rather to overstate the discrepancy (cf. p. 56), Ludolphus greatly underestimates it (p. 165).

weather up the Gulf, but presently, the chain being, according to one account, broken, forced the passage, and, passing the smaller detachment of seventeen, cast anchor farther along the coast. Meanwhile Dhu Nowas, having first encamped on the western shore, where he thought the hindrance of his chain would force the Ethiopians to land, hurried from his position, and leaving but a few men to resist the smaller fleet watched with his main army the movements of the rest. Those on board the seventeen ships under the command of the Ethiopian admiral easily effected a landing near the port of Aden, and defeating the troops opposed to them, pressed on to the chief city, Taphar, or Taphran, which surrendered immediately. (Cf. Wright, *Early Christianity in Arabia*, 58–60.) Broken in courage by the news of this disaster, the main body of the Arabians offered a feeble resistance to the rest of the Ethiopian armament: and Dhu Nowas saw that the end of his reign and of his life was very near. According to the Arabic historians he threw himself from the cliff and died in the waves; according to the *Acta S. Arethae*, he bound his seven kinsmen in chains, and fastened them to the throne on which he sat, lest they should fail to share his fate; and so awaited the death which Elesbaan inflicted with his own hand. The Arabic writers are unsupported in their story of the useless resistance of a successor Dhu Giadan; it was probably at the death of Dhu Nowas that the kingdom of the Homeritae ended, and Yemen became a province of Ethiopia. At Taphar Elesbaan is said to have built a church, digging the foundations for seven days with his own hands: and from Taphar he wrote to tell the patriarch of Alexandria the news of his victory. A bishop was sent from Alexandria and appointed to the see of Negran, where again questions are raised both as to the orthodoxy and as to the identity of this bishop. This town the king restored, and entrusted to the care of Arethas's son; rebuilding and endowing the great Church, and granting perpetual right of asylum to the place where the bodies of the martyrs had lain. And so Elesbaan returned to Ethiopia. (Boll. *Acta SS.* October, xii. 322.)

Here again begins a period of confusion and inconsistency, such as may justify the complaint of the Arabs that among all other histories that of the Homeritae is the most imperfect (Ludolphus, p. 167): it is impossible to harmonize the diverse accounts of the course of events in Homeritis after the departure of Elesbaan. The great preponderance of authority is with Procopius, who is here at one with the Arabic writers, and followed by Walch, Ritter, and for the most part by the Bollandist *Acta*. It may be enough therefore to give his account, since reconciliation is impossible, and since the events bear only indirectly upon Elesbaan's life.

It would seem then, that the king, when he returned to Ethiopia, left a Christian Arab, named Esimiphaeus, otherwise known as Ariathus to be his viceroy over the conquered people.[k] But he also left an element of discord, a part of his army being detained by the luxury of Arabia Felix, and refusing to leave the land which they had won. These soldiers not long after set up a rival to Esimiphaeus, in the person of Abrahah or Abraham, the Christian slave of a Roman merchant, who was strong enough to shut up the viceroy in a fort and seize the throne of Yemen. A force of 3000 men was sent by Elesbaan, under the command of a prince of his house, whom some call Aryates or Arethas, to depose the usurper; and it seems that Abrahah, like Dhu Nowas, sought safety among the mountains. But his retreat too was only for a time: about the year 540 he came down and confronted the representative of Elesbaan; and at the critical moment the Ethiopian troops deserted and murdered their general.[1] Determined to maintain his supremacy and avenge his kinsman, Elesbaan sent a second army; but this, loyally fighting with Abrahah, was utterly defeated, and only a handful of men returned to Ethiopia. The Arabic historians record the great oath with which Elesbaan swore that he would yet lay hold of the land of the Homeritae, both mountain and plain; and that he would pluck the forelock from the rebel's head, and take his blood as the price of Aryates' death; and they tell of the mixed cunning and cowardice by which Abrahah satisfied the Ethiopian's oath, and evaded his anger; winning at last a recognition of his dignity. Procopius adds that Abrahah paid tribute to Elesbaan's successor; and the Homeritae remained in free subjection to the kings of Ethiopia till the century had almost ended.

In this continuous history of those relations between Elesbaan and the Homeritae, which are the most vivid part of his life, no mention has been made of the two occasions at which he appears near the main course of the life of his age, in contact with the history of the Roman empire. For two reasons the alliance of Ethiopia and Yemen was attractive to Justinian; for not only might their armies do good service in the Persian war, but it was also possible that their merchants might draw the silk-trade of China from its normal course through Persia, so that the Byzantine court might neither lose its supply in time of war nor in time of peace enrich its enemies. Records are extant of two embassies sent by Justinian to Elesbaan, records almost in the very words of the ambassadors.[m] Joannes Malala, in writing the history of the first, had before him the autograph of the envoy whom Procopius (*de Bello Persico*, i. 20) calls Julian: Photius has preserved in the third codex of his *Bibliotheca* his fresh memory of Nonnosus's story of his experience in the second mission. Julian must have been sent before 531, for Cabades was still living, and according to Procopius Esimiphaeus was viceroy of Homeritis. He was received by Elesbaan, according to his own account, with the silence of an intense joy; for the alliance of Rome had long been the great desire of the Ethiopians. The king was seated on a high chariot, drawn by four elephants

[k] Malala miscalls him Ἀγγάνης. For the identification of Ariathus and Esimiphaeus cf. Salt's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, pp. 469–70. Esimiphaeus probably is Abu-Schem, the father of Sehem.

[1] The Bollandist account is here followed. Procopius neither marks nor necessarily excludes such an interval between the arrival of Aryates and the desertion of his troops.

[m] There is no such likeness between the account of Malala and that of Nonnosus as to justify Gibbon's confusion of the two missions. Ch. xlii.

caparisoned with gold: he wore on his shoulders a loose robe studded with pearls, and round his loins a covering of linen embroidered with gold. He received Justinian's letter with every sign of respect, and on learning that he was called to take part in the Persian war, he began to prepare his forces even before Julian was dismissed from his court with the kiss of peace. (Johannis Malalae *Chronographia*, xviii. Bonn. edit. pp. 457, 458.) Malala records no sequel of these preparations, Procopius complains that none occurred.

The second embassy, which was sent primarily to Kaisus or Imrulcays, the prince of the Chindini and Maaddeni, and only secondarily to the Homeritae and the Ethiopians, seems to belong to the last years of Elesbaan's reign. Nonnosus the envoy belonged to a family of diplomatists, for his father and grandfather had been employed in like missions. But Photius has copied from his manuscript no details of the purpose or result of this journey: only telling of the great herd of 5000 elephants which Nonnosus saw between Adulis and Axum, and the pigmy negroes who met him on an island as he sailed away from Pharsan. (Photii *Bibliotheca;* Bekker's edit. pp. 2, 3.)

The story of Elesbaan's abdication and seclusion is told in the *Acta S. Arethae:* the last years of his life are embellished in Ethiopian hagiography, with many strange miracles which their Jesuit critic unhesitatingly disbelieves.[a] Having accepted the fealty and recognized the royalty of Abrahah, and having confirmed the faith of Christ in Homeritis, "pro tanta Dei benedictione nihil se dignum reddere posse aiebat rex Elesbaas: hoc tantum invenit ut coronam regiam deponeret et indueret vestem monasticam." The cell to which he betook himself is still shewn to the traveller: it was visited in 1805 by Henry Salt, and has been elaborately described by Mendez and Lefevre. There the king remained in solitude and great rigour of asceticism: and the year of his death is lost in the darkness of his hermit's life. His crown he sent to Jerusalem, praying that it might be hung "in conspectu januae vivifici sepulchri; in quo principium resurrectionis et incorruptionis nobis ostendit Christus Filius Dei a mortuis resurgens: cui gloria cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto nunc et semper in saecula saeculorum." [F. P.]

ELEUCHADIUS, 100 A.D., bishop of Ravenna; commemorated on the 14th of February. He is the subject of the sixth sermon of Peter Damianus, in the 11th century. His name is also given in the Martyrologium Romanum, and in Hermann Craven's Additions to Usuard. His life is given by Johannes Camansius (Bolland. *AA. SS.* Feb. 747) from a MS. in a monastery in Westphalia; and by Hieronymus Rubeus (*Historiarum Ravennatum*, libri decem. Venice, 1572, folio). By these he is said to have been one of the four pupils of St. Apollinaris who succeeded him in his see, the line being Aderitus, Eleuchadius, Martianus, Calocerus. He is described as an eminent Platonic philosopher, converted by Apollinaris on a visit to Rome. He accompanied his master and fellow disciples to Ravenna, to rule the church in that place. Apollinaris was martyred under Vespasian, and Eleuchadius succeeded Aderitus A.D. 100. He died A.D. 112, and his remains were buried outside the walls, where a church was afterwards dedicated to his memory, existing in the time of Peter Damianus. It is thought that his bones were carried by king Astulf to Ticinum. Peter Damianus believed him to have written books on the Old and New Testament, and probably on the Incarnation and Passion. He was not actually a martyr. (Pit. Dam. *Opp.* part ii. 29, etc.; Patr. Lat. cxliv. 534, etc., Ughell. *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 327.) [W. M. S.]

ELEUSINIUS (1), a very reverend person (αἰδεσιμώτατος) despatched by Eustathius of Sebaste, A.D. 371, to apprise Basil of the approach of the Emperor Valens, and to express the apprehension he felt for the safety of the Catholics at Caesarea, and especially for Basil himself. Basil wrote thanking Eustathius for sending him such an ally and supporter in the spiritual contests he was engaged in. (Basil, *Epist.* 79 [318], p. 300.) [E. V.]

ELEUSINIUS (2), (ELEUSIUS, Baron. *A. E.*, ann. 449, xii.), one of the deacons in the monastery of Eutyches at Constantinople. At the meeting in November, A.D. 448, of the council of bishops by whom he was eventually condemned, Eutyches sent round a "tome" or doctrinal treatise, by the hands of Eleusinius and a brother deacon, Constantine, to be signed by the heads of the chief monastic establishments of the city, with the view of committing them to his cause against Flavian, their bishop. In this they met with but little success. (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 198, 210.) When the messengers of the synod presented themselves at Eutyches' convent, demanding to see him, Eleusinius came forward to receive their message, and on their refusing to give it to any one but the archimandrite himself, they were conveyed by him to Eutyches' presence. (*Ib.* 200.) Eutyches refusing to appear before the council on the plea of illness, Eleusinius was commissioned with Abraham and others, to represent him at the fourth session. (*Ib.* 204-207.) Eleusinius was cited at the sixth session of the council to substantiate the charges brought against Eutyches by Eusebius of Dorylaeum (*Ib.* 213). He successfully urged a claim to be present, with other members of Eutyches' monastery, when sentence of excommunication and deposition was pronounced. (*Ib.* 239.) On the meeting of the "Latrocinium" at Ephesus, A.D. 449, Eleusinius was one of the monks who lodged a formal complaint against Flavian for the condemnation of Eutyches at Constantinople. (*Ib.* 280.) [E. V.]

ELEUSINUS (1), tribune of Thamugada, in Numidia, bearer of a request from the people of that place to St. Augustine that he would reply to the letter of Gaudentius concerning Donatism. (Aug. *Ep.* 204, 9.) [H. W. P.]

ELEUSINUS (2), (Baron. *Annal.* 512, xxiii.), bishop of Sasima. [ELEUSIUS (5).] [C. H.]

ELEUSIPPUS (Baron. *Annal.* ann. 179, xxxvii.; Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 716, in *M. H. B.* 541a; Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* in *M. H. B.* 653 d), martyr. [ELASIPPUS.] [C. H.]

[a] "Adeo lugenda est ignorantia Habessinorum hoc aevo ut pigeat referre quae de sanctis suis ac viris illustribus somniarunt."

ELEUSIUS (1), a deacon and philosopher in the reign of Constantine, quoted by Codinus as one of the authorities for the events at the foundation of Constantinople. (Codinus, p. 9, A.B.) [J. W.]

ELEUSIUS (2), bishop of Cyzicus, one of the most prominent and influential members of the Semiarian party in the second half of the 4th century, intimately connected with Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius of Sebaste, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis, and other leaders of the Macedonian party. He is uniformly described as a man of high personal character, holy in life, rigid in self-discipline, untiring in his exertions for what he believed to be the truth, and, according to St. Hilary, more nearly identified with the orthodox doctrine than most of his associates (Hilar. *de Synod.* p. 133). The people of his diocese are described by Theodoret as zealous for the orthodox faith, and well instructed in the Holy Scriptures and in the doctrines of the church, and he himself as a man worthy of all praise. (Theod. *H. E.* ii. 25; *Haeret. Fab.* iv. 3.) Though usually found acting with the tyrannical and unscrupulous party, of which Macedonius was the original leader, and sharing in the discredit of the measures directed by them against the holders of the Homoousian faith, Eleusius was uncompromising in his opposition to the pronounced Arians, by whom he was persecuted and deposed; and a calm view of his career, as far as we know it, leads us to acquiesce in the substantial justice of the commendation passed upon him by the voice of antiquity.

Eleusius had held a military office in the Imperial household with considerable distinction, when he was suddenly elevated to the episcopate by the notorious Macedonius, the bishop of Constantinople. He was appointed bishop of Cyzicus, on the Propontis, at the same time that Marathonius, paymaster of the prefects of the Praetorian Guard, was appointed to the see of Nicomedia, c. A.D. 356 (Soz. *H. E.* iv. 20; Suidas, sub voc. Ἐλεύσιος). Eleusius signalized the entrance on his episcopal office with a vehement outburst of zeal against the relics of paganism at Cyzicus. He demolished the temples, heaped contempt on their gods and their ritual, and used his authority to harass the worshippers. This, as will be seen, was remembered against him on the accession of Julian. He shewed no less decision in dealing with the Novatians, with whom a community of persecution had caused the Catholics to unite. He destroyed their church, and forbade their assemblies for worship. (Socr. *H.E.* ii. 38; Soz. *H.E.* iv. 21. v. 15.) He soon acquired great influence over his people, not by any eloquence of speech, of which he was destitute, but by his religious zeal, the austerity of his life, and the consistent gravity of his manners. He established in his diocese a large number of monasteries, both for males and females (Suidas, u. s.) He took part in the semi-Arian council which met at Ancyra 358 A.D. (Hilar. *de Synod.* p. 127), and was one of the members deputed, with Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius of Sebaste, and Leontius, to lay before Constantius at Sirmium the decrees they had passed, condemnatory of the Anomoeans, and obtain their ratification. (Hilar. u. s.; Soz. *H. E.* iv. 13; Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 790.) We find Eleusius again taking part in the indecisive Council of Seleucia, A.D. 359 (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 39–40), at which he met the proposition of the Acacians to draw up a new confession of faith, by the assertion that they had not met to learn anything they had not been previously taught, nor to receive a new faith, but to pledge themselves for death to that laid down by the fathers (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 40). Having been commissioned with Eustathius of Sebaste, Basil of Ancyra, and others, to communicate the result of the synod to Constantius, Eleusius denounced the blasphemies attributed to Eudoxius so vigorously that he was compelled by the emperor's threats to retract them (Theod. *H. E.* ii. 23). [EUDOXIUS; EUSTATHIUS OF SEBASTE]. The wily Acacians speedily gained the ear of Constantius, and, turning the tables on them, secured the deposition of their semi-Arian rivals, of whom Eleusius was one, A.D. 360. The nominal charge against him was that he had, without due examination, baptized and ordained one Heraclius of Tyre, who, being accused of magic, had fled to Cyzicus, and that when the facts came to his knowledge he had refused to depose him. He was also charged with having admitted to holy orders persons who had been condemned by his neighbour, Maris of Chalcedon (Soz. *H.E.* iv. 24; Socr. *H. E.* ii. 42). His old patron, Macedonius of Constantinople, who had been got rid of at the same time on equally frivolous grounds, wrote to encourage him and the other deposed prelates in their adherence to the Antiochene formula, and to maintain the "Homoiousian" as the watchword of their party (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 45; Soz. *H. E.* iv. 27). The subtle Anomoean Eunomius was made bishop of Cyzicus in his room by Eudoxius, who had succeeded Macedonius as bishop of Constantinople (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 7; Philost. *H. E.* v. 3). Eunomius, however, failed to secure the goodwill of the people who refused to attend the church where he officiated, and built a church for themselves outside the town. On the accession of Julian, A.D. 361, Eleusius, in common with the other deposed prelates, returned to his see, from which he was soon expelled a second time by Julian, on the representation of the heathen inhabitants of Cyzicus, on account of the zeal he had shewn against paganism (Soz. *H. E.* v. 15). Julian's death having removed the interdict, Eleusius regained possession of his see. He took the lead at the Macedonian council of Lampsacus, A.D. 365 (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 4). At Nicomedia, A.D. 366, he weakly succumbed to Valens' threats of banishment and confiscation, and declared his acceptance of the Arian creed. Full of remorse at his cowardly submission, on his return to Cyzicus, he assembled his people, confessed and deplored his crime, and expressed his desire, since he had denied his faith, to resign his charge into the hands of a worthier bishop. The people of Cyzicus, who were devotedly attached to him, refused to accept his resignation (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 6; Philost. *H. E.* ix. 13). In A.D. 381 Eleusius was the chief of the thirty-six bishops of Macedonian tenets summoned by Theodosius to the oecumenical Council of Constantinople in the hope of bringing them back to Catholic doctrine. This anticipation proved nugatory, and Eleusius and his adherents obstinately refused all reconciliation, and maintained their heretical views on the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, in spite of their condemnation by the council. (Socr. *H. E.* v. 8;

Soz. *H. E.* vii. 7.) The result of the conference of bishops of all parties in A.D. 383, to which Eleusius was also invited as chief of the Macedonians, was equally adverse to the emperor's desire to establish unity of religion. The differences proved irreconcilable, and the emperor manifested his disappointment by a series of severe edicts directed against the Macedonians, Eunomians, Arians, and other classes of heretics. How far these edicts were put in execution, and to what extent Eleusius was a sufferer from them, we are unable to determine. (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* vol. vi. passim.) [E. V.]

ELEUSIUS (3), a Donatist, to whom, together with Felix, Glorius, and, if the reading be correct, Grammaticus, St. Augustine addressed two letters, Nos. 43, 44. The first of these, A.D. 397 or 398, relates in detail the inconsistencies and excesses of the Donatists and Circumcellions, earnestly remonstrates with them, and entreats them to submit to reason, to Scripture, and to the decision of the judges, both ecclesiastical and civil, before whom their cause has been repeatedly tried. In the second, he relates a controversy between himself and Fortunius, the Donatist bishop of Tibursicus, in Numidia, which had been interrupted by the noisy violence of an intruding crowd. He proposes to renew the conference at another and more quiet place, in order that a matter so important may be calmly discussed. (Aug. *Ep.* 43, 44.) [H. W. P.]

ELEUSIUS (4) (Baron. *Annal.* ann. 449, xii.), procurator of Eutyches. [ELEUSINIUS.] [T. W. D.]

ELEUSIUS (5) (ELEUSINUS), a "bishop in the second Cappadocia," is mentioned in the letter of certain Palestinian monks to Alcison bishop of Nicopolis, the metropolis of Vetus Epirus, as shewing hostility to the faith of Chalcedon, c. A.D. 516 (Evagrius, *H. E.* iii. 31). He is supposed to have been bishop of Sasima (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 405; Gams, *Series Episc.* 440). [L. D.]

ELEUSIUS (6), bishop of Trajanopolis in central Thracia, near the Hebrus, was present at the fifth general council at Constantinople, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 395; and Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1195.) [J. de S.]

ELEUSIUS (7) (otherwise GEORGIUS), a monk and a presbyter of Siceon, in the ecclesiastical diocese of Anastasiopolis, in the province of Galatia Prima, in the 7th century. He was a disciple of Theodorus Siceotes, and wrote his life, which is published by the Bollandists. (*Act. Sanct.* 22 April, iii. 33.) [T. W. D.]

ELEUTERIUS (Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 731), bishop of Terracina. [ELEUTHERIUS (6).] [C. H.]

ELEUTHERIUS (1), bishop of Rome. [ELEUTHERUS (1).]

ELEUTHERIUS (2), a bishop of Illyricum, the son of Anthia and the consul Eugenius, martyred, together with his mother, during the reign of Hadrian. He was commemorated Ap. 13 (*Men.* Bas.), or April 18 (*Mart.* Usuard.) [T. S. B.]

ELEUTHERIUS (3), one of the fourteen bishops (of sees unnamed) mentioned by Augustine as composing the synod of Diospolis (Lydda) on Pelagianism, A.D. 415 (Aug. *contr. Julianum*, i. 5, § 19, in Patr. Lat. xliv. 652). In that list was also a bishop Eutonius. There was at the same time at Diospolis the presbyter Julianus, known for the invention of the body of St. Stephen, and in his account of that matter (in Lipomani ut inf.) he mentions two bishops that accompanied him from Diospolis to the place of the invention, Eleutherius of Sebaste, and Eleutherius of Jericho. Their identification among the fourteen synodal bishops (one only of whom is called Eleutherius by Augustine) is made out by supposing that Eutonius was otherwise or properly Eleutherius. It then remained to conjecture which of the two was the bishop of Sebaste and which of Jericho. Mansi assigns Eleutherius to Jericho and Eutonius "sive Eleutherius" to Sebaste; Le Quien, *vice versâ;* (Lipomani, *de Vitis SS.* ed. Surius, Aug. 3, iv. 147, Venet. 1581; Mansi, iv. 315, 316; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 652; Baron. 415, xix.) [C. H.]

ELEUTHERIUS (4), bishop of Geneva in the 5th century. No credit is due to the story of the abbé Besson, the historian of the diocese of Geneva, that he was a native of Britain contemporary with Constantine, and died in 334. He is placed between Cassianus and Domitianus I. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 378; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 277.) [R. T. S.]

ELEUTHERIUS (5) (*Gall. Christ.* i. 863), archbishop of Avignon. [ELOTHERUS.] [C. H.]

ELEUTHERIUS (6), ST., 8th in the list of bishops of Terracina, about A. D. 443. He was an African by birth, and succeeded his son St. Silvianus. He governed the see for "some years," and died Sept. 6, on which day he was commemorated at Terracina. The next bishop in the list, Martyrius, was living in the year 502. (Ughel. *Ital. Sac.* i. 1290.) [C. H.]

ELEUTHERIUS (7), a bishop addressed by Sidonius Apollinaris (vi. 11), who recommends to his notice a Jew, on the ground that there is hope while a Jew lives that he may become our brother. (Ceill. *Aut. Eccl.* x. 390.) [R. T. S.]

ELEUTHERIUS (8), bishop of Chalcedon, at the time of the council A.D. 451, whose decrees he signed among the metropolitans. He also signed the synodal decree of Gennadius of Constantinople against the simoniacs, A.D. 459. He received a letter from the emperor Leo concerning the murder of St. Proterius of Alexandria, as if he held metropolitan rank, A.D. 458. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 602; Mansi, vii. 137, 523, 917.) [L. D.]

ELEUTHERIUS (9), said to have been elected patriarch of Constantinople, by the orthodox A.D. 484, in the time of the Eutychian Acacius and the emperor Zeno. Acacius had been excommunicated by pope Felix III. and a council at Rome. Eleutherius is said to have suffered much from Acacius and Zeno, and after a rule of seven years to have died towards the close of that reign (Migne, *Encycl. Théolog.* xl. 815). Fravitta succeeded Acacius; and no mention of

Eleutherius occurs in Theophanes, Baronius, or Pagius's notes. [W. M. S.]

ELEUTHERIUS (10), ST., commemorated Feb. 20, was the third bishop of Tournai, succeeding Theodorus and followed by St. Medardus. The authorities for his life are of a late date, the earliest of them an anonymous one (to be found in Boll. *Acta SS.*, Feb. iii. 187), being probably of the 8th or 9th century, and the recital is overlaid with legend. He was born at Tournai in the year A.D. 456, of Christian parents named Serenus and Blanda, whom the legends, ignoring the interval of about 150 years, call converts of St. Piatus. While he was still a young man a persecution of the Christians arose in Tournai, and the Franks, who were not yet converted, expelled the whole of them from the city. Eleutherius and his family, with many others, settled at Blandinium (presumably Blandain), a village a few leagues distant, where a church was built and Theodorus consecrated bishop. Upon his death Eleutherius, having first been sent by the Christians to Rome to obtain the sanction of the pope, was consecrated to the see. The date is variously given in 470, 483, 484, 487, 501, and 502. The weight of authority seems, however, in favour of the year 487. The first nine years of his bishopric were spent at Blandinium, but the conversion of Clovis and his followers enabled him to return to Tournai. His episcopate which lasted forty-five years, seems to have been chiefly passed in struggles with the pagans and heretics. The latter belonged to sects of the Arians, whose doctrines at this time influenced the greater part of Christian Gaul except the Franks. He is said to have visited Rome three times in all: first, on the occasion already mentioned, and twice when bishop during the pontificates of Symmachus and Hormisdas, the two latter visits being in connexion with his efforts against heresy. With the same object he convened a synod about the year 527, in which he expounded the true faith and confuted his opponents. These efforts entailed much persecution, and finally in A.D. 531 or 532 his enemies lay in wait for him as he quitted a church, and so maltreated him that he was left for dead. Seven weeks later he died of the injuries received on that occasion. He was buried at Blandinium, and his remains are said to have been translated twice. Among the miracles ascribed to him are the raising of a girl from the dead (see the somewhat romantic account in the first of the *Lives*, Boll. *Acta SS.* ut sup.) and the cures of a cripple, a blind man, and a leper. The following writings have been assigned to him: *Sermo, seu Confessio de SS. Trinitate*, said to have been presented by him to pope Symmachus in the fourteenth year of his episcopate; *Transitus S. Eleutherii Episcopi; Sermo de Trinitate; Sermo de Incarnatione Domini; Sermo de Natali Domini; Sermo in Annuntiationis Festum;* and *Oratio Beati Eleutherii* (see Migne, Patr. Lat. lxv. 83–102), but without sufficient authority. (Rivet, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, iii. 154; *Gall. Christ.* i. 863.) [S. A. B.]

ELEUTHERIUS (11), ST., was the fifteenth bishop of Auxerre, preceded by St. Droctoaldus, and followed by St. Romanus. He is said to have sat twenty-eight years, from A.D. 532 to 561, the date of his death. Nothing further is known of him than that he was present at the four councils of Orleans, held in the years 533, 538, 541, and 549. He is commemorated on Aug. 16. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 266; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 299; Bar. an. 536 cxxiv., and 552 xxvii.; Labbe, *Sacros. Conc.* v. 929, 1282, 1371, 1384.) [S. A. B.]

ELEUTHERIUS (12), a bishop in whose diocese, on an estate named Pancellus, the deacon Maximus had erected an oratory in honour of the saint Cantiana. Eleutherius was requested by Pelagius I., bishop of Rome (555–560), to consecrate this oratory. (Pelag. *Epist.* fifth fragm. Patr. Lat. lxix. 414; Ceillier, *Auteurs Sac.* xi. 333.) [C. H.]

ELEUTHERIUS (13), bishop of Cordova, signs the acts of the third council of Toledo in 589. (*Esp. Sagr.* x. 227; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 238; Gomez Bravo, *Catálogo de los Obispos de Cordova*, p. 64, ed. 1739.) [M. A. W.]

ELEUTHERIUS (14) (Leuterius in some MSS.), the first bishop of Salamanca of whom any record remains. He signs the acts of the third Council of Toledo, 589. The bishop of Salamanca was a suffragan of Merida up to the Moorish conquest, and is now under Valladolid. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 273; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 238.) [M. A. W.]

ELEUTHERIUS (15), erroneously said by Gervase (*Acta Pontif.* in Twysd. 1630. 15), and after him by Dugdale (i. 81) to have been bishop of Arles, and to have consecrated Augustine archbishop of Canterbury. The bishop named by Bede (*H. E.* i. 27) is Aetherius, and he was bishop of Lyon, not of Arles. [C. H.]

ELEUTHERIUS (16), bishop of Lucca, signed the second Epistle of pope Agatho, which was sent in 680 after a synod in Rome to the third council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 307; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

ELEUTHERIUS (17), martyr in Persia under Sapor II. After he had become a Christian and had been instructed by Simeon, a bishop, he began to preach amongst his countrymen; they lodged information against him, and he was brought before the king, by whose orders he was tortured and put to death. He is commemorated April 13. (*Menol.* Bas.; *AA. SS.* Ap. ii. 130.) [T. S. B.]

ELEUTHERIUS (18), soldier and martyr at Nicomedia in the Diocletian persecution. He was amongst those whom the emperor commanded to be put to death in consequence of his palace having been burned, as he supposed, by the Christians. (*Mart.* Hier., Ad., Us.) He is commemorated Oct. 2. [T. S. B.]

ELEUTHERIUS (19) (Leutherius), a martyr at Paris with Dionysius the bishop, and Rusticus a presbyter, circ. A.D. 272. [Dionysius (2).] He is commemorated Oct. 9. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.* Hier., Ad., Us.; Greg. Tur. *Opp.* append. p. 1383, in Patr. Lat. lxxi. 1198.) [T. S. B.]

ELEUTHERIUS (20), martyr at Tarsia in Bithynia, commemorated on Aug. 4. He was a

native of Byzantium, a senator, and a chamberlain in the palace of Maximian at Nicomedia. Having embraced the Christian faith, but fearing to avow it, he procured some land beyond the Sangarus, where he built a house with an underground chapel handsomely fitted up with altar and silver lamps. He also employed a priest to minister in it, and here he was secretly baptized. He returned to court, but retired as often as possible to his retreat. The emperor, becoming suspicious, visited him there, discovered the crypt, learned the whole truth, and finally caused him to be put to death. (Basil. *Menol.* iii. 193; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. i. 318.) Tillemont identifies this martyr with Eleutherius of Oct. 2 (No. 18), but Papebroche argues against that view (Tillem. *Mem.* v. 25, art. ix.; Boll. *ut sup.* p. 320 c). [C. H.]

ELEUTHERIUS (21), mentioned by Baronius among the martyrs of Byzantium, A.D. 311. (Baron. *Annal.* ann. 311, xix.) [C. H.]

ELEUTHERIUS (22), abbat of St. Mark, at Spoleto, 6th century.

From him, whom he styles venerable father, Gregory the Great had the story of Isaac the Syrian (Greg. Mag. *Dialog.* iii. 14, in Patr. Lat. lxxvii. p. 244), who settled at Spoleto. Eleutherius was his authority for various anecdotes mentioned in the *Dialogues*, as that of the young noblewoman of Spoleto disinherited by her father for refusing to marry (*Dialog.* iii. 21), that of the possessed boy at a convent (iii. 33), and that of Eleutherius's own brother John having summoned with his dying breath the monk Ursus, then in a distant monastery, to follow him (iv. 35).

He was a greatly honoured friend of Gregory, who relates (*Dial.* iii. 33) his having raised one from the dead, which, however, he confesses to have only heard of from some of his disciples (*u. s.* 33). Gregory's own recovery through the abbat's prayers is also related by Adrian I. in one of his letters to Charlemagne, which is given in full by Baronius (s. a. 604, xxxiv.). Eleutherius died in the monastery of St. Andrew's at Rome, where he frequently stayed, and, it is said, he expired in the arms of Gregory, c. A.D. 585. The Bollandists have much about him. (*Act. Sanct.* Sept. 6, ii. 685; see also Peter de Natal. *Catal. SS.* viii. 45, and the Martyrologies.) His body was first buried in St. Mark at Spoletum, but was afterwards removed to the church of St. Peter in that city (*Act. Sanct. u. s.*). [T. W. D.]

ELEUTHERIUS (23), exarch of Ravenna, c. A.D. 616, 620. He is called "patricius et cubicularius," and never actually "exarch," in the *Liber Pontificalis*, the only authority for his life, but there can be no doubt that he should be ranked among the exarchs. He came to Ravenna c. A.D. 616, and executed all who had been concerned in the death of his predecessor, John Lemigius. He then went to Rome, where he was well received by the pope Deusdedit. He passed on to Naples, where he defeated and killed John Compsinus, who had set himself up as a rebel against the empire. He then returned to Ravenna and ruled for a time in peace. (*S. Deusdedit*, in *Liber Pontificalis*, Migne, cxxviii. 685.) About A.D. 620 we find that he set himself up as emperor in Italy; he was, however, killed (by his own soldiers according to one reading of the *Lib. Pont.*), and his head sent to Constantinople. He was a eunuch, like one at least of his predecessors, and like the last of his successors. (*S. Bonif. V.* in *Liber Pontificalis*, Migne, cxxviii. 693; Paulus Diaconus, iv. 34; Ersch and Gruber, *Encycl.* "Exarch und Exarchat," xxxix. 1, p. 318.) [A. H. D. A.]

ELEUTHERUS (1), Bishop of Rome in the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, during 15 years, 6 months, and 5 days, according to the Liberian catalogue. Eusebius (*H. E.* v *prooem.*) places his accession in the 17th year of Antoninus Verus (*i.e.* Marcus Aurelius), viz. A.D. 177; which date would involve A.D. 192 as that of his death. But the consuls given in the Liberian catalogue as contemporary with his election and death (a cons. Veri et Hereniani usque Paterno et Bradua) are those of 171 and 185. For a discussion of the most probable dates see "Lipsius, *Chronol. der römischen Bischöfe.*"

Hegesippus, quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 22), states that at the time of his own arrival in Rome Eleutherus was deacon of Anicetus, who was then bishop, and that he became bishop on the death of Soter, the successor of Anicetus (cf. Irenaeus *adv. Haeres.* iii. 3, and Jerome *de Vir. illustr.* c. 22).

As is the case with the generality of Roman bishops of the earlier centuries, the episcopate of this prelate is memorable rather for contemporary events and celebrities than for anything certainly known of himself or his influence on the age. He was contemporary with the Aurelian persecution. There is, however, no evidence of the Church of Rome itself having suffered under it to any great extent; and after the death of Aurelius the Christians there, as elsewhere, are known to have had peace, in consequence, it is said, of Marcia, the concubine of Commodus, being favourably disposed towards them; the only recorded exception in Rome being the martyrdom of Apollonius in the reign of Commodus (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 21, Jerome, *Catal.* c. 42). The chief sufferers under Aurelius were the churches of Asia Minor and Southern Gaul. With the persecution in the latter region, which took place A.D. 177, and of which the Christians of Lyons and Vienne were the victims, the name of Eleutherus has become connected from the following circumstance. Eusebius has not only preserved long and interesting extracts from an account of the persecution, addressed by the Christians of Lyons and Vienne to those of Asia and Phrygia (*H. E.* v. 1), but states further that, opinions being divided as to the claims to inspiration of Montanus and his colleagues (Montanus having asserted his pretensions about the middle of the century), these same Christians of Gaul expressed their own judgment on the question, setting forth also divers epistles which had been addressed by their martyrs, while still in prison, to the churches of Asia and Phrygia, and to Eleutherus, bishop of Rome; which letter had been sent by the hands of Irenaeus, described as still a presbyter, "for the sake of the peace of the churches" (*H. E.* v. iii.).

The fact of the bishop of Rome having been especially addressed on this occasion has been adduced as an instance of the acknowledgment

in that early age of his supreme authority. But neither do the letters of the martyrs to Eleutherus appear, from the narrative of Eusebius, to have had a different purport or purpose from those sent also to the churches of Asia and Phrygia, nor does their object in either case seem to have been to seek a judgment on the questions at issue, but rather to express one, in virtue, we may suppose, of the weight carried in those days by the utterances of martyrs. Their having addressed Eleutherus, as well as the churches where Montanus himself was teaching, is sufficiently accounted for by the prominence of the Roman bishop's position in the West, about which there is no dispute. Of the course taken by Eleutherus with respect to Montanus nothing can be alleged with certainty. By some he is supposed to have believed in him for a time, and countenanced him, the grounds of this supposition being these. Tertullian (*adv. Prax.* c. i.) states that a bishop of Rome gave credence for a time to the claims of Montanus and his two prophetesses, though his predecessors had condemned them, and issued letters of peace in their favour, but afterwards, after the arrival at Rome, and at the instigation of Praxeas (the author subsequently of the Patripassian heresy) retracted his temporary approval. Some have thought this bishop of Rome, whom Tertullian does not name, was Eleutherus, the supposition being supported by the statement of Eusebius that the mission of Irenaeus by the martyrs was "for the sake of the peace of the churches," from which it is concluded that they recommended conciliatory measures. This view is taken by Pearson, Cave, Valerias, and Neander. Others, however, as Tillemont, Bower, Giesler, and Milman (though the last of these somewhat doubtfully) prefer the supposition of Victor, the successor of Eleutherus, being the bishop referred to, as agreeing better with the probable dates of the rise of Montanism and of the arrival of Praxeas in Rome. Baronius supposes Anicetus, the predecessor of Soter, to be the bishop of Rome referred to, and accounts for his temporary approval of heretics by supposing the superior sanctity of their lives, for which they were at that time principally notorious, and not their errors, to have called forth his letters in their favour.

Montanism was not the only heresy that troubled the episcopate of Eleutherus. The Alexandrian and Syrian forms of Gnosticism developed by Basilides and Valentinus, and by Cerdo and Marcion, were at their height, and gained many adherents in Rome. Valentinus and Cerdo had come thither between A.D. 138 and A.D. 142; Marcion a little later, where, having attached himself to the Syrian Gnostic Cerdo, he developed his own peculiar system. According to Tertullian (*de Praescript. Haeres.* c. 30), both Valentinus and Marcion were in Rome during the episcopate of Eleutherus, under whom they were twice excommunicated, two hundred sestertia which Marcion had offered to the church being restored to him on his dismissal. Tertullian adds that Marcion again sought re-admission into the church, which was accorded him on condition of his bringing back with him those whom he had seduced into heresy, a condition which he accepted, but was prevented from fulfilling by death. There is, however, some difficulty in placing the sojourn in Rome of these heresiarchs in the episcopate of Eleutherus, Valentinus certainly, according to other accounts, having died previously. (See Tillemont *On Eleutherus.*)

Besides these noted heresiarchs, Florinus and Blastus, two degraded presbyters of Rome, broached during the episcopate of Eleutherus certain heresies of their own, of which nothing is known except what may be gathered from the titles of certain lost treatises written against them by Irenaeus, viz. *De Schismate, De Ogdoade,* and *Of Monarchy; or, that God is not the Author of Evil* (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 14, 15, 20, Pacian ep. i.). It may be added that an important result of the visit of Irenaeus to Eleutherus in Rome was the opportunity afforded him of becoming acquainted with the prevalent heresies, against which he became the most distinguished champion.

More interesting to English Christians than anything else told about Eleutherus is the story related by Bede, connecting him with the origin of British Christianity. Bede (*H. E.* c. iv.) says: "Anno ab incarnatione Domini centesimo quinquagesimo sexto Marcus Antoninus Verus, decimus quartus ab Augusto, regnum cum Aurelio Commodo fratre suscepit: quorum temporibus cum Eleutherus vir sanctus Romanae ecclesiae praeesset, misit ad eum Lucius Britaniarum rex epistolam obsecrans et per ejus mandatum Christianus efficeretur: et mox effectum piae postulationis consecutus est, susceptamque fidem Brittani usque in tempora Diocletiani principis inviolatam integramque quieta in pace servabant." He mentions the same story in his *Chronicon,* giving A.D. 180 as the date of the conversion of Lucius. This account of Bede's, written some 500 years after the event referred to, is the earliest mention of it found in any historian. Gildas, from whom Bede took most of his account of the early British Church, does not allude to it, but speaks in general terms of the earlier introduction of the Gospel into Britain, before the revolt under Boadicea, in the reign of Nero. But in the early recension of the *Liber Pontificalis* known as *Catalogus Felicianus,* and attributed to the year 530, and of which the earliest known codex (existing in the Vatican) dates from the 9th century, occurs the following statement: "Hic (*i.e.* Eleutherus) accepit epistolam a Lucio Brittaniorum rege ut XRianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum." Now Bede, in the dedication prefixed to his work, mentions the Roman archives, examined personally by his friend Nothelm, as among the authorities for the early portion of his history. It seems pretty certain, therefore, that it was from the Roman catalogue referred to that he got his information, Gildas, his usual authority, being silent on the subject. In the hands of chroniclers after Bede the story receives several and growing additions. In the work called *Historia Britonum,* attributed to Nennius, a monk of Bangor in the 7th century, but now believed to have been written in the 9th, we find the name of the alleged King Lucius explained, as being the Latin equivalent of the Celtic name Llever Maur, *i.e. Magni splendoris.* And to Bede's story is added that all Britain received baptism with Lucius. The Welsh poems called the *Triads* (believed to be later than the Norman Conquest) connect the

story with Llandaff, saying that there "Lleirwg made the first church, which was the first in the isle of Britain, and gave lands and privileges to those who embraced the faith of Christ." The book of Llandaff also, written in the 12th century, repeats the story. In the same century William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth tell the tale with many details: the former, in his *Antiquities of Glastonbury*, connects the mission with that place, and from both together we learn that Elvan and Medwin were the messengers sent by Lucius to the Pope, and that they were by him consecrated bishops; that Fugacius (or Fagan) and Damian were the Pope's legates sent to Britain, and that three archbishoprics and twenty-eight bishoprics were founded in the island. A further connexion of the tradition with Llandaff is found in the dedication of certain churches in the diocese to Lleirwg, Ddyfan, Ffagan, and Medwy.

Thus the history of the story as far as we can trace it is this. It is found first in its simplest form in the Pontifical annals at Rome, in the 6th century. It is introduced into Britain by Bede in the 8th: it grows into the conversion of the whole of Britain in the 9th; it appears full-fledged, enriched with details, and connected with both Llandaff and Glastonbury in the 12th. What ground is there for believing in a fact for its foundation? The accretion of details is of course untrustworthy. Two suppositions involved in the story as told by Bede, that Lucius was king of the Britons generally, and that a mission from Rome to him was the main origin of Christianity in the island, are both untenable; the first, as inconsistent with the known political condition of the country under the Roman empire; the second on the ground that the resistance to Roman claims on the part of the British bishops when Augustin came from Rome A.D. 597, and the difference at that time of their customs from those of Rome point to some source of their Christianity other than Roman. Still the question remains whether the statement in the Felician catalogue may not be true, involving as it does no more than this: that a British prince called in Latin Lucius, having gained some knowledge of Christianity from Gallic or native believers, applied to Eleutherus for instruction in the faith, and that a mission from Rome followed. Some of the arguments adduced by those who discredit the whole story are inconclusive. 1st. It is said that Bede is at fault in his dates, giving A.D. 156 instead of 161 as the date of the accession of Marcus Aurelius, and being otherwise confused or inaccurate. But, even if the error above noticed could not be so easily accounted for by the resemblance between the Roman numerals CLVI and CLXI, chronological inaccuracies in the transmitter of a tradition do not invalidate the truth of the story itself, if otherwise probable. 2ndly. The silence of all general ecclesiastical historians is alleged: to which argument it may be replied that such a transaction as this may be supposed to have been between a bishop of Rome and an obscure British prince may easily have escaped the notice of such writers, or been deemed of less importance than to claim admission in general histories of the Church. But 3rdly. The silence of Gildas, and his apparent ignorance of the whole story, is a valid argument against its truth; as is also the entire absence of any mention of the mission to Lucius in the earlier edition of the Pontifical catalogue, viz. the *Liberian*, A.D. 354. Such complete silence on the subject of the early British and even Roman records suggests strongly the probability that the story was first fabricated at Rome in or before the 6th century, and owed its origin to the same motive that has caused many other successive additions to the Pontifical annals, the desire to trace the origin of all western churches to some bishop of Rome. On the other hand, it may be argued that there is nothing improbable in the original story itself, that it is more likely to have had some fact than pure invention for its origin, and that the Welsh traditions about Lleirwg, though unnoticed by Gildas, may have been ancient and genuine ones, independent of Bede's account. Lingard takes this view, laying stress on the dedication of churches in the diocese of Llandaff to Lleirwg and the saints associated with him, and supposing him to have been an independent British prince outside the Roman pale.

In confirmation of the truth of the story is alleged further the fact that, shortly after the time of Eleutherus writers first begin to speak of British Christianity. For Tertullian, Origen, and Arnobius are the first to allude to the triumphs of the Gospel, though partial, in this remote island. What they say, however, is quite consistent with the earlier, and other than Roman, origin of the British church; and it may be that it was the very fact of their having borne this testimony that suggested the idea of Eleutherus, a pope shortly anterior to their date, being the one to whom the mission might be assigned. It may be remarked in conclusion that undue heat has been introduced into the controversy on the subject from advocates of one or the other view being anxious, on polemical grounds, to prove or disprove the connexion with, and subordination to, Rome of the early British church.

In the *Liber Pontificalis* Eleutherus is said to have ordained that all kinds of food were to be allowed to Christians; and there is a spurious decretal attributed to him, addressed to the provinces of Gaul, containing this ordinance about food, with others about the trial of clerics by provincial synods, with an appeal to Rome. In some late MSS. of the so-called laws of Edward the Confessor there is also a letter from Eleutherus to king Lucius, undoubtedly spurious.

He is commemorated in the Roman Calendar on the 26th of May as a saint and martyr, having however no claim, resting on any ancient authority, to the latter title. [J. B—y.]

ELEUTHERUS (2), a resident in a village of Lydia, by whom Lampetius, one of Chrysostom's partisans, was hospitably received during the persecution of the Joannites. (Pallad. *Dial.* p. 195.) [E. V.]

ELEUTHERUS (3), a martyr at Caesarea in Cappadocia. Commemorated Sept. 27. (*Mart.* Hier., Wand.) Ferrarius says he was put to death during the reign of Hadrian, but this seems very uncertain (*AA. SS.* Sept. vii. 482). [T. S. B.]

ELEVARA (*Chron. Centulens.* iii. 29), martyr. [ELENARA.] [C. H.]

ELFAN (ELVAN) appears in the legend of king Lucius and his application to pope Eleutherus for instruction in the Christian faith. According to Bale he was surnamed Avalonius. As the account of Lucius is confused and very uncertain, that of Elfan or Elvan must be infinitely more obscure, though in monkish legend there is no hesitation in accepting him. [LUCIUS.] According to the Welsh Triads, and the Silurian Catalogues of Saints, the application was made to Rome by Lleufer Mawr or Lleurwg ab Coel ab Cyllin, otherwise more usually known as king Lucius, and Eleutherus sent four persons, named Dyfan, Ffagan, Medwy, and Elfan, to inform him in the Catholic truth. But Elfan is more generally spoken of as messenger, along with Medwy, from Lucius to the pope, as having received baptism and the orders of a bishop from Eleutherus, and then as having been sent back with two additional companions to teach his countrymen the faith. The Welsh authorities say that Elfan presided over a body of Christians at Glastonbury, where Harpsfield says he was educated; but according to Jocelyne of Furness, he succeeded Theanus, and thus became the second bishop of London. As contemporary with pope Eleutherus, Elfan must be placed in the end of the 2nd century. Pitseus, following Radulphus Niger and Bale, attributes to him a work entitled *De Origine Ecclesiae Britanniae*, and Dempster caps this by saying he was the first who illustrated Scotch affairs, and wrote in the ancient Scotic tongue *Historia Scotiae*, lib. i., *Descriptio Scotiae*, lib. i.; but none of these is extant or otherwise known. (Baronius, *Ann.* ii. A.D. 183; Radulphus Niger, *Chron.* A.D. 179, § 37; Bale, cent. i. c. 19; Pitseus, *de Illust. Angl. Scrip.* 14, 79; Bolland. *Acta SS.* Jan. 1. tom. i. 10 Geoffrey Monm. *Hist.* i. cc. 19–20; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 264; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* cc. 3–4, wks. v. 53 sq.; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 82 sq. 315; *Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 309 sq.; Giles, *Hist. Anc. Britons*, i. 215 sq.; Bp. Nicolson, *Eng. Hist. Libr.* 90, 3rd ed.; Tanner, *Bibl.* 261; Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* iv. 3 sq.)
[J. G.]

ELFEIS (AILFYW, AILVYW, ELVEIS), Welsh saint of the 6th century, and son of Dirdan by Danaldwen, daughter of Gynyr of Caergaweh. The church of St. Elvis, co. Pembroke, is dedicated to him, and his name is probably derived from St. Ailbe, who may have baptized him when living at Menevia (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 162–3; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 11).
[J. G.]

ELFFIN (ELPHIN) (1) was a saint of the college of St. Illtyd in the beginning of the 6th century. He was son of Gwyddno Garanhir ab Gorfynion, descended according to the Welsh tradition from Macsen Wledig (*i. e.* Maximus the Roman emperor of the West). In the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, vol. i. 17, and more fully in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. v. 200, there is a prose tale or Mabinogi, entitled *Hanes Taliessin*, which gives a weird-like account of the saving of Taliessin by Elffin from death in infancy and of Taliessin's gratitude, which among other things prompted the composition of *Dehuddiant Elphin*, or The Consolations of Elphin (*Myv. Arch.* i. 20). This is in reality a romance, probably belonging to the 12th or 13th century The *Hanes Taliessin* is also given, with a translation and notes, in Lady Ch. Guest's *Mabinogion*, iii. 321 sq. As Elffin and Elphin his name often occurs in the poetry of Taliessin. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 108, 236–37; Skene's *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, i. cc. 2–11; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 139.)

ELFFYN (2), clerical witness to a grant made to Grecielis bishop of Llandaff, about the close of the 7th century (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 421–22). [J. G.]

ELFFRYTT (*Brut y Tywysog.*, text in *M. H. B.* 842), king of Northumbria, son of Oswy. [ALCHFRITH (1), ALDFRITH.] [C. H.]

ELFLED (Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* cap. 66, in *M. H. B.*, 74 b, marg. EANFLED), daughter of Edwin king of Northumbria, an error for Eanfled, who had a daughter Elfled. [C. H.]

ELFLEDA (1) (AELBFLED, AELFLED), abbess of Whitby, daughter of Oswy king of Northumbria, and of Eanfled daughter of king Edwin. In 655 her father vowed that if he conquered Penda king of Mercia, he would dedicate his child to God's service, and send her from him full-handed as well. The victory was achieved, and Elfleda, then scarcely a year old, was set apart for a conventual life. Her father gave her a noble fortune, and sent her to the monastery of Hereteu (Hartlepool), over which Hild was abbess. After two years Hild acquired some ground at Streanaeshalch (Whitby), where she built a monastery, which became a house of renown. Thither Elfleda went, and there, first as pupil and lastly as abbess, she spent the remainder of her life. She died at the age of fifty-nine, and was buried at Whitby, where her father and mother were interred (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 24). In the management of her house Elfleda had for a long time the valuable help of Trumwin, sometime bishop of the Picts, who died and was buried at Whitby. (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 26.)

In the latter days of Wilfrid, Elfleda took a strong part in allaying the animosity against him, and it was chiefly her recollections of the last wishes of king Aldfrid which brought about his recall at the synod on the Nidd. Eddi, full of gratitude, calls the peacemaking abbess, "semper totius provinciae consolatrix, optimaque consiliatrix" (*Vita Wilfridi*, capp. xliii. lix. lx.).

Elfleda was a friend and a great admirer of Cuthbert. On one occasion he is said to have cured her of an infirmity with his girdle (Bed. *Vita S. Cuth.* cap. 23). In A.D. 684 she and Cuthbert had an interview on Coquet island, in the course of which he revealed to her the nearly approaching end of her brother Ecgfrid, and his own elevation to the episcopate (*Id.* cap. 24). Elfleda also gave an account to the anonymous biographer of Cuthbert of a vision in which the saint had beheld Hadwald, one of the brethren at Whitby, carried up into heaven (*Vita*, inter *Bed. Opp. Min.* 280–1, and Bed. *Vita Cuth.* cap. 34).

Elfleda was commemorated in the calendar on Feb. 8. Cf. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 178–186. Her death in 713 is recorded in the *Annals of Lauresham*, which call her Alfrede. (Pertz, *Scriptt.* i. 24; cf. Lappenberg, *Hist. Eng.* introd. p. xxxvi.) [J. R.]

ELFLEDA (2) (AELFLEDA, AETHELFLEDA, ETHELFLEDA), a daughter of Offa king of Mer-

ia, married at Catterick, Sept. 29, 792, to Ethelred king of Northumbria, who was murdered in 796. (Sim. Dun. *M. H. B.* 667; Chr. Sax. *M. H. B.* 337.) She is mentioned by Offa himself in a charter granted to Chertsey (Kemble, *C. D.* 151) under the name of Aethelfleda. She was known to Alcuin, who, in a letter addressed to her sister the abbess Ethelburga, recommends that she should retire to a monastery. (*Ep.* 59, *Mon. Alc.* p. 293.) In another letter he recommends his messenger to Elfleda, apparently, as "dilectissima domina." (*Ep.* 60; *ib.* p. 295.) [S.]

ELFOD. [ELBOD.]

ELFRIDA (1), abbess of Repton (Ripadun), the monastery in which St. Guthlac received the tonsure. (Mab. *AA. SS. O. S. B.* saec. iii. pt. 1, p. 260.) [S.]

ELFRIDA (2), daughter of Offa king of Mercia. [ELFTHRITHA (2).] [C. H.]

ELFRYT (*Brut y Tywysog.*, Eng. transl. in *M. H. B.* 842), king of Northumbria, son of Oswy. [ALCHFRITH (1), ALDFRITH.] [C. H.]

ELFTHRITHA (1) (AELFDRYDA), a lady mentioned in the letter addressed by Waldhere, bishop of London in 705, to archbishop Brihtwald. A witenagemot under Coenred, king of the Mercians, had lately been held, in which "the reconciliation of Elfthritha" was discussed. Nothing more is known of the matter; as the dates run, she may be identified with the abbess of Repton [ELFRIDA (1).] (See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 275; Smith's Bede, app. n. 24, pp. 783, 784.) [S.]

ELFTHRITHA (2), a daughter of Offa king of Mercia, betrothed to Ethelbert king of the East Angles. (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 638.) She is not mentioned by Offa in the Chertsey charter (Kemble, *C. D.* 151) in which he names his other daughters, but she is described in the legendary life of St. Ethelbert as a noble and glorious virgin. (R. Cirencester, *Spec. Hist.* ed. Mayor, i. 286, 287.) Brompton (Twysden, c. 752) adds that she retired as a solitary to the marshes at Crowland, and that she prophesied that her brother Egfrith would reign only three years after Ethelbert's death. The author of the lives of the two Offas calls her Aelfleda. (*Vit. Duor. Offan.* ed. Wats, p. 24.) See ETHELBERT (3). There appears no authority for the spelling Elfrida adopted by Hume. Florence writes it AELFTHRYTH (*Geneal.* in *M. H. B.* 630), and ALFRITHA (*Ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 638 c); Richard of Cirencester (*Spec. Hist.* i. 286, ed. Mayor) writes ALTRIDA in the heading, and ALFRIDA in the text; Brompton (*Chron.* in Twysden X. *Scriptt.* col. 750. 39), ALTHRIDA. Among later historians, Turner (*Hist. Engl.* i. 414, ed. 1839) writes ETHELDRITHA; Lappenberg (*Hist. Engl.* ed. Thorpe, 1845, i. 235, 237), AETHELTHRYTH and (*ib.* 291, Stemma) AELFTHRYTH; Lingard (*Hist. Engl.* i. 144, ed. 1849), ETHELDRIDA. [S.]

ELFTHRITHA (3), the wife of Kenulf, king of Mercia. [KENULF.] [S.]

ELFWAD (*Chron. de Mailros*, ann. 791, ed. Stevenson), king of Northumbria, son of Oswulf. [ELFWALD (2).] [C. H.]

ELFWALD (1) (AELFWALD), king of East Anglia. According to the Chronicle of Melrose, he succeeded Selred in 747 and died in 749, whereupon East Anglia was divided between Hunbeam and Albert. Simeon of Durham also states, without mentioning Selred, that Elfwald died in 749, when the kingdom was divided between Hunbeanna and Albert. William of Malmesbury is silent as to Elfwald, and states that Beorna (*i.e.* Hunbeanna) was preceded by Aldulf and Elcwold, and these two by Ethelwald (ob. 664). This last statement suggests the inquiry whether Malmesbury's Elcwold may not be identical with the Elfwald of the *Chron. Mel.* If he be, then this king and his brother Aldulf between them reigned eighty-five years (664–749), which is very difficult to conceive. Lappenberg assumes the identity, but does not appear to have observed what it involves. Hickes also assumes the identity, and makes Beorna succeed in 690, so reducing the united reigns of the two brothers to the reasonable period of twenty-six years, but he does not attempt to justify his chronology, and is evidently dissatisfied with it. The 690 is probably conjectural. It appears preferable then to assume the non-identity of Elcwold and Elfwald, and to attribute to Malmesbury an omission of the two kings mentioned by the *Chron. Mel.*, Selred and Elfwald. Hardy takes this line, making the succession run thus:—Ethelwald (ob. 664), Aldulf, Elcwold, Selred (ob. 747), Elfwald (ob. 749), Hunbeanna. The objection to this scheme would be that Selred, whom the *Chron. Mel.* reckons a king of East Anglia, was in reality king of the East Saxons. It is met by Hardy concluding that there must have been two Selreds. It might also be met by an alternative hypothesis, that one Selred ruled both the contiguous states.

In the correspondence of Boniface of Mainz occurs a letter to him from Elfwald king of East Anglia, variously written by the editors Ebwald (Migne), Aelbwald (Jaffé and Serarius), Aebwald (Würdtwein). It is dated by Migne A.D. 733, and by Jaffé 747–749. The king assures Boniface that his instructions as to masses and the frequency of prayers shall be followed in the monasteries of his kingdom; that Boniface's name shall be held in perpetual memory in the services of the seven hours; that the royal bounty in support of the monasteries shall be regulated in accordance with Boniface's recommendation; that Boniface shall be regarded as their patron; that the names of those who through Boniface's prayers die in the faith of the undivided Trinity shall be introduced in the public prayers.

(*Chron. de Mailr.* ed. Stevenson, pp. 4, 5, or in Gale's *Scriptt.* i. 137; Sym. Dun. ed. Surtees Soc. p. 19; Malm. *G. R. A.* i. 98, ed. Hardy, and note; Wend. *F. H.* ed. Coxe, i. 154. ann. 655, note; Lappenberg, *Hist. Eng.* ed. Thorpe, i. 243, 244, Thorpe's note 3, 287 Geneal.; Hickes's *Thesaur.* pars 3, tab. chron. p. 184.) [ELCWOLD, EAST ANGLES.] In 747–749, the see of Elmham was occupied by either Ethelfrith or Eanfrith, and the see of Dunwich by Eardred or Eardulf, one of whom, if they are different persons, attended the council of Clovesho in 747. [C. H.]

ELFWALD (2) (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 779, 780, 781, 783, 786, 788, 791, in *M. H. B.* 664 e,

665 a, b, 666 c, 667 a, b, 668 a; *Chron. de Mailros*, ed. Stevenson, 788, 793; *ibid.* ann. 791, ed. Gale, *Scriptt.* i. 139, where Stevenson has ELFWAD), king of Northumbria, son of Oswulf [ALFWOLD]. [C. H.]

ELFWIN (AELFUINI, AELWIN, ELWIN, ALFWINE), son of Oswy, and brother of Egfrid, kings at Northumbria. He was present with his brother of the dedication of Ripon minster (Eddi *Vita Wilfridi*, cap. 16). When Wilfrid appealed to Rome against the decision of Egfrid the courtiers derided him, and Wilfrid said that on that day year their laughter would be turned into tears. On that very day the corpse of Elfwin was brought to York amid the lamentations of the whole kingdom (*Id.* cap. 19). This took place in A.D. 679. Elfwin was slain in a battle between Egfrid and his brother-in-law Ethelred king of Mercia, near the river Trent, being then only eighteen years of age. By the intervention of Archbishop Theodore Egfrid was satisfied with the payment of a blood-mulct from Ethelred, and peace was restored (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 21; *Sax. Chron.* Flor. Wigorn. i. 35). [J. R.]

ELFWOLT (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 2017, in *M. H. B.* 788), king of Northumbria, son of Oswulf. [ALFWOLD.] [C. H.]

ELGAR, ST., the hermit, a life of whom is printed in the Liber Landavensis, p. 1. The life says that he was born in Devonshire, and taken by pirates as a slave to Ireland. He at last escaped to Bardsey, off Carnarvonshire, called in the British tongue Ynys Enlli, or the Island of the Current, from the violence of the current, now called Bardsey Race, between it and the mainland. The only dates mentioned are that Reotri, grandson of Conchor, was ruling in Ireland, and that North Wales was desolate for seven years (? by plague). His remains were removed to Llandaff, in 1120, after which date the life must have been written (see Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 161, who point out the very doubtful character of these lives. The legends are unhistorical, but the persons for the most part really existed). [C. W. B.]

ELGISTIL. (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.* 615.) [ELWYSTYL.] [J. G.]

ELGUD lived in the latter half of the 6th century, but has no festival or church dedication. He was son of Cadfarch ab Caradog Fraichfras ab Gwen. Gwen is known as St. Gwendeline of Talgarth, and was daughter or grand-daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 150, 202, 280). [J. G.]

ELGWORED. [ELWARED.]

ELHAEARN (AELHAIARN, AELHAYARN, ELHAERN), son of Hygarfael ab Cyndrwyn of Llystinwennan, in Caereinion, Montgomeryshire. His festival is Nov. 1, and he founded Llanaelhaiarn, Carnarvonshire, and Cegidva, or Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 24, 41; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 275; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 595; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 11). [J. G.]

ELHAFED, a clerical witness to the grant of the village of Bertus by "King Ithael in the presence of Meurig (Ithael's father), before the chieftains of Glewyssig, to bishop Berthgwyn," as bishop of Llandaff, in the end of the 6th or opening of the 7th century (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 440–41). [J. G.]

ELI (ILI), a clerical witness to many grants to the church of Llandaff, while Berthgwyn and Trychan were the bishops, in the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th centuries (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 434 sq.). [J. G.]

ELIAB, deacon and martyr of Ethiopia. He was one of forty martyrs, viz.: two bishops, Abdas and Ebedjesus, sixteen presbyters, nine deacons, six monks, and seven virgins, who were slain on Saturday, May 15, in the sixty-sixth year of Sapor II. king of Persia (309–381), A.D. 375. Eliab was one of the clergy of a city called Cascara, of which Abdas was bishop. Eliab is commemorated in the Ethiopian calendar on December 2 (see Assemani *Acta SS. Martyrum Orientalium et Occidentalium*, 1748, part 1, p. 144; Ludolf, *Historia Ethiopica*, appendix; Robertson, *Ch. Hist.* i. p. 291). [J. W. S.]

ELIAN, Geimiad (the pilgrim), a Welsh saint, whose name is confused with that of Hilary. His churches at Llanelian, Anglesey, and Llanelian, Denbighshire (near the last of which is a famous well), were renowned for the cure of diseases. His wake was held in August (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 267). [C. W. B.]

ELIANUS (AELIANUS), the proconsul of Africa, before whom Felix bishop of Aptunga, the consecrator of Caecilian of Carthage, was tried, and acquitted on the charge of having been a "traditor," A.D. 314. Optatus (Migne, Patr. Lat. xi.; *De Schismate Donat.* i. 25) narrates the actual words of the proconsul's decision. Aelianus also received letters from the emperor Constantine about the conveyance of the African bishops to the council of Arles. (*Ibid. Hist.* vii. note b; Ceillier, v. 112.) [L. D.]

ELIANUS (AELIANUS), a pagan, with whom St. Gregory Thaumaturgus disputed. Certain expressions in the exposition of the faith that Gregory composed on this occasion were wrested by the Sabellians to the support of their heretical views, but St. Basil exposes the futility of their reasoning (Basil, *Ep.* 210, in Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxii. 316; Greg. Thaum. *Frag. de Trin.* in Migne, Patr. Gr. x. 1103, 1143; Ceillier, ii. 442.) [L. D.]

ELIANUS (AELIANUS), one of the leaders of the rebellion of the Bagaudae in Gaul, to subdue which the Thebaean legion was brought by Maximian from the East. Aelianus was slain in the battle which decided the fate of the rebellion. (Eutrop. *Hist.* ix. 20; Oros. vii. 25; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 297, iv.; Martin, *Hist. de France*, i. 281; Ceill. *Aut. Eccl.* ii. 473.) [R. T. S.]

ELIAS (1) I., bishop of Jerusalem, A.D. 494–513; he was an Arab by birth and received his education with his friend Martyrius, also bishop of Jerusalem, in one of the Nitrian monasteries. Being driven from Egypt by Timothy Aelurus, the two friends took refuge, A.D. 457, in the laura of St. Euthymius, who received them with great favour, admitted them to frequent converse, and predicted that they would both be bishops of Jerusalem. Euthymius took them as

his companions in his periodical retreats and administered the Eucharist to them every Sunday (Cyril. Scythop. *Vita S. Euthym.* nos. 94, 95). After a time Elias quitted the laura with Martyrius, and constructed for himself a cell at Jericho, which in process of time, by successive enlargements, became a monastery. The two friends met at Euthymius' death-bed in A.D. 473, though not present at his actual departure (*ib.* nos. 109, 110). Anastasius, the bishop of Jerusalem, having come down to the laura for the translation of the body of St. Euthymius, took Elias and Martyrius back with him and ordained them presbyters, putting them on the roll of the church of the Anastasis (*ib.* No. 111). Five years later, A.D. 478, Martyrius succeeded Anastasius as bishop of Jerusalem, and was followed by Sallustius in A.D. 486, who dying in A.D. 494, Elias became his successor. Moschus records that having practised total abstinence from wine as a monk he observed the same rule as bishop (*Prat. Spiritual.* c. 25). According to the practice of the time his residence became the nucleus of a collection of cells of ascetics, which developed into a monastery adjacent to the church of the Anastasis (Cyril. Scythop. *Vit. S. Sabae*, c. 31). At the time of Elias' succession to the patriarchate, the Christian world exhibited a melancholy spectacle of discord. There were at least four great parties mutually anathematizing one another. The church of Rome denounced the whole of the East as heretical, with the exception of the monks of Constantinople, who thought more highly of communion with the bishop of Rome than with their own bishops, on account of their refusal to recognise the excommunication of Acacius. The Eastern church, though comprehended under the general ban, and forced into seeming unity by the Henoticon of Zeno, was split into three by intestine divisions. While Alexandria and the bishops of Egypt subscribed the Henoticon and rejected the decrees of Chalcedon, the churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Constantinople, though also accepting the Henoticon, maintained those decrees, although for the sake of peace, they were unwilling to enforce them. Besides this, there was the extreme section of the Eutychians or Monophysites, as they now preferred to be called, known as Acephali, who regarded the council of Chalcedon as tainted with Nestorianism, and cherished the memory of Dioscorus and Eutyches. Elias, as a leader of the party of the centre, was in communion with Euphemius of Constantinople, and on his deposition and banishment, in 496, ostensibly on the ground of treasonable practices, he maintained communion with his successor, the gentle and peaceable Macedonius, on being assured of his orthodoxy, though without expressing his approval of Euphemius' removal, much to the annoyance of the emperor Anastasius. When the Monophysite party in Syria, under the leadership of Xenaias of Hierapolis, broke out into open insurrection, treating as heretics all who acknowledged the two natures, Elias was one of the chief objects of their attack. In A.D. 509 they demanded a confession of his faith, and Anastasius required him to convene a council to repudiate the decrees of Chalcedon. He declined to summon a council, but he drew up a letter to the emperor, containing a statement of his belief, accompanied by anathemas of Nestorius, Eutyches, Diodorus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. This letter was entrusted to members of the Acephali to convey to Constantinople. When it was opened, it was found to contain an anathema against the two natures. Elias reproached the bearers with having falsified the document and thus laid him open to the charge, which he found it very hard to refute, of having condemned the council of Chalcedon (Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 31; Theodor. *Lect.* p. 561; Theophan. *Chronogr.* pp. 129, 130). Macedonius having been deposed A.D. 511, and Timotheus, an unscrupulous Monophysite monk, appointed to the see of Constantinople, Elias, whose principle appears to have been to accept the inevitable, and to go the utmost possible length in obedience to the ruling powers, seized on the fact that he had abstained at first from anathematizing the council of Chalcedon, as a warrant for joining communion with him and receiving his synodical letter. However, as on the former occasion, he with Flavius declined to acknowledge the justice of Macedonius' deposition, and with the same result. Communion with Timotheus was of no avail, unless they would recognise him as the rightful bishop. On their refusal, the long-stifled wrath of Anastasius broke out vehemently against his two feeble and wavering antagonists, and he availed himself of the ready services of Soterichus, bishop of the Cappadocian Caesarea, and Xenaias, to accomplish their ruin. In obedience to the emperor's directions, a synod was convened at Side, A.D. 512, to condemn the decrees of Chalcedon and remove the two unaccommodating prelates (Theophan. p. 131; Marcellin. *Chronicon*; Coteler, *Mon. Eccl. Gr.* iii. 300; Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 1414). Elias, in alarm, despatched St. Sabas to Constantinople to plead his cause with the emperor (Cyril. Scyth. *Vit. S. Sab.* No. 50). Meanwhile, he and his companion Flavius by their diplomatic address succeeded in breaking up the council before it had pronounced any sentence on them. After its separation they addressed complimentary letters to the emperor, couched in language which dissembled their real sentiments. By this mean compliance they succeeded in keeping their sees a short time longer. Their implacable enemies, Soterichus and Xenaias, furious at having missed their aim, represented to the emperor that he had been imposed upon by these adroit masters of language, who were really at heart supporters of the impious doctrines of Nestorius. Anastasius, ready to believe the worst of those who had repeatedly opposed his wishes, gave them permission to do what they pleased with the culprits. St. Sabas, however, had not yet left Constantinople, and pleaded the cause of Elias so effectually that Anastasius revoked the order for his deposition (Coteler, *u. s.* pp. 300–302). But all his concessions were in vain. Flavian's sentence of deposition was carried into effect, and Severus, the leader of the Acephali, having been made patriarch of Antioch in his room in A.D. 512, Elias steadfastly refused all token of communion with him. Once and again the synodical letters of the intruder and the act of deposition of Flavian were contemptuously rejected by the patriarch, together with the clergy and laity of Jerusalem (Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 33). St. Sabas supported them in their resolution. Severus

complained to the emperor in strong terms of this insult. Anastasius, determined to bring matters to a point, despatched Olympus, count of Palestine, to give Elias his choice between submission or deposition. To damage his cause with the orthodox, the emperor put in Olympus' hands Elias' former letter, in which to save his see he repudiated the decrees of Chalcedon. Elias was now in a great strait. He lacked the strength for prolonged resistance. But for the earnest entreaties of St. Sabas and the monks of Jerusalem he might have yielded again, but, backed by their moral support, he persisted in his refusal, and was forcibly driven from his episcopal seat by Olympus, and banished to Aila, on the shores of the Red Sea, A.D. 513. He survived his banishment five years, breathing his last A.D. 518, during a visit of St. Sabas and other abbats, having previously, it was said, seen a vision which announced the death of his old enemy, the emperor Anastasius, and bade him follow in ten days (Moschus, *Prat. Spirit.* c. 35; Cyrill. Scythop. *Vit. S. Sab.* no. 60). Before he expired he gave directions for the government of the monasteries he had founded, the oversight of which he had continued during his banishment. He was eighty-eight years old at the time of his death. (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* xvi.; Cyril. Scythop. *Vita S. Euthymii*, *Vita S. Sabae*; Joannes Moschus, *Prat. Spirituel.*; Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 31, 33; Theophan. *Chronogr.*) [E. V.]

ELIAS (2) II., bishop of Jerusalem, c. A.D. 760–797, of whom very little is certainly known. His see was invaded by an ambitious monk named Theodorus before A.D. 763. In this year Theodorus joined in the condemnation of Cosmas, bishop of Epiphania, on the charge of Iconoclasm (Theophan. p. 290). Theodorus also sent synodical letters to Rome, concerning the worship of images, in A.D. 767 and 769. Theodorus is charged with having secured the deposition of Elias, by accusing him of crimes to the chief-counsellor (*πρωτοσύμβουλον*) of Arelia, by whom he was thrown into prison, loaded with fetters, and banished. The date of his restoration is uncertain. He, together with the other patriarchs of the East, was represented at the second Council of Nicaea, A.D. 787, by Joannes, a presbyter, and Thomas, the provost of the convent of St. Arsenius, near Egyptia, Babylon. (Papebroch, nos. 167, 172; Leontius, *Vita S. Steph. Sabaitae*, c. 5; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 300.) [E. V.]

ELIAS (3) (Aelius, Helias), bishop of Lyons, next but one after St. Irenaeus. No particulars of his life are known, but Gregory of Tours (*de Glorià Confess.* c. 62) relates a curious legend that a robber coming to spoil the corpse of Helias was seized in its arms and held fast till found by the authorities and condemned to death; but the corpse would not let him be taken away for execution, and retained him until he was forgiven. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 13; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 569.) [R. T. S.]

ELIAS (4) (Helias), bishop of Sedunum (Sion, Sitten). In the island of St. Julius on the lake of Orta, not far from Lago Maggiore, rest the remains of Elias, who is venerated in that place as a hermit who brought the bones of St. Audentius into Italy. An ancient inscription, however, is said to have described him as bishop of Sion in the Valais. But his age is very uncertain. If, as some say, he succeeded St. Julius, he must have lived about the beginning of the 5th century, but others assign him a later date. The Sammarthani relate that he transferred the see from Octodurum to Sion, in consequence of the prevalence of floods in the former place. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 735; *Acta SS.* 21 Mar. iii. 360.) [R. T. S.]

ELIAS (5) (Helias), a Syrian bishop, who, with several others, among them Macarius bishop of Laodicea, and John patriarch of Antioch, vainly endeavoured to dissuade Nestorius from persisting in his heresy (*Epist. Joan. Ep. Antioch. ad Nestorium*, s. f. *Act. Co. Eph.* A.D. 431, pt. i. c. xxv.). [Joannes of Antioch.] [T. W. D.]

ELIAS (6), bishop of Balandus, or Blandus, a town of unknown position in the province of Lydia, present at the oecumenical council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 890; Mansi, vi. 1089.) [L. D.]

ELIAS (7), bishop of Seleuco-belus on the Orontes, in Syria Secunda. He signed the synodical letter of the bishops of Syria Secunda, addressed to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 551; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 922.) [J. de S.]

ELIAS (8), bishop of Majorca, A.D. 484. His name appears in that year among the suffragan bishops of the Sardinian see of Cagliari, who attended the colloquy held at Carthage between the Catholic and Arian bishops under the Vandal rule, by command of Hunnerich, king of the Vandals (see Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, i. 250). In the 9th century the Balearic islands are found attached to the bishopric of Gerona; in the eleventh they were transferred to Barcelona. At the present time the bishop of Palma is a suffragan of the archbishopric of Valencia. (Villanueva, *Viage Literario á las Iglesias de España*, xix.; Gams, *Series Episc.* Harduin, ii. 875.) [M. A. W.]

ELIAS (9) (Eghia), bishop of Peznouni in the canton of Dourouperan in Great Armenia, succeeded Isaac III. as catholicos or patriarch of Armenia. According to the list of Saint-Martin he ruled from A.D. 703 to 718. The same author gives Ardjisch as his birth-place. (Saint-Mart. *Hist. Armen.* i. 438; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1390.) [Armenians.] [C. H.]

ELIAS (10), bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. [Helias.]

ELIAS (11), bishop of Rachlena in Phoenicia. He took part in the synod of the Phoenician province, held at Tyre, A.D. 518, to condemn the heresy of Severus. (Mansi, viii. 920; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 831.) [J. de S.]

ELIAS (12), bishop of Joppa, who in the synod of Jerusalem, A.D. 518, signed the letter of John of Jerusalem to John of Constantinople against the errors of Severus (Labbe, v. 191), and in A.D. 536, the sentence of Peter of Jerusalem against Anthimus (*Ibid.* 283). (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 628.) [E. V.]

ELIAS (13), bishop of Botrys in Phoenicia. He adopted the heresy of Severus, and was ana

thematized in the synod of Tyre, A.D. 518. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 827.) [J. de S.]

ELIAS (14) (Helias), bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, who signed the sentence against Anthimus in the synod of Jerusalem, A.D. 536. His name stands second after Peter of Jerusalem. (Labbe, v. 283; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 572.) [E. V.]

ELIAS (15), bishop of Hadriani (Ἀδριανοί; Lat. version, Adrianopolis) in Bithynia, of which town coins are extant. He is mentioned in the accounts of the synod of Constantinople under Mennas, which condemned Anthimus, A.D. 536, though his name is found nowhere in the subscriptions. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 625; Mansi, viii. 879, 880 A.) [L. D.]

ELIAS (16), bishop of Areopolis (Rabbath-Moab), on the left bank of the river Arnon. Mansi's Greek text names the see Ἀρεοπόλις, but the Latin has Hadrianopolis, with Areopolis in the margin. Elias was present at the synod held at Jerusalem under the patriarch Peter, A.D. 536, and signed the sentence upon Anthimus. (Mansi, viii. 1173, 1174 A; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 736.) [J. de S.]

ELIAS (17), metropolitan of Thessalonica, c. A.D. 548 to 553, subscribed the profession of certain bishops concerning the three chapters, which is included in the "constitutum" of pope Virgilius addressed to the emperor Justinian (Mansi, ix. 64). At the fifth general council, Benignus bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, one of his suffragans, acted as his proxy. (Mansi, ix. 389; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 38; Gams, *Series Episc.* 429.) [L. D.]

ELIAS (18) (Helias), bishop of Diocletianopolis. It is doubtful whether this was the see situated in Thracia or the one in Palestine. (See Wiltsch, *Handbuch der kirchl. Geographie*, i. 172, and note 4, 210, and note 21.) Harduin mentions a third Diocletianopolis in Phrygia, which, as well as the other, it is now impossible to trace. An Elias, bishop of one of these sees, was present at the fifth general council at Constantinople, A.D. 553. Le Quien places him under the Thracian see as well as under the Palestinian, without deciding to which he belongs. Gams assigns him to both sees, as though there were an Elias in each that year. (Mansi, ix. 176 B, 392 C; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1164, iii. 646; Gams, *Series Episc.* 427, 453.) [J. de S.]

ELIAS (19), archbishop (or metropolitan) of Aquileia, c. 572, successor of Probinus. (Paulus Diac. iii. 14.) His predecessor, Paulinus, had fled before the Lombards in 568 to the island of Grado. Elias is said to have held a synod in 579 (in hoc castro Gradensi nostram confirmare metropolim), with nineteen other bishops, to confirm the translation of the see to Grado: (*Chronica Patriarcharum Gradeium* in *Mon. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 393). According to this, probably the earliest authority, the synod appears to have been held in 582. This synod has given rise to much discussion. It is probably apocryphal, and the letter of Pelagius II. consenting that Grado shall be the metropolis of Venetia and Istria spurious. (Hefele, § 280; Mansi, ix. 929; and Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* Li... Spuriae, ccxxxii.) Troya upholds it (*Cod. Dipl* i. 168). A full discussion of the matter is found in De Rubeis, *Monum. Eccl. Aquil.* p. 227.

Elias and others had been unwilling to subscribe the condemnation of the Three Chapters passed by the council of Chalcedon, and he was at the head of those bishops of Venetia and Istria who refused to hold communion with Rome on account of her views in the matter. Gregory the Great, then a deacon, interested pope Pelagius II. against them, and it is thought that he himself wrote them the letters which bear his master's name (Pelagii *Epist.* 3, 4, 5; Greg. Mag. *Epist.* ii. numb. 36). The authority for Gregory's authorship is Paulus Winfridus, A.D. 784 (Patr. Lat. xcv.; *De Gestis Langobardorum*, cap. 10, xx.). The letters were unsuccessful, and Pelagius stirred up the exarch Smaragdus against Elias and three other Istrian bishops, Joannes Parentinus, Severus, and Vindemius. Smaragdus dragged Elias from the basilica at Grado, and carried him off with his suffragans to Ravenna, where he forced him to communicate with Joannes, metropolitan of Ravenna, who condemned the Three Chapters. At the end of a year they returned to Grado. Their people and the other local bishops refused to communicate with them. Smaragdus afterwards fell into disgrace, and returned to Constantinople. A synod of bishops subsequently accepted Severus as their patriarch, on his recantation of his weakness in submitting to communion with the Catholic patriarch of Ravenna. Elias is said to have died about the time of Gregory's mission of Augustine to England. But the account of Paulus Winfridus Diaconus is obscure, and it is not perfectly clear that Elias was really dragged to Ravenna with the other bishops by Smaragdus. Baronius also points out his mistake in describing John, patriarch of Ravenna, as not in communion with the Roman see. (Paulus Winfr. Diac. *de Gestis Langobardorum*, iii. 26, in Patr. Lat. xciv. 527; Baronius, A.D. 586, 26; Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* c. ann. 585, letters 686–688.) He was succeeded by Severus. [A. H. D. A. & W. M. S.]

ELIAS (20), bishop of Parenzo, in Istria, c. 558, of somewhat doubtful authenticity. (Gams, 799; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, viii. 785; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, v. 396.) [A. H. D. A.]

ELIAS (21), circ. A.D. 640, bishop of the Jacobites and writer of a letter to Leo bishop of Charrae (Haran), in which he gives apologetic reasons for having passed from the faith of Chalcedon to the sect of the Monophysites. He mentions the work of George bishop of Tagrit against Probus and Philoponus, and his letter to the monks of St. Matthew. He also mentions Constantine bishop of Haran, and three books which he had written against the Monophysites (Assemani *Biblioth. Oriental.* i. 465, 466; Ceillier, xii. 100). [W. M. S.]

ELIAS (22), bishop of Coria, signs the *Decretum Gundemari*, 610. (See Gunthimar; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 56; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 324.) [Jacinthus.] [M. A. W.]

ELIAS (23), bishop of Lilybaeum, present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649,

which condemned the Monothelite heresy. (Hefele, § 307; Mansi, x. 867.) [A. H. D. A.]

ELIAS (24), bishop of Syracuse, a Benedictine, c. 656. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xxi. 659.) [A. H. D. A.]

ELIAS (25), bishop of Iconium, the metropolis of Lycaonia, present at the synod held at Constantinople A.D. 692, called Quinisexta or Trullana (Mansi, xi. 992; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1071). [L. D.]

ELIAS (26), bishop of Seville in the 8th century, appears thirty-seventh in the catalogue of the bishops of Seville contained in the *Codex Aemilianensis* in the Escurial (A.D. 962–994; see Gonzalez, *Collectio Canon. Eccl. Hisp.* praef.). He is the second bishop after the Moorish invasion, and comes next after the traitor Oppas. [Marcellus.] (*Esp. Sagr.* ix. 124, 236.) [M. A. W.]

ELIAS (27) CRETENSIS, bishop of Gortyna and metropolitan of Crete, at the second council of Nicaea, A.D. 787 (Labbe, vii. 39, 323, 661, 704). Several works are ascribed to him, especially a commentary on these nineteen orations of St. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* 1, 3, 4, 10, 11, 19, 23, 24–30, 33–37, 51, 52). The commentary is not continuous, but takes the form of explanatory notes on various words and expressions. These commentaries were first published in Latin by Billius, at the end of his editions of Gregory Nazianzen, the first of which appeared at Paris, in 1583; and in Greek by Albert Jahn, Berne, 1858, and in the Patrologia of Migne (xxxvi. pp. 737–902). Jahn has adduced a satisfactory proof (printed also by Migne, *u.s.*) that the author of the commentaries was a different person from the Elias who attended the council of Nicaea, in the fact that he quotes Basilius, surnamed Ἐλαχίστος (to distinguish him from Basil the Great), who lived in the first half of the 10th century, and his contemporary Gregorius (Oudin, *de Script. Eccl.* i. 649; ii. 428, 443). Jahn places this Elias in the middle of the 11th century.

To Elias is also ascribed a huge commentary in three volumes, on the *Scala Paradisi* of Joannes Climacus, MSS. of which exist in the collection of Cardinal Bessarion at Venice, and in the Coislinian and Chigian libraries. Nic. Comnenus mentions a work of Elias, *de Moribus Ethnicorum* (p. 213), also several series of answers to the questions of monks in cases of conscience, the whole of which Jahn considers variant forms of the *Responsa ad Monachum Dionysium*, printed lib. v. *Juris Graeco-Roman.* (pp. 335–341); (Oudin, *de Script. Eccl.* ii. 1066; Ceillier, ii. 691; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 641; Fabr. *Bibl. Graec.* viii. 430; ix. 525; xi. 615). [E. V.]

ELIAS (28), bishop of Jabruda in Phoenicia Secunda, north-east of Damascus. He is known only by the mention in a Greek Codex of Joannes Damascenus. Gams places him in the 8th century. (See Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 846; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 435.) [J. de S.]

ELIAS (29). Sent from Egypt with some companions to minister to the necessities of the confessors in Cilicia. They were all arrested in the city of Ascalon by the spies appointed to watch the gates, and like those to whom they had come to minister were mutilated in their eyes and feet. Three of them, Ares, Elias, and Promus, were martyred. Ares was burned, Elias and Promus were beheaded by orders of Firmilian, governor of Palestine (A.D. 308), during the reign of Galerius and Maximian. They are commemorated Dec. 14. (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* x.; Ruinart, *AA. Sincera Mart.* 330; *Menol.* Bas.; Baron. 307, xxiv.) [T. S. B.]

ELIAS (30) had also gone to Cilicia from Egypt with four companions; they were all arrested and brought before Firmilian. After they had been tortured, they were asked their names, and (doubtless because they had been originally named after some of the idol gods) they replied that their names were Elias, Jeremias, Esaias, Samuel, and Daniel. They were then asked what country they came from; their reply was that Jerusalem was their city. The judge, not understanding their meaning, thought that the Christians must be about to establish collectively a city in opposition to the Romans, and so he put them to further torture, hoping to gain information from them. Failing in this he caused them to be put to death (A.D. 309). They are commemorated Feb. 16. (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* xi.; *Men.* Bas.; Ruinart, 330; Baron. 308, iv.) [T. S. B.]

ELIAS (31), a priest who suffered martyrdom in Palestine during the Diocletian persecution, A.D. 309. On the dispersion of the Christians who were working in the copper mines, he was sent with three companions to the military governor, and on his refusal to abjure Christianity was burnt alive. Eusebius in his *Mart. Pal.* does not give his name, but it is mentioned with those of his fellow-martyrs in the Menaea of Basilius, 19th Sept. (Basil. *Men.* i. 53; Ceillier, iii. 13.) [L. D.]

ELIAS (32). [Sebaste, Forty Martyrs of.]

ELIAS (33), March 27 (Symeon Metaphrast.), Dec. 24 (Assemani). Martyr in Persia under Sapor II. A.D. 327 with Brichjesus and nine others. Ruinart and Tillemont would postpone this martyrdom to the persecution which began in A.D. 343, denying that there was any persecution at the earlier date. However the exhortation against persecuting the Christians contained in the letter of Constantine to Sapor looks as if a persecution had already taken place. (Euseb. *Vita Const.* lib. iv. cap. xi.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 691; Assem. *Mart. Or. et Occ.* i. 215.) [G. T. S.]

ELIAS (34), a martyr of the 5th century. Commemorated Jan. 14. (*AA. SS.* Jan. i. 953; Ruinart, *AA. Sincera Mart.* 334.) [T. S. B.]

ELIAS (35), governor of a monastery for women, described as of Athribis in the Delta, an excellent disciplinarian (optimus exercitator) and an especial friend of unmarried females (amantissimus virginum). Having property at Athribis, he erected there a large monastery for the reception of vagrant persons of that condition under his own management, he being between thirty and forty years of age. He supplied all the wants of his inmates, about three hundred in number, and provided gardens and implements for their occupation. But they

would not live in harmony among themselves, and in the discharge of his duties as peacemaker he was brought into close and frequent intercourse with them. So great did he find the snares of such a position for himself as well as for them that he one day fled in despair from the monastery. The same night he had a vision of angels, who so strengthened his mind while he slept that he awoke a different man, and soon returned to his charge, in which he continued for forty years, without any further annoyance from his carnal nature. (Pallad. *Laus. Hist.* viii. 35, in Patr. Lat. lxxiii. 1135.) [C. H.]

ELIAS (36), solitary near Antinous, capital of the Thebaid, 4th century. The same account of him is attributed to Palladius (*Hist. Lausiac.* viii. 51, in Patr. Lat. lxxiii. 1154), and to Rufinus Aquileiensis (*Historia Monachorum*, 12, in Patr. Lat. xxi. 432). The writer, whoever he was, saw him with his own eyes. They said he was about 110 years old, and that he had passed seventy years in that awful solitude, the horror of which no tongue could express. It was high on the bare mountains, approached only by a narrow and rugged path, hardly to be discovered by travellers. The place where he sat was a terrible cavern; and more horrid dread seized the minds of those who dared to look in. For from his extreme age he shook visibly in every limb. He was said to effect many cures. Nobody remembered the time when he had retired to this desert. He was believed to eat three ounces of bread daily, and three olives of an evening. In his youth he had only touched food once a week. [W. M. S.]

ELIAS (37), a solitary of Palestine, near the Dead Sea. His cell being near one of the chief roads, he shewed hospitality to all wayfarers who needed it. (Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 110–111, p. 1026.) [E. V.]

ELIAS (38), abbat of a monastery in Syria, celebrated for his personal holiness and the wisdom of his rule. Alexander Acoemetes spent four years of his early life (c. A.D. 378) under his discipline, but left him on the plea that the precepts of the Gospel were violated in his community because what was necessary to supply the daily wants of the brethren was provided beforehand, and something was left for the wants of the morrow. (Bolland. Jan. 15, p. 1021, § 4–6.) [E. V.]

ELIAS (39), abbat and presbyter of Isauria, in the diocese of Antioch, towards the close of the 6th century. He sent Epiphanius, one of his monks, to Gregory I., A.D. 595, with an apology for not coming to him in person, on the plea of illness and old age, and a request that a copy of the Gospels might be sent to him, and a sum of money for his monastery: he also prayed that his messenger might receive orders. Gregory complied with all his requests, but detained Epiphanius at Rome, refusing to allow him to return to the monastery, on the plea that no one who had received orders in "this church" was ever permitted to leave it. (Greg. *Ep.* V. xiii. 38; Baron. 595, xxvi. lxxx.) [T. W. D.]

ELIAS (40), circ. A.D. 621, presbyter at Jerusalem. He is said by the writer of the Acts of Anastasius the Persian to have been in charge of the church of the Holy Resurrection; his holiness is spoken of in the highest terms; and it was to him that Anastasius (at that time named Magundat) was brought for baptism by his host the silversmith. Elias consulted Modestus bishop of Jerusalem, and then gave him the rite. (Symeon Metaph. *Vit. S. Anastasii Persae*, § 3, in Patr. Gr. cxiv. 778 C; quoted in Surius *de Prob. Hist.* 22 Jan. i. 362, ed. 1617, and in Baron. *A. E.* an. 621, xi.) [W. M. S.]

ELIAS (41) (HELIAS), president of Cappadocia, to whom on his entrance on his government Basil wrote, A.D. 372, to defend himself from the calumnies brought against him by his enemies in connexion with the hospital he had recently established in the suburbs of Caesarea. (Basil, *Epis.* 94 [372].) [BASILIUS OF CAESAREIA, vol. i. p. 291, b.] In the same year Basil wrote to Elias in behalf of an aged man, whose orphan grandson, only four years old, had been placed on the senatorial roll, thus compelling his grandfather to serve again (*Epist.* 84 [389]). Garnier and Ceillier are probably right in identifying Elias with the governor of Cappadocia, who to the grief of the province had been removed from his office after a brief rule, through the calumnies of those whom his highminded uprightness had displeased, in whose behalf Basil wrote in A.D. 372 to his early friend and fellow townsman, Sophronius, prefect of Constantinople (*Epist.* 96 [332]). Basil commends this governor most highly for his incorruptible integrity, his justice, his impartiality, his accessibility, as well as for the favour he had shewn to the Christians, and begs Sophronius to plead his cause with the emperor, and dispel the calumnies of his enemies. This governor is identified by Tillemont with Theresius, but was probably mistaken. [E. V.]

ELIAS (42) SCHOLASTICUS, an advocate of Cyrrhus, to whom Theodoret transmitted the chief of a band of robbers, named Abram, together with the persons he had plundered and the evidence of the case, with the desire that Elias would compel the evildoers to restore their plunder. (Theod. *Epist.* x.) [E. V.]

ELIAS (43), friend and slayer of Justinian II. A.D. 711. As the tyranny and cruelty of that prince grew darker, Bardanes and Elias, an officer in high command, conspired against him. Justinian, in the violence of impotent anger, had the children of Elias slaughtered in the bosom of their mother, and gave her to his own Indian cook, a monster, according to one MS., of deformity. After the defection of his fleet and army, and the death of his heir Tiberius, Justinian was found at Sinope by Elias, who cut off his head with his own hand. (Theophanis, *Chronographia*, 317, 318, 319, Patr. Gr. cviii. col. 368; Baron. *Annal.* ad ann. 711, v. viii.) [W. M. S.]

ELIAS, APOCALYPSE OF. An apocryphal work under this title was current in the 2nd century, and was supposed by Origen (35 *in Matt.* 27, vol. iii. p. 916) to have been the source whence Paul took the quotation, "Eye hath not seen," &c. (1 Cor. ii. 9). This view is controverted by Jerome, who refers the quotation to Isaiah lxiv. 4 (xvii. *in Isaiam*, iv. 761

Vallar.; *Ep. ad Pammach.* 54, i. 912). See HEGESIPPUS. It is no doubt the same work which is rejected, *Ap. Const.* vi. 16, and in the *Synopsis Sac. Script.* ascribed to Athanasius, ii. 154.
[G. S.]

ELIDIUS (1), ST., from whom one of the Scilly Isles is named. The name is now corrupted into "St. Helen's Isle;" but we find in William of Worcester's extracts from the Calendar of Tavistock, "S. Elidii episcopi 8 die Augusti. Jacet in insula Syllys;" and again, "Saint Lyda filius regis;" and see Leland, *Itin.* 3, p. 9. Some other chapels in Cornwall seem to be dedicated to him under the name of "St. Lyde," once in conjunction with the Irish saint, St. Ida, and hence Elidius also has been supposed to have come from Ireland. His name is sometimes confounded with that of Loy or Eloy, *i.e.* Eligius, bishop of Noyon (see *Monasticon*, i. 998, 1002, and Whitaker's *Cathedral of Cornwall*, ii. p. 211).
[C. W. B.]

ELIDIUS (2), martyr. He was an acolyte of St. Praejectus (Prix), bishop of Clermont, and was slain with him and St. Amerinus at Volvic, in the Auvergne, as they were returning from the court of Childeric II. (674). He is commemorated Jan. 25. (See the second *Vita S. Praejecti*, cap. iii. 18–20, in Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 635.)
[S. A. B.]

ELIEZER B. **HYRCANOS,** also called Eliezer the Great, or simply R. Eliezer, one of the most distinguished Jewish teachers during the 1st century of the Christian era. He was brother-in-law of Gamaliel II., who succeeded to the presidency of the Sanhedrin about A.D. 80. His father, Hyrcanos, who was a wealthy farmer, intended him to cultivate his estates, but he found that a quiet rural life was uncongenial to his active mind, and having felt an uncontrollable desire for study, he betook himself, contrary to his father's wishes, to Jerusalem at the age of twenty-two. Here he placed himself at the feet of the celebrated R. Jochanan b. Saccai, and soon became one of his most distinguished disciples. When Hyrcanos, a few years afterwards, came to the metropolis to disinherit his son for having acted contrary to his wishes, he found that Eliezer had already attained the position of a prominent teacher, and that well-known disciples attended his public lectures. Instead of discarding him, Hyrcanos now offered him all his property, but this Eliezer declined, declaring that he would only accept an equal share with the other children. His prodigious memory made him a living depositary of the canon and civil laws, which were developed in the course of time, and which were orally transmitted from school to school for generations. His teacher, R. Jochanan b. Saccai, therefore aptly described him when he said that "he was like a well-cemented cistern, which never loses a drop of water" (*Mishna Aboth*, ii. 8). He moreover declares that "if all the sages of Israel were put in one scale, and R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanos in the other, he would outweigh them all" (*Mishna Aboth*, ii. 8). After the destruction of Jerusalem, he went with R. Jochanan b. Saccai, and other doctors of the law, to Yabne. Here the Sanhedrin continued to hold their sittings under the presidency of R. Gamaliel II. Of this distinguished assembly he was a prominent member. But his deep originality, his independence of opinion, and his determination not to be overruled by majorities in matters of conscience, soon brought him into serious collision with the president and with his colleagues. Gamaliel, who feared lest the dissolution of the Jewish state and the dispersion of the nation, should bring about the loss of some of the traditional laws, and thus produce diversity of opinion, was determined to secure once for all uniformity of faith and practice. To effect this, the distinguished doctors of the law who constituted the Sanhedrin brought forward the different canons with their different interpretations, which were handed down in the respective schools, and the president ruled that the decision of the majority was to carry every point, and that it should henceforth be unalterably binding. The canon thus carried was at once shewn to be implied or expressed in some verse of the Mosaic law by the elastic rules of interpretation or application which were in vogue in the time of Christ.

For such work of co-operation and compromise, Eliezer was ill-fitted. His principles of interpretation were adverse to those of R. Joshua, R. Akiba, and others who were distinguished members of the Sanhedrin. They maintained that every particle, to the very sign of the accusative (את), represented some recondite law, and ought to be explained accordingly. He advocated the literal meaning of the Bible, and declared that when a canon obtained in the course of time, having been called forth by circumstances unforeseen in the Mosaic law, it should be regarded as an independent oral law, and no attempt should be made to foist it into the Bible. He moreover could not recognise the principle that the majority is infallible, and hence on one occasion would not abide by their decision, especially when the point at issue was a question of memory, involving the accurate record of ancient tradition. The immediate cause of rupture between him and the Sanhedrin was a difference of opinion about the treatment of an oven of peculiar construction. The majority decided that it comes under the category of earthenware, and hence is capable of defilement. R. Eliezer, who remembered an ancient tradition to the contrary, would not submit to the decision, and practically acted against it. For this insubordination R. Gamaliel II., the president of the Sanhedrin, his own brother-in-law, excommunicated him (*Baba Metzia*, 59 *b*).

The manner in which this Rabbi who lived in the Apostolic age was excommunicated, and the issues involved in it, as described in the Talmud, strikingly illustrate those passages in the New Testament where this penalty is spoken of (John ix. 22, xii. 42, xvi. 2; 2 Thess. iii. 14, 15). Before the sentence of excommunication was pronounced, the offender was admonished three times on three different occasions, generally on Monday, Thursday, and Monday. It was only when he persisted in the offence after these several admonitions that the excommunication was pronounced, which was called *Nidui* (נדוי), and *Shammtha* (שמתא). If the offender was present, the judge stepped forward, rent his garments, and said, "A., thou art punished with excommunication." During the period of this penalty, which at first was only for a week or month, thus allowing time for repentance, the sufferer had to tear his garments, wear mourning, sit on the ground, and be excluded from free intercourse with his friends.

t was only on very exceptional occasions that he nature of the guilt was publicly proclaimed, nd that a horn was blown to announce it. If he offender was absent, the judge declared, "A. as the penalty of excommunication inflicted upon im," and the sentence was then conveyed to him y an official. If the offender died during the eriod of his excommunication without repent- nce and submission, the tribunal ordered a stone o be put on his coffin "to indicate that he who s excommunicated and dies in his excommuni- ation is stoned in his coffin" (*Mishna Eduyoth*, 5, 6). In the case of R. Eliezer, his own favoured disciple, R. Akiba, conveyed to him the sentence of excommunication, and the mournful narrative which records the event gives a vivid picture of the religious life and practices in the time of Christ. "Everything which R. Eliezer declared clean was collected and burnt with fire, then the majority of the members of the Sanhedrin was counted against him, and he was sentenced to excommunication. Whereupon the question was asked, 'Who will go and announce it to him?' R. Akiba answered, 'I will go, lest some inferior person should go and announce it, and thereby cause irreparable damage to the world.' R. Akiba then dressed in mourning, and wrapped himself up in black, and sat down on the ground before him at a distance of four cubits. R. Eliezer exclaimed, 'Akiba, why differeth this day from all other days?' He replied, 'Rabbi, it seemeth to me that thy colleagues have separated from thee.' He too, then, tore his garments, took off his shoes, left his stool and sat down on the ground, tears rolling down from his eyes" (*Baba Metzia*, 59 *b*). Never was so bitter a message conveyed in a more tender manner.

Thus excommunicated, R. Eliezer left Yamnia, and removed to Lydda and Caesarea, where he established schools, and had numerous disciples. The sympathy which the people felt with this distinguished scholar is seen in the public apology which the president of the Sanhedrin was obliged to make for his rigorous measure. When R. Akiba conveyed the sentence of excommunication to R. Eliezer, we are told R. Gamaliel was at sea. "A fearful storm arose against him, threatening to swallow him up. He exclaimed, 'It seemeth to me that this cometh upon me because of R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanos.' He then stood up and said, 'Lord of the Universe, it is revealed and known to Thee that I have not done it to exalt myself, or to exalt my father's house, but to exalt Thee, lest schism should take place in Israel.' Whereupon the sea became calm." (*Baba Metzia*, 59 *b*.) Though the storm of public opinion against the president of the Sanhedrin was thus allayed, the kindly feelings towards the learned Rabbi, discharged from his membership of the national assembly, increased in intensity. His schools, both at Lydda and Caesarea, were much frequented, and his teachings greatly influenced and moulded Jewish doctrines and practice in Palestine during the Apostolic age. His frequent intercourse with the disciples of Christ, and with the first preachers of the Gospel, tended to preserve feelings of amity between those of his brethren who believed, and those who did not believe, that Jesus was the Christ, thus affording a peaceable platform for discussion of the claims to the Messiahship of Him who was sentenced to death by some of the same members of the Sanhedrin which afterwards excommunicated R. Eliezer. As it is of the utmost interest and importance to the student of ecclesiastical history and theology to know what doctrines were propounded by eminent expounders of the law, and what were the phases of faith which competed with the teachings of the Apostles in the infancy of Christianity on its native soil, we subjoin a brief summary of the sayings and doings of this excommunicated member of the Sanhedrin.

The cardinal doctrines which R. Eliezer urged on his disciples were absolute faith in the goodness, justice, and mercy of God as our heavenly Father, and a corresponding filial confidence in Him, which should manifest itself in loving Him above all things, in walking before Him in holiness and righteousness, in scrupulously obeying His commandments, and in living a life of union with Him from whom all our blessings flow, and from whom no evil can proceed, who punishes the evil-doer, but shews mercy to the penitent. On the passage "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy wealth" (Deut. vi. 5), he remarks, "Why this treble expression of heart, soul, and wealth?" It is to teach thee that there are some who love life more than mammon, and that there are others who love mammon more than life. Now, the love of God is to be above both life and wealth" (*Pessachim*, 25 *a*). Man should pray for his daily bread. To be anxious for the future betrays a want of confidence in the goodness of God, and is evidence of little faith. "He who hath still bread in his basket and saith what shall I eat to-morrow, belongeth to those of little faith" (*Sota*, 48 *b*). This is a striking illustration of Matt. vi. 30–34. Next to the love of God he laid the greatest stress on the reverence and obedience due to parents. He was once asked, "To what extent is the honouring of parents to go?" To which he replied, "Go and learn it from a heathen who resided at Ashkelon, and whose name was Dama b. Nethina, what he did. The sages came to him to buy precious stones for the ephod for a very large sum, but the key of the box containing them was under the pillow of his father, who was asleep. The son refused to wake his father, though he thereby lost the sale of the costly gems" (*Babylon Kiddushin*, 31 *b*, with *Jerusalem Pea*, i. 1). Equally exalting were the lessons which he inculcated about the sacred jealousy with which the honour of our fellow-creatures is to be guarded. "Let the honour of thy fellow-man be as precious to thee as thine own, and be not easily provoked" (*Aboth*, ii. 10). In opposition to the celibate practices which obtained among the Essenes, and which began to find favour among the Jews generally immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, he laid it down that "he who abstains from marriage and propagating the race is like one who commits murder" (*Yebamoth*, 63 *b*). The exalted idea which he inculcated into the minds of his disciples about the sanctity of marriage, and his denunciation of being influenced by wealth or rank in contracting this sacred tie for their children to the disregard of the disparity of the respective ages, may be gathered from his remark on Levit. xix. 29: "Do not prostitute thy daughter, to cause her to be a whore," he declares; "this refers to one who causes his young daughter to be married to an old man".

(*Sanhedrin*, 76 *a*). He moreover urged that girls should be well educated and be instructed in the divine law (*Sota*, 20). Considering the general condition of women in the East and the opinion which some of the doctors of the law shared in common with other nations of antiquity on this subject, it will be seen how far R. Eliezer's teaching was in advance of the age, and how it harmonizes with the teaching of the gospel. Again he maintained that Gen. ix. 5 denotes, "Your blood I will require from your persons," deducing from it that the Mosaic law forbids suicide (*Baba Kama*, 91 *b*), which contradicts the statement of Josephus, that it positively enjoins it under certain circumstances (*War*, III. viii. 9; VII. viii. 7; with I. xiii. 10). He deprecated the practice of offering up fixed, formal, and lengthy prayers, declaring that "he who offers up his prayer as something fixed, his prayer is not with devotion," and he has bequeathed the model of a collect for travellers, which for terseness, earnestness, beauty, and brevity would do honour to any liturgy. "Let Thy will be done in heaven above, and grant a contented mind to those who worship Thee here below, and do Thou what is pleasing in Thine eyes. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer" (*Berachoth*, 29 *b*). To him, moreover, biblical students are partly indebted for Aquila's Greek version of the Old Testament, for we are distinctly told that "Aquila the proselyte made the translation under the auspices of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, and they praised him for it" (*Jerusalem Megilla*, i. 9). Prompted probably by a discussion on Christ's conduct in acquitting the woman taken in adultery, thus apparently setting aside one of the laws of Moses on adultery, R. Eliezer wanted to know if Christ also interpreted another law on the same subject with equal leniency. He relates the story as follows. "Once upon a time I was walking in the upper street of Zipporith when I met one of the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, whose name was James, of Kepher-Sachnia. He said to me, 'It is written in your law thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore into the house of the Lord thy God' (Deut. xxiii. 18). May a water-closet be made with it for the high-priest? This question I could not answer. Whereupon he said to me, 'Jesus of Nazareth taught me thus on the subject. It is written she gathered it of the hire of an harlot, and it shall return to the hire of an harlot (Micah i. 7); that is, it came from an impure source, and it may be applied to an impure use.' When I heard this explanation, I was pleased with it." (*Aboda Zara*, 17 *a*.) This James is also mentioned as having offered to cure a nephew of R. Ishmael of the bite of a serpent, but the rabbi, not being so liberal as R. Eliezer, declined his services (*Aboda Zara*, 27 *b*).

Having himself profited so much from liberal intercourse with heathen philosophers, with Jewish Christians, and with those who held the different phases of faith which agitated the minds of people at the advent of Christ and immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, and knowing moreover the benefit to be derived from personal contact with the learned at a time when books were of the extremest rarity and of forbidding price, R. Eliezer laid down the maxim, "He who has read the Bible and studied the Mishna, but has not cultivated personal intercourse with the sages and the doctors of the law, is an *Am Ha-Aretz* = ignoramus." But with all his appreciation of their society, he almost fathomed the depth of theological rancour, and no modern satirist could more witheringly chastise this undivine spirit of divines than R. Eliezer did in his earnest advice to his disciples. "Warm thyself at the fire of the sages, but beware lest thou come too near their glowing coals and burn thyself, for their bite is the bite of a jackal, their sting is the sting of a scorpion, their hissing is the hissing of a venomous serpent, and all their words are like burning coals" (*Aboth*, ii. 10). Towards God he admonished that we should cultivate a spirit of increasing devotion. The cry "repent" which was raised by John the Baptist, was urged by him with the earnestness of voice of a dying man to his dying fellow-creatures. "Repent one day before thy death" (*Aboth*, ii. 10) was his watchword. But as it is impossible to say on which day we may die, we are to repent daily. This he not only preached, but practised. At Caesarea, which was the last scene of his active life, he felt that he was called to his everlasting home. In the presence of his former colleague and friend, but now his great opponent, the learned R. Joshua b. Chanina, he put the phylacteries on his arm and head to meet his Creator. Arrayed in these symbols of prayer, which had the name of the Lord inscribed on them, and in this attitude, he gave up his spirit to the Father of all spirits about A.D. 118–120. R. Joshua embraced the lifeless body, took off the phylacteries and cried, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel," in allusion to 2 Kings ii. 12. He annulled the sentence of excommunication, and the body was removed with great obsequies to Lydda. Here, where he first established a school, and where he delivered public lectures on a stone in an old racecourse, R. Akiba, who conveyed to him the sentence of excommunication, delivered a most solemn funeral oration. R. Joshua kissed the stone on which he used to lecture, exclaiming "This is Mount Sinai, and the man who sat on it was like the ark of the Lord," and the whole nation said, "With the death of R. Eliezer the book of wisdom is buried" (*Babylon Sanhedrin*, 68; *Jerusalem Sabbath*, ii. 7).

As he is often quoted in the Mishna and in the Talmud by the simple abbreviation ר"א = ר' אליעזר *R. Eliezer*, and as there was a *R. Elezer* of a later period, who is likewise quoted by the initial ר' אלעזר = ר"א *R. Elezer*, the two have often been confounded. To guard against this confusion, it is to be remarked that when the name occurs in full, that is, when *R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanos* is meant, it is spelt ר' אליעזר with Yod, and when *R. Elezer b. Shamma* is meant it is spelt ר' אלעזר *without* Yod. If the abbreviation ר"א is used, which is the same for both, it is to be distinguished by the association of other names. When the names of R. Joshua, R. Gamaliel, and R. Akiba are associated with ר"א, R. Eliezer is meant, and when it occurs in connexion with R. Meier or R. Jehudah, R. Elezer is intended (comp. Franke., *Darks-Ha-Mishna*, 73–83; Leipzig, 1859; Hamburger,

Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud, p. 162, &c.) [C. D. G.]

ELIFANTUS (Elefantus, Alefantus), thirty-third archbishop of Arles, between Ratbertus, or, according to Le Cointe, Arladis, and Johannes II., was one of the subscribers at a synod held in the church of St. Just, at Narbonne, in the year 788. At the council of Frankfort, in 794, a long standing difference between the sees of Arles and Vienne, concerning the limits of their metropolitan jurisdiction, which had broken out afresh between Elifantus and Ursio of Vienne, was settled by the eighth canon, giving to the former nine suffragan sees (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* tom. vi. ann. 791, n. xx., 794, n. xlviii.; *Gall. Christ.* i. 545; Labbe, *Sacros. Conc.* ix. 4, 103.) [S. A. B.]

ELIFIUS, martyr. [Eliphius.]

ELIGIUS, bishop of Noyon (640–648), saint. The only authority is the *Vita S. Eligii, Novio mensis Episcopi, auctore Dadone sive Audoeno, Episc. Rotom.* The extant biography is really a later work, modelled perhaps upon the original of St. Ouen. It is printed in the 2nd vol. of D'Achéry's *Spicilegium*, and extracts from it in Bouquet, vol. iii. pp. 552–561. A French translation, with notes, etc., has been published by M. Charles Barthélemy, being the first part of his *Études Historiques*, etc. *sur le viie Siècle*, Paris, 1847.

Eligius was a native of Aquitaine, born near Limoges. A skilled worker in gold, he emigrated to the Northern Frankish land, where, by his construction of a chair of state, he won a place at the court of Clotaire II. He was equally in favour with Dagobert I., Clotaire's son. He continued to work at his art, but acquired at the same time great fame for piety and humility. His generosity was exhibited in the ransoming of slaves; when a band of captives arrived, "of Romans, Gauls, and Britons, nay of Moors and above all of Saxons," he would buy the freedom of them all. He is described by the biographer as tall, of high colour, bearded, with finely-shaped hands, and of graceful figure. Whilst still a layman he founded and built the monastery of Solemniac, near Limoges, besides numerous churches. In 640 he was ordained a priest and consecrated bishop of Noyon. His diocese comprised all the semi-heathen lands to the north, principally inhabited by the Frisians; to their conversion and to the permanent establishment of Christianity by the foundation of churches and monasteries he devoted himself unremittingly. In 658 Eligius died, but was not buried until a contention had arisen over his body at Noyon. Both in life and after death, according to the biographer, he was a great miracle-worker, and largely endowed with the gift of prophecy. The sermon in the *Vita* (ii. 15) is really taken from the works of Caesarius of Arles. The festival of Eligius is on the 1st of December. The *Officium S. Eligii* is given by Barthélemy, pp. 464 sqq. For much legendary matter connected with Eligius, see *Annales de l'Eglise Cathédrale de Noyon*, par Jacques le Vasseur, Paris, 1633. Compare also for his place in the conversion of the Frisians, Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. p. 508. [T. R. B.]

ELILEUS. Given by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 26, p. 91) as the name of one of the seven ruling spirits in one of the Gnostic systems. This name does not occur in the corresponding lists (Irenaeus, i. 30; Origen, *adv. Cels.* vi. 31), but it may be compared with the name Eleleth (Irenaeus, i. 29). [G. S.]

ELIMAS, martyr. [Elymas.]

ELINANDUS I. (Ebrelindus, Ebretingus), fourth bishop of Laon, between Gondulphus and Robertus I. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 510.) [S. A. B.]

ELINED (Aelivedha, Aled, Almedha, Elevetha, Eluned, Luned, Lunette) is given in the *Pedigrees of Welsh Saints* as "daughter of Brychan in Crug Gorawal," but she is more likely to have been a grand-daughter. Her festival is on August 1. The chief authority on her life is Giraldus Cambrensis, who (*Itin. Cambr.* i. c. 2) mentions the site of her chapel on the top of a hill, called Penginger, near the town of Brecon or Brecknock (Aberhotheni), where, "rejecting the proposals of marriage of an earthly prince and espousing herself to the Eternal King, she triumphed in happy martyrdom." This hill is identified with Slwch, where there was a roofless chapel in the end of the 17th century, and the saint locally called Tayled (*i. e.* St. Ayled). The hill may have received the descriptive title of Crug Gorawal or Gorseddawl, the hill of Judicature, a name connected with Elined in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*. In the Arthurian legends of the 12th century this maiden has her praises celebrated, and by the Welsh bards she is called Luned, while in the French romances of the same period she is better known as Lunette. By the former name she appears as one of the leading characters in the Mabinogi, *The Lady of the Fountain*, given in Lady Charlotte Guest's collection, and by the latter in that of *Gareth and Lynette*, reproduced by Tennyson. It is most probable also that Elined is the same as the patient and faithful Enid, daughter of Earl Ynywl, whose beauty and noble bearing the Romancists seem never tired of extolling, as in the Mabinogi, *Geraint ab Erbin*, in the same Collection of Mabinogion. "Enid, Yniol's only daughter," is one of the sweetest characters of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. In the *Mort d'Arthur* (b. vii. c. 36) Lynet is sister of dame (or lady) Lyones, and King Arthur makes Sir Gaherys "to wedde the damoysel saueage that was dame Lynet," probably named the "damoysel saueage" from the properties and effects ascribed to her magical ring, which was one of the thirteen varieties of the royal jewels of Great Britain. (Girald. Camb. *Itin. Kamb.* vi. 32; *Myv. Arch.* ii. 41; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 149–50, 318, 325; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 600; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 13, 143; Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, July 6, pt. i. 148, and Aug. 1, pp. 6–8; Bolland. *Acta SS.* Aug. 1, tom. i. 70; Lady Ch. Guest, *Mabinogion*, i. 113–14, ii. 164.) [J. G.]

St. Elined is the Aelivedha of Giraldus Cambrensis (*Itin. Kambriae*, 1, c. 2, p. 32). St. Almedha's day is August 1 (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 149). See *Acta Sanctorum*, August 1, vol. i. p. 70, where she is assigned to the 6th century. Perhaps the name of Elyw, who has given name to Llanelieu, Brecknockshire, and Llanelly, in the same county, where her wake is held on the

Sunday next before August 1, O. S., is only an abbreviation of Elined (Rees, 156). [C. W. B.]

ELINGAUDUS, officer of Charlemagne. [HELMGAUDUS.]

ELIPANDUS, archbishop of Toledo and primus of Spain under Mahometan rule, in the later part of the 8th century, is generally regarded as the father of *Adoptionism*, a Nestorianizing heresy which taught a double sonship of Christ, corresponding to his two natures, one by nature and one by *adoption* (hence the name of this heresy). He was already eighty years old when he broached his view. For this reason, and for his inferior learning, Neander (*Church History*, vol. iii. p. 317, Germ. ed.) ascribes the authorship of this theory to the younger and abler Felix of Urgel. But Elipandus had previously a controversy with the Spanish bishop Megetius on the Trinity which probably contained the germ and occasion of Adoptionism (comp. Baur, *History of the Doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation*, vol. ii. p. 131). Elipandus appears in his actions and few writings as a violent, ill-tempered, intolerant and overbearing prelate. He was repeatedly condemned, but remained true to his opinion, and escaped deposition, not being subject to a Christian government. On his history and doctrine, see art. ADOPTIONISTS, where also the literature is given. [P. S.]

ELIPHIUS (ELIFIUS), martyr at Toul, on the Moselle, in the West of France, is said by Cratepolius to have been the son of Fincormac, a king of Scotia (Ireland), and to have suffered martyrdom at or near Toul, along with his brother Eucharius and his sisters Libaria and Susanna, in the Christian persecution by Julian the Apostate. There is scarcely a doubt to be entertained as to his Irish paternity being an error; the other details of his life and death may be generally accepted as true, though we have no exact agreement as to his place of birth, the probability being that he was a Gaul of the neighbourhood of the Toul. Ussher places his death in the year 362, and his memory is kept on Oct. 16. Ussher also gives a catena of continental authorities on his life, and Surius (*Vit. Sanctorum*, vol. iv. Oct. 16) prints Abbot Rupert's *Vita Eliphii* (Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 16, wks. vi. 336–39; Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.* i. A.D. 362, § 256; Camerarius, *de Scot. Forb.* 199; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 6 sq.; Tanner, *Bibl.* 258). Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 247) of course regards him as a Scotchman, and calls him the author of *Exhortatio ad Martyres*, lib. i. [J. G.]

ELISAEUS (1) (ELISHA, surnamed VARTABED, *i.e.* Doctor, Magister, Rabbi), bishop of the Amadunians, an Armenian writer of the 5th century. Sprung from noble blood, he was early instructed by Isaac or Sahag, patriarch of Armenia, as well as by Mesrob, the author of the Armenian alphabet, cir. 406, and these eminent men, by sending their pupils, Elisaeus among them, to complete their studies at the most famous schools of Greece, became the founders of Armenian literature. Elisaeus was appointed secretary to the Armenian general Vartan, to whom he was related, and either at the same time or, as is more probable, afterwards became bishop of the canton of Arakadsoden, near mount Ararat, the people of which were named Amadunians, after the princely house that ruled the district. Elisaeus as bishop of the Amadunians was one of the eighteen fathers of the Armenian church who assembled in synod at Ardashad, the capital, in 450, and in reply to the persecuting edict of Isdegerde king of Persia (to whom Armenia was then subject), signed a truly noble manifesto of the Christian faith and their resolution of adhering to it. An insurrection, headed by Vartan, followed. Vartan perished, and Elisaeus was compelled to fly. In his exile the bishop composed the work on which his literary fame rests, *The History of Vartan and the Battle of the Armenians*. About A.D. 480 he was in Persia, where he had some relations with the Nestorian Barsumas, to whom he presented another work (now unknown) which he had then written, a *History of the Armenians*. In his old age he lived a retired life in the canton of Ershedunik (also written Erheschdouni and Reschdouni) on the southern shore of the lake Van.

The *History of Vartan* was first printed in 1764 at Constantinople. In 1830 an English translation by professor C. F. Neumann of Munich was brought out by the Oriental Translation Fund (Murray). In 1840 Giuseppe Cappelletti published an Italian version under the title *Eliseo, storico Armeno* (Venice), and in 1844 a French translation by G. K. Garabed came out, entitled, *Soulèvement National de l'Arménie Chrétienne* (Paris). To the valuable preface of Neumann and notes of Garabed this article has been chiefly indebted. The *History of Vartan* is not the only work of Elisaeus in existence. There is appended to it and included in the translation a panegyric on the monastic life, containing many interesting historical notices. Professor Neumann mentions other works, unprinted according to his belief, namely, exegetical illustrations of Joshua, Judges, the fourth book of Kings, and the Lord's Prayer, besides numerous sermons. [T. W. D.]

ELISAEUS (2), bishop of Arezzo, 713. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xviii. 73; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 410.) [A. H. D. A.]

ELISAEUS (3), bishop of Bologna, c. 716. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, iii. 471; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 11.) [A. H. D. A.]

ELISAEUS (4), thirtieth bishop of Noyon, following St. Eunutius and preceding Adalfredus, is only known as one of the recipients of a letter of pope Zacharias addressed to Boniface and various other Gallic and German bishops, which may be found in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 948. (Baron. an. 748. xiii., *Gall. Christ.* ix. 986.) Le Cointe (*Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 748, n. lxix. vol. vi. p. 199) says he was made bishop of Tournai and Noyon in A.D. 747. [S. A. B.]

ELISAEUS (5), forty-third bishop of Auch, or Aux, succeeding Galinus and followed by Joannes, about the close of the 8th century. Nothing is known of him but the name, and even that is not found in the list of Gams, the place being filled by Mainfroi (Manfredus). (*Gall. Christ.* i. 977; Gams, *Series Episc.* 497.) [S. A. B.]

ELISENIUS, a Cretian, is placed by Spotswood (*Hist. Ch. Scot.* p. 5, A.D. 370) among the companions of St. Regulus, but the name is probably a mistake for CRISENIUS. [J. G.]

ELISSAEUS (1), bishop of Diocletianopolis, in Palaestina Prima, one of the forty-three bishops who signed the semi-Arian formula at Seleucia, in A.D. 359. Adrian Reland has been cited without reason for an opinion that this bishop was called also Epictetus. (Epiphan. *Haeres.* lxxiii. No. 26, p. 874; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 645; Reland, *Palest. Illust.* ii. 736.) [E. V.]

ELISSAEUS (2), a priest, who, by the eighth act of the council of Seville, A.D. 619, was condemned to slavery as a punishment for his ingratitude, because, having been made free by the kindness of his bishop, he had broken the canons and discipline of the church, and had entered into plots against his bishop. (Mansi, x. 559; Ceillier, xi. 915.) [L. D.]

ELITHIR (AILITHER, AILITIR, ALITHERIUS, ALITHERUS, ELITIR, EULITHERIUS). There are three of this name in the Irish kalendars, and though the word signifies a pilgrim, yet it seems at an early period to have become a proper name. Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col.* i. c. 3) and O'Donell (*Vit. S. Col.* iii. c. 17) mention that when St. Columba was founding Durrow, he paid a visit to the brethren in the monastery of Clonmacnoise, where Alitherus, Alitherius, or Eulitherius was then abbat. This was the fourth abbat; he died A.D. 599 (*Ann. Tig.*), and belonged to Muskerry in Munster (Reeves, *Adamnan*, 24 n.; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, Jan. 7, i. 100). Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 373 n. [28], 434 n. [10]) says he is the Alitherus or Elithir of May 12, but on that day *Mart. Doneg.* (by Todd and Reeves, 125) has "Elitir, of Muic-inis, in Loch Derg-derc," and *Mart. Tallaght* "Ailitir Muccinsi;" Muic-inis is now Muckinish in Lough Derg, on the Shannon. Elithir of Cluaingeisi is commemorated in the kalendars on April 25, but without farther notes for identification or place in history. And at Dec. 23 there is the commemoration of the Twelve Pilgrims of Inis Uachtair ("Da Ailitir dec Innse uachtair," *Mart. Tallaght*), now Upper Island, in Lough Sheeling. [J. G.]

ELIUD, a Welsh saint. [TEILO.]

ELIZABETH Thaumaturga, or the wonder-worker, commonly called of Constantinople. A short account of her is given in the menology of the emperor Basilius Porphyrogenitus, who lived in the 10th century. She appears to have flourished long before; no date is given and few details, except the usual general tributes to piety. The principal characteristic related of her is that during the whole course of her life she never once washed her body with water. For three whole years also she never looked at the sky, in order to fix her mind more uninterruptedly on the invisible heaven. (Basil. *Menolog.* iii. 70, April 24, Patrol. Graec. cxvii. 421; Molanus, ap. Usuard. *Auct.* Ap. 24, Patrol. Lat. cxxiii. 970.) [W. M. S.]

ELKESAI, ELKESAITES (Ἠλχασαί, Hippolytus; Ἠλξαί, Ἐλκεσσαῖοι, Epiphanius; Ἐλκεσαιταί, Origen). A book bearing the name of *Elkesai*, and purporting to contain angelic revelations, was, at the end of the 2nd century, in high repute among certain Ebionite sectaries, who were most numerous in the district east of the lower Jordan and of the Dead Sea. This book first became known to orthodox writers in the 3rd century, and we have accounts of it from three independent primary sources, Hippolytus, Origen, and Epiphanius. Hippolytus (*Ref.* ix. 12, p. 292) states that this book, several extracts from which he gives, was brought to Rome by a certain Alcibiades, a native of Apameia in Syria, and indicates that the time was either during or immediately after the episcopate of Callistus, *i. e.* about A.D. 222. The great controversy which was agitating the church of Rome at the time was the question whether, and with what limitations, forgiveness might be bestowed on grievous sin committed after baptism, a dispute in which Hippolytus took the side of rigour and Callistus of leniency. This book of Elkesai announced a new method of forgiveness of sin, asserted to have been revealed in the third year of Trajan, by which any person, no matter of what sins he might have been guilty (some of the very grossest are expressly mentioned), might obtain forgiveness by submitting to a new baptism with the use of a certain formula of which we shall speak presently. The use of a similar baptism was prescribed as a remedy to be used by a person bitten by a mad dog or by a serpent or otherwise afflicted with disease. Hippolytus takes credit to himself for the resistance which he made to the teaching of Alcibiades, and blames Callistus for having, by the laxity of his doctrine and practice concerning church discipline, predisposed men's minds for the easy methods of forgiveness of sins expounded in this book. Origen, in a fragment of a homily on the 82nd Psalm, preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 38) and assigned by Redepenning to the year 247, speaks of the teaching of the Helcesaites, some specimens of which he gives, as having then but lately troubled the churches. Epiphanius, though a later witness, professes to speak from personal acquaintance with the book, and this is confirmed by his coincidence in a number of details with the other authorities. His notices are distributed between his accounts of the Jewish sect which he calls Ossenes (*Haer.* 19), of the Ebionites (*Haer.* 30), and of the Sampsaeans (*Haer.* 53). Under these names the same people seem to be described, those who honoured the book of Elkesai (whom it probably was never accurate to speak of as constituting a distinct sect of Elkesaites) being found among those Ebionites who owed their origin to the acceptance of Christianity by Jewish Essenes. But we may infer that the book had some extent of circulation in the time of Epiphanius, being held in honour among different Jewish sectaries whom he counted as distinct. We may count the Pseudo-Clementine writings as a fourth source of information concerning the book of Elkesai; for although these writings do not mention that name, and although the question of relative priority is not absolutely settled, yet we have already (see vol. i. p. 575) enumerated coincidences between these books sufficient to authorise us in looking on them as works of the same school, and in using the one to throw light on what we are told about the other.

Hippolytus states that the book of Elkesai,

according to its own account, had been obtained from Seres,[a] in Parthia, by a righteous man named Elkesai, who had delivered it to a person called Sobiai; that its contents had been revealed by an angel 96 miles high with other dimensions, which are exactly given, in proportion,[b] who had been accompanied by a female of corresponding size; that the male was Son of God, and the female was called Holy Spirit. Epiphanius, quoting more fully, explains that these beings had been seen between two mountains by comparison with which their dimensions had been ascertained. Epiphanius also speaks of Elkesai as a false prophet, mentions his brother Iexai and two women of his family, Marthus and Marthana,[c] who had survived to his own time and were treated with superstitious honour by the members of their sect. Ritschl and others have thought that Hippolytus was misled by his ignorance of Aramaic into taking Elkesai and Sobiai as the names of persons. Different explanations of the former name have been given (see Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 100), but the most probable is that which we learn from Epiphanius (*Haer.* 19, p. 41) was current among these sectaries themselves, viz. hidden power, חֵיל כְּסֵי; and Gieseler notes the occurrence of the phrase *δύναμις ἄσαρκος* in the Clementine *Homilies*, xvii. 16. It is argued that Elkesai must be the name of the book, or of the angel, and not of a man who is not represented either as the original recipient or the writer of the revelation. The name Iexai is in like manner explained "hidden Lord," יְהֹ כְּסֵי, though Hilgenfeld prefers to connect this word with Ἰεσσαῖοι (Epiph. *Haer.* 29. 1, 4, 5) which seems to be one of the forms of the name Essene. So again Sobiai has with much plausibility been interpreted by Ritschl as the "sworn persons," שֹׁבֵעַ, it being one of the rules of the sect that this book should be communicated to no one except on a pledge of secrecy. But it is a formidable objection to this interpretation that the members of this sect counted swearing unlawful; for so we are told in the preface to the Clementine Homilies, a work of the same school, and the protestation of secrecy there given is expressly said not to be an oath. We conclude then that the book derives its name from a man named Elkesai whom it represented as taking the leading part in the communication of the new revelation; but we believe this to have been an imaginary personage, and reject the account of Epiphanius who assigns to him a certain part in the history of the Ebionite sects.

In giving an account of the doctrine of the book it will be convenient, first, to state the points in which it agrees with the doctrine of the Clementine writings, and afterwards those in which it goes beyond them. The book is evidently of Jewish origin. Jerusalem is made the centre of the world's devotion, and it is prescribed that the right rule of prayer is to turn not necessarily to the East, but towards Jerusalem in whatever quarter of the world the suppliant may be. It has been already noted that the names of the book are formed from Hebrew roots, and a further mark of Aramaic origin is the representation of the Holy Spirit as a female. The influence of the use of a noun of feminine form to denote the Holy Spirit shews itself also in some of the Gnostic theories as well as in the well-known passage from the Hebrew Gospel, Ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα (Origen in Joann. tom. ii. 6, Opp. iv. 63). Epiphanius also quotes from the book of Elkesai a Hebrew form which the Greek and Roman converts were instructed to use without trying to understand it. Epiphanius gives an unsatisfactory interpretation of this formula on which others have attempted to improve (see Basnage, *Annal.* ann. 104, pp. 12, 13); but the right key seems to have been found in a highly ingenious solution given by Stern and Levy (see Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test. extra Can. Rec.* iii. 165). The book ordained compliance with the other ordinances of the Jewish law, but condemned the rite of sacrifice, and this condemnation involved the rejection of certain parts of the Old Testament, and was coupled with aversion to the eating of flesh (see vol. i. p. 575). The superiority of the method of forgiveness of sins by the washing of water over that by the fire of sacrifice is based on the superiority of the element of water to fire (Hipp. ix. 14; Epiph. *Haer.* 19, p. 42; Clem. *Rec.* i. 48; *Hom.* xi. 26). It is taught that Christ is but a created being, and, as has been already said, He is in the introduction spoken of as an angel; but He is the greatest of creatures, being Lord over angels as well as over every other created thing. The name Great King is applied to him (Epiph. *Haer.* 19, p. 41; Hipp. ix. 15; *Hom.* viii. 21). The formula of baptism runs in the name of the Most High God and of His Son, the Great King; but this Great King is not exclusively identical with Jesus of Nazareth, for it is taught that He appeared in the world in successive incarnations, Adam being the first. The book of Elkesai agreed with the Clementines in complete rejection of the apostle Paul. It is said to have been hostile to virginity, and to have compelled men to marry (Epiph. *Haer.* 19), and this agrees with the inculcation of marriage upon all (*Hom.* iii. 68; *Epistle of Clement*, ch. 7). The book contained some astrological doctrine recommending the abstinence from certain works on days under the influence of evil stars (Hipp. ix. 16, p. 296). Compare *Hom.* xix. 22, where the origin of the diseases of the human race is ascribed to the non-observance of proper times for cohabitation. The book taught that it was lawful to deny the faith in time of persecution (Eus. vi. 38; Epiph. 19), thus annihilating at once the class of offences as to the forgiveness of which there was most controversy at the time; and so the Recognitions (i. 65) describe Gamaliel

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[a] ἀπὸ Σηρῶν τῆς Παρθίας. Concerning the Seres, compare Clem. *Recog.* viii. 46, ix. 19, whence it appears that the Seres were supposed to be a race noted for the natural practice of the virtues on which the Elkesaites laid most stress. Ptolemy always uses for the name of their chief town the singular form Sera.

[b] In the Clementine *Homilies*, viii. 15, it is taught that the giants of Gen. vi., being of mixed parentage, were as much inferior in size to the angels to which they belonged on the father's side as they were superior to the human race to which they belonged on the mother's.

[c] Uhlhorn conjectures that the first syllable of these names may be but the Syriac title of honour Mar, and that Epiphanius by a mistake has converted two bishops into two sisters.

as really a Christian, but, by the apostle's advice, concealing his profession; and, similarly (x. 55), represent Christians by a like dissimulation companying with Simon Magus and acting as spies upon him.

Prefixed to the Homilies is a protestation of secrecy to be taken by all to whom the book should be communicated. This does not take the form of an oath to God, but of an appeal to witnesses, viz. heaven, earth, water in which all things are contained, and air which pervades all things and without which we cannot breathe. It is stated that this appeal was similar to that made at the time of their regeneration when they promised to sin no more. After making this protestation the candidate was to partake of bread and salt with him who administered it. We read constantly in the Homilies of this partaking of bread and salt[d] (iv. 6, xiii. 8, xiv. 1, 8, xix. 25), and among those Ebionites who do not seem to have used wine, this rite takes the place of the Eucharist of the church. We have here marks of very close affinity with the book of Elkesai. The formula of baptism already spoken of contains a solemn promise to sin no more, made before the seven witnesses who are enumerated as heaven, earth, water, oil, salt, the holy spirits, and the angels of prayer. Epiphanius tells us that the witnesses are elsewhere in the book enumerated as salt, water, earth, bread, heaven, aether, and wind. The interchange of the aether and wind for the spirits and angels has its explanation perhaps in a theory that these regions were the abode of the spirits in question. The mention of oil among the seven witnesses is illustrated by the unction used in this sect as a necessary preliminary to baptism (Rec. iii. 67; see also the discussion on anointing Rec. i. 46–48). At all events it seems plain that the protestation in the Clementines, referring as it does to the witnesses appealed to in the baptismal formula, harmonizes completely with the account of the baptismal formula given by Hippolytus.

To speak now of the differences between the Clementines and the book of Elkesai; Hippolytus states, p. 293, that the book taught the necessity of circumcision, and if this be correct it went beyond the teaching of the Clementines. In the addresses to the heathen therein contained they are never told that they must be circumcised; yet it is to be noted that a statement of the non-necessity of circumcision found in the Recognitions (v. 34) disappears from the corresponding passage of the Homilies (xi. 16), and in the preface to the Homilies, which is more strongly marked with Elkesaite features than the work itself, it is ordered that those Homilies should be communicated only to a circumcised believer—a phrase rather suggesting the inference that the circumcised were regarded as a higher class of believers than that all were circumcised. With regard to baptism the Clementines are silent with respect to all that is most peculiar in the doctrine of Elkesai. The heathen addressed by Peter are exhorted to a single baptism in the account of which no mention is made of the appeal to the witnesses. This baptism is represented as the divinely appointed means for forgiveness of sins and new birth unto righteousness through the power of the Holy Spirit which since the creation of the world works through the water (Rec. vi. 8, 9; *Hom.* xi. 26). Peter is represented as practising a daily religious washing; but this is never spoken of as a special means for obtaining a new forgiveness of sins. On the other hand, it is to be owned that the Recognitions state a principle from which the repetition of baptism might logically follow. They do not, as Christian theologians have generally done, make baptism correspond to circumcision, a view from which they were probably precluded by the fact that in their community both rites were simultaneously observed: but they make baptism take the place, as a means of forgiveness of sin, which sacrifice had occupied under the old dispensation (Rec. i. 39). Hence it was possible to draw the inference that baptism should be used as frequently as sacrifices had been as an atonement for constantly recurring sin.

The differences here noted bear on the question of relative priority between the Clementines and the book of Elkesai. Ritschl had counted the latter as the later. Uhlhorn in opposition pointed out that the differences just mentioned exhibit the Jewish and heathen elements in greater and the Christian element in less prominence in the book of Elkesai than in the Clementines, and that the latter are therefore to be regarded as the product of a time when the Essene doctrine of the former had been modified by Christian influences. It may be added that the violent hostility to the rite of sacrifice which appears both in the Homilies and in Elkesai is likely to date from a time antecedent to the destruction of Jerusalem, and is hardly intelligible if supposed to originate in times when sacrifice was only a rite practised by heathen. Uhlhorn's arguments then are conclusive in proving that the doctrine of the book of Elkesai is considerably older than the time when it became known to the orthodox, but the question still remains open, what was the date of the embodiment of the doctrine in this particular book?—a point which our information is too scanty to determine. There would be no question as to the date of the book if we could accept its own account, that the revelation in which it originated was made in the 3rd year of Trajan; but though many have attributed to this statement some historic value, it deserves absolutely to go for nothing. If we refuse to believe on the author's word that the two gigantic angels ever appeared, why should we accept the date that he assigns to the occurrence? We have noted, however, already (i. 575) that the work which was the common groundwork of the Recognitions and Homilies asserts that a new Gospel was published (the Homilies add "secretly") after the destruction of the Holy Place. And it seems on other grounds probable that a number of Essenes, who had always held the Temple sacrifices in abomination, were brought to recognise Jesus as the true Prophet when the destruction of the Temple and the abolition of its sacrifices fulfilled the prediction which he was known to have made. At this time then probably had their origin those Ebionite sects which combined a certain reverence for our Lord's utterances, and an acknowledgment of

[d] In the parallel places in the Recognitions salt is not mentioned; and in the Recognitions generally reserve seems to be practised about many things which are plainly spoken of in the Homilies.

Him as a divine prophet, with the retention of a host of Essene usages and doctrines; and this date would be remembered as an epoch in the history of these sects. It is likely that we are to connect with this the statement of Hegesippus (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 32; iv. 22), that the reign of Trajan was the time when the church, till then a pure virgin, was corrupted by the breaking out of heresies. There seems to be no foundation for the opinion that Hegesippus was himself of Ebionite tendencies, and Jewish heresies are those of which the context would suggest that he was speaking. In sum, then, though it may be the more probable opinion that the book of Elkesai had been, as it professed to be, a considerable time in secret circulation among the Ebionite sects before Alcibiades brought it to Rome, yet it is possible that it may have been then of quite recent manufacture. We have elsewhere given reasons for thinking that the Clementine Homilies are not earlier than the beginning of the 3rd century, and that the corresponding story, that this work had been in mysterious circulation, under a pledge of secrecy, since the days of Peter was only a fiction intended to explain why the book had not been heard of before.

It would seem to be long before the sect of Elkesaites disappeared. En-hedim, an Arabic author who wrote about A.D. 987, quoted by Chwolson (*Die Ssabier*, i. 112, ii. 543), tells of a sect of Sabeans of the Desert who practised frequent religious washings and who counted one El-Chasaiach as their founder.

The primary authorities with respect to Elkesai have been already mentioned. Of recent dissertations on the subject most information will be found in Ritschl, *Zeitschrift für histor. Theol.* 1853, p. 573 sqq., and *Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, p. 234 sqq.; Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test. extra Canonem receptum*, iii. 153, where all the fragments of the book are collected; Uhlhorn, *Homilien und Recognitionen des Clemens Romanus*, p. 392; and Lightfoot's *Dissertation on the Essenes*, 'Epistle to Colossians,' p. 118 sqq.

[G. S.]

ELLA (1) (AELLA, AELLI, ALLA, ELLE, ULLI), king of Deira, and, according to his recorded pedigree, a lineal descendant of Woden. (Nennius, 51; *Sax. Chron.* ann. 588.) The Saxon Chronicle makes him king of Northumbria, but it was only over the southern portion of it that he reigned. The same authority places his accession in A.D. 560, and says that he was king thirty winters. It also states, along with Florence, that Ella died in A.D. 588.

The only interest attaching to Ella's reign arises from the well-known story of the English youths accosted by Gregory in the slave market at Rome, and replying that they were Angles from the province of Deira, and the subjects of king Alla. (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 1; Malms. *G. R.* i. 63–4.) Bede gives the story as one of hearsay only, and in the chronicle of Ethelwerd the incidents are somewhat differently narrated. The young men are not spoken of as slaves; there is no mention of Ella or Deira, and Gregory's play on their names is omitted. Ella left two children, Edwin, who, after a long interval, succeeded him on his throne, and Acha or Acca, a daughter, who was the second wife of Ethelfrid son of Ethelric, who intruded himself into Edwin's heritage. [J. R.]

ELLA (2), bishop of Siguenza (Segontia) circ. A.D. 680–685. His signature appears among those of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth councils of Toledo. [PROTOGENES.] (*Esp. Sagr.* viii. 126; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270, 287, 304.) [M. A. W.]

ELLADIUS, presbyter of the palace. [HELLADIUS.]

ELLBRIGH, abbess of Cluain-Bronaigh (Clonbroney, bar. Granard, co. Longford), died A.D. 785 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 780; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 784). This is said by Archdall (*Mon. Hib.* 346) to have been one of the earliest patrician foundations, and the earliest abbess mentioned is St. Samhthann virgin, who died A.D. 734 (*Four Mast.*). [J. G.]

ELLDEYRN (1), according to the *Achau y Saint*, was son of Gwrtheyrn (Vortigern), and must have flourished towards the end of the 5th century. His name is preserved in Llanelldeyrn or Llaniltern chapel, in the parish of St. Fagan's, Glamorganshire (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 132, 186, 338).

ELLDEYRN (2), chorepiscopus, of Caerleon, prior to the time of St. Dubritius (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 623 n. [2]; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.* 154).

[J. G.]

ELLDYD. [ILLTYD.]

ELLE, king of Deira. [ELLA.]

ELLEBICHUS (1). Gregory Nazianzen addressed his two hundred and twenty-fifth letter to this man, wherein he regrets his inability to visit him through ill-health, and consigns to his care Mamas, a reader, the son of a soldier. Mamas had been enrolled, and Ellebichus is requested to obtain his discharge. (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 225, in Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxvii. 369.)

[L. D.]

ELLEBICHUS (2), a military official (στρατηλάτης) attached to the imperial court, sent with Caesarius by the emperor Theodosius II. to Antioch to seize the guilty parties connected with the throwing down of the statues. Chrysostom delivered his seventeenth homily to the Antiochenes in the presence of these officers. (Chrysost. *Homil.* xvii. in Migne, Patr. Gr. xlix. 171.) [L. D.]

ELLEL, a Jewish patriarch, who lived in the time of Constantine, and was baptized on his death-bed (Epiph. *Haer.* 30, p. 128). [G. S.]

ELLENIUS succeeded St. Cadoc in the abbacy of Llancarvan [CADOC], but Ussher gives too early dates, when he says Ellenius became abbat in A.D. 514, and was succeeded by St. Brendan, of Clonfert, in the year 520. Cadoc probably died about A.D. 570, and St. Brendan about A.D. 577. [BRENDAN (2).] Ellenius is said to have been an excellent disciple of an excellent master, and to have done much in making the college at Llancarvan so famous. Of his own kindred or previous life we know only the tradition that he was "reginae cujusdam transmarinae filius," and one of the principal disciples of St. Cadoc. But the Welsh authorities (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 354, 383, 395) trace an entirely different order of succession, and make Cyngen immediately

follow St. Cadoc as abbat. [ELLI.] (Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* cc. 13, 14, wks. v. 538, vi. 50; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 423; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 9, § 11.) [J. G.]

ELLI, "unmarried disciple," the "very dear unmarried auditor" of St. Cadoc, is said, in the *Life of St. Cadoc*, to have been the child of a queen long barren, and born on the islands of Grimbul. He lived at the White Court (probably Whitton, near Llancarvan) in the time of Meurig ab Tewdrig, king of Morganwg and Gwent, and seems also to have been connected with Crucygreif or Garnllwyd, near Llanfeithan, in the same neighbourhood. He is one of those who are said to have been the immediate successors of St. Cadoc in the abbacy of Llancarvan [ELLENIUS], St. Cadoc having divested himself of the office in his favour, with procession of relics, &c., on a Palm Sunday. We find him as witness to several grants to St. Cadoc or his church in the 6th century (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 332, 365–6, 379, 382, 387–9). [J. G.]

ELLOC, of Cill-moelloc, is given by O'Clery (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 3) and Colgan (*Acta SS.* 312, c. 5) among the sons of Bracan, or Brychan, and the brothers of St. Canoc (Feb. 11) and St. Dabneog (Jan. 1); the latter places Cill-moelloc near Loch-garman, now Wexford Haven. Elloc is unknown in the Welsh and Cornish genealogies of Brychan. Colgan (*ib.* 313, c. 17) puts his commemoration on July 24, where *Mart. Tallaght* (Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* p. xxx.) has "Oilleoc Cluana Etchen." This is probably the same person as stands in *Mart. Doneg.* on July 13, "Mothiológ, of Cill-Mothiológ, in Ui Ceinnsealaigh, or Mothilóg, of Cluain Aithghin." Cill-moelloc and Cill-Mothiológ are now two parishes, called Killmallock and Kilmachaelogue or Gorey, in the barony of Ballaghkeen, and part of the latter in the barony of Gorey, co. Wexford. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 14; Skene, *Celt. Scott.* ii. 23; and on the sons of Bracan or Brychan of Brycheiniog, see BRYCHAN and DABHEOG.) [J. G.]

ELLTIN (1) Son of Maelan of Senchua, commemorated Jan. 11 in the *Martyrologies of Donegal and Tallaght*. His church was one which is said by Tirechan, and in Colgan's *Lives of St. Patrick*, to have been founded by St. Patrick. It is now Shancoe, in the barony of Tirerril, co. Sligo, on the borders of Leitrim. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 89, c. 105, 134, c. 35, 271, c. 24, and notes; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 176.)

ELLTIN (2) of Kinsale, confessor, commemorated Dec. 11. He was brother of Sedna (Mar. 10), son of Eren, and native of a district in Munster, called Altraighe Cliach. He was revered at Kinsale as one of its patrons, and is known by the affectionate title Melteog, "My-little-Elltin," or "My Elltin-dear," now corrupted into St. Multose. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, xliii. n. [4], 332 n. [1], 333; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 573, col. 2 and n. [4]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 94; Caulfield, *Life of St. Finbarre*, 15 n. [b].) [J. G.]

ELLYW (ELYW) is given by Professor Rees as a grand-daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog, yet he does not think it unlikely that she is really identical with St. Elined, or Alivedha, on whose festival that of St. Ellyw depends, the former being on Aug. 1, O. S., and the latter on the Sunday immediately preceding. She is patron, or has probably given her name to Llanelly in Carmarthenshire, and to Llanelieu and Llanelly, both in Brecknockshire (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 156, referring to *Hist. Breckn.* ii. 473). [J. G.]

ELMERUS (ERMELIUS), patron saint of a collegiate church at Molhanium, in the diocese of Liége, near Mariemburg. What is known or believed of this obscure saint, who is placed in the 7th or 8th century, and where Molhanium was, is discussed in Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. 28, vi. 485. [C. H.]

ELMGAUDUS, officer of Charlemagne. [HELMGAUDUS.]

ELNOG. [ELENOG.]

ELOAEUS (Eloeus, Irenaeus; Αἰλωαιός, Origen; Ἐλωαῖος, Epiphanius), one of the seven ruling spirits in the OPHITE system (Irenaeus, i. 30, p. 109; Origen, *adv. Cels.* vi. 31; Epiph. *Haer.* 26, p. 91). These authorities differ both as to some of the names and as to the order in which they are placed. On the obvious derivation of the present name from the Hebrew name of God, see Irenaeus, ii. 35, p. 170; Epiph. *Haer.* 40, p. 296. [G. S.]

ELOC, clerical witness to the grant of Mafurn by king Cynfyn, son of Pebiau, to Aidan, bishop of Llandaff, probably in the 6th century (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 408). [J. G.]

ELODIA, a virgin martyr, put to death, together with Nunilo at Osca (Huesca). Commemorated Oct. 22 (*Mart. Us.*). [T. S. B.]

ELOHIM, Ἐλωείμ, Hippol. *Ref.* v. 26, pp. 150–159. [JUSTINUS.] [G. S.]

ELOI, ST., bishop of Noyon. [ELIGIUS.]

ELOPHIUS, martyr of Toul. [ELIPHIUS.]

ELOQUIUS, abbat of Lagny, commemorated Dec. 3. He was one of that illustrious stream of missionaries which flowed from Ireland and flooded the continent of Europe in the sixth and following centuries. He was an Hibernian Scot, and accompanied St. Fursey (Jan. 16) to Lagny, where he associated with such other saints as St. Fursey's two brothers, Faelan or Foillan and Ultan, with Mumbolus, Etto, Adelgisius, and Fredegand, but it seems an anachronism to make him contemporary with St. Tressan (Feb. 7), who flourished at least a century earlier. Probably setting out from Lagny, he went with twelve disciples and taught in Belgium, and on St. Fursey's death he is said to have become abbat of the monastery at Lagny, as being the special friend of the late superior, but it is probable that Emilian [EMILIANUS (10)] came between, and this succession is adopted by the *Gall. Chr.* (vii. 492). He flourished about the middle of the 7th century Colgan had a *Life of St. Eloquius* in contemplation for Dec. 3 (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 375), which was probably that one given by Miraeus (*Belg. Fast.*) and Molanus (*Nat. Sanct. Belg.*) on the same day. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 51 n.[1], 96, c. 6, 273 n.[2], 436 n.[2]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 16, § 10; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 299; O'Hanlon, *Irish*

Saints, i. 264–86, ii. 378 sq.; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 201, Dec. 4; Ware, *Irish Writ.* c. 3.) Dempster says he flourished A.D. 651, and wrote *Exhortationes ad Gentiles*, lib. i.; *Homilias*, lib. i. (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 250; Tanner, *Bibl.* 260). [J. G.]

ELOTHERUS (ELEUTHERIUS), twenty-seventh bishop of Avignon, succeeding St. Saturninus and followed by Julianus. He is said to have been a priest of that church before his elevation to the see (A.D. 475), and to have been remarkable for his learning, faith, humanity and integrity. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (i. 863) conjecture him to have been the Eleutherius addressed by Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epist.* vi. 11 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 559), who has also been assigned to Tournai. He does not appear in Gams's list of the bishops of Avignon. (*Series Episc.* 503.) [S. A. B.]

ELOY, ST., bishop of Noyon. [ELPIDIUS.]

ELPENIPSA (ELPIS, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 155), one of the forty-eight martyrs at Lyons. [LYONS, MARTYRS OF.] [L. D.]

ELPICIUS, a deacon in the 5th century, nephew of Elpidius reputed bishop of Atella. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 24 Mai. v. 282.) [ELPIDIUS (12).] [C. H.]

ELPIDEPHORUS (1), a Persian of senatorial rank, converted to Christianity by witnessing the constancy of the martyrs Acindynus, Pegasius, and Anempodistus. He was cruelly tortured by order of Sapor II., king of Persia, and afterwards beheaded, circ. A.D. 320. He is commemorated Nov. 2 (*Men.* Bas.; *Cal. Byzant.*). [T. S. B.]

ELPIDEPHORUS (2) (ELPIDOPHORUS), bishop of Cuiculis or Cuizis in the province of Numidia, was present at the council of Carthage under Gratus, A.D. 349, and was the mover of the eleventh canon against the pride of the junior clergy. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 147, ii. 253; Mansi iii. 148). [L. D.]

ELPIDIUS (1), bishop of the Tauric Chersonese. [EUGENIUS.] [L. D.]

ELPIDIUS (2), bishop and martyr, sent during the reign of Diocletian, after the death of Basil the bishop, together with Agathodorus, Capeto, and Eugenius, to Cherson, where they were all slain by the Greeks. They are commemorated March 8. (*Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

ELPIDIUS (3), bishop of Comana in Cappadocia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 448; Mansi, ii. 694.) [L. D.]

ELPIDIUS (4), a bishop of Palestine, who subscribed the council of Sardica, A.D. 347 (Athanasii *Opera*, i. 133, in Patr. Graec. xxv. 339 B; Mansi, iii. 69 A). He also subscribed the letter of a synod at Jerusalem (Athan. *ibid.* 139). [W. M. S.]

ELPIDIUS (5), bishop of Satala in Armenia, deposed by the triumphant Acacian party in the council of Constantinople, Jan. A.D. 360, together with Basil of Ancyra, Cyril of Jerusalem, Silvanus, and others. The nominal grounds were his participation in the violent acts of Basil, his having occasioned great disorders in the church, and particularly his having violated the decrees of the council of Melitene by reinstating a presbyter named Eusebius, deposed for having appointed one Nectaria as deaconess, though excommunicated for perjury. (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 42; Soz. *H. E.* iv. 24.) [E. V.]

ELPIDIUS (6), bishop of a maritime town in the East, A.D. 375, separated by Eustathius of Sebaste from his communion ostensibly on account of his holding communion with the intruded Arian bishop of Amasea, but more truly as a friend of Basil (Basil, *Epist.* 251 [72]). Basil wrote to Elpidius, A.D. 375, by a presbyter Meletius, requesting him to arrange with his brother bishops of the seaboard of Pontus a time and place for Basil's meeting them in the hope of removing mutual suspicions and confirming mutual charity (*Epist.* 205 [322]). Soon after this Elpidius lost a little grandson. Basil wrote to console him exhorting him to Christian fortitude, and expressing his hope that this bereavement would not prevent their meeting at Comana (*Epist.* 206 [348]). His see is uncertain, but Blondel is certainly wrong in placing it at Neocaesarea. (Tillemont, ix. 674.) [E. V.]

ELPIDIUS (7), bishop of Dionysia or Dionysias in the ecclesiastical province of Bostra, present at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. (Mansi, iii. 570; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 865.) For Dionysia, see Hieroclis *Synecdemus* in *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.* pt. 5, vol. iii. p. 399, Bonn, 1840, and Wesseling's note, p. 535. [J. de S.]

ELPIDIUS (8), bishop of Laodicea in Syria at the close of the 4th century and opening of the 5th. He was originally a priest of Antioch under Meletius, whose confidence he enjoyed and with whom he resided (*σύσκηνος*) as what we should now call bishop's chaplain, and of whose moderation and gentleness of disposition Theodoret tells us he afforded a more exact copy than the wax does of a seal (Theod. *H. E.* v. 27). He shared in his master's sufferings under Valens, and accompanied by Flavian, attended Meletius at the council of Constantinople A.D. 381 (Labbe, ii. 955). We next find him bishop of the Syrian Laodicea, in succession to Pelagius, in which capacity he attended a council at Constantinople A.D. 394 (Labbe, ii. 1151). We again find him at Constantinople at the close of A.D. 403, as a member of the council summoned by Chrysostom's enemies, and issuing in his deposition. Elpidius had been an intimate friend of Chrysostom at Antioch, and lent the weight of his advanced years and his well-deserved reputation for learning and piety to the defence of his old associate. When the validity of the canons of the council of Antioch, of suspected orthodoxy, used by Chrysostom's enemies as an instrument to secure their object, came into question before the emperor, Elpidius adroitly turned the tables on Acacius and his party by proposing that the advocates of the canons should declare themselves of the same faith with those who had promulgated them (Pallad. *Dial.* c. 9, p. 80). After Chrysostom's deposition and exile Elpidius exerted himself strenuously in his behalf, despatching letters to the bishops and faithful

laity, not only in his own diocese and neighbourhood, but in all parts of the world, exhorting them to remain true to their allegiance to Chrysostom, and encouraging them to bear up against the storms of persecution, however violent. Chrysostom wrote to Elpidius shortly after his arrival at Cucusus in 404, thanking him most warmly for the zeal he had manifested in his behalf in spite of his advanced years, and giving him the information he had desired to receive, concerning the place of his banishment, his companions, and his own health (Chrysost. *Epist.* 114). This letter was probably transmitted by Libanius, the layman of Antioch, who was returning from his visit to his former revered teacher with an epistle from Chrysostom commending him to Elpidius, for whom Libanius felt great reverence and affection, and to whom he was desirous of being introduced. Chrysostom states in this letter that "not for any gain to Elpidius, but for the interest of the church at large, he was anxious that Elpidius should enjoy the honour and respect of all the faithful" (*ibid. Ep.* 230). Four other letters from Chrysostom to Elpidius are extant. They all breathe the same spirit of deep respect and grateful affection. They chiefly consist of entreaties that Elpidius would write more frequently, and excuses for the infrequency of his own correspondence, caused by the badness of his own health, the want of trustworthy persons to convey his letters, the isolation of Cucusus in the winter, and the ravages of the Isaurians, together with assurances of his confidence in Elpidius's undiminished regard for him. They are all written from Cucusus in the spring of the year, as soon as the roads were open. (*Epist.* 25, 138, A.D. 405; *Epist.* 131, A.D. 406; *Epist.* 142, A.D. 407.)

Elpidius suffered for his fidelity to his friend in the persecution against the Joannite party under Atticus and Porphyry. In A.D. 406 he was deposed from his see, and suffered close imprisonment in his own house for three years, Pappus, a Syrian bishop, being the companion of his incarceration (Pallad. *Dial.* p. 195). His sufferings lasted till A.D. 414, when Alexander, on succeeding Porphyry as bishop of Antioch, restored Elpidius to his see in a manner which testified his deep reverence for his character. The intelligence of his restoration was received by pope Innocent with extreme satisfaction. (Baron. 408, §§ 35, 37; Tillemont, xi. 274.)
[E. V.]

ELPIDIUS (9) (HELPIDIUS), bishop of Lyons, about 424. He was buried in the church of the seven Maccabaean brothers, where his predecessor St. Justus also lay, and was commemorated on Sept. 2. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 388; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 18.) [R. T. S.]

ELPIDIUS (10) I., bishop of Thermae, otherwise called Myracium, Myricium, and also Myricenum, in the province of Galatia Secunda, in the middle of the 5th century. (Le Quien, *Oriens Chr.* i. 334; Gams, 441.) He was at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 573 a, 945 d, 981 c, 1091 d.) [T. W. D.]

ELPIDIUS (11) II., bishop of Thermae, one of the signataries at the Quinisextine council, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 1000 e; Le Quien, *Oriens Chr.* i. 498; Gams, *Series Episc.* 441.)
[T. W. D.]

ELPIDIUS (12), ST. The first of the four recorded bishops of Atella in Campania cir. A.D. 400. Great sanctity and many miracles were attributed to him and to his brother St. Cyo a presbyter and his nephew St. Elpicius a deacon, both of whom also lived at Atella. St. Elpidius was buried at Salerno, and his festival was on May 24. Some suppose that he is an African refugee in the Vandal persecution. (Ug. *Ital. Sac.* x. 17; Boll. *Acta SS.* 24 Mai. v. 282.)
[C. H.]

ELPIDIUS (13), a bishop who with eleven companions is commemorated on Sept. 1 (*AA. SS.* Boll. Sept. i. 210). The accounts concerning him are obscure, but he is supposed to have been one of the African bishops exiled by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484; by others he is identified with Elpidius, bishop of Atella in Campania, who might have been an African refugee (No. 12).
[L. D.]

ELPIDIUS (14), (HELPIDIUS), bishop of Tamiathis (Damietta), in Egypt, one of the orthodox Egyptian bishops, who, with some Alexandrian clerics, fled to Constantinople in A.D. 487, to escape from Timotheus Aelurus and the Eutychians. [NESTORIUS, bishop of Phragones.] His name does not appear in their petition to the emperor Leo, but it does appear at the head of the letter addressed to them by the pope Leo (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* clx. 1336). It appears also in the list of bishops subscribing the encyclical letter of the council held at Constantinople under Gennadius in A.D. 489 against simony (Harduin, ii. 783; *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 589). [C. G.]

ELPIDIUS (15), bishop of Volterra, present at the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Roman synods under pope Symmachus in Oct. 501, Nov. 502, in 503, and Oct. 504, according to the reckoning of Dahn (*Die Könige der Germanen*, iii. 209), who accepts with a slight alteration the arrangement of Hefele, § 220. (Mansi, viii. 253, 269, 299, 315.) [A. H. D. A.]

ELPIDIUS (16), bishop of Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia Prima, in the early part of the 6th century. (Le Quien, *Oriens Chr.* i. 466; Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 441.) He sent Gaianas, a presbyter, as his legate, to the council of Constantinople, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 879 b, 938 d, 951 a.) [T. W. D.]

ELPIDIUS (17), one of four brothers, all bishops (the others being Justus, Justinian, Nebridius), who flourished in Spain during the first half of the 6th century. Isidore, *de Vir. Ill.* cap. 33, has two or three lines about Elpidius, whose reported writings, he says, together with those of his brother Nebridius (bishop of Egara), had remained unknown to him. (Ximeno, *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia*, i. p. viii; Ceillier, *Aut. Sac.* xi. 265.) [M. A. W.]

ELPIDIUS (18), bishop of Thebae Phthioticae in Thessaly, A.D. 531, mentioned in the petition of Stephen of Larissa to pope Boniface II. and the Roman synod against the conduct of Epiphanius of Constantinople, who had excommunicated Stephen, and had summoned him and his consecrators to appear at Constantinople. The

Thessalians rejected the jurisdiction of the bishops of Constantinople. (Mansi, viii. 743; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 121.) [L. D.]

ELPIDIUS (19), bishop of Catania, c. 580. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xxi. 636.) [A. H. D. A.]

ELPIDIUS (20), a bishop most probably of some Eastern see, to whom, along with two other bishops, pope Gregory the Great addressed a letter (*Epist.* vii. 7), blaming him for crying out, "This is the day which the Lord hath made," at the ordination of Cyriacus the patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 597 (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 853). [L. D.]

ELPIDIUS (21), bishop of Tarazona (Turiasso), signs the acts of the fourth and sixth councils of Toledo (A.D. 633, 638), being fifty-second out of sixty-nine bishops in the former, and eighteenth out of fifty-three in the latter. [Leon.] (Mansi, x. 643 A, Ilpidius, 671 C; *Esp. Sagr.* xlix. 114; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385, 413.) [M. A. W.]

ELPIDIUS (22), bishop of Astorga from about 654 onwards. Signs the tenth Council of Toledo A.D. 656. His name is variously written—Alpidius, Hilpidius, and Ilpidius. [Felix of Astorga.] (Mansi, xi. 43 e; *Esp. Sagr.* xvi. 114; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 158.) [M. A. W.]

ELPIDIUS (23), a Roman presbyter, who, with Philoxenus in 341, transmitted the letters of Julius I. to the Eusebian bishops in the East by whom Athanasius had been condemned at the Council of Dedication, inviting them to a council in December in that year. Elpidius and his companions were sent back in January, A.D. 342, with the reply of the bishops couched in grossly defiant terms. (Ath. *Opp.* I. iii. in Patr. Gr. xxv. 282; Labbe, ii. 494, 514; Baron. *A. E.* 340, iii.) [E. V.]

ELPIDIUS (24), priest of the Roman church sent by pope Liberius to the bishops of Illyricum, A.D. 365, who, the provincial synod being assembled, commissioned Elpidius as their delegate to the Asian bishops. Their synodal letter containing his credentials, warning the Asiatics against the Macedonian heresy, and exhorting them to preach the Nicene faith, is preserved in Theodoret. Baronius thinks he may be the same as the legate of Julius in the preceding article. (Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. c. 8, in Migne, Patr. Graec. lxxxii. 960; Baron. *A. E.* 365, xvii.; Mansi, *Concil.* iii. 383–386.) [L. D.]

ELPIDIUS (25), a deacon by whose hands Basil received a letter from Eusebius of Samosata A.D. 373 (Basil, *Epist.* 138 [8]); and by whom, A.D. 376, Basil sent a letter of consolation and sympathy to the Egyptian bishops Eulogius, Alexander, Harpocration, in exile for the faith in Palestine. (*Epist.* 265 [293].) [E. V.]

ELPIDIUS (26), ST., abbat, and patron saint of the town of St. Elpidio in Picenum (the Marches of Ancona), where his relics are preserved. According to the traditions collected by the Bollandists, he was a Cappadocian by birth, who visited Rome, and preached the Gospel in Picenum, where he died A.D. 393. According to another tradition, he was an abbat in his own country, and moved into Palestine, his remains only being translated into Italy. (*AA. SS.* Boll. 2 Sept. i. 378.) [L. D.]

ELPIDIUS (27), Spanish presbyter, who with the Spanish bishop Hilarius appealed to pope Innocent on the prevailing dissensions in Spain, occasioning Innocent to address the bishops assembled at the first council of Toledo, A.D. 400. (Innoc. *Ep.* 3, cc. 1, 2; Mansi, *Concil.* iii. 997.) [C. H.]

ELPIDIUS (28), presbyter of Constantinople, who deposed against Chrysostom at the council of the Oak, A.D. 403 (Phot. cod. 59). One of the attempts to assassinate Chrysostom after his condemnation, A.D. 404, was made by a slave of Elpidius, who asserted that he had been bribed by his master with fifty pieces of silver. (Soz. *H. E.* viii. 21; Pallad. *Dialog.* cap. 20.) [E. V.]

ELPIDIUS (29), presbyter, who laboured with much zeal and success as a missionary among the heathen tribes inhabiting the mountain range of Amanus between Cilicia and Syria. Many were converted by his means, and several churches and monasteries built. Chrysostom wrote from Cucusus, A.D. 404, to commend Elpidius and his work to the liberality of his ancient friend Agapetus (Chrysost. *Epist.* 175). [E. V.]

ELPIDIUS (30) OF CAPPADOCIA, priest and abbat. Having passed his earlier years in a monastery founded in Cappadocia by Timotheus, a chorepiscopus under Basil the Great, he became the abbat or superior of an anchoret community in the mountains in the neighbourhood of Jericho, originally founded by Chariton, with whom Palladius passed some time in his twentieth year shortly after embracing the solitary life. Palladius speaks of his austerities as surpassing those of all the hermits of that district. The last twenty-five years of his life he spent in a cavern on the mountain side, only partaking of food on Saturdays and Sundays, passing the whole night in singing the praises of God, with his face constantly turned to the east, night and day, not changing his posture even when suffering intensely from the poisonous sting of a scorpion. He became priest after Palladius left him, and died before A.D. 420. (Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* cc. 106–108, pp. 1024–1026.) [E. V.]

ELPIDIUS (31) (Helpidius), presbyter and archimandrite of Constantinople, who subscribed the deposition of Eutyches at the council of Constantinople in 448 (Labbe, iv. 232 B). He, among the other orthodox archimandrites, is addressed by Leo I. (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 71, 1012, Faustus). His name does not appear among the orthodox archimandrites who petitioned Marcian, the emperor, in 451 (Faustus), but he or one of his name does appear as subscribing the almost contemporary appeal to that emperor from the Eutychians, headed by Charosus, who were, or claimed to be, archimandrites [ἀρχιμανδρίται ἐλάχιστοι] (Labbe, iv. 524; cf. Tillemont, xv. 638). In the 4th session of the council of Chalcedon, the orthodox archimandrites, who had been summoned to sit there before their Eutychian brethren were introduced, recognized the name of this Elpidius as that of

the μεμοροφύλαξ τῶν Προκοπίου,[a] but as it is implied in this that he could not rightly claim the title of archimandrite, we must probably distinguish him from his orthodox namesake.

[C. G.]

ELPIDIUS (32) RUSTICUS (Helpidius), a deacon of Lyons, and, according to some, an ex-quaestor (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxii. 545 n.), who studied medicine, and became one of the physicians of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths (Procop. *Bell. Goth.* lib. i. cap. 1), to whose intimate friendship he was also admitted (regia potestate ac sedulo famulatu intimus, Cyprian. Tolonens. *Caesarii Arelat. Vita*, lib. i. 29, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxvii. 1016). His skill in his profession is evidenced by a letter from St. Avitus bishop of Vienne, begging him to cure the son of one Celerius, and speaking of his "peritia singularis" (Avitus, *Epist.* 35 in Patr. Lat. lix. 251), and by another from Ennodius bishop of Ticinum, informing him that he is daily afflicted with such a complication of diseases that he despairs of his life (Ennodius, *Epist.* lib. ix. ep. 14; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxiii. 155; cf. too lib. viii. ep. 8, Migne, lxiii. 135). The facts of his life known to us are scanty. He was on intimate terms with Ennodius (see the letters above quoted, and a fourth, lib. vii. ep. 7; Patr. Lat. lxiii. 117). Cyprian in his life of Caesarius bishop of Arles (lib. i. n. 29, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxvii. 1016), tells a story of his having a haunted house, apparently at Arles, which the bishop, by the sprinkling of holy water, freed from the spirits. In the *Epist. Var.* of Cassiodorus (lib. ix. ep. 24, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxix. 612) there is preserved a letter addressed to him by his master Theodoric, towards the close of his reign, in the highest terms of respect and admiration. Elpidius had seemingly petitioned the king for a grant to enable him to restore some of the buildings of Spoleto, which had suffered from age. The letter readily concedes his request. From this it has been inferred that he was, at least temporarily, a resident at Spoleto.

Two short poems by him are extant, both on sacred subjects, and both written in the hexameter metre. The former is in twenty-four separate stanzas of three lines, each treating of a different subject from the Bible, but for the most part alternating between the Old and New Testament, a stanza on a subject from the former being followed by a corresponding one from the latter, the type by the antitype. For instance, one on the confusion of tongues at the destruction of Babel, has for its complement the miracle of tongues at Pentecost, that on the selling of Joseph by his brethren, the selling of Christ by Judas. The other poem is somewhat longer, and not distinguished by this peculiarity. It is a hymn on the blessings conferred by Christ, and the language is perhaps more spirited. Both are classical for the age. They may be seen in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxii. 545. (Ceill. *Hist. des Auteurs Sacrés*, xi. 99; Rivet, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, vol. iii. 165.) [S. A. B.]

ELPIDIUS (33), bishop and martyr—March 8. [Elpidius (2).]

ELPIDIUS (34), a martyr under Julian with Marcellus, Eustachius, and others. Special cruelty was practised towards Elpidius as he was a man of senatorial rank, and had been made "praefectus praetorii" by Constantius (Baron. *Annal.* 362, 15). He is commemorated Nov. 16.

[T. S. B.]

ELPIDIUS (35) (Helpidius), a Paphlagonian who held several important offices under Constantine and Constantius. A law of 323 was addressed to him by Constantine, when he was perhaps vicarius of Italy (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2, 5; see Gothofredus). He was a man of mean aspect and a poor speaker, but of very gentle and honest character. He succeeded Hermogenes as praetorian prefect in 361, but begged to resign his office when Constantius ordered him to torture an innocent man in his presence (Amm. xxi. 6, 9). Before he became praefect he paid a visit, with his wife Aristaeneta and his children, to St. Antony in Egypt. On his return his three sons were taken ill of fever at Gaza, and were healed by the prayers of St. Hilarion (S. Hieron. *De Vit. Hil.* tom. i. p. 249). Libanius addressed a complimentary letter to him, in which the wife and children are also mentioned (*Lib. Ep.* 1301). Baronius identifies him with the Roman senator martyred by Julian (no. 34), commemorated by the Roman church on Nov. 16); but this is improbable (see Tillemont, *Emp.* iv. p. 691). It is uncertain whether he is the "count of the private estate" in the next article who is said to have apostatised under Julian. (Theodoret, *H. E.* iii. 12, and Tillemont, *l. c.*) [J. W.]

ELPIDIUS (36), nicknamed "the Sacrificer" (ὁ θυτής, Philostorg. *H. E.* vii. 10), a friend of the emperor Julian, under whom he held the office of Comes Rerum Privatarum. During the reign of Constantius he had professed himself to be a Christian, but under Julian he became an earnest pagan (Philostorg. *u. s.*; Theodoret, *H. E.* iii. 12). Libanius, a great correspondent of his, describes him as, though inferior in learning to Maximus and Priscus, two other friends of Julian's, yet their equal in zeal for the gods and in affection for the emperor. (Liban. *Orat. pro Aristoph.* ed. Reiske, pp. 435, 436.) When Julian commanded the great church, which Constantine had erected at Antioch to be spoiled of its treasures and closed, Elpidius was one of the three officers who were sent to execute the mandate. (Theodoret, *H. E.* u. s.) He survived Julian, the uncle of the emperor, and Felix, his associates on that occasion, but being implicated in the treason of Procopius, A.D. 365 he was deprived of all his property and cast into prison, where he died amid universal detestation. (Philostorg. *u. s.*; Theodoret, *u. s.*; Niceph. x. 29.) Elpidius is frequently mentioned by Libanius in his letters, and always in terms of great praise. (*Epp.* 29, 33, 136, 208, 227, 302, 303.) [T. W. D.]

ELPIDIUS (37), A.D. 371, assessor of Thera-

[a] Lat. monumentorum Procopiensium custos. The μεμόριον is interpreted by Du Fresne (*Gloss. Infimae Graecitatis*) as a church dedicated to a saint, by others as a sacred tomb: according to the latter interpretation a μεμορίτης is an anchoret inhabiting a tomb, and the μεμοροφύλαξ τῶν Προκοπίου would be the monk in charge of the collection of tombs so inhabited, which were called by the name of Procopius; this would interpret his claim to the title of Archimandrite. Labbe, p. 518 E.

sius governor of Cappadocia. Basil's 77th letter appears to have been addressed to him. He is exhorted not to leave Therasius, but to share his cares. In his 78th letter Basil earnestly desires that the province may continue to enjoy the efficient services of Elpidius. He may be the Elpidius of Basil's 63rd and 64th letters, a man fulfilling every characteristic of friendship, in all respects excellent, and worthy of the utmost respect. (Basil. *Epp.* 63, 64, 77, 78, Patrol. Graec. xxxii. 419, 451, pp. 157, 172.) [W. M. S.]

ELPIDIUS (38), A.D. 375, bearer of a letter from Basil to Amphilochius bishop of Iconium. He was servant to Amphilochius and was hastening to him to refute certain calumnies about himself (Basil. *Epist.* 231, Patr. Graec. xxxii. p. 861). [W. M. S.]

ELPIDIUS (39) (Helpidius), a Spanish rhetorician of the 4th century, one of the promoters of the Zoroastrian opinions in Spain which culminated in Priscillianism. He is mentioned by Jerome (*Ep.* cxxxiii. 4; see also *Ep.* lxxv. 3, and Vallarsi's note) as having been misled by Agape [Agape] and as having imbibed his opinions from Mark the Egyptian; and by Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* ii. 46, 47) as having been condemned together with Priscillian (both of them being laymen) by the synod of Caesar Augusta (Saragossa) A.D. 380. It is singular that in the letter of Pope Innocentius on the synod of Toledo, about A.D. 402 (Inn. *Ep.* 3), the name Elpidius appears as that of a presbyter who had come with others to lay before the apostolic see the state of the province of Baetica, which was distracted by Priscillianism. [Elpidius (27).] [W. H. F.]

ELPIDIUS (40), a Spanish nobleman, cousin to Theodosius I. The emperor endeavoured to obtain for him the hand of Olympias shortly after her widowhood. On her stedfast refusal of his overtures, Elpidius, imagining that she would yield to the emperor's authority, suggested the use of forcible measures. Theodosius ordered the confiscation of her property till she should be thirty years old, and forbade her to hold any intercourse with the bishops, or to go to church, but without affecting Olympias's resolution to remain a widow. (Pallad. *Dial.* p. 164.) [E. V.]

ELPIDIUS (41), an Arian gentleman, who, having sent to Bonosus and Jason a work of St. Augustine's, afterwards sent to the latter a treatise by an Arian bishop, in the hope of clearing up the whole question, and reclaiming him from his supposed errors of doctrine. The reply of Augustine is directed to the object of illustrating the Catholic doctrine in this question, and is remarkable for its studious yet genuine courtesy and moderation of tone. (Aug. *Ep.* 242.) [H. W. P.]

ELPIDIUS (42), one of the two imperial commissioners (Eulogius being the other) sent by Theodosius II. to represent him at the infamous "Robbers' Synod" of Ephesus, 449 A.D. Elpidius was a man of high official rank, "count of the divine assembly," a president of the council. (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 105.) His whole behaviour exhibited the most unblushing partiality and a determination to intimidate the party opposed to the emperor's wishes. Stephen bishop of Ephesus having shewn hospitality to Eusebius of Dorylaeum and other members of Flavian's party, Elpidius and Eulogius paid him a domiciliary visit, with a band of 300 men, partly his own soldiers, partly disorderly monks, and threatened him with punishment for receiving the emperor's enemies (*ib.* 112). On the opening of the council he unblushingly took part against Flavian, delivering a long and rhetorical harangue, at the close of which he produced the emperor's letter to Dioscorus, postponing the reading of that from pope Leo (*ib.* 128, 145). The request of Flavian that the accuser of Eutyches, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, might be heard, was contumeliously refused by Elpidius, who rebuked the venerable prelate for daring to speak without permission of the council, and told him that the accusation was a thing of the past, and could not be entered on again (*ib.* 145). In the scene of excitement and disorder which followed the revocation of the condemnation of Eutyches and the sentence of deposition pronounced on Flavian and Eusebius, Elpidius and Eulogius resorted to the grossest measures of intimidation, calling in the proconsul of Asia, attended by a tumultuous body of soldiers and monks, bearing swords, clubs, and chains (*ib.* 112, 129). These guardians of public order, if not actual abettors of Barsumas and his brutal adherents in their assault on Flavian and the other orthodox bishops, certainly did nothing to restrain their violence. (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* vol. xv. passim.) [E. V.]

ELPIDOFORUS, an apostate from the ranks of the Catholics during the general persecution of the orthodox in Africa by the Vandal king Hunneric, c. A.D. 484. Elpidoforus was appointed to superintend the punishments of the catholics, and amongst those brought before him was Muritta the deacon, who had received him from the font on his baptism. Muritta before his burning produced the very towels or sheets in which he had received Elpidoforus on stepping out of the font, and reproached him with so much force that Elpidoforus was burned with fire of conscience before he entered the eternal fire, as Victor Vitensis narrates. (*De Persec. Vandal.* v. 9, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 246.) [L. D.]

ELPIDOPHORUS (1) (Mansi, *Concil.* iii. 148), bishop of Cuiculis. [Elpidephorus (2).]

ELPIDOPHORUS (2), bishop of Anastasiopolis, in Caria, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 913; Mansi, ix. 394.) [L. D.]

ELPIN, of Glais-Naidhean (Glasnevin, an ancient monastery founded by St. Berchan, who is better known as Mobhi Clairenech (Oct. 12), on the Liffey, near Dublin [Berchan (4)]), died A.D. 753. (*Four Mast.*) [J. G.]

ELPIS (1), one of the aeons in the system of Valentinus (Iren. I. i. p. 7; Hippol. *Ref.* vi. 30, p. 187; Epiph. *Haer.* 31, pp. 165, 169). [G. S.]

ELPIS (2), martyr with Pistis, Agape, and their mother Sophia. [Caritas.]

ELPIS (3) (also written HELPIS), daughter of Festus, a Roman senator, and, according to a doubtful tradition, wife of Boethius, who at one period of his life was certainly married to Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus [BOETHIUS]. The only evidence for the double marriage of Boethius to be found in his writings is the passage in the *Consolatio Philosophiae* (Lib. ii. Pros. 3), "Quis non te felicissimum . . . tanto splendore socerorum . . . praedicavit"? which is obviously capable of a different interpretation. Elpis is the reputed authoress of two hymns in the breviary addressed to the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, *Decora lux aeternitatis auream*, and *Beate Pastor Petre clemens accipe* (Migne, Patrologia, vol. lxiii. p. 538). An epitaph upon this lady in six elegiac couplets (*ibid.* p. 558) speaks of her as "Siculae regionis alumna," and records the fact that she followed her husband into banishment. It has been ascribed, but without authority, to Boethius himself (Vallini, *Vit. Boeth.* praefat.). [E. M. Y.]

ELPISTUS, a contemporary of Dionysius bishop of Corinth. [DIONYSIUS (3)]. Eusebius relates that Dionysius attributes his letter to the Amastriani and other churches of Pontus to the influence of Bacchylides and Elpistus (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23). [W. M. S.]

ELRIC, son of Ealdwulf (or Aldulf) king of East Anglia, according to Nennius, who is the only authority for his existence. He would thus be the brother of Eadburga abbess of Repton. (Nenn. *Hist. Brit.* in *M. H. B.* 74 c; Lappenberg, *Hist. Eng.* i. 287.) [C. H.]

ELTUTUS (Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* in *M. H. B.* 74 a), Welsh saint. [ILTUTUS.] [C. H.]

ELUEUS, ELUIUS, bishop of Menevia. [HELVAEUS.]

ELUOC (ELNOT, ELUOT, ELWAD) was bishop at Caergyli in Anglesey, and in the *Achau Saint ynys Prydain* is identified with ELBOD, bishop of Bangor. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 42.) [J. G.]

ELURION, A.D. 347, Egyptian bishop, present at the Council of Sardica (Mansi, iii. 68 d; Athanas. i. 133). [W. M. S.]

ELUSIUS (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 199), deacon. [ELEUSIUS (1).] [C. H.]

ELVAED (ELANC, ELAVE, ELVOED, ELWAED), are all probably names of the same person who is numbered among the bishops of Menevia or St. David's, but beyond the names we know nothing; it is suggested by Professor Stubbs that he may be Elvod or Elbod, bishop of Bangor (A.D. 755–809) [ELBOD], but it is very doubtful for many reasons, though the names are similar. (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 155, 157; Girald. Camb. *Itin. Camb.* ii. c. i. wks. vi.; Godwin, *de Praesul. Angl.* 601). [J. G.]

ELVAN (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.* p. 152), legendary bishop of London. [ELFAN.] [C. H.]

ELVEIS, Welsh saint. [ELFEIS.]

ELVETUS, bishop of Arezzo, 775. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xviii. 76; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 412.) [A. H. D. A.]

ELVIANDUS (HELVIANDUS), bishop of Treviso (Tarvisium). When Attila had sacked Aquileia, Concordia, and other neighbouring cities, and was approaching Treviso the bishop saved the town by a prompt surrender, A.D. 452. (Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, v. 490; Gams, *Series Episc.* 803.) [L. D.]

ELVOD (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.* p. 157), bishop of Bangor, archbishop of Gwynned. [ELBOD, ELVAED.] [C. H.]

ELVODUGUS, educated at Bangor in Wales, and author of *Historia Britonum*, lib. i., is probably the same as St. Elbod, whose contemporary he is otherwise said to have been, though his reputed date (A.D. 590) is at least two centuries before St. Elbod's time. Pitseus (*de Illust. Angl. Script.* 103) calls him Elvodugus Probus, and adheres to the early date; he also gives a separate account of Elbodus, and yet he appears to give an account of the same individual in both memoirs. [ELBOD.] (Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.* 135; Tanner, *Bibl.* 262.) [J. G.]

ELVOED, bishop of Menevia (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.* p. 155). [ELVAED, ELBOD.] [C. H.]

ELVOGUS (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.* p. 156), bishop of Llandaff. [ELWOG.] [C. H.]

ELWAED. [ELVAED.]

ELWARED (ELGWORED), a clerical witness to grants of land to Llandaff when Teilo and Arwystyl were the bishops in the 6th century (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 358–60, 412–13). When St. Oudoceus was chosen to succeed St. Teilo, Elwared was one of the most prominent electors. According to the *Life of St. Oudoceus*, he, Merchwyn, and Cynfyn went, apparently as delegates from the clergy, to present the bishop-elect to the Archbishop of Canterbury for consecration. (*Ib.* 372.) There can be little doubt but he is the Elgwored who attended the school of St. Dubricius at Hentland on the Wye [DUBRICIUS] (*Ib.* 324). [J. G.]

ELWINUS (1), ST., or Alunus, one of Breaca's companions in her voyage from Ireland to Cornwall. A life of him was extant in Leland's time (*Itin.* iii. p. 5, 15, 16, 21). His day was Feb. 22. The parish named after him, St. Allen, is a little way north of Truro, and the parish between it and the sea is dedicated to St. Perran, also an Irish saint. [C. W. B.]

ELWINUS (2) (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 77, ed. Hardy), brother of Egfrid. [ELFWIN.] [C. H.]

ELWOED (ELWOID, ELWOD), abbat of St. Illtyd's, now Lantwit Major, and witness to several grants of land to the see of Llandaff, when Oudoceus and Berthgwyn were bishops, in the 6th century (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 402 sq.). [J. G.]

ELWOG (ELVOGUS) was bishop of Llandaff in the time of Meurig, Rhys, Ffernwael, and Rhodri, sons of Ithael, king of Glewyssig (Glamorgan). He is said by Ussher to have been the sixteenth bishop of Llandaff, and the *Liber Landavensis* places him next to bishop Trychan, but the editor inserts three bishops between them and

counts Elwog only the ninth prelate at Llandaff. He must have flourished in the second half of the 8th century. Professor Stubbs suggests his identity with Elbod, bishop of Bangor. (*Lib. Landav.* 460, 626; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 5, wks. v. 110; Godwin, *de Praesul. Angl.* 625; Stubbs, *Regist. Sacr.* 156.) [J. G.]

ELWORED. [ELWARED.]

ELWYSTYL (ELGISTIL), one of the clergy under St. Dubricius, is placed among the bishops of Llandaff, but only as one of the suffragans, according to the system instituted by St. Teilo, who "raised (suitable persons) to the episcopacy, sending them through the country, and giving dioceses to them to suit the convenience of the clergy and the people." Elwystyl appears to have been stationed in Ergyng, and flourished in the first half of the 6th century, in the times of Cynfyn and Gwyddai, sons of Pebiau, kings of Ergyng. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 352, 409, 624; Godwin, *de Praesul. Angl.* 622; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 156.) [J. G.]

ELXAI (Epiphan. *Haeres.* xix.), founder of Elkesaites. [ELKESAI.] [C. H.]

ELYMAS, a presbyter, martyred in Persia, together with Polychronius bishop of Babylon, and several other presbyters and deacons during the Decian persecution. Commemorated April 22. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 11; Tillem. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 561; Baron. *Annal.* 254, 27.) [T. S. B.]

ELYW. [ELLYW.]

EMA or AMA—May 22. Martyr with six other nuns, captives with Eliabus. [ELIABUS.] They were offered freedom on condition of marriage and offering sacrifice. They refused, and were at once beheaded. (Assem. *Mart. Orient.* i. 144.) [G. T. S.]

EMAGOLA. [MOLOCUS.]

EMAN, a clerical witness to a grant made to Grecielis, bishop of Llandaff, late in the 7th or early in the 8th century (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 417–18). [J. G.]

EMANT, of Cluain, commemorated July 1. He is called a bishop by Mar. O'Gorman, and his name is inserted by the second hand in the *Martyrology of Donegal* (by Todd and Reeves, 185 and n. [2]). It appears in the Kalendar of the Arbuthnott Missal (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 102), in the phonetic form of St. Evan, bishop. [J. G.]

EMANUEL, archimandrite. [EMMANUEL.]

EMANUS, martyred at Chartres in the 6th century with St. Maurilius and St. Almerus. According to the legend he was a Cappadocian, who in early youth made a pilgrimage to Rome, where pope Leo befriended him and furthered his education. After a stay of seven years, he conceived the desire of visiting the shrine of St. Nazarius at Milan. Here he stayed two years, and then proceeded to that of St. Symphorian at Autun, but a little later, warned by a vision, quitted that city to preach the Gospel at Chartres. In a remote part of that district he was set upon by thieves, who received with contempt his exhortations to them to lead a better life, and slew him on the 16th of May, the day on which he is honoured at Chartres. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 595.) [S. A. B.]

EMCHAT (EMCHATH), an old man in Glen Urquhart, on the side of Loch Ness, Inverness-shire, who was converted and baptized by St. Columba, and then passed to the Lord. His son Virolec also believed, and was baptized with all his house (Adamnan, *Vit. S. Col.* iii. c. 14). [J. G.]

EMEBERTUS, bishop of Cambray. [HILDEBERTUS.]

EMERENTIANA, a virgin, martyr at Rome, A.D. 304. She was the foster-sister of Agnes [AGNES]; as she mourned for her at her tomb, she was stoned by a crowd of people. She was at the time a catechumen. She is commemorated Jan. 23. (*Men.* Bas.; *Mart.* Ad., Us.; Baron. *Annal.* 304, 31.) [T. S. B.]

EMERIA (1) is the name given by Joceline and Evinus in their Lives of St. Patrick to the two daughters of St. Patrick's master Milcho, and sisters of bishop Guasacht (Jan. 24) of Granard. While Joceline (c. 36) gives few particulars regarding them except their place of burial, Evinus (*Trip. Vit.* i. c. 20, ii. cc. 30, 137) gives first an account of a wonderful dream by Milcho, and then tells how St. Patrick placed bishop Guasacht over the church of Granard, co. Longford, and the two sisters were put in charge of the neighbouring nunnery of Cluainbronach, now Clonbroney, where at death they were interred, and are now venerated on July 11 (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 741, col. 2, and *Tr. Thaum.* 73, c. 36, 100 n. 36, 120, c. 20, 133, c. 30, 148, c. 137, 170, n. [9]). Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 146, 219, 405) allows that there may have been such persons in Ireland, and even at Clonbroney, but sees many difficulties in the way of his receiving them and Guasacht as children of the unfortunate Milcho or Maelchu.

EMERIA (2), one of St. Triduana's two companions at Rescoby, Forfarshire [TRIDUANA] (*Brev. Aberd.* Prop. SS. p. aestiv. f. 122). [J. G.]

EMERINUS (EAMENUS), a bishop of Limoges, whose name is found in the catalogues between Atticus and Hermogenian, who flourished in the 3rd century. He is not mentioned in the letter written by Jordanus bishop of Limoges to pope Benedict VIII., in which he gives a list of the early bishops of the see in their chronological order. (*Gallia Christ.* ii. 501, *Instrumenta*, 163; Gams, *Series Episc.* 564.) [L. D.]

EMERITA (1), supposed sister of the British king Lucius. Her death by martyrdom, after she had followed her brother in his missionary journeys, is placed at Trimas or Trimontium, near Curia, now Coire, or Chur, the capital town of the Swiss canton Grisons, A.D. 193. Her feast is Dec. 4. Dempster has her commemoration at May 26 and Dec. 3, and with other Scotch authorities gives her nativity to Scotia (Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* cc. 3, 6, wks. v. 53 sq. 166; Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* iv. 16; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 261; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 83, 316). [J. G.]

EMERITA (2), virgin martyr at Rome, together with Digna. They were put to death during the Valerian persecution, circ. A.D. 257. Commemorated Sept. 22. (*AA. SS.* Sept. vi. 302.) [T. S. B.]

EMERITA (3), sister of Cornelia, confessor. (Cyp. *Epp.* 21, 22.) [MACARIUS.]

[E. W. B.]

EMERITUS (1), Donatist bishop of Julia Caesarea, or Jol, once an important town on the coast of Morocco, now called Scherschell (Shaw, *Trav.* p. 18).

A conference between the Catholics and Donatists was held at Carthage in June, A.D. 411, by command of Honorius, at which Marcellinus the proconsul presided. For the general character of the discussion, and the part taken in it by Emeritus, see above, vol. i. pp. 893, 894, but some remarks may here be added to illustrate his own character. He may be described as shewing himself a pertinacious and adroit, and to this extent able, partisan and special pleader, exhibiting much profession of fairness and anxiety that the case should be decided on its real merits, but meanwhile making it his business to divert attention from them, affecting a mock modesty as to his own slowness of comprehension, and on this ground repeatedly asking for more time to consider the whole matter, declaring his inability to understand the grounds taken by his opponents, and complaining of their alleged attempt to regard the Donatists and not themselves as the challenging party. He attempted also to shew that the ground taken by them in their invitation to discuss the disputed questions was different from that laid down by the imperial commission, that the genuineness of the invitation itself was doubtful, and that there was on the part of the Catholics a wish to conceal the truth in this matter. At the same time he disclaimed any obligation of being bound by the result of the discussion, insisted on regarding the question as merely an African one, and protested against its being extended beyond the limits of Africa alone.

When Augustine replied that it affected not the African church only, but the universal church of Christ, Emeritus accused him of shifting his ground, and of taxing him with a fault of which he himself was guilty. When the president recalled the attention of the Donatists to the real question, viz. whether the case was to be argued on the ground of fact or on that of doctrine, Emeritus replied, that if there were two grounds there ought to have been two commissions, and to the remark of Augustine, that if facts were to be judged, they must be attested by evidence, if doctrine, arguments taken from Scripture must be used, Emeritus repeated his former protest against treating the Donatists as challengers of the discussion. When Augustine asked whether they abandoned their objection to the consecration of Caecilianus, Emeritus complained that if they did so they were treated as challengers; if not, the Catholics claimed the right of replying to them as objectors. He protested against the importation into the controversy of the name of Caecilianus. Had the proceedings concerning him made him a righteous man or not? The church ought to be pure, and is vitiated by the presence of impure persons. The world is not the church, nor does God in any way regard the two as identical. The above account is taken from the *Monumenta Vetera de Don. Hist.* in Oberthür's edition of Optatus, No. 53, pp. 286–482; see also Ribbek, *Don. und Aug.* pp. 515–608.

On Sept. 20, 418, a meeting of Catholic bishops was held at Caesarea by desire of Zosimus, bishop of Rome, at which Deuterius, the metropolitan, presided. Emeritus, who happened to be in the place at this time, was invited to attend. Having mentioned the insinuations which were current as to the unfairness of the inquiry, whose decision it was said had been purchased by the Catholics, Augustine called on him to give a reason why, after the decisions against him and his party, he still refused to rejoin the church. Having recited the declaration of the Catholic bishops previous to the inquiry, in order to shew their candour and spirit of fairness, Augustine gave a summary of the Maximianist proceedings, in which Emeritus had taken a prominent part as a member of the council of Bazaia, and by assisting in drawing up its decision, if not, as Augustine appears to say, actually dictating it. He shewed that these had been pressed without effect upon the Donatists at the inquiry, and pointed out their inconsistency therein. But he failed in drawing from his opponent any satisfactory reply. (Aug. *de Gestis cum Emer.* vol. ix. p. 698; Tillemont, lxvii., lxxvii.; DONATISM, sup. 887.)

Two days after this Emeritus was present at a discourse delivered by Augustine in the principal church of Caesarea, in which, while he justified the imperial proceedings against the Donatists, proceedings which they chose to call persecution, he entreated his former opponent to return to the communion of the church. Augustine mentions in his Retractations that shortly after this he addressed a letter to Emeritus, containing an account of the points in which he thought the Donatists had been vanquished in argument, but this letter is not extant. From this time we hear no more of Emeritus. (Aug. *Serm. ad Pop. Caes.* vol. ix. p. 690; *Retract.* ii. 46, 51; *Epp.* 190, 193, *c. Gaud.* i. 14; Possidius, *Vit. Aug.* c. 14; Ribbek, *u. s.* pp. 645, 649.) [H. W. P.]

EMERITUS (2), bishop of Macri in the African province of Mauritania Sitifensis, summoned to Carthage to confer with the Arians by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484; at the conclusion of the conference he was sent into banishment, where he died. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 207; Gams, *Series Episc.* 466.) [L. D.]

EMERITUS (3), eleventh archbishop of Embrun, succeeding Salonius, who was deposed for treason and followed by St. Alfonsus, is said to have held the see from A.D. 585 to 610. He was present at the second council of Mâcon in 585, and himself convened a provincial synod in A.D. 588. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* lib. v. cap. 28; Labbe, *Conc.* vi. 681, 692; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Sacrés*, xi. 896; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 1063.) [S. A. B.]

EMERITUS (4), a reader, who suffered martyrdom along with Saturninus and many others at Abitina in Africa during the Diocletian persecution, A.D. 303. He openly avowed that an

assembly had been held in his house on a Sunday, and refused to surrender the sacred books, for, said he, "they are written on my heart." He was commemorated on Feb. 11 or, according to some, on Feb. 12. (Boll. *AA. SS.* Feb. ii. 513–519; Baluze, *Miscell. Hist.* i. 14; Ceillier, iii. 20; Vict. Vit. *de Pers. Vand.* lib. iii.; Ruinart, *AA. Sinc. Mart.* 382; Baron. *Annal.* 303, 36, 49.) [L. D.]

EMERIUS (1), bishop of Treves. [EVEMERUS.]

EMERIUS (2), the eighth bishop of Saintes, succeeding Eusebius, flourished in A.D. 562 or 563. His election was irregular, for he had usurped the see on the sole authority of a mandate of king Clotaire, without the consent of his metropolitan, who was absent, and apparently without having obtained the suffrages of the people and clergy. Accordingly, Leontius the archbishop of Bourges convened a council of the bishops of his province at Saintes, and having deprived Emerius, put Heraclius a priest of Bourges in his place (Labbe, *Conc.* vi. 527; *Gall. Ch.* ii. 1057). The document attesting the fresh election, subscribed by the archbishop and bishops, was forwarded to king Charibert, who had succeeded his father Clotaire. Charibert at once ordered Emerius to be reinstated, and sent his officers to exact a thousand gold pieces from Leontius, and from the rest according to their ability, and so avenged the insult. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 26; Ceill. *Hist. des Auteurs Sacrés*, xi. 886–7.) This was one of the high-handed impieties to which Baronius (ann. 566, n. xviii.) ascribes Charibert's death. But he infers from some verses of Venantius Fortunatus, lib. i. (given in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 74), that Emerius continued to hold the see, and was reconciled to Leontius. [S. A. B.]

EMERIUS (3), ST., son of St. Candida, founder and first abbat of the monastery of Banyoles (Balneolum) in Catalonia. He lived during the time when the Gothic inhabitants of Spain were hard pressed by the Mahometans, during the life of Charles Martel, A.D. 739; other traditions assign him to the time of Charlemagne. (*AA. SS.* Boll. 27 Jan. ii. 781.) [L. D.]

EMERUS, bishop of Treves. [EVEMERUS.]

EMETERICUS, bishop of Tarentaise. [EMITERIUS.]

EMETERIUS (1) AGRICOLA (MATINUS, ST. MADIR), said to have suffered martyrdom near Barcelona about A.D. 680. He was commemorated on March 3. (Boll. *AA. SS.* Mart. i. 244.) [L. D.]

EMETERIUS (2) only known as a subscriber of the fifth council of Arles, A.D. 554. He was not present, but was represented by Claudianus, a deacon. The name of his see was not added, and he has been claimed conjecturally as the sixth bishop of Riez, and the eighth of Marseilles. The latter is Le Cointe's conjecture, and is the more probable. (Le Cointe, an. 554, n. xvii. vol. i. p. 799; *Gall. Christ.* i. 394, 637; Labbe, *Conc.* vi. 462.) [S. A. B.]

EMETHERIUS (HAEMATERIUS, HEMETERIUS, HEMITHERIUS), martyr, who is said to have suffered along with Celedonius, at Calaguris, the modern Calahorra, on the river Ebro. He must have lived before Prudentius, but at what period is quite uncertain (Gregor. Turon. *de Glor. Mart.* i. 93, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 825). He was commemorated on March 3. Prudentius composed a poem (*Peristeph.* Hymn i.) in honour of the two martyrs (*ibid.* lx. 275; *AA. SS.* Boll. Mart. i. 228). The Bollandists distinguish between this martyr and Emeterius. (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*, Usuard., Adon., Notker., Wandelb. In *Mart. Hieron.* he occurs as Eremitas.) [L. D.]

EMIGDIUS (EMYGDIUS), first bishop and tutelary saint of Asculum or Ascoli in Picenum. In the reign of Diocletian he came out of Germany, with twelve brothers, to visit the tombs of the martyrs at Rome, where by his zealous preaching, overthrowing a statue of Aesculapius and casting it into the Tiber, he so exasperated the praefect that Marcellus bishop of Rome ordained him bishop and sent him for safety to Asculum. Here he eventually suffered martyrdom under the praefect Polimnius, A.D. 303 or 304. The Roman Martyrology commemorates him on Aug. 5. His Life has been written by Appiani, the Jesuit historian of Ascoli, but the authorities for his highly legendary *Acta* are allowed by Boschius to be conflicting and suspicious. (Ughel. *Ital. Sac.* i. 439; Baron. *Annal.* 309, iv.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 25; Paolo Antonio Appiani, *Vita di San Emidio*, Rom. 1702.) [C. H.]

EMILA (1), bishop of Barcelona (?) from about A.D. 600 to about 615. His name appears among the signatures to the disputed decretum Gundemari [GUNTHIMAR], which professes to date from 610. An Emila is also found among the subscriptions to the synod of the province of Tarraconensis, held at Egara in 615. No see is mentioned, but as Barcelona is one of the suffragan bishoprics of Tarragona, it seems justifiable to identify this Emila with the Emila ecclesiae Barcinonensis episcopus in Gunthimar's decree, which, even if not of the date it pretends to be, was probably put together with the help of documents now inaccessible to us. It is not pretended in any case that the decretum is later than 681 (*Esp. Sagr.* xxix. 128; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 342 and 324). [SEVERUS, ST.] [M. A. W.]

EMILA (2), bishop of Mentesa. After the (disputed) synod of Carthaginensian bishops at Toledo, in 610, and the decree of Gunthimar in the same year [GUNTHIMAR] (which documents are appended to the Acts of C. Tol. xii.), there appear in the most ancient MSS. three letters, or *Suggestiones*, from the clergy and people of Mentesa, the first from Sesuld in the name of the clergy, the second from Sunila, whom Florez takes to have been the chief civil authority, and the third from John, Ermengild, and Vivendus, in the name of the people of Mentesa, asking that one Emila of noble birth and character, should be consecrated "per Dei et vestram ordinationem." There is no name given of the church to which the letters were addressed, and we have no farther mention of Emila; but if the letters, together with the synod and decree, are genuine, and not a forgery of the time of Julian, it is probable, as Gams has suggested, that the letters

were tacked on to the Acts of the synod and to Gunthimar's decree, as documentary evidence in support of the claim to supremacy then brought forward by, and formally conceded to, Toledo, and that Emila must be dated, not after 610, but before 589, between which years the names of the bishops of Mentesa are known (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 255, Aguirre-Catalani; Gams, *Kirchengesch.* vol. ii. pt. 2, 77). [M. A. W.]

EMILA (3), bishop of Ilici (Elche), subscribes the acts of the fifteenth council of Toledo under Egica, A.D. 688, as "Elicitanae, qui et Elotanae sedis Episcopus." For the connexion of the see of Ilici with the older bishopric of Elotana *vid.* Serpentinus. (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 241; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 313.) [M. A. W.]

EMILA (4), the last bishop of Coimbra under the Gothic rule whose name remains to us. He signs the acts of the sixteenth Council of Toledo, under Egica, A.D. 693. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiii. 76; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 333.) [Lucencius.] [M. A. W.]

EMILA (5), deacon of Cordova, martyr with Hieremias, a layman, under the Saracens. They were proficient in the Arabian tongue, in which they so eloquently denounced the false prophet beyond all previous example that the Saracens meditated the extirpation of the whole Christian church at Cordova. Eulogius of Toledo gives Sept. 15 as their day (Eulog. Tolet. *Memor. SS.* ii. 12, in Patr. Lat. cxv. 793). Emila is named also Emilianus. [Emilianus (15).] [C. H.]

EMILIANUS (1) (Aemilianus), reckoned by the Sammarthani, according to their authorities, the first bishop of Valence in Gaul. He is mentioned, without any see, among the bishops who attended the council of Valence in the year 374. (Bruns, *Canon. Apost.* ii. 111; *Gall. Christ.* xvi. 291; Ceillier, iv. 600.) [C. H.]

EMILIANUS (2) I., eleventh bishop of Vercelli, cir. A.D. 500, present at the third and fourth councils of Rome under Symmachus (Mansi, viii. 252 a, 268 c), buried in the church of St. Eusebius, where his remains were discovered in 1081; commemorated Sept. 11. It is stated that he was born in Spain in the town of Libyum, that he was a disciple of bishop Felix, and a hermit for forty years, and that his great fame caused him to be unanimously elected bishop by the clergy and people of Vercelli (Boll. *Acta SS.* 11 Sept. iii. 797; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 762). The story of his life thus crosses that of the famous Spanish San Millan. [Emilianus (8).] [C. H.]

EMILIANUS (3) II., twenty-second bishop of Vercelli according to Ughelli (*Ital. Sacr.* iv. 763), who is followed by Gams. The period assigned to him is the year A.D. 653, and he is stated to have received many privileges from the Lombard king, Aripert I. Some confusion with Emilianus III. may be suspected. [C. H.]

EMILIANUS (4) III., bishop of Vercelli. In a deed of Aripert II., king of the Lombards, dated Oct. 9, 706 (Troya, *Cod. Diplom.* 3, p. 80), Emilianus receives a confirmation of the lands which Gauderius ("olim noster miles nunc autem . . abbas") had given to the monastery known afterwards as that of St. Michele di Lucedio near Vercelli. Aripert also decrees that the monastery which Emilianus had consecrated should be under the control of himself and his successors. (See also *Historiae Patriae Monumenta Chartarum*, vol. i. 13–15. The charter belongs to A.D. 706 or 707, according as the "fifth indiction" is reckoned. Ughelli (*Ital. Sacr.* iv. 763) has no Emilianus III., and calls this bishop, of whom he relates the same facts, Magnetius, the twenty-fifth in his list. See the preceding article.) [A. H. D. A.]

EMILIANUS (5) patriarch of Grado, 749 to 757. See Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, ix. 749. For the relations of Grado and Aquileia, see Elias and Epiphanius. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v 1090.) [A. H. D. A.]

EMILIANUS (6) (Aemilianus), an Irish bishop, patron of Faventia, now Faenza, in the north of Italy (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 16, § 10; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* Nov. 12, p. 198; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* i. 193 n. b). [J. G.]

EMILIANUS (7) (Aemilianus), a hermit who retired into the forest of Ponticiacum in Auvergne. This locality has been thought to be either Pontgibaud at the sources of the Sioule, west of Clermont beyond the Puy de Dôme mountain, or Pionsat at the north-west angle of the dep. Puy de Dôme. Here he passed his life in prayer and manual labour, with the birds and wild beasts for his familiar companions. He died at the age of ninety, A.D. 538, leaving what possessions he had to his disciple Brachio. (Greg. Tur. *Vit. Patr.* c. 12, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 1210; Ceillier, xi. 381.) [L. D.]

EMILIANUS (8) (Aemilianus, San Millan), solitary; one of the most famous and ancient of Spanish saints, claimed by the Spanish Benedictines as joint patron of Spain with St. James (Sandoval, *Fundaciones de San Benito en España*, Madrid, 1601). The only original source of information about him is the life of him by St. Braulio bishop of Saragossa, written about fifty years after his death, on the testimony of four of his disciples—Citonatus, Sophronius, Gerontius, and a holy woman Potamia. St. Braulio died about 657, and we have a mention of his life of Emilianus by St. Ildefonso (*de Script. Eccl.* lib. ii. cap. 12), which must have been written before 667. The life was written for the express purpose of being read on the saint's feast-day, November 12, and was sent to the bishop's brother Fronimianus, accompanied by an Iambic hymn, which appears at length in the Muzarabic Breviary. It was first published by Sandoval in 1601.

St. Braulio gives no dates and no names of parents, but the common tradition is that St Emilianus was born about 473, and died about 572, not long before the destruction of the town of Amaya in Cantabria (Dahn, v. 150), by Leovigild in 573, a fact mentioned in the *Acta* as having been prophesied by the saint "ante annum fere migrationis suae centesimum vero vitae." His birth-place and the site of his oratory have given rise to endless controversy, Castile claiming him as a native of the Rioja, a district of Old Castile, born at Berceo, close to the existing monastery of San Millan, while Aragon puts forward Verdeyo, near Calatayud The name of

his native place is given by St. Braulio as Vergegium. The question then is, is Vergegium represented by Berceo in Castile or Verdeyo in Aragon? and which relics are genuine—those at Torrelapaja near Verdejo, or those at San Millan near Berceo? In the fiftieth volume of the *España Sagrada*, Señor Lafuente devotes a good deal of space to these difficulties, and comes to the following conclusions: (1) that Vergegium is Verdejo, and that San Millan was therefore a native of the Arragonese diocese of Tarrazona; (2) that the cult of the saint at or near the present San Millan is extremely ancient, and springs from the fact that the saint passed the first forty years of his anchoret life on the mountain of La Cogolla, which overhangs the monastery, being recalled thence by command of the bishop of Tarrazona; (3) that his oratory, of which St. Braulio speaks as the scene of his last years ("ubi nunc ejus habetur corpusculum gloriosum"), is rather to be identified with Torrelapaja, near Verdejo, than with the site of the upper and elder monastery of San Millan de Suso, near Berceo. The archives of the monastery, however, from the 12th to the 16th century have been so hopelessly tampered with and falsified that it is almost impossible to arrive at the facts of the original cult or of the early history of the community. The present Benedictine house was probably founded in the 11th century in the time of the Cluniac reform, though there may have been an older community there, and the cult of the saint on the Cogolla mountain is certainly very much older. (*Esp. Sagrada*, vol. l. p. 2.)

Emilianus began life as a shepherd, and it was while following his flock over the mountains that the dream overtook him which was the cause of his conversion. Moved by what seemed the direct call of God to a holy life, he betook himself to St. Felix, a neighbouring hermit, living at Bilibium (absorbed in the 12th century into the modern town of Haro), and was by him instructed in Catholic belief and practice. Thence he returned to Vergegium (Verdejo), but finding his life there too public on account of the strangers who flocked to see him, he soon left it for the mountains, wandering north-west into the remotest parts of the mountainous district between Burgos and Logrono ("ad remotiora Distertii montis secreta"). For 40 years he lived a hermit's life there, for the most part on or near the peak of La Cogolla (according to the tradition of the monastery; there is no mention of the Cogolla of St. Braulio's life), whence the after name of the monastery which commemorated him—San Millan de la Cogolla. At last, attracted by the fame of his extraordinary sanctity, Didymus, bishop of Tarrazona (Turiasso), sent for him, and much against the saint's will ordained him presbyter, imposing upon him at the same time the cure of Vergegium, his birthplace. In this office his entire unworldliness (locupletem reddens ecclesiam Christi virtutibus non opibus; religione non redditibus; Christianis non rebus) drew upon him the hatred of his brother clergy. He was accused before Didymus of wasting the goods of the church, and deprived of his cure. Thus released from an unwelcome office, Emilianus retired to an oratory near Vergegium, and there passed the rest of his life. During this second period of retirement, although the severity of his personal asceticism increased rather than diminished with time, he allowed himself to be surrounded by a small circle of disciples and became widely famed for his charity and tenderness towards the poor. In extreme old age he even allowed himself to be nursed by certain holy women (habitabat cum sacris virginibus), a fact which, taken together with the mention of his possessing a horse at one time upon which he rode to church, seems to dispose of the absurd assertions of later times that St. Emilianus was the founder of a Benedictine monastery and himself a Benedictine abbat. St. Braulio nowhere speaks of him as monachus, but only as presbyter; there is of course no mention of any monastery, though we hear of friends and disciples, and we are told that he died in the arms of a certain "Arellum presbyterum, cum quo habebat collegium." Ildefonsus indeed speaks of St. Braulio's life as "vitam cujusdam monachi," and Braulio himself applies the title of abbat to Citonatus, one of the four disciples and eye-witnesses, a fact however which proves nothing for the Benedictines, as monachism in Spain is at least as old as the mention of it at the Council of Saragossa in 380. On the whole it seems most likely that the Benedictine rule was unknown in Spain during the whole Visigoth period. (*Mem. de la Real Acad. de Hist. de España*, vol. vii. p. 469. See arts. FROMISTAN and ST. MARTIN of Braga.) About the beginning of the 13th century there was a curious upgrowth of legend, of miraculous appearances, forged privileges, and so forth, round San Millan and his monastery. Of this the Latin and Castilian versions of the famous *Privilegio de los Votos* (Sandoval, *Fundaciones*, &c. i. fol. 46), and the *Vida de San Millan* of Gonzalez Berceo, written about 1240, and one of the earliest monuments of Spanish vernacular poetry are well known instances. (Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyr. Hisp.* vi. 109; *Esp. Sagrada*, l. 2; Mabillon, saec. i.; Yepes, *Chron. Benedictin.* i. ann. 572; Sanchez, *Poesias Cast. ant. al Siglo XV.* vol. ii.)

[M. A. W.]

EMILIANUS (9) (AEMILIANUS), a notary who was retained by Gregory the Great amongst his clerics, and with his company wrote down from the pope's delivery (excepit) the forty homilies on the Gospels, as we learn from the life of Gregory by John the Deacon (lib. ii. 11, in Migne, Patrol. Lat. lxxiii. 48; Ceillier, x.. 550).

[L. D.]

EMILIANUS (10) (AEMILIAN, EMINIAN, EMMIAN), abbat of Lagny. At March 10, Colgan (*Acta SS.* 573–574) gives a memoir, "De S. Aemiliano Abbate Latiniacensi ex Jacobo Desmayo et aliis." This was a disciple of St. Fursey (Jan. 16), and a follower in his footsteps, first in study and discipline, and then across the sea. He left Ireland and joined St. Fursey at Lagny, in France. When St. Fursey set out for England, shortly before his death by the way, he gave his monastery at Lagny (Latiniacense), in charge to Emilian, who unless, as some say, St. Eloquius was chosen by the brethren successor of St. Fursey at Lagny, continued to rule it until his own death. The date of this is unknown, but he must have flourished about A.D. 648, and his festival at Lagny was on Mar. 10, as we gather from Menardus in the *Benedictine*,

and from Saussayus in the *Gallican Martyrologies*. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 278-79; *Gall. Christ.* vii. 491; Mabill. *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. ii. 624, ed. 1733.) [J. G.]

EMILIANUS (11), martyr in Lesser Armenia, with Dionysius and Sebastian; commemorated Feb. 8. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hier., Ad., Us., Wand.) [T. S. B.]

EMILIANUS (12), martyr in Numidia with bishops Agapius and Secundinus, during the persecution of Valerian, A.D. 259. He is commemorated April 29. (*Mart.* Ad., Us.) [T. S. B.]

EMILIANUS (13) (AEMILIANUS), the Spanish governor who condemned St. Fructuosus and his companions to death at Tarragona, A.D. 259. [FRUCTUOSUS.] (*AA. SS.* 21 Jan. ii. 340; Ceillier, ii. 387.) [L. D.]

EMILIANUS (14), martyr at Dorostorum, in Moesia, during the reign of Julian. He entered an idol temple, broke the statues of the gods, and scattered the victims. He then went and informed upon himself to the governor of the province, by whom he was condemned to be burned alive. (*Men.* Bas.; *Mart.* Us.) Commemorated July 18. [T. S. B.]

EMILIANUS (15), a deacon, martyred at Cordova with Hieremias. Commemorated Sept. 17, according to Usuard, but Eulogius assigns him (under the name of Emila) a different day. (*Mart.* Us.) [EMILA (5).] [T. S. B.]

EMILIANUS (16) (AEMILIANUS), physician and martyr in Africa during the persecution under Hunneric king of the Vandals; commemorated Dec. 6. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Ad., Us.) [T. S. B.]

EMILIUS (1), an African martyr, commemorated May 22. [CASTUS (2).] (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Ad., Us.; *Cal. Carth.*) [T. S. B.]

EMILIUS (2), a martyr in Sardinia along with Felix and two others. Commemorated May 28. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Ad., Us.) [T. S. B.]

EMILIUS (3), martyr at Capua during the Diocletian persecution. Commemorated Oct. 6. (*Mart.* Hier., Ad., Us.) [T. S. B.]

EMILIUS (4) (AEMILIUS), a bishop, the father of Ia, whose epithalamium on her marriage with Julian of Elana was written by St. Paulinus of Nola, who speaks in flattering terms of her father. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxi. 607; Ceillier, viii. 86.) [L. D.]

EMILIUS (5) (AEMILIUS), ST., bishop of Beneventum, was sent to the emperor Arcadius by pope Innocent and the Roman council concerning the affairs of St. John Chrysostom, A.D. 405. He is identified by some with the bishop Aemilius mentioned by St. Paulinus of Nola in the epithalamium on the marriage of Julian and Ia. (Paulin. Nolan., Poem. xxvi., in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxi. 638, 922 note 292; Sarnelli, *De' Vescovi Benev.* 23; Mansi, iii. 1162.) [L. D.]

EMILIUS (6) (AEMILIUS), father of Remigius (St. Remi) bishop of Rheims. According to the traditions embodied in the lives of St. Remi, Emilius was an illustrious man, and he is said by some to have been a count. (*AA. SS.* Boll. Oct. i. 65, 135.) [L. D.]

EMILIUS (7) (*Gall. Chr.* ii. 500), bishop of Limoges. [EBBO.] [C. H.]

EMIN, EMINUS. [EIMHIN.]

EMINENTIUS, a Donatist bishop, who, instead of appearing personally at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411, sent his signature by Felix bishop of Novasinna (*Mon. Vet. Don.* ed. Oberthür, p. 460). [H. W. P.]

EMINIANUS, abbat of Lagny. [EMILIANUS (10).]

EMINO, bishop of Tarentaise. [EMMO.]

EMITERICUS, EMITERIUS, twelfth bishop of Tarentaise, succeeding Budemarus and followed by Widenardus, about the middle of the 7th century. The name alone survives. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 702; Gams, *Series Episc.* 829.) [S. A. B.]

EMITERIUS (Adon. *Mart.* Mar. 3).

EMITHERIUS, (Wand. Mar. 3), martyr. [EMETHERIUS.]

EMMA, the wife of Eadbald king of Kent, 616–640; daughter (according to Florence of Worcester, who probably followed the Kentish hagiographers) of a king of the Franks, who is identified by Pagi with Theodebert king of Austrasia. (*M. H. B.* 635.) Thorn, the Canterbury historian, says that she died two years after her husband, and was buried beside him. (Thorn, ap. Twysden, col. 1769.) She is said to have been the mother of all his children. (Elmham, pp. 175, 176.) Her name appears in a spurious charter of Eadbald. (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 6; Elmham, p. 144; see Will. Malmesb. *G. R.* lib. 1, § 11.) [S.]

EMMANUEL (MANUEL), presbyter and archimandrite of Constantinople. In A.D. 448 he appears as informing the archbishop Flavian, through the presbyter Asterius, that Eutyches, the heretic, had sent to him a "tome" which he had drawn up and had endeavoured to secure his signature to it. (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 197.) It appears however that when Flavian sent messengers to the archimandrites to ascertain the truth in this matter, Emmanuel was one of those who said the tome had not been sent to him. (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 211.) This contradiction has not been explained. Tillemont suggests the possibility of there having been two Emmanuels, contemporary archimandrites (as there were two Eusebiuses), but of this there are no traces. Nor, again, is it possible to suppose two archimandrites, one Manuel and one Emmanuel, for wherever Manuel occurs, he stands in the place which Emmanuel occupies in other lists.

Emmanuel is addressed by pope Leo, Oct. 15, A.D. 449, together with Faustus, Martinus, and Petrus, other archimandrites of Constantinople, in a letter exhorting them to constancy, faith, and charity, and denouncing the acts of the second council at Ephesus (*Epp.* 51, 71, 937, 1012, Migne). In 451 he signs the address of the orthodox archimandrites to the emperor

Marcian, and he appears in the Act of the Council of Chalcedon as subscribing the depos.-tion of Eutyches. [C. G.]

EMMANUEL, bishop of Adrianople, present at the seventh general (second Nicene) council, A.D. 787, where in the acts he is called Manuel (Mansi, xii. 994). He is identified by Le Quien (*Oriens Christ.* i. 1173) with the Manuel bishop of Adrianople who was carried away and cruelly murdered by Crumus the Bulgarian chief. Another account says that he was carried off by Crumus along with the parents of Basil the Macedonian, who afterwards became emperor; that he converted many of the Bulgarians, and was murdered with others by Cutrago or Mutrago, the successor of Crumus, who was enraged at his missionary success, but that Basil, being a mere lad, was allowed to escape. This latter version is that adopted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his life of his grandfather Basil (c. 4). (Migne, Patrol. Graec. cix. 216.) [L. D.]

EMME (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 1, in *M. H. B.* 210), bishop of Sens. [EMMO.] [C. H.]

EMMELIA (EMMELIUM), the mother of St. Basil, who supplied her son and Gregory Nazianzen with food whilst they were living as anchorets in Pontus, as we learn from Gregory's fifth letter (Migne, Patrol. Graec. xxxvii. 5). On her death, Gregory wrote an epitaph for her, in which he extols her on account of her children, three of whom were priests (*ibid.* xxxviii. 1128, 1129; Baron. *A. E.* 363, lxxxviii.). [L. D.]

EMMERAMMUS, EMMERAMNUS, ST., martyr and missionary bishop. There is no distinct authority for his see, but it has been inferred, with great probability, that it was Poitiers, and in the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (ii. 1151) he appears as 25th bishop of that diocese, succeeding Johannes I. and followed by Dido. We know, however, that about A.D. 649, he resigned his see, whichever it was, and, after providing a successor, left country, family, and large possessions to seek the wilds of Pannonia, where he had heard the people were still idolaters. He was accompanied only by a priest named Vitalis to act as interpreter. On his way he arrived at Ratisbon, the residence of Theodon, who governed Bavaria for king Sigebert III. Here he learnt that the country before him was so hostile as to be impassable, and reluctantly yielded to the entreaties of his host that he would stay, and, as bishop, or if his humility declined that office, as abbat, charge himself with the spiritual jurisdiction of the district. He allowed himself to be persuaded with the less regret, as he saw that the recently converted people of that part mingled the worship of their old gods with their new-found Christianity. For three years he preached and worked in all parts of the country round, and his labours were crowned with success. At the end of that period, A.D. 652, he obtained permission to make a pilgrimage to Rome. Accompanied by a few priests he set out on his way amid the lamentations of his flock, but when he had been three days only on the journey, and was resting at a place called Helffendorf, where there was a pleasant spring of clear water, he was overtaken and slain by Lantbert, Theodon's son, and a band of armed followers. An almost incredible story is given as the reason of his murder. He was buried at Aschaim, but his remains were later on translated to Ratisbon. Two churches were built, one on the spot where he was struck down, the other at the cross-roads where he breathed his last. Both were reputed to be the scene of numerous miracles. Before the close of the century, the well-known monastery called after him was erected at Ratisbon. He is commemorated Sept. 22. The authority for this account is the life by Aribo, who calls himself Cyrinus, bishop of Freising, who lived about a century later, in Surius *de Prob. Sanct.* Sept. 22, v. 367, and Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 474. There are also extant a treatise, *De Passione B. Emmeramni*, by a priest called Constans, written at the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century Patr. Lat. xcvi. 1367), a *Vita B. Emmeramni*, by Meginfredus provost of Magdeburg, and two books of *Miracula S. Emmeramni* by Arnold, a monk of the monastery, both in the 11th century (Canisius, *Lectt.* iii. pt. i. p. 105; Pertz, *Scr.* iv. 543; Migne, Patr. Lat. cxli. 973, 995), but they add nothing to the account of Aribo. (Cf. Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs sacrés*, xiii. 94, 95; Usuard. *Mart.* Sept. 22.) [S. A. B.]

EMMETIUS, bishop of Nantes. [EUMELIUS.]

EMMIANUS (*Gall. Christ.* vii. 491), abbat of Lagny. [EMILIANUS (10).] [C. H.]

EMMIA, abbess. [ENIMIA.]

EMMO, ST., twenty-fifth bishop of Sens, succeeded Arnulphus. In 659 he subscribed a *praeceptum* or *privilegium* for the abbat and monks of the monastery of St. Columba, and another for the monastery of St. Peter of Sens (both given by Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1168, 1171). In 662 he was one of the subscribers of a *charta* of Berthefredus, bishop of Amiens, in favour of the monastery of Corbie (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1178). He entertained Adrian, the companion of Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, during part of the winter of A.D. 668, which they spent in France, on the way to their new country (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 1). He is said to have died in A.D. 675, and to have been buried in the monastery of St. Peter Vivus. His successor in the see was Landeberchtus, or according to the Bollandists, St. Amatus. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 9; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 124–5.) [S. A. B.]

EMMO (EMINO), eighteenth bishop of Tarentaise, succeeding Benimondus and followed by Possessor, towards the close of the 8th century. Nothing but the name survives. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 702; Gams, *Séries Episc.* 829.) [S. A. B.]

EMNERIUS, deacon of Nantes, whose servant Leudardus was cured of blindness. (Greg. Tur. *de Mirac. SS. Mart.* iv. 20.) [C. H.]

EMNERUS, bishop of Nantes. [EUMERIUS.]

EMPIRE, ROMAN. The religion of the empire at the time when it came in contact

with the church of Christ may be best described as one of confluent polytheism. Following in the line of the great Macedonian conqueror it had recognised the religions of the nations it had conquered, and had, with some natural exceptions, tolerated their introduction even at Rome itself. In the gods of Greece, and even in those of many barbarian nations, it recognised under different names those which from time immemorial had been the objects of worship in Italy, and even the deities of Egypt and of Syria were allowed to have the honour of a cultus in the imperial city. The worship of Mithras was naturalised at Ostia. Serapis and Isis were not without their votaries at Rome (comp. Apuleius, *Metam.* bk. xii.; Juvenal, vi. 526–541, ix. 22, xiii. 93).

The exceptions, which proved the rule, were significant in their character. Rome had been startled, even in the days of the Republic, by the introduction of the new rites of the Bacchanalia. A secret society with mysterious orgies, which drew within its influence men and women of the higher classes, and in which licence of the worst character was practised, or reported to be practised, alarmed the senate. Edicts were issued for their suppression, and those who were suspected of joining in them were watched with a jealous eye (Livy, xxxix. 13, 14).

When the course of conquest brought the Roman government into contact with the Jews a new phenomenon presented itself. Here was a people unlike the rest of the nations, professing a religion which stood out in marked contrast with theirs, which worshipped one God and not many, and thought of that God not as the others did, as anthropomorphic or theriomorphic, but as invisible and apart, not capable of being represented by any human art. Political considerations made it expedient to court the support of the Jews in the conflict of Rome with the kings of Syria, and the Jews, on their side, welcomed the protection of the great republic. When the conquest of Judaea by Pompeius brought large numbers of Jews to Rome, they were allowed to settle in the Transtiberine quarters of the city by themselves, and, although belonging mostly to the slave or freedman class, they gained, partly by their higher culture, partly by the mysteriousness of their faith, a considerable influence over both men and women of the higher classes. Horace alludes sportively to his reluctance to offend them (Sat. 1, 9, 69). Juvenal notes it as a sign of the degeneracy of the times that the groves of Egeria had been let to them, either as a quarter where they might take up their abode, or for purposes of worship (Sat. iii. 12–15), and speaks of their oratories (*proseuchae*) as more or less frequented by converts (Sat. iii. 296), of their women as beguiling the minds of others of their sex by whispering the secrets of the future, or unfolding the to them mysterious lore of the books of Moses (Sat. xiv. 102). Judaism also took its place as a *religio licita*, though it was regarded with a feeling of uneasy suspicion, as presenting affinities with the magic arts practised by the *Chaldaei* and *mathematici*, who cast horoscopes, and whose predictions were at times a disturbing element in the state. Traces of this feeling are found in the edicts of expulsion which either included Jews, as under TIBERIUS, or were specially directed against them, as under CLAUDIUS.[a]

In the edict of the latter we may probably find the first trace of the followers of the new faith. The Jewish quarter had been for some weeks or months in a state of tumult, and that tumult was connected with the name of Cherstus. We can scarcely fail to recognise in that name the fact that the question whether the name of the Christ of right belonged to Jesus of Nazareth had become, as in other cities of the empire, a bone of contention between hostile parties, and that the Romans, looking at the matter as one of "words and names," and taking Christus or as they afterwards, and, probably, then also, pronounced it (Tertull. *Apol.* c. 3) Chrestus, for the leader of one of the parties, thought it necessary, as a measure of police, to eject the whole body of the Jewish population. This was, however, only a transitory measure of precaution. The salutations in Rom. xvi. shew that the Jews soon returned, and with them a considerable number of those who were now known as Christians. They, too, we must believe, so far as they distinctly recognised at all, were regarded at first as professing a *religio licita*.

Soon, however, a more hostile feeling began to shew itself. When St. Paul arrived at Rome the sect was "everywhere spoken against" (Acts xxviii. 22). It was probably the adoption of that faith by Pomponia Graecina, the wife of Plautius the conqueror of Britain, A.D. 47, that led to her trial as professing a new and gloomy superstition (Tacit. *Ann.* xiii. 32), and although the church gained its converts among the slaves and freedmen of the imperial household (Phil. iv. 22), and possibly also among the soldiers and centurions of the Praetorian camp (Phil. i. 13), there was a counter-current of feeling which led men to look on the Christians as with the hatred which grows out of fear, and when NERO, in what is reckoned as the first general persecution, exposed their men to the cruelest tortures and their women to outrages yet worse than torture, he fell in with, rather than shocked, the current of popular feeling. It was easy to turn the tide of suspicion after the fire of Rome, against those who spoke of the vengeance revealed in fire that should destroy their enemies. Disciples might honour the remains of St. Peter and St. Paul, and other martyrs, but statesmen, men of letters, and the crowd of sightseers looked on with indifference.

The death of Nero, however, brought with it a temporary relief. There was no law or edict of the senate forbidding the practice of the new religion, and as it had its meetings for worship, and its organised government by a bishop and elders, it must either have continued to profit by its identification, for legal purposes, with Judaism, or have been recognised as having a distinct existence as a *religio licita*. Under DOMITIAN, however, they were again in danger, not from

[a] It has been maintained, and, I think, fairly proved, in Hindekofer's *Judaism at Rome* (1877), that the senatorial patrician party, who looked back with regret to the days of the republic, were all along the advocates of a rigorous and repressive policy against both Jews and Christians, while the popular party, represented commonly by the emperors, were in favour of a wider tolerance, or were secretly inclined to a monotheistic faith.

any systematic persecution, but from the jealous suspicion which marked the policy of that emperor, and which turned the bureaucracy of the empire into a vast army of *delatores*. His victims were not many, but they were illustrious. The emperor's cousin, FLAVIUS CLEMENS, was put to death, and his wife and daughter, each bearing the name of FLAVIA DOMITILLA, banished, on a charge of atheism, in which the testimony of Christian writers enables us to recognise the profession of the new religion. The traditions that the grandsons of Judas the brother of the Lord were brought to Rome as possibly dangerous rivals, that with this there was a local persecution in Judaea, and that St. John was only delivered by a miracle from the caldron of boiling oil, are probably all connected as parts of the results of the same policy [DOMITIANUS]. The conversion of these members of the imperial family may at any rate be taken as shewing the extent to which the church was gaining followers among the upper classes, and it is a noticeable fact that from this time to the conversion of Constantine no name appears so frequently among the Christian inscriptions as that of the Flavian gens.

The reign of TRAJAN (A.D. 98–117) presents the first instance of a persecution set on foot, not by a brutal or cruel emperor, but by one whose general policy was one of vigorous equity. The letters, however, that passed between him and Pliny, the proconsul of Bithynia, shew that it was forced on him against his will, and that his own nature was inclined to tolerance. He was told that the temples were deserted, that sacrifices were no longer offered. The vested interests that were connected with the established worship were threatened by the growth of the new society. Vague rumours were current that its members met together for Thyesteian banquets and orgies of frightful licence. The truthful report of the proconsul shewed that there were no grounds for these charges, but the tranquillity of the province had to be maintained, and the aggressive movement of the new sect to be checked, and the directions given by the emperor issued in the rule against which Tertullian protests as a "sententiam necessitate confusam" (*Apol.* c. 2), flagrantly at variance with the first principles of justice. Christians were to be punished if they confessed that they bore that name, to be set free if they disclaimed it. The very plea of not guilty, which in other cases was but the prelude of a trial, was in this to be tantamount to a sentence of acquittal (Pliny, *Epp.* x. 96, 97). In the report of the trial of IGNATIUS of Antioch before the emperor, we trace, with all allowance for the exaggeration of the martyrologist, the half-conscious feeling that the empire was coming into contact with a new force, acting upon society as well as upon speculative thought, which would in the long run prove incompatible with its religion, and therefore, as it seemed, with the authority with which that religion was identified. The members of the Christian church acknowledged "another king, one Jesus," and his law, and not that of Caesar was their ultimate standard of right and wrong. The reigns of the two Antonines (ANTONINUS PIUS, A.D. 138–161, MARCUS AURELIUS (A.D. 161–180) presented nearly the same features as those of Trajan. They too, were wise, liberal, equitable in their general administration. They were content to treat Christianity as a *religio licita*, so long as it did not thrust itself forward in real or apparent antagonism to the supreme authority of the state. They had their places of meeting and of burial. They had, as Tertullian (*Apol.* 37) boasted, with perhaps some pardonable exaggeration, filled the courts and the camps, and were not without representatives even in the senate and the forum. They claimed the protection of the laws so long as they were not guilty of crimes against social order. They numbered among them men of education and culture who were not ashamed of their religion, and were prepared to undertake its defence. The 2nd century, especially in its second half, was emphatically the age of the Apologists, of QUADRATUS (temp. Hadrian), of JUSTIN (d. 167), of TERTULLIAN (d. 240), of MINUCIUS FELIX (fl. 270). Their tone is for the most part that of those who are contending against vague calumnies and a widespread suspicion, threatening a future persecution, rather than of men who are themselves at the time suffering from it. JUSTIN, it is true, earned the name of martyr, and POLYCARP (A.D. 169) fell a victim to the passions of the populace at Smyrna, backed by the vindictive hatred of the Jews, but there are no traces of any active persecution at Rome itself, or throughout the empire generally, and the very stress which Justin lays in his second Apology on one or two individual cases in which Urbicus the praefect of the city had punished Christian propagandism with death shews that they were exceptions to the general tolerance (*Apol. II.* c. 2). Apart from propagandism, there was nothing to prevent the Christians of Rome from meeting for worship and burying their dead in peace, and holding undisturbed possession of their catacombs. The reigns of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS and his sons (A.D. 193–217) were marked by no fresh legislative or executive activity directed against the Christians, and the influence which ORIGEN had exercised over the mind of JULIUS MAMMAEA when he visited her at Antioch, were seen in their treatment by her son ALEXANDER SEVERUS (A.D. 222–235). In the eclectic worship of that emperor busts of Christ and of Moses were seen, even in his private oratory, side by side with those of Orpheus and Lycurgus, and when a question arose as to the contending claims of the church at Rome as a corporation (the very dispute shews that it was recognised as having a right to hold property), and that of a guild of butchers, the emperor gave judgment, on ethical grounds apart from the legal merits of the case, in favour of the former, as likely to make a better use of the property for which the two parties were contending. Under these conditions it was natural that the inherent vitality of the Christian church should assert itself, and that men and women should turn to it as affording a refuge alike from the foulness of heathen life and the scepticism which had been the outcome of the decay of the old faiths of Greece and Rome and the conflict of rival schemes of philosophy. The boastful language of Tertullian, "We have filled your senate, your camps, your courts," may perhaps, as has been said above, be exaggerated, but it bears testimony, after all due discount has been allowed for its high-flown rhetoric, to the spread of the new faith among

the upper ranks of Roman society. The foreign origin of PHILIP THE ARABIAN, even if we set aside the doubtful tradition that he was himself a Christian, naturally made him indifferent to the maintenance of the national *cultus*, and was so far favourable to the church's peace. It was not till the accession of DECIUS (A.D. 249–252) that the officials of the empire, under an emperor bent upon restoring the old vigour of Roman policy and checking all innovations on its religion, awoke to a sense of the seriousness of the situation, and began to take active measures for the suppression, or at least the repression of the Christian faith. There was accordingly a violent though brief persecution in well-nigh all the provinces of the empire. Some sought safety by flight, some retired to the hermit life of the wilderness, some languished in prison, many died under cruel and varied tortures. Not a few, the *thurificati*, the *lapsi*, of ecclesiastical history, purchased their lives by apostasy. Others, technically known as the *libellatici*, without participating actually in the idolatrous act which was made the test of conformity to the religion of the state, purchased a certificate (*libellum*) that they had complied with the emperor's edict and so escaped.

The immediate effect of the Decian persecution was, as has been said [DECIUS] to thin the numbers of those who were known as the followers of Christ, and to strengthen the energy of those who continued faithful. The martyrs gained new honours, the confessors greater influence, and the very controversies which arose as to the treatment of the *lapsi* and the *libellatici* bear testimony to the church's freedom of action. The first eight years of VALERIAN (A.D. 253–261) were a time of rapid increase in numbers and growing consciousness of strength. In A.D. 259, XYSTUS, bishop of Rome, had had the courage [CYPRIAN] to transfer the supposed remains of St. Peter to the catacombs, afterwards known as those of St. Callistus, on the Appian Way, those of St. Paul to a burial-place on the Ostian Way. Those who had been active supporters of the policy of Decius felt that there was a fresh necessity for supporting it, and at the instigation of Macrianus, the emperor issued an edict which was the signal for a fresh persecution. Xystus and four of his deacons were apprehended as he sat teaching in his episcopal chair in the cemetery of Praetextatus [CYPRIAN]. Cyprian was seized and condemned to death by GALERIUS at Utica, and the last three years of the emperor's reign witnessed sufferings in all parts of the empire, like those under Decius. When GALLIENUS came to the throne (A.D. 261–268), as if shrinking from the possible issue of a prolonged struggle, he adopted a more temporizing and tolerant policy, restored to the Christians the places of assembly of which his father had deprived them, and for the first time formally recognised their faith by name as a *religio licita* (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 13). The taunting speech of AURELIAN to the Roman senate, when he reproached them for not consulting the Sibylline books in a time of national danger, that "it would seem as if they were sitting in a church of the Christians, and not in the temple of the gods," implied at once that he recognised the effect of Gallienus's edict, and was more or less alarmed by it, and it is probable that had his life been prolonged he would have followed in his footsteps, and rescinded the edict of toleration. As it was, however, he so far acted on that edict as to recognise the authority of the church of Rome in determining a question affecting property in the church of Palmyra.

The edict of Gallienus remained in operation, however, till A.D. 303, when DIOCLETIAN (A.D. 284–305), who had begun his reign with the policy of toleration, who had Christians, recognised as such, among the officers of his household, and whose wife and daughter were more than suspected of being proselytes to the rival faith, issued the decree which made his reign memorable as the aera of martyrs, and gave the signal for the last great struggle. Churches were burnt or desecrated. The sacred books of the Christians were destroyed. Christians were to be deprived of all official dignities and civil rights, and reduced to the level of slaves. The test of sacrificing or burning incense was applied with a ruthless severity. Even CONSTANTIUS was compelled to content himself, in spite of all the leanings to a more tolerant policy, which were due probably to the influence of his wife, Helena, with endeavouring to save the lives of Christians while he acquiesced in the destruction of their buildings and their books. The eight years that followed were the worst that the church had as yet encountered. The first signal of a return to the older policy was given in A.D. 311, in the decree issued by CONSTANTINE, LICINIUS, and GALERIUS, which gave Christians permission to rebuild their churches, and restored their faith to the position of a *religio licita*, but by another edict in A.D. 312, propagandism was still treated as penal, and while the organised Catholic church was recognised as a corporation that might be dealt with as having a legal existence, all sects outside the church were excluded from the benefit of the decree. The edict of Milan, A.D. 313, gave an ample measure of freedom in allowing conversions to the church, as well as protecting those who were already in it, and in ordering the restoration of all property that had been taken from them in the time of persecution. The battle of the Milvian bridge, in which Constantine, after the memorable vision of the *In hoc signo vinces*, adopted the monogram of Christ, so familiar in the Christian inscriptions of the catacombs, and ordered it to appear on the shields of his soldiers as they marched against Licinius, closed the long struggle, and the decrees which followed in A.D. 319, giving to the ministers of Christian churches immunities from public burdens, in A.D. 321, allowing the enfranchisement of slaves in churches as well as temples, and ordering the observance of the *Dies Solis*, by the suspension of public works and judicial business, placed it on the footing of the most favoured faith. The religion of the emperor was avowed, and it tended naturally, even without actually repressive measures against the religion of his fathers, to become the religion of the empire.

It is difficult to form any accurate estimate of the actual amount of suffering caused by the intermittent persecutions of the fluctuating policy which we have traced for nearly 300 years. Probably not more than fifteen or twenty years out of that period were marked by any very rigorous measures of repression. The tendency of Gibbon's

mind may have been to underrate the severity of the sufferings of the early Christians as that of the martyrologists was to indulge in enormous exaggerations, but some weight must be given to the language of Origen that those who had died for their religion were "few and very easy to be counted" (*Cont. Celsum*, iii.), and to the fact that Dionysius of Alexandria, giving an account of the sufferings of the church there, names only ten men and seven women as having suffered martyrdom (Euseb. *Hist.* vi. 41). The calculation which, starting from the fact that Eusebius names only ninety-two Christians in Palestine as put to death in the persecution of Diocletian, in which for the first time the cruelty of panic was added to the policy of repression, and which was therefore at once more violent and more protracted than any that had preceded it, and that as Palestine was about the sixteenth part of the Eastern empire, the total number of sufferers may be reckoned at 1500, or throwing in Italy, Africa, and Spain, at about 2000, is open to the charge of being a somewhat precarious method of statistical inquiry (Gibbon, c. xvi.), but it must be admitted that no persecutions endured by the Christian church at the hands of Roman emperors ever approximated to those which Christians afterwards inflicted on each other; and the aera of Diocletian falls into insignificance as compared with the crusade against the Albigenses under Innocent III., or that against the Protestants of the Netherlands under Charles V. and Philip II., or the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the Dragonnades that followed on the Revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV.

The difference was indeed natural, looking to the motives that prompted the persecution in either case. There was no *odium theologicum* in the policy of the Roman emperors, no intense conviction that those whom they persecuted were enemies of God, and bringing others into peril of a condemnation, compared with which the stake and the sword, and the torments of the Inquisition, were light and temporary evils. With them persecution was but a measure of police, necessary to uphold the religion of the state when its existence was threatened by the active propagandism of men who were not content with exercising the rights of conscience for themselves. Among those who occupied a lower position than that of emperors and statesmen there were doubtless other motives. There were the vested interests, which, like those of Demetrius and his craftsmen, gathered round the established worship, and which made every great temple, with an organisation like that of a cathedral or mediaeval abbey (Wood's *Ephesus*, pp. 4–45) the centre of a resolute resistance to a new faith. There was the feeling prevalent at first among the lower classes, but finding its way afterwards to the more educated, for whose instruction Augustine wrote his *De Civitate Dei*, that the gods were offended at the spread of those who said that they were demons and not gods, and which led the people, when they suffered from inundations or earthquakes, famines or pestilences, to cry, "Christianos ad leones!" There was the irritation caused in the minds of the vile by the presence of a purity and holiness that reproved their vileness, presenting features such as have been seen in later times in the outrages endured at the hands of mobs by Puritans and Methodists. There were the calumnies insidiously propagated, and telling, probably, on the more decent and respectable classes, which represented the eucharistic feast of Christians as a Thyesteian banquet upon flesh and blood, and their feasts of love as polluted by incestuous and unnatural licence. There was the dread, telling upon men of the official order, and reproduced in the feeling of English politicians towards the Jesuits of the court of Rome, and of the despotic monarchies of Europe towards freemasons and other secret societies, caused by finding themselves face to face with a vast organised community spreading throughout the empire, and owning other laws of duty as superior in authority to theirs. At one period there seemed, indeed, something like the fanaticism of a rival worship. The *cultus* of Mithras, the Sun-god, introduced at Ostia in the time of Pompeius, had gradually spread throughout the empire. Mithraic groups have been found in well-nigh every province from Cyprus to Pannonia. The basilica of St. Clement at Rome stands over what was once a sanctuary of Mithras. With this worship the main actors in the last struggle of paganism were more or less closely identified, and Constantine's edict for the observance of the *Dies Solis* was probably intended as a concession to the worshippers of Mithras as well as to those of Christ. These influences, varying from time to time in their effects, led doubtless in many cases, to great brutality and cruelty, like that of the reign of terror in the French Revolution; but putting aside legends like those of the 10,000 martyrs slaughtered in a single day on Ararat, and the 6000 soldiers of the Theban legion in the valley of the Rhone, commemorated by the abbey of St. Maurice, the history of the church and the empire presents nothing like a massacre. It was the aim of statesman-like emperors, and they for the most part were the only persecutors, to repress rather than to exterminate. To plead "not guilty" to the charge of being a Christian was to ensure acquittal. The forms of law were carefully observed. The accused was allowed time for his defence; and opportunities for flight so frequently given and used that Tertullian thought it necessary to write a treatise (*De Fugâ in Persecutione*) against it. Compromises like that of the *libellatici* in the Decian persecution were readily connived at; and the question which arose within the church as to the treatment of those who had accepted it, or had actually burnt incense, and so placed themselves among the *lapsi*, shews how widely the door of escape had been thrown open.

What was it, we ask in conclusion, which sustained the Christians of the first three centuries in their conflict with the empire? What was the secret of their final victory? The answer, looking for the present to human causes only, is found first, and chiefly, in the fact that they had faith, and that the statesmen and emperors had none. They did verily believe that they were worshippers of the Son of God, through whom they found access to the Father; that heaven and hell, their future destiny through long, it might be, endless, ages, depended on their stedfastness in that faith. Few philosophers were willing to suffer or die for a theory about the Supreme Good. The disciples of Christ were ready to suffer and die for their belief in the Supreme

God. For them the religion of the empire was not a form of Aryan thought, presenting a lower stage of culture or education, but a system identified with the power of Satan, the gods of which were individually demons who owned him as their master. As the superstructure on this foundation there was the strength of a wide organisation and of a unity, which as yet heresies and schisms might have impaired, but had not destroyed, and the attractive power,—attractive to all in whom there was any yearning after a higher life than the infinite debasement of the cities of the empire,—of a new purity, a new reverence for womanhood and childhood, a new sympathy with the sick and with the slave, a new sense of the heroism of living for the truth. How far a more systematic and continuous persecution might have succeeded in realising the boast of the Pseudo-Neronian inscription [NERO], and destroying the name of Christian from the face of the earth, we can, of course, only conjecture; but intermittent persecution was obviously calculated only to further its progress. It acted like a test, and purified the Christian society from the feeble and faint-hearted, the sensuous and the worldly, who flocked into it in the time of its prosperity [DECIUS]. It strengthened the *esprit de corps* in those who remained faithful. The blood of martyrs became the seed of the church. Slowly the new faith worked its way from towns to villages, from slaves and freedmen to men of culture and wealth. The aristocracy of the senatorial party, at first foremost in the work of persecution, and protecting itself against innovations by requiring every senator to burn incense as he entered the halls of meeting, found itself invaded. When the parties were evenly balanced, there was, as in the time of Diocletian, a sharp and fierce struggle; but the eye of the statesman who looked into the future could no longer fail to recognise that all the elements of strength and success were with the Christians and not with their opponents. To endeavour to put back the shadow on the dial of history, as Julian did, was a fruitless and hopeless task. It was impossible to galvanise the corpse of the dead *cultus* into a new vitality, and the traditional confession of the apostate, "*Vicisti, O Galilaee!*" was the natural consequence of the traditional assurance given to Constantine, "*In hoc signo vinces!*"

[E. H. P.]

EMPODIUS, bishop of Volterra. [ELPIDIUS (15).]

EMPTACIUS, bishop of Sicessa, a town in all probability to be identified with Siga, in the African province of Mauretania Caesariensis, at one time the royal residence of Syphax. He was one of the catholic bishops summoned to Carthage and subsequently banished by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 278; Gams, *Series Episc.* 468.)

[L. D.]

EMUNDUS is said to have been the fifteenth bishop of Avignon, following St. Maximus, and succeeded by St. Magnus, about A.D. 630 to 644. The evidence on which this assertion rests is an old manuscript list of the abbats of the monastery of Mons-Major near Arles, to which he belonged before he was made bishop. This list is said by Le Cointe to have been published by Francis Nouquièr, a priest of Avignon, in 1659. (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 641, n. vi. tom. iii. p. 132; *Gall. Christ.* i. 800.) [S. A. B.]

EMYGDIUS, bishop of Asculum. [EMIGDIUS.]

EMYR LLYDAW, though not the ancestor of any of the "three stocks of saints of the island of Britain," like Brychan, Cunedda Wledig and Caw, yet had many descendants among the saints, a list of twenty-two being given by Rees. He was an Armorican prince, nephew of St. Germanus, and flourished in the 5th century (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 165; Williams, *Emin. Welsh*, 144). [J. G.]

ENAN (HENAN). **(1)** Son of Gemman, commemorated Jan. 30. *Mart. Doneg.* places him at Ros-Mor in Ui-Deagha, in Ui-Ceinnsealaigh, in the south of Leinster, but this Ross or Rosmore is unidentified. It is also conjectured, but against probability, that he may be the person who wrote the lives of the saints. In this, Enan is evidently regarded as the same person with St. Evin, to whom is attributed the writing of the so-called *Book of Kilkenny* and the *Life of St. Patrick.* [EIMHIN.] (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 31 407; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 137; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 361 n. [64], 511-12.) In the *Kal. Drummond*, Jan. 30 (Bp. Forbes *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 4), it is said "apud Hiberniam S. Enan confessor migravit ad Christum." [J. G.]

ENAN (2), son of Muadan, commem. Mar. 25. When St. Patrick came into Dalriada and adjacent districts, and was building churches there, Evinus (*Vit. S. Patr.* ii. c. 130) mentions his erection of the church of Druim-Indich, in the region of Cathrigia, and his placing over it St. Enan, whom in his note Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 146 col. 2, 182 n. [203]) identifies with the son of Muadan, though in another place (*Acta SS.* 747) he had doubted as to assigning the dedication of Mar. 25 to this saint, and not rather to a disciple of St. Comgall (May 10), of Bangor, whom St. Comgall brought back to life: Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 268) accepts the validity of this doubt, and says Enan must have lived late in the sixth century; but Lanigan's great aim seems to be to controvert the statements of Archdall in his *Monasticon Hibernicum*, where an abbey is raised on St. Patrick's foundation. There is little doubt, however, but that this is the saint who is called in the *Kalendar of Marian O'Gorman*, "Enanus egregius, diuturnae quietis, et Muadani filius," and who had his church in the townland Drumeeny in Gleushesk, in the parish of Ramoan and barony of Cary, co. Antrim, where there is also an old burying-ground, now under cultivation, called Killeena: in the same neighbourhood there was a church given to St. Erclach, called Rath-mudain, "Arx Muadani," from Muadan, the father of Enan, and this, being contracted, has given its name to the parish, Ramoan (Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 79, 284-5, 323). Colgan thinks he flourished about A.D. 460.

[J. G.]

ENAN (3) of Drumrath, commem. Aug. 19. He was son of Ernineus, of the race of Eochaidh Finnfuathairt, and thus cited by Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 613, col. 2), among the saints belonging to the family of St. Brigida (Feb. 1). His church, which some call an abbey, was at Drumrath, a parish in the barony of Kil-

kenny West, and county of West Meath, and this, which was built about A.D. 588, is said to have been destroyed A.D. 946, by the foreigners, and again by Brian M'Cinneide fifty years later (*Nat. Gazet.* "Drumraney"; *Mart. Doneg.* Todd and Reeves, 225). In the *Life of St. Aedh* (Nov. 10), this bishop is said to have paid a visit to St. Enan, the hermit, who lived in the place where the famous monastery of Drumrath now stands in his honour, but nothing is really known of St. Enan's history. According to Tigernach (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* ii. 192) he died A.D. 633. [J. G.]

ENAN (4) of Glenn-Faidle. Commemorated on Dec. 29. [MENOC.]

ENAN (5) of Inis-Aego, commem. April 29. He was one of the successors of St. Donnan (Apr. 17), after the island of Egg again became a religious abode, but his date and history are unknown, unless he be the person mentioned in the *Annals of Ulster*, "A.D. 724, Oan princeps [superior ecclesiastically] Ego mortuus est." (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* iv. 79; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 296.) [J. G.]

ENBALD I. (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 731 A, 732, B, C), archbishop of York. [EANBALD I.] [C. H.]

ENBALD II. (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 732 C), archbishop of York. [EANBALD II.] [C. H.]

ENCHONIUS (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 608, xi.), bishop of Maurienne. [ICONIUS.] [C. H.]

ENCHORACH UA DODAIN, abbat of Glendaloch, bar. North Ballinacor, co. Wicklow, died A.D. 769 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 764; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 768). [J. G.]

ENCOLPIUS, Donatist bishop of Vallis or Balita, in proconsular Africa (Opt. ii. 4; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 321, iv.; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* p. 469). [H. W. P.]

ENCRATIS, ST., or ENGRATIA, "Santa Engracia" in Spanish parlance, one of the Saragossa martyrs in the persecution under Diocletian, who suffered at the hands of the well-known Dacian. She is not one of the famous eighteen martyrs of Saragossa, but her name and sufferings, together with those of St. Vincent, are celebrated in the hymn devoted to them by Prudentius (*Peristeph.* Hymn iv. vv. 109 sq.). The peculiarity of her passion is that she did not die under the hands of her persecutors, but survived for some time in an incredibly torn and mutilated state, until at length the release of death came. In certain epigrammata attributed to St. Eugenius II. (III.) of Toledo (*Esp. Sagr.* v. 273), who is known, from his life by St. Ildefonsus, to have had a special devotion to the Saragossa martyrs, she is mentioned as buried in the same church, but not in the same tomb, as the eighteen.

> Hic etiam compar meritis Engratia Martyr
> Sorte sepulchrali dissociata jacet.

For an account of the discovery of the relics of Engracia and Lupercius at Saragossa in 1389 in the foundations of the cathedral and of the present cult of the saint, see *Esp. Sagr.* xxx. 289. The late *Acta*, together with Prudentius's Hymn, are given in Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyr. Hisp.* ii. 645. Engratia is also mentioned in the well-known *Passio SS. innumerabilium Caesaraugustanorum Martyrum*, attributed to Braulio of Saragossa. (*Esp. Sagr.* xxx. 260, 307; Gams, *Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, i. 320; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 410–412.) [M. A. W.]

ENCRATISTAE (*Cod. Just.* I. v. 5), heretics. [ENCRATITES.] [T. W. D.]

ENCRATITES (Ἐγκρατεῖς, Irenaeus; Ἐγκρατηταί, Clem. Alex.; Ἐγκρατῖται, Hippol.), heretics who abstained from flesh, from wine, and from the marriage bed, not temporarily, as in the earliest ages of the church, with a view to more intense devotion, but permanently, and from a belief in the essential impurity of the things renounced. Persons who so abstained called themselves continent (ἐγκρατεῖς, Iren. i. 28, p. 107); and the slightly modified form, Encratites, soon became a technical name to denote those whose asceticism was regarded as of a heretical character (Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 2, p. 182; *Strom.* i. 15, p. 359; vii. 17, p. 900; Hippol. *Ref.* viii. 20, p. 276). We are not bound to suppose that all who were known by the name formed a single united sect. Irenaeus, for instance (*l. c.*), says that some of the earliest of them were followers of Saturninus and Marcion; and it is reasonable to understand by this, not that followers of Marcion coalesced with followers of Saturninus to form a single new heretical body, but rather that followers of these two heresiarchs, independently using the same mode of life, and making the same boast of continence, were known by the orthodox under the same name. The practice of abstinence of the kind in question was anterior to Christianity. Not to speak of the Indian ascetics (to whom Clement of Alexandria refers as predecessors of the Encratites), the abstinence of the Essenes, both in respect of food and of marriage, is matter of notoriety. Josephus's account of the Essenes is referred to by Porphyry, who, like them, objected both to the use of animal food and to animal sacrifices. An interesting specimen of Pythagorean doctrine on this subject is his work, περὶ ἀποχῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων, addressed to a friend who after trial of abstinence had wickedly relapsed into the use of flesh diet. He insists on the importance of keeping the soul, as far as possible, free from the bonds of matter, under which the use of animal food tends to enslave it; on the wisdom of avoiding everything over which evil demons have power, viz. all material things, and especially the use of animal food; and on the injustice of depriving of life for our pleasure animals who are akin to ourselves, and in everything like ourselves, having reason, emotions, sentiments completely like ours.

The account given by Hegesippus of James the Just (Eus. *H. E.* ii. 23) shews that righteousness of the Essene type was early held in admiration in the Christian church; and we learn from 1 Tim. iv. 3–6 that at the date of that epistle teachers had arisen who inculcated such abstinence as a duty. But it does not appear that they held the Gnostic doctrine, that matter is essentially evil, and its creation the work of a being inferior or hostile to the Supreme; for the apostle's argument with them assumes it as a point still un controverted that the things they rejected were

creatures of the good God. We find from the Clementines that the Ebionite sects which arose out of Essenism, though they permitted marriage, disallowed the use of flesh meat and wine; and that their doctrine respecting God's work of creation was quite orthodox. Hippolytus, too, who takes his account of the Encratites, not, as in several other cases, from Irenaeus, but from his own acquaintance with them as a then existing sect, describes them as orthodox in their doctrine concerning God and Christ, and as only differing from the church in their manner of life. But the Gnostic teachers named in the passage cited from Irenaeus undoubtedly based their asceticism on the doctrine of the evil of matter which they denied to be the work of God; and in consequence they deemed it wrong, by generation, to bring new souls under the dominion of death, and expose them to the miseries of this life. A full discussion of the arguments which they used will be found in the third book of Clement's *Stromateis* (though in this book the name Encratites does not occur), the principal writers whom he combats being MARCION, TATIAN, already mentioned by Irenaeus as a leader of that sect, and JULIUS CASSIANUS. It appears that the Gospel according to the EGYPTIANS contained alleged sayings of our Lord, which they used in support of their doctrines. Epiphanius mentions that they used other apocryphal writings, such as the Acts of Andrew, John, and Thomas. This controversy seems to have been actively carried on in the last quarter of the 2nd century. Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 28) relates that MUSANUS, a writer of the beginning of that period, addressed a very effective dissuasive argument to certain brethren who had turned aside to that sect, then newly come into existence; and Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 21) mentions that another writer of the same date, APOLLINARIS, wrote against the Severian Encratites.

Eusebius (iv. 29) derives this name Severians from a certain SEVERUS, who became an Encratite leader shortly after Tatian. He adds that these Severians received the Old Testament and the Gospels, only putting their peculiar interpretations on them, but that they reviled Paul, rejecting his Epistles, and not even receiving the Acts of the Apostles. There are Ebionite features in this description, and it is quite possible these Severians may have been of Ebionite origin, for we have already said that great diversity may have existed between the teaching of persons known by the common name of Encratite. The Severians are described by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 45) with all the features of an Ophite sect; but he seems to have had only a hearsay knowledge of them, for he speaks of the sect as having almost died out in his time; and Lipsius (*Q.–K. des Epiph.* 215) gives good reason for thinking that he did not find any article on them in previous heretical treatises. In his chapter on the Encratites (*Haer.* 48) Epiphanius describes them as widely spread, enumerating seven different countries where they were then to be found; and we may at least conclude that he had reason to know that there were in these countries heretics leading an ascetic life, though, as has been already remarked, it would be unsafe to assert an absolute identity in their teaching. We may set it down as a mistake of Epiphanius that he places the Encratites after the Tatianites, as if they were a branch of the latter sect, the true relation between the two names being just the opposite. Some additional information about the Encratites is contained in the lately recovered work of Macarius Magnes, published in Paris, 1876. In this work (iii. 43, p. 151), written about the year 400, he gives an enumeration of some of the countries where the Encratites (whom he also calls Apotactites and Eremites) were to be found, which so far agrees with that of Epiphanius as to suggest that Macarius was acquainted with the work of Epiphanius. But he adds that a defence of their doctrines in eight books had been published by a leader of theirs, Dositheus, a Cilician, in which he inveighed against marriage, saying that "by sexual intercourse the world had had its beginning, but by continence would receive its end," and equally condemning as abominable the tasting of wine or the partaking of flesh meat. In his account of the Samaritan Dositheus, Epiphanius introduces some Encratite features not attested by other authorities; and perhaps it is not incredible that Epiphanius may have allowed his knowledge of the doctrine of the one Dositheus to affect his account of the other. We cannot give much weight to the account of Philaster, who (72) assigns the name and doctrine of the Encratites to the followers of AERIUS [see also ABSTINENTES]; and we may wholly disregard the inventive "Praedestinatus," who represents the Encratites as refuted by an Epiphanius, bishop of Ancyra. It is worth while, however, to repeat the last writer's distinction between Encratite and Catholic abstainers; viz. the former asserted the food which they rejected to be evil; the latter owned it to be good, too good for them.

With the advance of asceticism in the church care was always taken to distinguish in some such way between orthodox and heretical abstinence. At first the distinction seems to have been between occasional and permanent abstinence, the latter being regarded with suspicion in the church. We learn from the letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons (Eus. *H. E.* v. 3) that Alcibiades, one of the confessors who had been in the habit of living on bread and water, reformed his practice on the exhortation of his fellow prisoners, who represented to him that he did not well in refusing to use God's creatures, and in causing a stumbling-block to others. In like manner the 53rd (45th) of the apostolic canons deprives any clergyman who refuses to partake of flesh and wine on festival days. Perhaps this willingness to partake of flesh and wine on festival days may have been intended as a test of the distinction made in the 51st (43rd) canon between those who abstained from self-denial (δι' ἄσκησιν) and those who abstained διὰ βδελυρίαν, as abominating God's creatures. The 14th canon of the council of Ancyra permits clergy to abstain from flesh, on condition of their first tasting it. This would shew that they had no heretical horror of the food itself. (See ASCETICISM, DICT. CHRIST. ANT.) For the controversy raised on the subject of asceticism by EUSTATHIUS of SEBASTEIA, see that article and GANGRA, DICT. CHRIST. ANT. Canons of St. Basil on the subject of Encratite baptism (clxxxviii. can. 1; cxcix. can. 47) have given rise to some dispute, but it seems to us

clear that St. Basil wished to reject the baptism of the Encratites in question, not because they did not use the orthodox formula of baptism, but because, regarding them as tainted with Marcionite error, he could not accept the verbal acknowledgment of the Father in the baptismal formula as atonement for the insult offered to the Creator, whose work they looked on as evil. Reference has been already made to these canons in the article APOSTOLICI, as well as to the law of the Theodosian code (A.D. 381) against the Manicheans, who sheltered themselves under the name of Encratites. Not many years earlier we have mention of the Encratites as a then existing sect in Galatia; for Sozomen (v. 11) records the sufferings of Busiris, who was at that time one of them, in the persecution under Julian. [HYDROPARASTATAE.] [G. S.]

ENCTHONIN, a crocodile-shaped archon presiding over the first division of the place of punishment (*Pistis Sophia*, p. 320). [G. S.]

ENDA, ENDE. [ENNA (1).]

ENDDWYN is a Welsh saint of uncertain date, whose name remains in Llanenddwyn, Merionethshire. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 42: Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 307, 341.) [J. G.]

ENDELECHIUS, a rhetorician, who is said to have held the chair of rhetoric at Rome, mentioned by St. Paulinus of Nola in his twenty-eighth letter as a Christian man, and the inspirer of his panegyric on Theodosius. He is identified by some, but without any sufficient reason, with "Sanctus" to whom Paulinus wrote his fortieth and forty-first letters. (*Vit. Paulin.* cap. 25, Paulin. Ep. 28, § 6 and note, Epp. 40, 41, in Patr. Lat. lxi. pp. 66, 312 b, 367, 377, 870 c; Ceillier, viii. 70.) [L. D.]

ENDELIENTA, ST., daughter of Brychan, king of Brecknock, one of the numerous Welsh devotees who settled on the Cornish coast opposite to Wales. The parish of St. Endellion is on the Bristol Channel, west of St. Tethe (also named from a daughter of Brychan). In it exists a very early sepulchral pillar, with the inscription, "BROEAGAN HIC IACIT," which some connect with the name of the Welsh king (see Whitaker's *Cathedral of Cornwall*, ii. p. 95; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 160; Sir J. Maclean's *Trigg Minor*, i. p. 485). [C. W. B.]

ENDEUS, (Hardy, *Descr. Cat. Mat.* i. 86), Irish abbat. [ENNA.] [C. H.]

ENDRIGHETTUS, bishop of Feltre, received a grant of certain privileges from Charles the Great between 769 and 781. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, x. 134.) [A. H. D. A.]

ENDULUS (ENDULANUS, ENTULANUS, EUTULANUS), fourteenth bishop of Toul, following Autmundus and succeeded by Theodefridus, was born at Toul, and was beloved of the kings of Austrasia. He obtained for his church several fresh possessions, which are said to have been confirmed by a charter of Theodebert II., king of Austrasia, in the eighth year of his reign (A.D. 602 or 603), but it does not appear to be extant. (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 962.) [S. A. B.]

ENEAS of Gaza. [AENEAS.]

ENEDOR, ST. (Cressy, *Ch. Hist. of Britt.* lib. iv. 19, § 1), saint. [ENODORUS.] [C. H.]

ENFAIL (ENVAEL, ENVAIL) is in the list of Brychan, of Brycheiniog's children (or grandchildren) in the *Bonedd y Saint*, and had the church of Merthyr Enfail, now probably Merthyr in Carmarthen. The name would suggest her martyrdom. She lived in the middle of the 5th century. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 42; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 152, 331.) [J. G.]

ENGELBERTUS (ANGILBERTUS, ANGHILBERTUS), a Frank of good birth ("haud ignotae familiae" Nithard, iv. 5), brought up from his earliest years in the palace of Charlemagne (*Epist.* Hadrian; ap. Jaffé's *Mon. Alcuin*, 246, and *Ep.* 112, p. 458), and employed by him on political missions of importance. He was appointed abbat of St. Riquier about the year 790. He had previously (circa 783) been attached to the court of Pippin, king of Italy, Charles's son, as "primicerius" and chief counsellor (*Mon. Alc.* 149), and in 794 he was entrusted by Charles to carry the capitularies of the synod of Frankfort relating to the worship of images to pope Hadrian (*Mon. Alc.* 245, and V. CAROLINI LIBRI). In 796 he was again sent to Rome on the accession of Leo III. nominally to congratulate him, in reality to secure his fidelity to the Frankish king. The instructions given to him by Charles shew the confidence reposed in him. (*Ep. Carol.* 9, ap. Jaffé's *Mon. Carol.* 353.) Originally a pupil he always remained a close friend of Alcuin, by whom he was specially recommended to pope Hadrian. (*Mon. Alc.* 244. Compare also *Epp. Alc.* 51 and 54, in *Mon. Alc.* 279 and 281, the latter of which, addressed to Engelbert himself, shews the very intimate character of the friendship; cf. also *Ep.* 163, *Mon. Alc.* 603–4.) It was a friendship not only of affection and religion, but of books and of literature. Engelbert is said to have collected a library of 200 MSS. for his monastery. Alcuin continually entreats Engelbert, when at Rome or elsewhere, to bring him relics, also books (*e.g.*, a copy of Jordanes, *de Getarum Origine*, *Ep.* 164, *Mon. Alc.* 603–4), and the latest letter in Jaffé's collection is one in which Alcuin elaborately discusses certain grammatical points with Engelbert. (*Ep.* 252, *Mon. Alc.* 802 sq.) Engelbert in the literary round table of the court of Charlemagne, bore the name of Homer, and even in the letter of instructions above referred to (*Mon. Car.* 353) he is addressed by the king as Homer and "Homeriane puer." So, often by Alcuin, see especially *Ep.* 54, *Mon. Alc.* 281–3. Charles and Alcuin both spent Easter of 800 at Engelbert's abbey of St. Riquier, and Alcuin was requested by the abbat to write a life etc. of the patron saint, which he subsequently sent to the emperor. (*Ep.* 238, *Mon. Alc.* 755.) Engelbert apparently accompanied Charles to Rome, and was present at his coronation there. In 811 he witnessed the will of Charlemagne. (Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, 33.) He died a few days after the emperor, on Feb. 18, 814, and was buried at St. Riquier. (Nithard, iv. 5.) His remains were translated from the porch to the choir of St. Riquier with great solemnity, twenty-nine years later. (Nith. l. c.) His epitaph is to be found in Bouquet,

(vol. v. p. 408 note). His extant writings are a fragment of his *Carmen de Karolo Magno* (ap. Canisius, Duchesne, vol. ii., Bouquet, vol. v., and best ap. Pertz, *Scrip.* vol. ii.), three letters addressed to Arno bishop of Salzburg (ap. *Mon. Car.* pp. 365 sqq.), and some verses on Pippin king of Italy are ascribed to him (ap. Duchesne, vol. ii. 646; Bouquet, vol. v. pp. 408–9).

There are two lives of Engelbert as a saint extant, both of the 12th century, one by Anscherus abbat of St. Riquier, the other by Hariulfus, author of the *Chron. Centulensis Abbatiae;* both are to be found in the *Acta Sanctorum.*

Engelbert was the father of Nithard the historian, by Bertha daughter of Charlemagne (Nith. iv. 5). The *Chron. Centul.* and the life of Anscher, without attempting to disguise the fact, endeavour to make the marriage take place early in the reign of Charles, before Engelbert had entered the clergy. According to these authorities the "Ducatus maritimae terrae" was committed to him, and he fought several battles against the Danes; afterwards he became a monk, whilst Bertha took the veil. Probably the plain fact as related by Nithard himself is the truth, and we have Einhard's testimony that Charles's prohibition of the marriage of his daughters gave rise to many grave scandals. This question, together with others relating to Engelbert as abbat of St. Riquier, has been elaborately discussed by MM. Dufour and Hénocque in the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Picardie*, vol. ix. (1865–67), pp. 98–113, 146–82, 250–269. Cf. generally Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, vol. i. pp. 131–7, 3rd ed.

[T. R. B.]

ENGELMUND, presbyter, abbat, and patron saint of Velsena, a fortified spot four miles from Haarlem. He was an Englishman of Frisian descent, born of Christian parents, and in the time of Willibrord, the apostle of the Frisians, came among this people, and preached in Kennemaria, the district about Haarlem. He died in the pagus Velsenus, where was formerly one of the five mother churches raised by Willibrord between the Meuse and the insula Texalia. He was commemorated on June 21. (Boll. *Acta SS.* June iv. 115.) [C. H.]

ENGHENEL was son of Cynan Garwyn ab Brochwel Ysgythrog, descended from Cadell Deyrnllug. Rees (*Welsh Saints*, 161, 297) says he is the saint to whom Llanenghenel, under Llanfachraith in Anglesey, is dedicated, and places him in the beginning of the 7th century. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 41.) [J. G.]

ENGLATIUS, ENGLACIUS, abbat, commemorated Nov. 3. This saint appears in most of the Scottish Kalendars, but is not in the Litany of Dunkeld. Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 248) says he wrote *Lecturae sacrae*, lib. i., *Scriptura ad scrutinium*, lib. i., *Epistolae ad Varios*, lib. i.; but Dempster's literary ascriptions are usually extremely doubtful. Englatius's dedication is Nov. 3, but Camerarius places him on Nov. 5, and Dempster gives him a double dedication, pointing to a two-fold history. "Sept. 26. In Scotia Englatii episcopi, qui crebris predicationibus Scotiam cum maximo fructu lustravit. *Boeth., Brev. Aberd.*" "Nov. 3. In Scotia Englatii episcopi, qui Picticam halosin vidit et ante bellum deflevit. *Kal. A. King.*" Adam King calls him bishop and confessor in Scotland under Kenneth III. A.D. 966, and Dempster says he flourished in the year 1010; but Kenneth III. was not King in that year: Spotswood (*Ch. Hist. Scot.* 27) classes him with Blaanus Colmocus, and Moveanus in the 10th century. But there is evidently much confusion, and of the time, place, and circumstance of the saint's death we are altogether uncertain. No details of his life are known. The collect in the *Aberd. Breviary* (Prop. SS. p. est. f. 146a), prays that by his intercession we may be saved from the concupiscence of the world, and neither be corrupted by its blandishments nor crushed by its frowns. His only known dedication is at Tarves, Aberdeenshire, where he is locally called St. Tanglan. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 122, 136, 166, 212, 217, 332; *View Dioc. Aberd.* 329; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort*, 185, Nov. 5; Tanner, *Bibl.* 262.) [J. G.]

ENGRATIA, Spanish Martyr. [ENCRATIS.]

ENI, brother of Redwald and father of Anna, kings of East Anglia (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 97, ed. Hardy; Wend. *F. H.* ann. 652, ed. Coxe).

[C. H.]

ENIMIA (ENYMIA, EMMIA), abbess; said to have been the sister of Dagobert king of the Franks and daughter of Clotaire II., though some traditions make her the daughter of Clovis II. and even of Clovis I. She founded a double monastery, one for monks and another for nuns, in the mountains overlooking the river Tarn (dep. Tarn), and was consecrated the first abbess by Iserus bishop of Meude, her diocesan. She was commemorated on Oct. 6. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 406; *Gall. Chr.* i. 111; Le Cointe, *Annales*, ii. 794.) [C. H.]

ENNA (ENDA, ENDE, EINNE, latinised ENDEUS) (1) Son of Conall Derg, and abbat of Aran, commemorated March 21. The primary authority on the life and acts of St. Enna is Magradin's Memoir, which both Colgan (*Acta SS.* 704–10) and the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Mart. 21, tom. iii. 267–72) have printed, as taken from MS. of the Island of All Saints, Loch Ree (Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. 86, 779). With probably much that is fact, there is also mixed up much that must be purely fabulous, and drawn from the customs and notions of the writer's own age, the fourteenth century. St. Enna belonged to the noble house of the princes of Oriel, in Ulster, and was born in Louth, where his father was a ruler. His father was Conall Derg, son of Daimhin, son of Coirpre Domhairgid, of the race of Colla-da-Crioch, and his mother was Briga, or Aebhfhinn, daughter of Ainmire, son of Ronan, king of the Ards, in the county of Down. He had a brother, probably uterine, called Libeus, or Molibba, and four sisters, Fanchea, Lochinia, Carecha, and Darenia, the first three having been dedicated to the Lord in virginity, and the last espoused to Aengus, king of Cashel, becoming thereby the mother of a royal and holy race; she must have been his first wife, as his second, the infamous Eithne Vathach of the Deisi, was slain with king Aengus in battle. On the death of his father St. Enna was unanimously chosen chief of the Oriels, but the future celebrated soldier of

Christ did not long retain an earthly magistracy, and the acephalous life in Colgan begins by relating how, as a rude warrior, triumphing over his enemies, he came with his soldiers to the nunnery of his sister Fanchea, and was converted by the sudden and voluntary death of one of Fanchea's virgins, whom he demanded for his wife. [FAINCHE.] After resigning his position among the Oriels, he was under the tutelage of his sister for some time, and under her direction engaged in heavy manual labour, a very common employment for one in his condition in those days, and then was sent to Rosnat, in Britain, to be a pupil in the monastery of Mansenus, that is, in all probability to the great monastery at Candida Casa, to be under St. Ninian, or rather one of his successors (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 437; Bp. Forbes, *SS. Nin. and Kent.* xlii.-iii.; Todd, *Book of Hymns*, Fasc. i. 103-8). From Rosnat he is said to have proceeded to Rome, where, after building a monastery called Latinum, or, as Colgan suggests, Laetinum, expressive of his spiritual joy, he was joined by his sister St. Fanchea, who came to induce him to return. In the course of a year he followed her to Ireland, and after landing at Colptha, in Meath, where St. Patrick also had landed, and after founding many churches on the banks of the Boyne, he applied to Aengus, son of Nadfraech, the first Christian king of Cashel, for a grant of the Island of Aran. After some delay on account of Aengus's desire to have St. Enna's monastery in the neighbourhood of Cashel, this request was granted, and most of the remaining part of the Life is taken up with the account of St. Enna's voyage to Aran, his taking possession of it, and his subsequent division of it into ten portions, with ten monasteries under as many abbats, his own monastery being built on the east side of the island, at a place called to this day Killeany, on Killeany Bay. This was on Inishmore, the most westerly of the Aran group,[a] and his monastery soon became the resort of the saints of God. His monks are said to have been one hundred and fifty, and the training he had received at the Magnum Monasterium of Whithern, he imparted to the younger race of founders of monasteries, whose fame remains to this day. Among his disciples are enumerated St. Kieran (Sept. 9) of Clonmacnoise, St. Brendan (May 16), St. Finnian (Sept. 10) of Moville, St. Columba (June 10), and other well-known abbats and bishops. The celebrity of Aran as an ecclesiastical seat is still attested by the ruins of churches and monasteries which cover the area of Inishmore, and which to this day are visited as objects of special veneration. Mingled with the cyclopean architecture of a former military era are the stone-roofed oratories, and little bee-hive stone cells of the sixth and seventh centuries, pointing to a period and place of religious activity and earnestness. From the numbers who flocked to it, the island received the name of Ara-na-naomh, or Aran of the saints, and the occupants, living and dead, were said to be innumerable.

Enna is said by Ware to have his name in the register of bishops at Clogher, in the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, but this can hardly be, as he must have lived earlier, and his name is not elsewhere connected with Clogher. St. Enna himself belongs to the second order of Irish saints, but his dates are for the most part conjectural. If Inishmore was given him by the king of Cashel, it must have been before A.D. 489, as in that year Aengus fell at the battle of Cell-Osnadha, now Kelliston, in the barony of Forth, co. Carlow. The time of his death is uncertain, but he probably died in Aran about the year 542, the date usually accepted; he was buried in or near the sandy mound on which the little church of Teaglach-Einne now stands, and his memory is held in great veneration throughout the west of Ireland. His feast has always been attached to March 21. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. cc. 8-10; O'Flaherty, *Iar-Connaught*, 42, 74 seq., 462-63, and *Ogygia*, vol. ii. pt. iii. c. 76; Ware, *Ir. Ant.* cc. 26, 28; *Geneal. Hy-Fiach*, by O'Donovan, 462-63; *Journ. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. Ir.* 3 ser. i. 79-80; *Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc.* iv. 263-4, new ser.; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, March 21; Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, iii. 376-87; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 1 seq.; Archdall, *Mon. Hib.* 76-8; Nicolson, *Irish Hist. Lib.* 45, London, 1736; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, p. 83; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* 47, 60, 62, seq. 245.) The only Scotch Kalendar in which St. Enna appears is that of the Drummond Missal (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 8), which is closely affiliated to the Irish Martyrologies and Kalendars, and he is always called abbat or confessor, but, strange to say, there is none of his acts recorded in any of the Irish Annals, so that these give us no direct clue to the time when he lived. [J. G.]

ENNA (2), son of Nuadhan, and abbat of Imleachfoda, commem. Sept. 18. O'Donell (*Vit. S. Columb.* i. c. 104) relates how St. Columba founded a church on the west side of a hill called Tulach-Segra, in the district of Corann (now Tully, in Toomour), and gave it to his pupil Enna, son of Nuadhan. The place was called Imleach-foda, now Emlaghfad, or Emlyfad, a parish in the barony of Corran and co. Sligo; Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 8, § 7; ii. c. 12, § 10) believes that this Enna, rather than the saint of Aran, is the Endeus who is named among the Irish saints of the second class. But there is no Enna, son of Nuadhan in the Irish Kalendars, and Colgan may have connected this Enna with Sept. 18, because Enan of Drumrath is so placed in the Martyrology of Tallaght. It is also questionable whether Enan, son of Muadan [ENAN (2)], and Enna, son of Nuadhan, be not the same person, though usually referred to the different eras of St. Patrick and St. Columba (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum*, 406, c. 104, 451 n. [86], 490, n.[18]; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 282). [J. G.]

ENNA (3) of Cill-na-manach, commem. Dec. 31. *Mart. Doneg.* (by Todd and Reeves, 351) has the dedication at Dec. 31, of Enda and Lochan, of Cill-na-managh in Ui-Dunchada (probably in the county of Dublin), or of Cill-mac-Cathail, in Ui-Bairche (in Queen's County); and of Bealach Gabhrain (now Gowran Pass, in the county of Kilkenny). But in tracing out the topography of Kilkenny, Mr. John Hogan says St. Enna is one of the patron saints of Kilmanagh, co. Kilkenny, where his holy well is still recog-

[a] Colgan (*Acta SS.* 714-5) entirely inverts the position of the Aran Isles, bringing Ardoilen also into the group, and has led Archdall, the Bollandists, and Lanigan into the same geographical mistake.

nised as "Tober Edaun," and Cill-mac-Cathail is now anglicised Kilmacahil in Gowran Pass. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 359; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 351; *Journ. Kilken. Arch. Soc.* v. 200 n. [1].) [J. G.]

ENNA (4) (ENDA CROM), son of Amhalghaidh, of Tirawley, co. Mayo. Having, with his son Conall, been favoured by St. Patrick at Tara before king Laeghaire, he was the means of saving the apostle of Ireland from the plots of the Magi (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 140-41, cc. 76-84; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 253). [J. G.]

ENNA (5). In the *Lives of St. Patrick* attributed to Joceline (c. 100), and Evinus (ii. cc. 17-19), Enda and Fiacc, brothers of king Laeghaire, are represented as resisting and then embracing the Christian faith as proclaimed by St. Patrick. On his conversion Enda gave to the church and St. Patrick, not only the holocaust of a devout mind, but his first-born son Corbmac, and the ninth part of all the fields and property he had in Ireland (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 88, 131). This Corbmac is by some identified, but most improbably, with St. Corbmac of Armagh. [CORBMAC (2)]. King Laeghaire seems never to have had brothers so named (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 238, 253).

ENNA (6) (ENDEUS), son of Cathbhath, has his death entered in the Irish Annals about A.D. 457 (*Ann. Inisf.* A.D. 459; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 456; *Four Mast.* A.D. 456), and is supposed by O'Conor (*Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 109 n. [54]) to be the same as St. Enna of Aran; but it is most unlikely. [J. G.]

ENNA (7). [MOENNA.]

ENNATHAS, a virgin, martyred in Palestine during the Diocletian persecution. She was brought before Maxys the tribune, who caused her to be led through the city of Caesarea by men who kept scourging her with thongs all the time; after this she was condemned to be burned. (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* ix.). In Bas. *Men.* i. 186, she is named Manetho, and is commemorated Nov. 13. [T. S. B.]

ENNEIM, one of five virgins martyred in Persia under Sapor II. (A.D. 326). Commemorated June 9. (*AA. SS.* Jun. ii. 172.) [T. S. B.]

ENNEPIUS, bishop of Maximianopolis (formerly Impara) in Thracia, near Rhodope. He was present at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1365; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1199.) [J. de S.]

ENNIUS (1) (EUNIUS), appears in the ancient lists of bishops of Nantes as second among them, and is said to have built the first church in that place, but everything concerning him is uncertain. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 795; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 581.) [R. T. S.]

ENNIUS (2) (EONIUS, EUNIUS), sixth bishop of Vannes, succeeding Macliavus and followed by Regalis. In the third year of Childebert or the 17th of Chilperic (A.D. 578) he was sent to the latter king with an unwelcome message by Warochus a Breton leader, whose offence he expiated by sending him into exile with reproaches. The sentence, however, was relaxed in the following year so far that he was permitted to dwell at Angers, though not to return to Vannes. Subsequently he visited Paris, and while celebrating mass fell down in a fit. He was carried out and recovered, for, as Gregory explains, "nimium vino deditus erat, et plerumque ita deformiter inebriabatur ut gressum facere non valeret." (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 27, 30, 41; Aimoin, *Hist. Franc.* lib. iii. 25 in Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 703.) [S. A. B.]

ENNOALDUS (CHAIMOALDUS), twenty-third bishop of Poitiers, the successor of Caregisilus and predecessor of Johannes I. We know nothing of him unless he may be the bishop Cabimoaldus or Chaimaldus (both forms are used) whom St. Bertram, bishop of Le Mans, in his will speaks of as a relation, and begs to bury him. The date of St. Bertram's will was A.D. 616, and as Ennoaldus was alive in A.D. 615, the theory is not improbable. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxx. 405, *Gall. Christ.* ii. 1151.) [S. A. B.]

ENNODIUS (1) MAGNUS FELIX, bishop of Pavia, was born at Arles (Ennod. *Epist.* lib. vii. 8) about 473. Through his father, Camillus (Ibid. iv. 25), he was connected with Faustus, Boethius, Avienus, and other Romans of distinction, though he constantly speaks in humble terms of his own family. The invasion of the Visigoths, and the consequent loss of his patrimony, caused him to migrate at an early age to Milan, where he was educated in the house of an aunt. At this time study had no attraction for him, as we learn from one of his letters addressed to Arator (Epist. ix. 1). In 489, the year in which Theodoric invaded Italy, his aunt died, and he was again reduced to destitution, but having rendered himself acceptable to a young lady of family and fortune he was happily saved from beggary by marriage (*Eucharist. de Vit.*). A dangerous sickness, from which he recovered by the aid of St. Victor, martyr, who administered extreme unction to him (Epist. viii. 24), first led him to serious thought, and suggested the composition of his Eucharisticon, in which he reviews his past life with many expressions of penitence. He was subsequently ordained deacon by Epiphanius bishop of Pavia, whose exhortations determined him to renounce his marriage. This he did with the consent of his young wife, who retired into a convent. In 494 he accompanied Epiphanius (Ennod. *Vit. Epiphan.* 234 A) on a mission to Gundebaud, king of the Burgundians, to procure the ransom of certain Ligurian prisoners. Upon the death of Epiphanius two years later he visited Rome, and gained reputation by composing an apology for pope Symmachus and the synod which acquitted him, as well as by a panegyric which he pronounced publicly in honour of Theodoric. The former of these discourses was inserted in the *Acta Conciliorum;* the latter is generally included in collections of the *Panegyrici Veteres.* Under pope Hormisdas, who succeeded Symmachus, he was advanced to the see of Pavia in the room of Maximus II., and on the strength of this dignity was sent in 515, and again in 517, on an embassy to the Emperor Anastasius, in order to oppose the spread of the Eutychian heresy. In the first instance he was accompanied by Fortunatus, bishop of Catana, in

the second by Peregrinus, bishop of Misenum. Both embassies were unsuccessful. Anastasius continued to favour the heretics, and failing to corrupt or bend the bishop, he had him placed at his second departure from Constantinople, on board an unseaworthy vessel, with orders not to put into any Greek port. Ennodius, however, arrived safely in his diocese, which he continued to administer for the space of four years. He died at the early age of forty-eight, and was buried in the church of St. Michael at Pavia, July 17, A.D. 521, which day is observed as his festival by the Roman church.

The following is a list of his works:—

(1) *Epistolarum Libri* ix., consisting of 297 letters addressed to various correspondents.

(2) *Dictiones* xxviii., comprising six sacred, seven scholastic, eight controversial, and five ethical discourses.

(3) *Panegyricus Theoderico regi dictus.*

(4) *Apologeticus pro Synodo.*

(5) *Vita beatissimi viri Epiphanii Ticinensis Episcopi*, on the whole his best written work.

(6) *Vita beati Antonii monachi Lirinensis.*

(7) *Eucharisticon de vita.*

(8) *Paraenesis didascalica ad Ambrosium et Beatum.*

(9) *Praeceptum de cellulanis episcoporum*, an ordinance relating to the *Contubernales*, or associates, whose office it was to protect the chief pastors of the church from slander.

(10) *Petitorium quo Gerontius puer Agapiti absolutus est*, of interest as shewing that slaves were manumitted at this time with the accompaniment of a religious form.

(11) *Cerei paschalis benedictiones duae.*

To these works a supplement was added by Martene and Durand (*Nov. Thesaur. Anecdotor.*), from a MS. of St. Remy, of Rheims, comprising a discourse, "In natali Laurentii Mediolanensis episcopi," and a short letter addressed to one Venatius.

The writings of Ennodius exemplify throughout that profane tendency of thought and expression which the Christian writers of Gaul were so slow to abandon. Many of his letters would seem to have proceeded from the pen of a heathen rhetorician, rather than of a Christian bishop. His illustrations are commonly drawn from Greek mythology. He speaks of divine grace as descending "de Superis," and sets the Fates side by side with Jesus Christ. His letters addressed to the other sex breathe a spirit of gallantry, little in keeping with his sacred office. Most of his poems were written before his conversion, but even in those which were composed subsequently the old Adam occasionally reappears. His style is turgid, involved, and affected. He seems to shrink from making himself intelligible lest he should be thought commonplace, and the result is anything but attractive to the reader.

The works of Ennodius were first collected and printed among the Auctores Orthodoxographici, Bale, 1569, fol. Two editions were published in 1611, that of Andrew Schott at Tournai, 8vo., and a more complete edition by Sirmond at Paris, 8vo., with notes, which is reprinted in Migne's Patrologia, vol. lxiii., together with the supplement above mentioned.

For the life of Ennodius, see Funccius, *de inerti ac decrepita, L. L. senectute*, c. iii. § xx. c. vi. § viii. c. viii. § x. c. 11, § 31· the *Vita Ennodii* prefixed to Sirmond's edition, Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacr. et Eccles.* x. 569; and, for a just estimate of his literary merits, Ampère, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, tom. ii. ch. vii. [E. M. Y.]

ENNODIUS (2), addressed by Sidonius. [EVODIUS (6).]

ENNOEA (Ἔννοια). In the attempts made by the framers of different Gnostic systems to explain the origin of the existing world, the first stage in the process was usually made by personifying the conception in the divine mind of that which was to emanate from Him. We learn from Justin Martyr (*Ap.* I. 26), and from Irenaeus (I. 23, p. 99), that the word Ennoea was used in a technical sense in the system of SIMON. The Latin translation of Irenaeus either retains the word, or renders "mentis conceptio." Tertullian has "injectio" (*De Anima*, 34). In the Ἀπόφασις Μεγάλη cited by Hippolytus (*Ref.* vi. 18, 19, p. 174), the word used is not ἔννοια but ἐπινοία [HELENA, SIMON]. Irenaeus states (I. 23, p. 100) that the word Ennoea passed from the system of Simon into that of MENANDER. In the Barbeliot system, which Irenaeus also counts as derived from that of Simon (I. 29, p. 107), Ennoea appears as one of the first in the series of emanations from the unnameable Father.

In the system of VALENTINUS (Iren. I. i. p. 5) Ennoea is one of several alternative names for the consort of the primary Aeon Bythos [CHARIS, SIGE]. For the somewhat different form in which PTOLEMAEUS presented this part of the system see Irenaeus (I. xii. 1, p. 56). Irenaeus criticises this part of the system (II. xiii. p. 129). The name Ennoea is similarly used in the OPHITE system described by Irenaeus (I. xxx. p. 108).

[G. S.]

ENOCH, APOCRYPHAL BOOK OF. In Gen. v. 24 it is said of Enoch that he walked with God. This expression was interpreted to mean not only that he led a godly life, but also that he had been vouchsafed the privilege of Divine intercourse, and of receiving Divine revelations. Jewish antiquity regarded him therefore as a prophet, equally familiar with heavenly things and the future fortunes of the human race. These views of his character gave occasion for attributing to Enoch the apocryphal writing which constitutes one of the principal monuments of the apocalyptic literature of later Judaism. This *Book of Enoch*, which was already cited in the Epistle of St. Jude (v. 14), and much used by Jewish and Christian writers in the following centuries, was subsequently almost entirely lost—a few fragments only having been preserved in the chronography of Georgios Synkellos—till rediscovered in the last century in an Ethiopic translation. James Bruce, in 1773, brought back two MSS. into Europe, to which some others have been subsequently added. Silvestre de Sacy was the first to publish, in 1800, some particulars concerning the contents of this writing (*Magasin Encyclop.* vi. i. 382 sqq.). Archbishop Laurence was the first to edit an English translation (*The Book of Enoch, an Apocryphal Production*, &c. Oxford, 1821, 2nd ed. 1833, 3rd ed. 1838), followed by the original Ethiopic text from Bruce's manuscripts (*Libri Enoch Versio Aethiopica*, Oxford, 1838). A German translation, with learned introduction and con-

tinuous commentary, was published by Prof. A. G. Hoffmann in Jena (*Das Buch Henoch in vollständiger deutscher Uebersetzung*, &c. 2 Theile, Leipzig, 1833–1838). The first part is translated from the English, but the second is based likewise on the Frankfort manuscript of the Ethiopic text. The Latin version of Gfrörer, made from the English and German translations, is of no value (*Prophetae veteres pseudepigraphi*, Stuttgart, 1840). The best edition of the Ethiopic text is that of Prof. Dillmann, who made use of five manuscripts (*Liber Henoch Aethiopice*, Leipzig, 1851). Of the improved text thus obtained, Dillmann published another German translation with critical introduction and copious commentary (*Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, Leipzig, 1853). The Ethiopic version was not made immediately from the Hebrew original, but from the Greek. There is no reason to doubt its substantial fidelity, though it not unfrequently differs from the Greek text of fragments preserved elsewhere, one at least of which is not to be found in the Ethiopic text. The whole work as it now lies before us is divided into five books, but closer investigation makes it evident that this text has passed through various hands, and is a composite work. It has been assumed by various critics that we have before us a collection of several books of Enoch independent one of another. This hypothesis, however, is untenable; we must, on the contrary, assume the existence of an original document, which at different times was enriched with additions from various sources. The critical treatment of the book has occupied, besides de Sacy, Lawrence, and Hoffmann, the following scholars, whose labours deserve a special mention here:—Ernst Krieger [Lützelberger] (in the *Beiträge zur Kritik und Exegese*, Nürnberg, 1845), Lücke (*Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*, 2nd edit. Bonn, 1852), Dillmann (as above), Ewald (*Ueber des Aethiopischen Buches Henoch Entstehung und Zusammensetzung*), K. R. Köstlin ("*Ueber die Entstehung des Buches Henoch*," *Theologische Jahrbücher von Baur und Zeller*, Jahrgang 1856), and Hilgenfeld (*Jüdische Apokalyptik*, Jena, 1857; *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1860, p. 319 sqq., 1861, p. 212 sqq., 1862, p. 216 sqq.).

Excluding first the so-called Parables (cc. 37–71), the following chapters—1–19, 21–36, 72–105—form a well-connected whole, which professes to be a variety of revelations committed to writing which had been vouchsafed to the prophet Enoch, partly in ecstatic visions in the heavenly world, partly in prophetic dreams. The introduction (cc. 1–5) announces first a benediction of the prophet on the righteous, and then a prophecy of the great day of judgment, on which the impious will receive well-merited punishment for their disobedience to the ordinances of God. Whereupon follows (cc. 6–16) an account of the origin of the universal corruption of the human race, induced by the fall of the angels and their carnal intercourse with the daughters of men. In consequence of the abominations resulting from this fall God is about to impose a heavy judgment, which Enoch has to announce to the fallen "Watchers." These are to be in future bound in subterranean prisons for the whole period of earth's history, the duration of which is fixed at seventy generations, until the day of final judgment, whereon they will be cast for ever into the lake of fire. In what follows, the original text appears in a somewhat fragmentary form in the Ethiopic version. As in the introduction, a reference to the fixed Divine laws which heaven itself and the whole physical universe have to obey served to exhibit in the strongest light the guilt of sinners in transgressing the will of God, so now is made to follow (cc. 17–19, 21–36) an account of the mysteries of heaven and earth which have been exhibited to Enoch by angels during a ecstatic rapture from earth to heaven. In this miraculous journey round the universe Enoch sees first the place of the winds and the regions whence lightning and thunder come. After that the water of life, and the sea of fire which is destined to receive the setting sun, the streams of Hades, the dwelling-place of the dead, the mountains of black winter clouds, the waters of Oceanus, the winds which support the universe, seven fiery mountains of precious stones, the mid-one of which, being the throne of God, reaches to heaven, the hell of fire, and in the vacant spaces of the universe the prison-houses of fallen star-spirits, and the future place of punishment for the angels who had held sinful intercourse with the daughters of men. In a subsequent journey Enoch is taken a second time to the same places. First to the place of punishment for the fallen angels; then into Hades and its different compartments; to the fire at which the stars are kindled; to the place of future judgment; to the seven mountains, the middle one of which rises in the form of a throne; and then into the Holy Land and the vale of Hinnom, the future place of punishment for impious men; and then further eastward to the legendary home-lands of noble spices, and on as far as Paradise. In a third journey Enoch arrives at the gates of heaven, and the places whence issue stars and winds. Thereupon follows (cc. 72–82) the book concerning the courses of the heavenly lights, which describes once more in the form of a journey the movements and orders of stars and constellations, the courses of sun and moon, and the relation of the solar to the lunar year, to which are attached a series of further communications regarding the various winds, their origin and operations, concerning the seven mountains, seven streams, and seven islands. The laws of the lights and powers of heaven are announced to Enoch on his journeys by the instrumentality of angels. All this he imparts to his son Methuselah, who is to commit it in his turn to following generations. In some parts of this section the original order seems to have been disturbed. Chapter 82 ought properly to stand before chapter 79, while chapter 81 forms the conclusion of this section. Enoch in this chapter contemplates the writing on the heavenly tables, wherein are recorded the actions of men to the latest generations, and then returns from his journeys to earth, in order to spend one last year in the circle of his family.

The revelations which follow concerning the future fortunes of mankind (cc. 83–91, 11; 93; 91, 12–19) are presented in the form of visions which Enoch has been vouchsafed at different times of his life, but now for the first time, on the conclusion of his wondrous journey, relates to his son Methuselah.

The first vision, seen by him while still a boy, in the house of his grandfather Mahalaleel describes the flood (c. 83); the second, which had been imparted to him before his marriage gives in apocalyptic figures a general survey of the history of the chosen people, from the first human pair to the struggles of the Israelites against the Syrians, in the time of John Hyrcanus. The account of these struggles is immediately followed by that of the approaching universal judgment (cc. 84–90). A third description of the future, introduced by exhortations to his children, gives once more a rapid survey of the world's history divided into ten great weeks. At the end of the seventh week, which is the actual writer's own time, the righteous receive a sevenfold instruction concerning the whole creation; in the eighth week the righteous celebrate their triumph and enter on their kingdom; in the ninth, judgment is passed on the ungodly; to the tenth is assigned the judgment of the fallen angels and the renewal of heaven and earth. The last section (cc. 92; 94–105) contains the Doctrines of Wisdom which Enoch the writer imparts to his children and all future generations, warnings against sin in its various forms, admonitions to righteousness, fidelity, and perseverance, comminations against the ungodly, and promises for the righteous.

The text of this comprehensive work appears in some parts not to belong to the original form. Apart from the lacuna between chapters 16 and 17, and some smaller interpolations of which we shall have to speak farther on, it strikes one with surprise to find several things seen by Enoch in his journeys repeatedly told again in the same words. The revelations, moreover, vouchsafed to Enoch on his first journey (cc. 17–19) are for the most part repeated, chapters 21–36. The section about the Winds, on the other hand, chapters 76 and 77, together with the addition about the Seven Mountains, &c. disturbs too much the connexion of the book about the Lights of Heaven. It repeats also, in more detail, what has already been treated of (chapters 33–36), only much more briefly.

As there is little probability that these repetitions were intentional, we are warranted in supposing that there may have been different recensions of the text which held their ground side by side, and were put together by some simple-minded collector.

There is also much probability in Ewald's supposition that the author of our Book of Enoch had another and older book before him, perhaps in different editions, a "book of celestial physics," which in its first part contained a description of the mysterious regions above the earth, under the earth, and at the world's ends; and in its second part comprised the laws of the motions of sun, moon, and stars. This original work, more or less revised, seems to have been comprised in chapters 17–19, 21–36, 72–79, and 82. As a "scribe of heaven" to whom all the mysteries of creation and the courses of the stars were known, Enoch appeared to be the most suitable person to be represented as teacher of the higher wisdom. The second author, who regarded Enoch chiefly as a preacher of repentance and foreteller of judgment to come, adopted this other view of his character the more readily as the description of the place of torment prepared for the ungodly, in the lower world, fitted in well with his special purpose. At the same time he worked out the thought that the whole universe is governed by fixed laws and ordinances, and that every disorder or disturbance is simply a consequence of the sin of the fallen angels and of the impious among mankind. To him belongs the form of representation, somewhat late and abruptly introduced, according to which Enoch is imparting to his son, Methuselah, the mysteries which have been revealed to himself. The apocalyptic pictures drawn of the future (a main object with the second writer) are somewhat awkwardly presented in the form of dream-visions, related by Enoch, long after he had seen them, to his son. This second Book of Enoch seems never to have existed as an independent work, but only as an expansion and completion of the former. The pieces peculiar to the second author are chapters 1–16, 80 and 81, 83–105.

The date of the original work cannot be determinately fixed, while that of its revision is clearly indicated in the Vision, chapters 85–90. The seventy shepherd-times which begin after the destruction of the first Temple are the times of heathen dominion over Israel, till the rise of the Hasmonean monarchy. The seventy shepherds, each of whom obtains dominion for a definite period over the sheep, can indeed hardly be regarded as so many heathen princes, but rather as punitive angels who destroy more sheep than were included in their commission. At the same time the longer divisions into which these shepherd-times are distributed, though in detail the reckoning may be somewhat uncertain, correspond on the whole with the ruling periods of Babylon, Persia, Macedonia, and Syria; the last twelve appearing to answer exactly to the reigns of twelve kings of Syria, from Antiochus Epiphanes to Antiochus Cyzicenus. In any case the lambs, born in the last twelve shepherd-times, whose horns grow, and which call the sheep together to fight with the ravens, are the pious zealots of the Hasmonean period, and the great horn which the ravens, along with other birds of prey, vainly endeavour to cast down, is John Hyrcanus, the victorious Hasmonean (B.C. 135–106). The author looks forward to the close of Gentile dominion and the day of final judgment as soon about to follow these days of victory. The date of composition might be still more definitely made out could we but fix more exactly the dates of the seventy shepherd-times. They do indeed evidently correspond, as Hilgenfeld was the first to observe, to the 70 weeks of Daniel or 490 years. This, reckoning exactly, would give us the period from 588 B.C. to 98 B.C., and so bring us down to the early years of Jannaeus Alexander (105–79 B.C.). On the other hand, we do not certainly know that the date fixed in the author's own mind for the destruction of the first Temple was exactly B.C. 588. Putting this in round numbers at 600 B.C. we are brought by the 70 weeks down to 110 B.C., which Dillmann fixes as the approximate date of composition. In any case, the young whelp (chap. 90, 13, 14) is not distinguished from the great horn, and cannot therefore refer to Jannaeus Alexander but to John Hyrcanus himself.

The reckoning according to 70 generations

(chap. 10, 12) or 10 weeks (chap. 93) leads to no sure result.

The book, in any case, remains a remarkable monument of Jewish theological opinion at the close of the second and beginning of the first century before Christ. It is without sufficient foundation that the assertion has been made of its having proceeded from Essenic circles. It neither advocates Essenic asceticism nor rejects the Temple worship; the angelological speculations are still very undeveloped, while the writer's imagination is so much the more occupied with final judgment and consummation, the future blessedness of the righteous, and the torments of the ungodly. It is further noteworthy that the Messias plays a quite subordinate part in its Eschatology. The specimens given of Jewish natural science are of special value.

What must be regarded as a third Book of Enoch is formed by the three Parables. These contain a description of the time in which the elect one, that is the Messias, and the company of the elect will be manifested.

After an Introduction (chap. 37) the first Parable describes the dwellings of the righteous and of the holy angels in heaven (chaps. 38–44); the second, the final judgment to be administered by Messias and the punishment of the ungodly (chaps. 45–57); the third describes, on the one hand, the blessedness of the righteous and elect in the Messianic time, and, on the other hand, more copiously than before, the judgment inflicted on kings and potentates of the earth, as well as on evil spirits, seducers of men and angels (chaps. 58; 60, 1–6; 61–64; 68, 2–5; 69).

The conclusion of the whole is formed by another description of the glories of heaven, and a promise of eternal peace which Enoch and other righteous shall enjoy under the dominion of Messias (chaps. 70, 71). The introduction of these Parables, under the title of "The Second Vision of Wisdom which Enoch saw," proves that they do not constitute a distinct work but were added as a complement to the older collection.

That they proceed from a different author was early recognised, and is now, Dillmann only excepted, universally acknowledged. They not only disturb the connexion of parts in the older work, but by a new introduction, and the genealogy of Enoch inserted here for the first time, betray the existence of a different author. It is still more important to observe that their circle of ideas is in some essential points a different one to that of the older work; in that Messias is only mentioned as it were in passing (chap. 90, 37, the white bull born at the end of time being probably the Messias), while in the Eschatological Drama of the Parables, the "Elect One," or "Son of Man," is the chief person. He it is who conducts the final judgment which in the older work was regarded as resting in the hands of God only. He again has been from all eternity the destined ruler of the company of the elect, who, immediately after the final judgment, begins his everlasting reign. (The passage, 105, 2, where the Lord and His Son are manifested, is probably an interpolation.) Whereas, moreover, in the older writing, the Messias is evidently regarded as a human descendant of Abraham He now appears as one, who from all eternity has preexisted with God. Many other differences may also be noticed between this and the older writing. Here only do we find as Divine names or titles, "Lord of Spirits," and "Head of Days," and while, moreover, in the older work the name "Watchers" (ἐγρήγοροι) is a general term to designate the angels, we now find the designation, "spirits who slumber not" applied to none but angels of the highest order. Other angelic names are also different in the two works respectively. Foremost in the latter stand the archangels, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Phanuel; beneath them the Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim, followed by the thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand. In the older writing, on the other hand, Uriel occupies throughout the place of Phanuel (the name Suriel for Raphael, 9, 1, is not confirmed by the parallel passage in the Greek text, nor is it met with elsewhere). The Seraphim and Ophanim are not mentioned at all. While, further, the older writing represents Enoch as under the guidance of Uriel, Raguel (Gabriel ?), Raphael and Michael, he now appears under the guidance of the angel of peace, and sees the archangels in their lofty station round the throne of God. Azazel, moreover, is here placed at the head of the fallen angels (54, 5; 55, 4), whereas in chapters 6, 3–7, and 9, 7 (compare 10, 11) Semjaza is the first, Azazel the tenth in the list of those unhappy beings. In the passage 69, 2, the catalogue of fallen angels is an interpolation disturbing the context which treats only of originally evil spirits. Azazel is indeed in the older work also represented as the author of all kinds of iniquity, who teaches men the use of murderous weapons, luxurious living, and covetousness (8, 1; compare 9, 6; 10, 4; 13, 1), whereas in the second, these functions are ascribed to the evil spirit Gadreel, who (69, 9) teaches mankind the construction and use of instruments of slaughter. It is yet more significant that the Parables of the second work presuppose a Satan and Satans, that is, originally evil spirits by whom the angels have been seduced (69, 4, sqq.; compare 40, 7; 53, 4; 54, 6), and in accordance with this, they appear also to teach the existence of two races of mankind. As God originally divided light from darkness, so has He also divided the spirits of men, confirming in goodness those of the righteous (41, 8). This dualism is not, however, carried out to its legitimate consequences. We may further reckon among the peculiarities of these Parables the development of the teaching concerning the heavenly wisdom (chap. 43; compare 37, 2 sqq.; 48, 1, 7; 49, 1–3; 51, 3); the doctrine of the general resurrection of the dead (chap. 51); and the doctrine of an endless blessed life of the righteous in Heaven (37, 4; 58; 71, 16 sq.). The designation of the Messias as "Son of Man," which, as is well known, is elsewhere applied to our Lord, only by Himself, is borrowed from Daniel, and this alone accounts for the representation of Heaven as the native home of the Messiah. The name, "Son of Woman" (62, 5), occurs once in a passage in which the text appears to have been corrupted, while "Filius Viri" in another passage (69, 29), instead of "Filius Hominis," may simply result from a mistranslation. The name Son of Man

(Filius Hominis) is, in fact, the regular predicate of Messias, and this, combined with other somewhat developed Christological ideas in the Parables, has led to the supposition of a Christian authorship, in favour of which may also be alleged the expression "church of the elect," and the sharp antithesis between elect and reprobate, which is by no means identical with that between Israelites and Gentiles. Neither of these notes can, however, be regarded as decisive. The work is in the main directed against the kings who deny the name of the Lord of Spirits (38, 5; 41, 2; 46, 4, sq.; 48, 10; 53, 5; 54, 2; 55, 3, 63), and oppress the theocracy. This indicates a time not earlier than that of the later Hasmoneans and the Herods. That we cannot go farther back than such a time is determined amongst other circumstances by the mention of the Parthians (56, 5) who then first began to be formidable neighbours to the Jews. Hilgenfeld contends that by "the kings," Gentile or heathen sovereigns are designated, and that because they are spoken of (chap. 46, 7) as those "whose trust is placed in gods which their own hands have made." This view is contradicted, however, by other passages, while the Gentile proclivities of the later rulers of Palestine, and specially of Herod and his sons, may be held to justify the expression on which his theory is founded.

These Parables, moreover, are not on their side free from interpolations. Such beyond doubt are the so-called Noachian sections, which not only disturb the context in which they stand, but also introduce Noah as the speaker instead of Enoch. They all refer to the first divine judgment, that of the Deluge. The limits of these Noachian sections are variously determined; Dillmann and Köstlin make them include chapters 54, 7, to 55, 2; 60; 65 to 69, 25, the former adding also chapter 70. Ewald, on the other hand, would assign only a few verses of chapters 60 and 69 to the interpolator. But the section chapter 68, 2–5, which is immediately connected with chapter 64, and the whole chapter 69 (with the single exception of the Catalogue of Angels, vv. 2 and 3, and perhaps the note of Time, v. 1), together with chapter 70, must have already belonged to the Parables, but of chapter 60, on the other hand, only vv. 1–6. As certainly Noachian sections then can be regarded only chapters 54, 7, to 55, 2; 60, 7–25, and 65 to 68, 1. Another passage which seems to have proceeded from the same interpolator as Ewald already has perceived, is the passage interpolated in the older writing, chapter 10, 1–3, 22^{b}, containing the announcement of the Deluge to Noah by an angel, not elsewhere mentioned as Arsjalaljur. Whether he also inserted the Catalogue of Angels, chapter 20, and the list of fallen angels (chap. 69, 2, 3), repeated from 6, 7, cannot be definitely ascertained. It is however highly improbable that these additions are fragments of an independent Book of Enoch. On the other hand we must regard as mere interpolations in part the close relation in which Noah is placed here and afterwards to Enoch, and in part the circumstance that the Noachian additions borrow various expressions from the Parables (Lord of Spirits, Angel of Peace, &c.).

It is more difficult to determine the origin of some other sections. To these belong among the Parables some pieces which break the connexion of thought, and remind us of *The Book of Celestial Physics* (41, 2–9; 43; 44; 59; 69, 23). A comparison of these with the section 60, 11–23, which belongs to the Noachian additions, makes it probable that they also proceed from the same interpolator. To the same source may likewise be referred cc. 106 and 107, which treat of the birth of Noah and the Deluge which is to follow in his time, but here Enoch is the speaker and not Noah. Chapter 108, on the other hand, is certainly the work of another author, as is clear from the title, "Another Treatise which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah, and for those who come after him." It was evidently after the insertion of the Parables with which it has several points of resemblance, as, for instance, in the antithesis of light and darkness. For the date of composition of the Noachian additions, we have no certain indications. One passage, 67, 5 sq., is important, which speaks of the custom of kings to seek for healing by bathing in warm springs; the allusion seems to be to Herod the Great and the hot baths of the Dead Sea (Joseph. *Antt.* xvii. 6, 5); that these baths are placed in "the west" appears to have arisen from a thoughtless reproduction of what had been said about localities in chapter 52, 1. Hilgenfeld prefers to think the allusion to be to the warm baths of Campania, so much frequented in the imperial times as really situated in "the west" of Palestine. This assumption, presupposing the Christian origin of the Parables, would indeed be necessary. Chapter 108 is, at any rate, the latest piece of the whole collection.

The result of these observations seems to be that the Book of Enoch must be regarded as a collective work, consisting of various parts, about the composition of which it will be difficult to form a certain judgment until the Hebrew original, or at any rate the Greek version from which the Ethiopic is derived, shall have been recovered. Apart from the question of the interpolations and especially the Noachian fragments, the chief point of interest for us at the present time is whether we are to regard the Parables as a Jewish or a Christian work; could it be proved that they were made use of in the Book of Jubilees, the question would be decided in favour of a Jewish origin. The Christian authorship of the whole book as maintained by Lücke (in the *first* but *not* the second edition of his *Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*), Weisse (*Evangelienfrage*, Leipzig, 1856, p. 214 sq.), J. Chr. K. Hofmann (*Zeitschrift d. deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1852, p. 87 sq.), and Philippi (*Das Buch Henoch*, Stuttgart, 1868) is quite inadmissible. Volkmar's theory on the other hand is still more fanciful (*Zeitschr. d. deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.* 1860, p. 87 sqq. and *Eine Neutestamentliche Entdeckung und deren Bestreitung*, Zürich, 1862), namely, that the book proceeded from the school of Rabbi Akiba, A.D. 132, and was written to invite his followers to attach themselves to the false Messias, Bar-kochba, and join the Jewish revolt against Hadrian. [R. A. L.]

ENODOCUS (GUINEDOCUS), ST., to whom a chapel in the Cornish parish of St. Minver (Menefrida), on the Bristol Channel, is dedicated, was probably a Welsh saint. William of Wor-

cester gives March 7 as the day of St. Wenedocus. Bishop Lacy, of Exeter, in 1434, allowed the parishioners to celebrate their dedication day, to all future time, on the 13th of July, instead of on the 24th, which was the feast-day of St. Christina (Oliver's *Monasticon Dioec. Exon.* p. 441). In the parish of St. Cubert, also on the northern sea, is a sepulchral stone with the inscription, "CONETOCI FILI TEGERNOMALI," which some connect with this saint. The inscription is very like those on the sepulchral stones of Brecknockshire (compare those given in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. pp. 169, 625), which seems to have been a central point for missionary enterprise. [C. W. B.]

ENODORUS, ST., an Irish saint, who gave the name to St. Enoder, or Enedor, in Cornwall. His feast is the Sunday nearest the last Thursday in April. The name is Celtic, and not the same as Athenodorus. He is said to have died in Cornwall late in the 5th century. The church dedicated to him, just south of St. Columb Major, is called Eglosenuder in Domesday. The prefix Eglos is comparatively rare and early in Cornish names. The old fair-day of the parish was Sept. 25. (See Cressy's *Church History of Brittany*, i. 19, 1.) [C. W. B.]

ENOGATUS, said to have been bishop of Maclovium (St. Malo) in Brittany, and to have died A.D. 631 (Migne, *Hagiog.*). But the Sammarthani do not feel certain enough about him to include him among the occupants of this see (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 995). [C. H.]

ENON, martyred together with Quirio and forty others under Gallienus, A.D. 263. He is commemorated Jan. 13. (*Mart.* Hier.; *AA. SS.* Jan. i. 767.) [T. S. B.]

ENTHEUS, a monk, commemorated by the Ethiopian church on the 17th of the month Nahasse (August 10). Ludolphus adds no note to his name (Ludolphi *ad Suam Historiam Aethiopicam Commentarius;* Francofurti, 1691, p. 425). In the Ethiopian MS. of the Senkessar in the Bodleian Library, the 17th of Nahasse is marked thus: Martyrium Entei, Amoraei; and the martyrdom of his brother, Acrates, is commemorated on the same day (cf. Dillmann, in *Catalogus Codd. MSS. Bibl. Bodleianae*, pt. vii. p. 67). [F. P.]

ENTHUSIASTAE (ENTHOUSIASTAE, Cod. Just. I. v. 5; ENTHYSIASTAE, Cod. Theod.), a name by which the EUCHITES were known (xvi. *Cod. Theod.* Tit. v. 65, vol. vi. p. 187; *Concil. Eph.* iv. 1477, Mansi; Theod. *H. E.* iv. 11; Tim. Presb. *ap.* Cotelier, *Mon. Ecc. Gr.* iii. 400). [G. S.]

ENTHYMESIS, one of the six "roots" in the system of SIMON (Hippol. *Ref.* vi. 20, p. 177). [OPHITES (Iren. I. xxx. 6, 7, p. 110) and VALENTINUS.] [G. S.]

ENTICIUS (EUTICIUS), of Caesarea in Mauritania (*Scherschell*), one of the numerous Christians who were required to surrender their sacred books during the period of the persecution of Diocletian, A.D. 303–4. (*Monum. Vet. de Don. Hist.* Oberthür, p. 171; ed. Migne, Patr. Lat. viii. 733 a.) [H. W. P.]

ENTULANUS, bishop of Toul. [ENDULUS.]

ENTYCHITAE, a sect of the followers of SIMON, who, according to Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* vii. 17, p. 900), derived this name from the unlawful things which they had the audacity to practise (ἀφ' ὧν παρανόμως ἐπετήδευσάν τε καὶ ἐτόλμησαν). We know that Christians believed the charge to be true of certain of the Gnostic sects which had been brought by heathen against the Christians, viz. that haphazard sexual intercourse took place at their nightly meetings; and this would seem to be what was referred to in this nickname. Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 1) copies the name in the form Eutychetae. Cotelier notes (*Mon. Ecc. Gr.* iii. 640) the occurrence of Eutychitae as a transcriber's error for Euchitae, and conversely Euchitae in a passage where Sophronius intended the name Eutychitae, derived from Theodoret. [G. S.]

ENUTIUS, bishop of Noyon. [EUNUTIUS.]

ENVAEL, Welsh saint. [ENVAIL, ENFAIL.]

ENYMIA, abbess. [ENIMIA.]

EOAIN, Irish saint. [IOAIN.]

EOALDUS (EOLDUS, GOALDUS, EDALDUS, CAEOLDUS), ST., was an archbishop of Vienne. In the *Gallia Christiana* (xvi. 35) he is placed forty-first in the list, succeeding St. Agratus, and followed by St. Barolinus II. He flourished about the year 710. He has sometimes been confused with Cadeoldus, who preceded him by about forty years in the same see. Almost the whole of his authentic history is summed up in a sentence from the *Chronicon* of Ado, archbishop of Vienne, for the year 718 (see Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 120), to the effect that at that time Eoldus enriched the church of Vienne, for he was related to the kings of the Franks, and built within the city a chapel cryptwise, in honour of the Thebaean martyrs, St. Maurice and his companions, and there placed a considerable number of relics, both of these and other martyrs, and the church was thenceforth called St. Maurice's. Eoaldus is commemorated on the 7th day of July. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 35.) [S. A. B.]

EOALDUS, bishop of Lyons. [FULCOALDUS.]

EOBANACH (EOBANUS), martyr, commemorated June 5. His name occurs in the list of martyrs in the Dunkeld Litany, and Camerarius, calling him St. Eobanus, martyr, places him on this day. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, lvii. 238, 332; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 153.) [J. G.]

EOBANUS presbyter of Boniface, of Mentz, in whose correspondence his name is also written EABA and EOBO. The archbishop calls him his son and a bearer of his letters. In the latter capacity Eaba visits the abbat Duddo, Eadburga abbess of Thanet, and Sigebald, apparently abbat of Chertsey. Boniface once addresses him from Italy among the friends he had left behind in Germany, viz. Geppan, Tatwinus, and Wyigbertus. (*Mon. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, pp. 98, 99, 100, 166.) He is mentioned as amanuensis of Boniface in a letter from the latter to the abbess Eadburga. He was sent by

Pippin on an embassy to pope Zacharias to consult in the name of the princes of Christendom on questions of church discipline (Baron. *A. E.* 744, 3). He assisted Boniface as a chorepiscopus in his preaching and baptizing among the Frisians, and was afterwards appointed by him bishop of Trajectum (Maestricht). (*Vit. Willibald.* in *Monum. Mog.* ed. Jaffé, 463; Baron. *Annales Eccles.* A.D. 724, 8; 755, 38.)
[I. G. S.]

EOBE, an abbat who attests a charter of Ethelbald, king of Mercia, between 723 and 737. (Kemble, *C. D.* 83.) He is probably identical with Ibe, who attests a Worcester charter of the same king in 736 (*ib.* 80; *Mon. Angl.* i. 585) and Iebe, whose name is appended to a similar undated charter. (K. *C. D.* 89.) All the three charters are of respectable authority, and coincide in other points besides the attestation of this otherwise unknown person. As he was distinctly a Mercian abbat it would be hazardous to identify him further with Eaba of Malmesbury, who flourished at the same time. [EABA.] [S.]

EOBO (*Monum. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, pp. 99, 100, 166), presbyter of Boniface. [EOBANUS.]
[C. H.]

EOCAPUS, a martyr. Commemorated April 12. (*Mart.* Hier.; *AA. SS.* Ap. ii. 81.)
[T. S. B.]

EOCHAUA TUATHAIL, anchoret, bishop and abbat of Lughmhadh (Louth), died A.D. 820 (*Four Mast.*). [J. G.]

EOCHAIDH, pronounced Ohy, and derived from the Irish *each*, a horse, is literally a horseman (Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 2 ser. 155). It is latinised ECHODIUS and ECHUDIUS, and retains also the Irish forms ECHAID and ECUID. (1) Abbat of Lismore, commemorated Apr. 17. The Irish annals mention the death of this saint in the year 634, and seem to make him abbat of a monastery at Lismore before St. Carthach Mochuda (May 14) was driven from Rahen. But however we may get over the special difficulty involved in the chronology, the truth seems to be that while Carthach was bishop, Eochaidh was the second abbat of Lismore in Waterford. [CARTHACH (2).] (Reeves, *Culdees*, 49; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 335.) Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 356) is urgent for his being either an abbat of Lismore, in Scotland, or else the same as Eoglodius (Jan. 25), of Iona. [J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (2), bishop of Tamlacht, Jan. 28. He is commemorated on this day in the Irish Martyrologies, and, dying A.D. 812, is called in the Annals bishop, anchoret, and coarb of Maelruain, at Tallaght, co. Dublin. He was abbat and bishop in one. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 468.) [J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (3), son of Cearnach, steward of Armagh, died A.D. 796 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 399). *Ann. Ult.* (A.D. 795) call him Echu mac Cernaig, and say he died "immatura morte."
[J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (4), son of Colgan, anchoret of Armagh, and called in *Ann. Ult.* (A.D. 730) Echdach, died A.D. 731 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 725).
[J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (5), son of Colla, Jan. 29. Joyce (*Irish Names of Places*, 2 ser. c. 9, p. 156 seq.) has a very curious and interesting chapter on the Irish love for attaching nicknames to persons, either as descriptive of some personal or hereditary peculiarity or as based on similarities or contradictions. It is from this custom we have the name of Eochaidh, son of Colla, entirely supplanted by the nickname Dallan Forgaill, "the blind son of Forchella." [DALLAN FORGAILL.] [J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (6), son of Conall Meann, abbat of Faebhran (Foyran, in the barony of Fore, co. Westmeath) (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, vii. 58, but cf. i. 357 n. [t]), died A.D. 759 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 754.) [J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (7), son of Diarmaid, bishop and abbat of Armagh. He succeeded St. Caerlan (Mar. 24) at Armagh in 588, and was there for ten years, dying A.D. 598 (Stuart, *Armagh*, 92; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 14, § 2). Ware says Eochaid, son of Dermot, called abbat of Armagh, died in January 598, but his reference to January is probably taken from Colgan's vague suggestion that if this Eochaidh is to be numbered among the saints, he is likely to be the one who is venerated on Jan. 1, though the person there is said in the Kalendars to be Eochaidh of Uisneach. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 293, col. 2; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 5; Ware, *Bishops*, by Harris, 39.) [J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (8), son of Fiachra, a wise man, died A.D. 759 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 754).
[J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (9), son of Fogarta, abbat of Fochladh and Inisclothrann (the former place a woody district near Killala, barony of Tirawley, co. Mayo, and the latter an island in Lough Ree, in the Shannon), died A.D. 785 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 386–7). [J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (10), son of Nathi or Dathi, was converted by St. Patrick on the restoration of his wife Echtra to life before the church door of Kilmore, as related by Jocelin and Evinus. Dathy, son of Fiachrach, was the last pagan king of Ireland, and killed by a thunderbolt at the foot of the Alps, A.D. 428 (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 96, c. 145, 141, c. 91, 180 n. [140]). [J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (11), of Uisnech — Jan. 1. There is an account given by Evinus (*Trip. Vit. St. Patr.* ii. c. 123) of St. Patrick's arrival in the country of Enna, who was brother of king Laeghaire, and of his request for ground to build a church. Without apparently giving his full consent at the time, Enna next day brought his son Eochaidh or Eochan Luscus to St. Patrick to be made a bishop, and, failing to meet with St. Patrick at Aileach-Airteach, prevailed upon two of St. Patrick's disciples, who were bishops, to consecrate Eochaidh. But when St. Patrick heard of this transaction he was highly incensed, and pronounced a doom upon both the young bishop and his consecrators. Colgan thinks this Eochaidh must have been the Eochaidh of Uisnech, who is commemorated in the kalendars on Jan. 1, chiefly because Uisnech or Usnagh-hill is in Westmeath, which belonged to the sons of

aeghaire, and Aileach-Airteach was probably n the other side of the Shannon, in Roscommon. Colgan, *Acta SS.* 737, c. 4, and *Tr. Thaum.* 31, c. 17, 145, c. 123, 181 n. [180]; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 19.) [J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (12) of Cill-Toma. In the Irish nnals is the death of Eochaidh (Echdach, *Ann. Ult.*) of Cill-Toma, now Kiltoom, a hamlet n the barony of Fore, near Castlepollard, co. Westmeath. He died in the year 751 (*Ann. Tig.*), and was succeeded by Coibhdeanach. [J. G.]

EOCHAIDH (13) of Cluain-ratha, brother f St. Magister of Killmagister, descended from he Ui Bairrche who occupied Slievemargy, Queen's County, and some adjoining districts. He vas thus related to and nearly contemporary with St. Fiacc, of Sletty, who, by his mother, was a tep farther removed from the common ancestor Dairre Barrach (*Book of Rights*, 212; *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Archaeol. Assoc. Ir.* 4 ser. ii. 547). [J. G.]

EOCHOD, apostle of the Picts. [EUCHADIUS.] [J. G.]

EODBALD (*Annal. Juvaviens. Maj.* in Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Scriptt.* i. 87, ann. 640), filius Edilberti, depositus 13 kal. Februar. feria 6. [EADBALD (1).] [C. H.]

EODEBERTUS, by a deed dated the 16th of May, in the tenth year of king Childebert (704), sold all his possessions at Rumliacum, in the district of Therouanne, to Rigobert abbat of the monastery of St. Bertin at Sithium. This document is by some mistake given twice over in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1248 and cxxxvi. 1198, the author of the *Index biographicus* evidently supposing there were two distinct deeds of different purport. [S. A. B.]

EODWALD (EADWALD), the son of a poor woman whom Wilfrid is said to have restored to life at a place called Ontiddanufri (? Tixover). Wilfrid desired that the child should be brought to him when seven years old, to enter into his service. When the time came, the mother, at the instigation of her husband, fled from home with her child, and was concealed among the Britons. They were discovered by Hocca, one of Wilfrid's officers, and the boy was brought to him. He was generally called "bishop's son" (filius episcopi), and died at Ripon in the great mortality. He was in some religious service there. (Eddi, *Vita Wilfr.* n. e. cap. 18.) [J. R.]

EOGHAN (EUGENIUS, "well-born," Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 2 ser. 150). **(1)** Son of Cainnech, and bishop of Ardsrath and Rathsith, commemorated Aug. 23. He was of the royal blood of Leinster, his father being Cainnech, of the race of Laeghaire Lorc, son of Ugaine Mór, and his mother Muindecha, of the race of the Mugdorni, probably in the county of Monaghan. He is said by Colgan and others to have been a disciple of St. Patrick, but he does not appear to have really been such, unless we are to suppose that his age was prolonged to an unusual extent. It is more likely that he was under St. Finnian (Dec. 12), of Clonard; and on his liberation from the captivity in which he was held when the pirates carried him off in his early youth, along with Tighernach (Apr. 4) of Clones, and Cairpre (Nov. 11) of Coleraine, and others, to Britain, he studied for some years at the great monastery of Rosnat or Whithern, founded by St. Ninian. He founded a monastery at a place called Kilnamanagh, in the county of Wicklow, where, according to Ussher, he flourished in the year 570, and had under him St. Kevin (June 3) of Glendalough, his kinsman. St. Etchen (Feb. 11) of Clonfad is said to have been related to him as belonging to the same sept in the Dal Messincorb. St. Eoghan afterwards was bishop at Ardsratha, now Ardstraw, in the barony of Strabane and county of Tyrone, where the bishop's seat was fixed before it was transferred to Maghera and thence to Derry; he was also bishop at Rathsith, now Rathshee or Rashee, in the barony and county of Antrim, and as such is usually entered in the Annals. At Ardstraw he had also a monastery. To Ulster he probably came from Wicklow, on account of its being the province of his maternal relationship. He was a great and industrious preacher, and after a life of zealous labour in declaring the gospel, he fell asleep in the Lord in the beginning of the seventh century. In all the Irish annals his death is associated with that of St. Coemgen, or Kevin, of Glendalough, and took place in the year of grace 618 (*Ann. Tig.*). The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Aug. 23, tom. iv. 624) have a memoir, "De S. Eugenio vel Eogaino, Episcopo Ardstrathensi in Hibernia. Vita auctore anonymo ex MS. Salmanticensi;" and Baring-Gould (*Lives of the Saints*, Aug. 23, p. 251) compiles a short notice, but gives too early a date. In *Ann. Clonmacn.* he is called "Owen, bishop of Ardsrathy," and Calder or Cawdor, a parish in the counties of Nairn and Inverness, was dedicated to St. Ewan and anciently called Borivon, properly Bar Ewan or Ewan's Height. He was patron also of Collace, Perthshire. O'Donell (*Vit. S. Columb.* i. c. 13) gives an account of St. Eugenius of Ardstraw, foretelling the birth of St. Columba, and O'Clery refers to it as a fact, but as St. Columba was born about A.D. 521 and bishop Eoghan died about A.D. 618, we must doubt the genuineness of the prophecy. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 159, 227; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 406, 438, and *Tr. Thaum.* 391, 460, c. 31; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 12, § 3; Todd, *Book of Hymns*, Fasc. i. 103–6; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 68, 250; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 184, iv. 40; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 335; *Survey Prov. Moray*, 202; Ware, *Bishops*, 48, and *Ir. Ant.* 131; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Aug. 23, viii. 397; *Ulster Journ. Archaeol.* i. 187 n.; *Book of Obits, C. C. Dublin*, lxix. lxx.; Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. ii. 782.) [J. G.]

EOGHAN (2), son of Laisre. "Eogenius mac Laisreus" is given in Ussher's Irish saints of the second class, who were few bishops and many priests, to the number of three hundred, and extended for a period of about sixty years up to the close of the sixth century. But nothing satisfactory is known of him: he could not have been bishop of Ardstraw, as Cainnech was that bishop's father's name, nor could he well have been master of St. Kevin (Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, works, vi. 478, 528; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 10, § 4, c. 12, § 7). [J. G.]

EOGHAN (3), son of Saran, of Cluain-Caolain. Commem. Mar. 15. Of this saint there is no special mention in the *Kalendars* and *Martyrologies*, but O'Clery (*Mart. Doneg.* 77) adds to the name on this day his own comment, "I think this is Eoghan, son of Saran, of Cluain-Caolain, for whom Ailbhé (Sept. 12), of Imleach Iobhair, composed the very hard rule which begins 'Say for me to the son of Saran,' &c., for every other person of the same name that is in the martyrology has some title or church which he possessed, except the Eoghan who comes at this day." Dr. Todd (*Ib.* 247 n. [3]) adds that the poetical rule here alluded to is addressed to Eoghan, son of Saran, of Cluain-Coelain, co. Tipperary, and a good copy of it is in Mr. Curry's copy of the Brussels MS., containing the *Felire of Aengus*, &c. [J. G.]

EOGHAN (4) son of Nemhain or Nemhnall. The brothers Eoghan, Conall and Cairpre, are commem. at Feb. 19 as "The Sons of Nemhnall" (*Mart. Doneg.*). They had their residence at Teach-mac-Neamhain, which is said in Macgraidin's *Vita S. Fechini* to have been in the province of Leinster and district of Hy Faolain, *i.e.* co. Kildare (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 138, c. 33, 142 n. [33]; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 639). [J. G.]

EOGHAN (5) of Lismore, Oct. 16. The *Four Masters* give the date of the death after a three years' rule of Eoghan, son of Roinchenn, abbat of Lismore, in 771, but the true year is 776. St. Adamnan (*Vit. S. Columbae*, ii. c. 9) relates the finding of a satchel in the river of Leinster, after the satchel itself was not only soaked but rotten, and yet the book inside it, which had been written by St. Columba and belonged to a priest named Iogenan, a Pict by race, was dry and uninjured. Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 352, c. 9, 490 n. [53]) identifies this Iogenan, whom he calls "B. Eugananus, seu Eoganus, presbyter, gente Pictus, Monachus Hiensis," with Eoghan, bp. of Lismore, of Oct. 16, and includes him among the disciples of St. Columba, placing him at the same time at Lismore in the Hebrides. But everything is opposed to Colgan's attempt at identification. [J. G.]

EOGHAN (6) of Cillcleithi, now Kilclief, in the barony of Lecale, co. Down; this was one of the seven sons of Trichem, a chief of Uladh, who was of the race of Fiatch Finn, the ancestor of the Dal Fiatach, in Ulster. He thus was brother of St. Dichu (Apr. 29) of Saul, but of his history little is known beyond his having his church or monastery at Kilclief (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 114 n. [1]; Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq.* 38; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 61–2, and *Tr. Thaum.* 110, n. [33], 265, col. 2). When St. Patrick left Inishowen, and had placed a bishop called Beatus over the church he had built at Duncruthen (now Duncrun, in the county of Londonderry), he united him and another saint, named Eugenius, in a bond of spiritual friendship; but this is all the information Evinus (*Vit. S. Patr.* ii. c. 125) gives regarding Eugenius, and Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 146, c. 125, 182, n. [189]) will not decide as to whether it is Eugenius of Cill-Cleithi, or some other of the many bearing the same name (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 183–5). [J. G.]

EOGHAN (7), abbat of Maghbile (now Moville, co. Down). Commem. May 31 in *Mart. Doneg.* and *Mart. Tallaght*, but in the latter is called bishop and sage of "Magh Cremhcaille"; yet this seems to be only by a confusion between Eoghan the abbat of Moville, and Ernin of Cremchoill (*Mart. Doneg.*), the term "sapiens" being taken from "Eoghan sapiens," of May 28, who is so called in both the Martyrologies [Ernin (2)]. There is no other reference to his episcopate (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 141; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* xxv.). [J. G.]

EOGHAN (8) (Euganan), son of Totalain, died A.D. 660 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 659). [J. G.]

EOGHANAN, commemorated Dec. 20 (*Mart. Doneg.*, but 19, *Mart. Tall.*). He was son of Aenghus, and had his residence or dedication at Ardlecach, in Magh-Ene, near unto Eas-Ruaidh, that is, in the plain of Moy, co. Donegal, and near the cataract of Assaroe or Easaroe, on the river Erne (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 343; *Mart. Tallaght* in Kelly's *Cal. Ir. SS.* xxxix. 13). Eoghanan is the diminutive of Eoghan, and probably the double diminutive of Eogh or Eocha. [J. G.]

EOGLODIUS, Irish saint. [Euchadius.]

EOGON, son of Tripot, an abbat, died A.D. 745, but the entry in the Stowe copy of the *Four Mast.* is modern (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* iii. 270). [J. G.]

EOGUIN (Nennius, *Hist. Angl.* in *M. H. B.* 76 a), king of Northumbria. [Edwin.] [C. H.]

EOIL, Irish saint. [Euhel.]

EOIN, son of Carlan, of Tech-eoin in Uladh, commemorated Aug. 17. Eoin is the Irish form of the name John, and this saint is commemorated in *Mart. Doneg.* and *Mart. Tallaght.* His church Tigh-Eoin, "John's House," has given its name by contraction to Styoun, now St. John's Point, a detached townland of Rathmullan parish, co. Down. (Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq.* 32, 33.) [J. G.]

EOLANG (Eulaig, Eulogius), of Achadbo, commemorated Sept. 5. O'Clery (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 237) has on this day "Eolang of Achadh-bo-Cainnigh in Osraighe [now Aghaboe, founded by St. Cainnech (Oct. 11) in the baronies of Clandonagh and Clarmallagh, Queen's County,] and he is of the race of Conaire, son of Moghlamha, Monarch of Erin." In the kalendar of the Drummond Missal (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 23) he is Eulaig Confessor. A saint called Eulangius or Eulogius is mentioned among the twelve disciples or companions of St. Barry or Finbar (Sept. 25) in his journey to Britain, and at his monastery of Loch Irce or Erce; but this was really St. Ollan or Olan, of Aghabulloge, in the barony of East Muskerry, in the county of Cork. [Ollan.] (Caulfield, *Life of S. Fin Barre*, 19 n.; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 221, c. 2, 607, col. 1.) Another homonymous saint, Eolang of Lecan, had his feast on Dec. 29. [J. G.]

EOLDUS (Adon. *Chron.* ann. 718 in Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 120 b), bishop of Vienne. [Eoaldus.]

EOLLA, the second bishop of Selsey (*M. H. B.* 618). He is mentioned by Bede as the successor of Eadbert, and as dead some time before the Ecclesiastical History was completed (*H. E.* v. 18). His name is inserted in a spurious or interpolated charter of 714 issued at a South Saxon witenagemot (Kemble, *C. D.* 999), and in another charter he appears as confirming a grant of king Nunna (*ib.* 1001). Unfortunately the text of the Selsey charters is in such a state that nothing can be argued from these facts. [S.]

EONAN (AEONA), a singer, who with Eddi accompanied Wilfrid during his sojourn in Mercia and Kent in A.D. 664, teaching the people, no doubt, church music and the Gregorian tones. (Eddi *Vita S. Wilf.* cap. xiv.) [J. R.]

EONIUS (1), bishop of Vannes. [ENNIUS (2).]

EONIUS (2), twenty-second bishop of Auch, succeeding Alecius and followed by Paulinus, towards the close of the 6th century. The name in the ancient catalogue has also been read as Comus, Conius, and Genius. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 975; Gams, *Series Episc.* 497.) [S. A. B.]

EONUS (AEONIUS), of noble birth in the territory of Châlon-sur-Saône, succeeded Leontius as bishop of Arles. The Sammarthani date his accession in 492. The Bollandists suppose it possibly earlier. Pope Gelasius writes to notify to him, and through him to the other bishops of Gaul, his accession to the pontificate. He was present at the discussion held at Lyons between Catholics and Arians, which inspired king Gundobald with a certain leaning towards Catholicism [AVITUS] (see Hefele, *Conc. Gesch.* b. xii., sec. 219). In a long-standing dispute between the churches of Arles and Vienne, regarding primatial rights, pope Anastasius II. had made certain arrangements favourable to Vienne, by which more ancient regulations of St. Leo were infringed. Appeal having been made to pope Symmachus, he wrote a letter to Eonus (Patr. Lat. lxii. p. 49), in which he directs both churches to send delegates for his information. Crescentius was sent on the part of Arles, but it does not appear that Vienne sent any one. Upon hearing his statement, Symmachus again wrote to Eonus in the year 500. After perusal of the great accumulation of documents relating to the case (quibus ecclesiasticum gravatur scrinium) he rescinds the innovations of Anastasius and maintains the ordinances of St. Leo, on the ground of the reverence due to antiquity, and the need of maintaining the consistency of the apostolic see. The letter bears the appearance of a final decision on the question; but Avitus of Vienne having remonstrated, the pope replies to him that the case is still open, and in fact it was only in 513 that it was finally decided in favour of Arles. [CAESARIUS.] Eonus was the relative and fellow countryman of St. Caesarius, whom he placed over a monastery on an island near Arles, and recommended to the people as his successor. His death occurred Aug. 16, A.D. 502; but the feast of St. Roche being in possession of that day, Eonus is commemorated on Aug. 30. (*Acta SS.* Aug. 30; *Gall. Christ.* i. 534; Ceill. x. 504 and 523; Tillemont, *Mém.* xv. 96.) [R. T. S.]

EOPA (Wend. *Flor. Hist.* ann. 661, ed. Coxe); **EOPPA** (*A. S. C.* ann. 657, 661, in *M. H. B.* 316, 317), presbyter. [EAPPA.] [C. H.]

EOPPA, son of Ingeld, who was brother of Ine king of Wessex. Eoppa was great-grandfather of Egbert. (*Chr. S. M. H. B.* 348.) [S.]

EORCOMBERT (ancient Cotton MSS. fragments described in Hardy, *Descr. Cat.* i. 259), king of Kent. [EARCOMBERT.] [C. H.]

EORCONGOTHA (Flor. Wig. *Geneal. Reg. Cantw.* in *M. H. B.* 627), daughter of Earcombert. [EARCONGOTA.] [C. H.]

EORICHUS (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 20), king of the Goths. [EURIC.] [C. H.]

EORMENBEORGE, or -GA (Flor. Wig. *Geneal. Reg. Merc.* in *M. H. B.* 630; id. *Geneal. Reg. Cantw.* in *M. H. B.* 627), daughter of Eormenred of Kent, wife of Merewald king of Mercia. [EORMENBURGA (1).] [C. H.]

EORMENBURGA (1), (EORMENBURH, ERMENBURGA), otherwise called Dompneva or Domneva, a name probably derived from "Domina Eaba," the latter being the name given to her in Kentish charters, supposing the two to be identical. She was a daughter of Eormenred, son of Eadbald king of Kent. She was married to Merewald, son of Penda, who is called king of the West Mercians or West Hecani of Herefordshire, to whom she bore three daughters, Milburga, Mildritha, and Mildgitha, and a son Merefin. According to the Canterbury hagiographers she received from her cousin, king Egbert of Kent, an estate in the Isle of Thanet, in composition for the death of her brothers Ethelred and Ethelbert. Upon this she built a monastery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, at the place now called Minster, in Thanet, where she herself became the first abbess, and was blessed by archbishop Theodore. In this dignity she was succeeded by her daughter Mildritha or Mildred, who gave her own name to the monastery. (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 534, 635, 638, 648; Will. Malmesb. *G. P.* ed. Hamilton, p. 319; Elmham, pp. 207, 215.) In Thorn's Chronicle of St. Augustine's the name of St. Mildred's predecessor at Minster is given as Aebba, and to Aebba the forged grants of Wihtred and Swebheard are given. (Kemble, *C. D.* 15, 37; Elmham, pp. 234, 288.)

It is extremely difficult to unravel the Kentish hagiography, and it would not be safe to say that the three names Eormenburh, Dompneva, and Aebba represent the same person. Florence of Worcester is probably the best authority, and the identification of Dompneva with Eormenburga is not improbable. But the whole story is more or less legendary. The story of Eormenburga founding a monastery at Eastry (*Mon. Angl.* vi. 1620) seems to be simply a confused account of the foundation of Minster. Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B.* 635 c) calls the wife of Merewald Ermenberga, and makes another sister Ermenburga, of whom nothing more is said but that she was "sancta virgo" (*ib.* p. 627). [S.]

EORMENBURGA (2) (IURMENBURG, IRMINBURGA), 2nd wife of Egfrid king of Northumbria,

and sister-in-law of Centwine king of Wessex. (Eddi, cap. 40.) She is charged with stirring up the wrath of her husband against bishop Wilfrid, reflecting upon his wealth and influence, in consequence of which the diocese of York was subdivided by Theodore and Egfrid, and Wilfrid appealed to Rome. This was in A.D. 678. (*Id.* cap. 24; Symeon, *de Arch. Ebor.*) On his return from Italy, Wilfrid was imprisoned, and Ermenburga got possession of his reliquary, and used it as a personal decoration. (*Id.* cap. 34.) Eddi tells us how for this conduct she became deranged, or possessed, at Coldingham, and how her ailment went away when Wilfrid was released and restitution made. (*Id.* cap. 39.) When her husband fell, in A.D. 685, Ermenburga was in her sister's monastery at Carlisle, awaiting the news of the expedition, and there she had an interview with Cuthbert. (Bede, *Vita Cuth.* cap. 27.) After this Ermenburga seems to have taken the veil, as her name appears in the *Book of Life* of Durham among the queens and abbesses (p. 3). See also Malm. *G. P.* p. 232. ed. Hamilton; *Hist. Eliens.* lib. i. ed. Stewart, p. 39. [J. R.]

EORMENGILDA, EORMENHILD, a daughter of Earcombert, king of Kent, by his wife Sexburga; married to Wulfhere king of Mercia. (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 534, 635, 637; Elmham, p. 188.) She became a nun in her mother's monastery at Sheppey, and when Sexburga went to Ely she succeeded her as abbess. On Sexburga's death Eormenhild became abbess of Ely, and gave Sheppey to her daughter Werburga. Eormenhild died and was buried at Ely. Her memory was observed on Feb. 13. (*Hist. Eliens.* ed. Stewart, i. 76, 77; Elmham, p. 191, W. Malmesb. *G. P.* ed. Hamilton, pp. 308, 323.) The history of Eormenhild as the wife of Wulfhere is crossed by that of Eadburga abbess of Gloucester. [EADBURGA (4).] A life of St. Eormenhild, which exists in several MSS., appears abridged by Capgrave in the *Nova Legenda Angliae.* (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 368, 369; *AA. SS.* Boll. Feb. 13, ii. 686–691.) Her name, "Hirmynhilda," as abbess, is attached to the spurious form of the privilege of Wihtred. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 246.) [S.]

EORMENGITHA (ERMENGITHA), daughter of Eormenred, son of Eadbald king of Kent. (Flor. Wig. *Geneal. Reg. Cant.* in *M. H. B.* 627.) [C. H.]

EORMENRED, son of Eadbald king of Kent. According to the Canterbury tradition, as delivered by Simeon of Durham (*M. H. B.* 646), he was the elder son of Eadbald, but set aside by his father in favour of Earcombert. Elmham (p. 175) makes him die before his father, whilst Thorn (c. 1906) seems to favour the notion that he survived his father and left his children to the care of his brother Earconbert. The fact that his wife Oslawa is called "regina" by Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B.* 635) is in favour of the latter supposition. On the other hand Eormenred is never mentioned by Bede. By Oslawa he was father of Ermenburga, otherwise called Dompneva, Ermengitha, Etheldrytha, Ethelred and Ethelbert, to whom the "Genealogia" of Florence (*M. H. B.* 627) adds Eormenbeorga. His name is known chiefly as that of the father of a family of saints, of whom the two sons were, in legend at least, reputed as martyrs. (See Will. Malmesb. *G. R.* i. § 11, 13; iii. 209, &c.; Elmham, pp. 175, 176, 184; *Chr. S.* M. H. B. 310.) [S.]

EORPENWALD (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 624, 632, 636); **EORPUALD** (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 15, in *M. H. B.* 167 B); **EORPWALD** (*A. S. C.* ann. 632, in *M. H. B.* 309; Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 632, 636, in *M. H. B.* 528 C, 529 A; id. *Geneal. Reg. Or. Angl.* in *M. H. B.* 628; id. *ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 636 A; Malm. *G. R. A.* ed. Hardy, i. § 97), king of East Anglia. [EARPWALD.] [C. H.]

EORPWIN, abbat of the northern monastery described by the monk Ethelwulf (*AA. SS. O. S. B.* saec. vi. part 2; pp. 323, 327). See ETHELWULF (2). His name appears among the priests, abbats, in the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis,* p. 6. [S.]

EORTASIUS of Sardis. [HEORTASIUS.]

EOSTERWINUS (MSS. described in Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 413; Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* in *M. H. B.* 651 C), abbat. [EASTERWINE.] [C. H.]

EOVALDUS (HOU), saint and martyr, who, along with Sixtus, suffered under Dacian the governor of Spain, during the Diocletian persecution, at Gerunda in Catalonia. The Bollandists give an account of the discovery of the bodies of these saints taken from an original Spanish authority. They were commemorated on May 7. (*AA. SS.* Boll. Maii ii. 134.) [L. D.]

EPACHIUS, presbyter of Ricomagus (Riom) in Auvergne, spoken of by Gregory of Tours in the 6th century. Being of senatorial rank and of better birth than anybody else at Ricomagus, he was asked to celebrate mass on the feast of the Nativity. Having accordingly to keep the vigil in the church, he was observed to go out during the night to his house from hour to hour, and drink "wanton cups from foaming tankards." He was even seen drinking after cock-crow, and was therefore not in a state of fasting on the day of communion. While administering the elements to the congregation he had an epileptic fit, and was carried out of church. The fit returned monthly. Gregory relates this story, to which he adds another from his personal history, to enforce the special sanctity of the vigil of the Nativity. (Greg. Tur. lib. i. *De Glor. Mart.* cap. 87.) [W. M. S.]

EPAENETUS, bishop of Carthage, according to Baronius (*Annal. s. a.* 58, iv.), who, however, gives no authority for his statement but that of Dorotheus (*De lxx. Discip.*, Patr. Graec. xcii. 1061). He is the person mentioned in Rom. xvi. 5. In the Greek Menaea he is said to have preached in Carthage, as well as in Italy and elsewhere, but there is no mention of his episcopate (*Menaea*, Jul. 30, ed. Constantinople, 1843; Calmet *in Rom.* xvi. 5). The anonymous *Comment. de SS. Pet. et Paul* (cap. 3, § 11) printed by the Bollandists represents Epaenetus to have been placed by St. Peter as bishop at Sirmium in Spain. No Spanish Sirmium is known. Flavius Dexter makes it Sexifirmus, identified

by his editor with Piedrahita. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. v. 416 a; Dext. *Chron.* ann. 50 and Bivar's Comment. in Patr. Lat. xxxi. 103.) [T. W. D.]

EPAGATHUS (1) VETTIUS, one of the martyrs at Lyons under Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 177); commemorated June 2. (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1; *Mart.* Hier., Ad., Us.) [T. S. B.]

EPAGATHUS (2), bishop of Marcianopolis in Moesia Inferior, south of the Danube, present at the synod held at Constantinople under Nectarius, when the dispute between Agapius and Bagadius for the bishopric of Bostra, the metropolis of the province of Arabia, was settled in favour of Bagadius, A.D. 394. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1218; Mansi, iii. 852.) [L. D.]

EPAPHRAS (Col. i. 7, iv. 12; Philem. 23), legendary bishop of Colossae. Jerome in his *Commentary on the Ep. to Philemon*, vv. 23, 24 (Patr. Lat. xxvi. 617), mentions a tradition relating to the connexion of Epaphras with St. Paul, but nothing of his episcopate. Epaphras is first called bishop of Colossae by Ado archbishop of Vienne (Adon. *de Festiv. SS. Apost.* in Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 193), who records the tradition that he was ordained a bishop at Colossae by St. Paul, and that he was martyred and buried in the same city, his *natale* being July 19. Usuard under this day repeats the statement. The anonymous Life of St. Auxibius (said to have been bishop of Soli in Cyprus, A.D. 102) gives a different tradition; that St. Paul, in consequence of the death of Barnabas and there being no longer an apostle in Cyprus, sent Epaphras, Tychicus, and others to Heraclides archbishop of Cyprus, directing the latter to ordain Epaphras to be bishop of Paphos, and the rest for other towns. (*Vit. S. Auxibii*, cap. 2, § 8, in Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 126 c; Le Quien, *Oriens Chr.* i. 815, ii. 1059.) [C. H.]

EPAPHRODITUS (1), reputed bishop of Philippi, and imagined to have been the ἀπόστολος of Phil. ii. 25. Theodoret (*Comment. in loc.*) interprets the word as implying that Epaphroditus was the ecclesiastical superior of the ἐπίσκοποι (*i. q.* πρεσβύτεροι) of Phil. i. 1; and this father, although writing as a commentator rather than as a historian, was afterwards adduced as the authority for making Epaphroditus first bishop of Philippi. (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 60, iii.; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 67.) [T. W. D.]

EPAPHRODITUS (2), reputed bishop of Andriaca and one of the seventy disciples (Dorotheus, *de Septuag. Dom. Discip.* in Migne, Patr. Graec. xcii. 1065; Basil. *Menol.* ii. 17, Dec. 19, Patr. Graec. cxvii.). Andriaca was the port town of Myra in Lycia; Baronius erroneously writes it Hadria or Hadriana, and places it in Syria. (*A. E.* ann. 60, iii.) [T. W. D.]

EPAPHRODITUS (3), reputed bishop of Terracina in Italy or Tarragona in Spain, and supposed to have been either one of the seventy or the companion of St. Paul. The authority is an anonymous *Commentarius de SS. Pet. et Paul.* printed by Surius and the Bollandists, Surius attributing it to Symeon Metaphrastes. Terracina is the reading in Surius (cap. x.) and the Bollandists (cap. 3, § 11); but Salazar and other Spanish writers read Tarracona, so transferring Epaphroditus to their own country. (Surius, *de Prob. Hist.* tom. ii. p. 353, ed. 1618; Boll. *Acta SS.* 22 Mart. iii. 369, 370, § 6, 29 Jun. v. 411; Salazar, *Mart. Hisp.* tom. ii. p. 356; Ugh. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 1283; Contatore, *Hist. Terracin.* p. 460; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* vi. 517; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 60, iii.) [T. W. D.]

EPAPHRODITUS (4), A.D. 431, reader and notary to Hellanicus bishop of Rhodes. He was deputed with three bishops to give a second summons to Nestorius to attend the Council of Ephesus on the first day of its session. A deputation the previous evening had been unsuccessful. (*Concil.* iii. 453; Ceillier, viii. 577; Pope Paul V.'s *Concilia Gener.* i. p. 325, Rome, 1628.) [W. M. S.]

EPAPHRODITUS (5), bishop of Tamassus in Cyprus, present at the oecumenical council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, where he acted also as proxy for Didymus of Lapithus in the island; at the sixth session he signed for Olympius the metropolitan of Constantia (Salamis) and the absent suffragans of Cyprus. (Mansi, vii. 165; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1060.) [L. D.]

EPARCHIUS (1), bishop of Sicca, in the proconsular province of Africa. His name is found in the preface of the acts of the council held at Carthage, under Gratus, A.D. 348 or 349 (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 277; Mansi, iii. 144, margin, the text reads PATRICIUS; ib. 153 a). [L. D.]

EPARCHIUS (2), tenth bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, between St. Namatius and Apollinaris Sidonius, held the see from about A.D. 462 to 472. Gregory of Tours calls him vir sanctissimus atque religiosus. It is said that he built a monastery on the summit of the Mons Cantobennicus, where now is a chapel, and used to shut himself up there during Lent, but on the day of the Coena Domini would return to his church with singing of psalms, accompanied by the clergy and people. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 21; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 231.) [S. A. B.]

EPARCHIUS (3), ST., a recluse of Angoulême (Egolisma), was born at Périgueux in the early part of the 6th century of parents named Aurilolus and Principia. At the close of his school days he became the cancellarius of his grandfather, Felicissimus, a count; but his heart was not in his duties, and after fifteen years of unwilling servitude, he escaped secretly to the monastery of Sedacium, and throwing himself at the feet of Martin, the abbat, besought to be made a monk. His prayer was granted, and he underwent the usual drudgery of a novice in the field and vineyard. Feeling drawn towards the solitary life, he selected a desert spot, and built for himself a hut. According, however, to the account of Gregory of Tours, he was not altogether solitary, but was accompanied by a few monks. He passed his time in constant prayer, and devoted the offerings made him to the relief of the poor and the redemption of captives. He provided no food, but was supported by those he had befriended. After forty-four, or, according to another account, thirty-nine years of this existence, he was seized with a fever, and died in A.D. 581, or, according to Baronius, 584. He is commemorated on the 1st

of July. The popular corruption of his name is St. Cybar, and there is a monastery of that name near the city of Angoulême. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vi. 8 [see the note in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 380]; *De Glor. Confess.* ci.; Boll. *Acta SS.* July, i. 109; Aimoin, *Hist. Franc.* lib. iii. c. 45.) [S. A. B.]

EPARCHIUS (4) [EBARCIUS], said to have been a bishop of Poitiers, the *Gallia Christiana* (ii. 1154) placing him twenty-eighth on the list. His existence, however, seems to rest for proof on a passage occurring in a charter of Louis the Pious, as king of the Aquitanians, in favour of Noailles (Nobiliacum). The king confirms to Noailles amongst other provisions, "illas conjunctiones quas anteriori pontifici Pictaviensis, quem nos recognovimus, Ansaldus, Ebasius et Grosbertus ad ipsam cellam detulerunt" (*Gall. Christ.* ii. Instrumenta, p. 346), but making the fullest allowance for the barbarisms of the king, this passage, as the later compilers of the *Gall. Chr.* have pointed out (xiv. 30), can scarcely be made to imply the existence of a bishop Eparchius at Poitiers. [S. A. B.]

EPARCIUS (APARCIUS, HUPARCIUS), bishop of Italica [EULALIUS], from about 630 to 653. He signs the acts of the fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633) in the fifty-seventh place, preceding five only. In 636 Eparcius was present at the death of St. Isidore, who had sent for him and for Joannes bishop of Elepla, to receive from them the penitential habit and the last sacraments. The signature of Eparcius is also found to the acts of the sixth, seventh, and eighth Councils of Toledo. In the seventh he signs fifth after the Metropolitans, in the eighth second. (*Esp. Sagr.* ix. app. 7, xii. p. 266; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 385, 413, 423, 428.) [M. A. W.]

EPATHIMITUS (Ugh. *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 26), bishop of Naples. [EPITIMITUS.] [C. H.]

EPHEBUS (1), CLAUDIUS, one of the bearers of Clement's epistle to the Corinthians (ch. 45). He must have been at the time (about A.D. 95) in advanced years; for he is described as having "walked among us from youth to old age unblameably." Lightfoot conjectures that he and his companion, Valerius Bito, may have been freedmen of the imperial household, and that they may have received their names at the time (A.D. 41–48) when a Claudius was emperor and a Valeria his consort. [G. S.]

EPHEBUS (2) (EPHYBUS), a martyr at Terni. He was arrested by order of Leontius the consul, and was beheaded A.D. 268. He is commemorated Feb. 14. (*Mart.* Adon., Rab., Notker.) [T. S. B.]

EPHEBUS (3) (Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 904), bishop of Naples. [EUPHEBIUS.] [C. H.]

EPHESIUS (Faustin et Marcellin. *Libell. Prec.* in Migne, Patr. Lat. xiii. 99), Luciferian bishop at Rome. [EUSESIUS; LUCIFERIANS.] [T. W. D.]

EPHESUS, THE SEVEN SLEEPERS OF. The first person in the West to relate the legend thus entitled appears to have been Gregory of Tours (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Mart.* cap. 95, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 787 n. Ruinart). According to him the names of the seven were Maximianus, Malchus, Martinianus, Constantinus, Dionysius, Joannes, Serapion. They were Christians, and all related to one another. When the emperor Decius visited Ephesus they were brought before him, and on refusing to abjure were allowed time for consideration. They concealed themselves in a cave, where they abode many days, their food being fetched from the city by one of them who is described as a lad. Decius heard of their proceedings, and commanded the cave to be closed upon them. While they were thus being entombed a certain Christian caused their story to be engraved on leaden tablets, which he hid at the entrance of the cave. After many years Theodosius, a Christian, succeeded to the empire, and there arose the "foul heresy" of the Sadducees, "who deny a future resurrection." At that time it chanced that a citizen of Ephesus in constructing a sheepfold made use of the stones that blocked up the cave, and so reopened it. "The Lord then sent the spirit of life upon the seven," who rose up, and thinking they had slept but a single night, sent out "the lad" to buy food. On coming into the city he was astonished to see everywhere the symbol of the cross and to hear the name of Christ. When he offered the money for his purchases he was seized and taken before the bishop and the magistrate as one who had discovered hidden treasure. The cave was visited, the leaden tablets read, and the entire story revealed. Theodosius came in person, and the seven said to him: "A heresy has arisen, glorious Augustus; the Lord has therefore bidden us arise, that we should say to you, according to the apostle Paul, we must all appear at the bar of Christ; see that you are not deceived and shut out from the kingdom of Christ." On this they again lay down and fell asleep as before. Gregory states that he had their *passio* from a certain Syrian who translated it for him into Latin. It is quite possible that the original from which the story was related to Gregory was the source from whence the Syrian bishop Jacobus (ob. A.D. 521) derived his version, which is commented on by Asseman (*Biblioth. Or.* i. 335, n. 221), and given at length by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 27 Jul. vi. 375). Jacobus gives eight as the number of sleepers, and varies as to their names. Photius (*Bibl.* cod. 253) varies from both Gregory and Jacobus. In Basil's *Menology* (Oct. 23) the legend is very briefly related, and again differently. Symeon Metaphrastes (Patr. Graec. cxv. 427) gives the fullest and most graphic version of all. Similar legends are met with both in the East and West. One of another "seven" is attributed to Gregory of Tours (*Opp.* ed. Migne, p. 1106); another occurs in Paulus Diaconus (*De Gest. Lang.* i. 4, in Patr. Lat. xcv. 441); another in the Koran (Sale, transl. cap. 18, p. 238, ed. 1834), while others are referred to by Baronius (*Mart. Rom.* Jul. 27), Hospinian (*De Fest. Christ.* p. 114, ed. 1612), Gibbon (*D. and F.* c 33, vol. iv. p. 188, ed. Smith), Hampson, *Med. Aev. Kal.* 353). July 27 was the day of their commemoration. [T. W. D.]

EPHRAIM (1), bishop of Alexandria. Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* ii. 389) says that the fourth bishop, called Primus by Eusebius (*Chron.* ann.

107; *H. E.* iv. 1), is given as Obrimius and Ephraem by the Coptic and Arabian writers. [C. H.]

EPHRAIM (2), (Ephrem, Ephraem; Eusebius, Ἐφρῆς; Epiphanius, Οὐάφρις), the thirteenth of the fifteen bishops of Jerusalem of the circumcision. He succeeded Levi, and was succeeded by Joses, or Joseph. (Euseb. *Chron.* A.D. 124, *H. E.* iv. 5; Epiphan. *Haer.* lxvi. no. 20.) The 4th of April is assigned as the day of his commemoration by the continuators of the Bollandists (Le Quien, *Or. Christian.* iii. 146.) [E. V.]

EPHRAIM (3), bishop, sent by Hermon bishop of Jerusalem into Turcia, in the reign of Diocletian; commemorated March 8. (Basil. *Menol.*) [C. H.]

EPHRAIM (4) THE SYRIAN, usually called Ephrem Syrus, from the Syriac form of his name Aphrem, was certainly born in Mesopotamia, as he describes his home as lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates (*Opp. Syr.* i. 23), and probably at Nisibis. As Edessa became the chief scene of his labours he is generally styled the Edessene. It certainly, however, was not his birthplace, as some have supposed; for Gregory of Nyssa, in his Encomium upon him, written soon after his death, says, "Like another Abraham, Ephrem left his country, and came to Edessa, that so splendid a sun might not be hidden in a chamber underground." The exact date of his birth is unknown, but as Constantine was emperor at the time, it must have been subsequent to A.C. 306; as, further, it is comparatively certain that he died, as stated by St. Jerome, "in extreme old age," about A.C. 373,[a] we cannot be far wrong in considering him as having been born early in that emperor's reign, about A.C. 308.

In the *Acta* prefixed to the sixth volume of the great Roman edition of his works, his father is said to have been priest to a heathen idol called Abnil, subsequently broken in pieces by the emperor Jovian. But the child obstinately refused to accompany his parents to the idol-temple, and when after repeated blows he was still found holding converse with Christians, they drove him from their house and disowned him. Whereupon Ephrem betook himself to St. James, bishop of Nisibis, who admitted him into the college of catechumens, and had him carefully educated in the principles of the Christian faith. But the story is at variance with his own statements. Thus in his Confession (*Opp. Gr.* i. 129) he says, "When I sinned, I was already a partaker of grace: I had been early taught about Christ by my parents: they who had begotten me after the flesh, had trained me in the fear of the Lord. I had seen my neighbours living piously: I had heard of many suffering for Christ. My own parents were confessors before the Judge: yea, I am the kindred of martyrs." Equally plain is a statement in his Syriac works (*Opp. Syr.* ii. 499): "I was born in the way of truth: and though my boyhood understood not the greatness of the benefit, I knew it when trial came."

In his Testament (*Opp. Gr.* ii. 408) he tells us that his childhood was one of early promise. "When I was a child, and lay in my mother's bosom, I saw as in a dream that which has become a reality. From my tongue there sprang a vine twig, which grew and reached to heaven: it brought forth fruit without end, and leaves without number. It spread, it grew, it lengthened, it expanded itself, it went round about, it stretched abroad till it reached the whole creation. All beings gathered of it, and there was no lack: yea, the more they plucked, so much the more its clusters multiplied. Those clusters were sermons, those leaves were hymns, and God was the giver. To Him be glory for His grace, whereby He has made me receive according as He willed from the storehouse of His treasures."

This also seems to suggest that Ephrem from the first was educated as a Christian, and the statement that he accompanied St. James to the council of Nicaea is probable enough. Of course it would be in an inferior capacity: but as Ephrem was from the first a diligent student of Holy Scripture, and a keen disputant, the bishop might not unwillingly have taken with him a youth of so much promise. Of the council itself, he speaks with great reverence, describing it as "the illustrious synod, gathered by the memorable king, at which the Creed was committed to writing," and condemns heretics for not submitting to it (*Opp. Syr.* ii. 488 D).

In the year 337 Constantine the Great died, and Sapor, king of Persia, at once seized the opportunity of invading Mesopotamia. After ravaging the open country, he commenced the siege of Nisibis in A.C. 338, and at the end of seventy days had brought it to the verge of surrender. For having dammed up the waters of the Mygdonius, he suddenly set them free, and they rushed with so great violence against the walls of the city as partially to overthrow them. In vain the citizens raised inner walls of defence; but when all seemed hopeless, Ephrem prevailed upon the aged bishop, James, to mount the walls, and in the presence of the besiegers, to pray for the divine succour. Shortly afterwards so great a multitude of mosquitoes and horse-flies, bred probably in the swamps lately covered by the waters of the river, assailed the Persian camp, that the horses and elephants, being rendered unmanageable, threw the whole army into confusion; and Sapor, recognising that the scourge was divine, withdrew his forces, lest he should bring upon himself heavier chastisement.

Before the end of the year St. James died, but according to the *Acta* Ephrem remained at Nisibis till its surrender by Jovian to Sapor, when he withdrew into Roman territory, having previously been baptized at the age of twenty-eight years. But the surrender of Nisibis took place in A.C. 363, when Ephrem was about fifty-five years of age; and besides, the same *Acta* describe him as living at Edessa, in the reign of Julian, Jovian's predecessor. More probably he left Nisibis upon the death of James, and after a short stay at Amid, to which city his mother is said to have belonged, travelled onwards to Edessa, the chief seat both of Chris-

[a] Bickell, *Carm. Nis.* p. 9, note, shews that this was the date of his death, and not 378, as Rödiger thought probable in his article on Ephrem in Herzog's *Encycl. Theol.* St. Jerome's expression must not be forced too much.

tianity and of learning in Mesopotamia. As he entered the city a number of women were engaged in washing linen on the banks of the river Daisan, and as one of them looked at him more intently than seemed becoming, he rebuked her, saying, "Be modest, O woman, and fix thy look upon the ground." "It is quite right, she answered, for men to look upon the ground; for out of it they were taken: but for the same reason I may surely look at thee, for woman was taken out of man." "If the women here," he said, as he passed on, "are so wise, what must the men be!" With some slight modification, this story is also told by Gregory of Nyssa, in his Encomium referred to above.

Not having been taught any handicraft, and having no means of living, Ephrem entered at Edessa the service of a bath-keeper, but devoted his spare time to teaching and reasoning with the natives. While so engaged one day his words were overheard by an aged monk who had descended from his hermitage into the city, and being rebuked by him for still mingling with the world, Ephrem withdrew into a cavern among the mountains, adopted the monastic dress, and commenced a life of extreme austerity and asceticism, while at the same time he also gave himself up to study, and began to exercise that wonderful facility for writing which has made him the most prolific of authors.

Of course many portents foretold his future greatness. In one, which is vouched for by Gregory of Nyssa, an angel was seen descending from heaven with a roll inscribed within and without. He asks the aged hermit for whom he supposes it to be intended, and the answer is remarkable, as shewing who were regarded as the most famous writers of the time, "Origen or the monk Julius in the land of the north." The marvellous roll was really Ephrem's commission to declare heavenly mysteries. And quickly his reputation grew, his works were diffused far and wide, and disciples gathered round him, of whom many rose to eminence as teachers, and several of whom he commemorates in his Testament.

Many years were probably spent in this way, but the growing fame of Basil, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, inspired Ephrem with a strong desire to visit one who had been shewn him in a dream as a column of fire reaching from earth to heaven. The *Acta*, however, represent him as travelling first into Egypt, and though there is no corroborative evidence, still it is not in itself improbable, as Egypt was the favourite home of multitudes of ascetics such as Ephrem himself was. But the narrative exceeds the bounds of probability when it represents him as having spent eight years there, as having been divinely gifted with the power of speaking the Egyptian language, and as having not only reasoned against Arianism in the vernacular tongue, but as having even composed in it expositions and discourses.

His journey to Caesarea rests upon surer evidence, as it is vouched for by Basil's brother, Gregory, and by Ephrem himself in his Encomium on Basil.[b] Accompanied by an interpreter, he arrived there on the eve of the Feast of the Epiphany, and so deficient were the people in hospitality that they allowed Ephrem and his companion to spend the night in the streets. The next morning they took their place in an obscure corner of the church, and Ephrem groaned in spirit as he saw Basil seated in a magnificent pulpit, arrayed in bright and shining garments, with a mitre sparkling with jewels on his head, and surrounded by a multitude of clergy adorned with almost equal splendour. "Alas!" he said to his interpreter, "I fear our labour is in vain. For if we, who have given up the world, have advanced so little in holiness, what spiritual gifts can we expect to find in one surrounded by so great pomp and glory?" But when Basil began to preach, it seemed to Ephrem as though the Holy Ghost, in shape like a dove, sat upon his shoulder, and suggested to him the words. From time to time the people murmured their applause, and Ephrem twice repeated sentences which had fallen from the preacher's lips. Upon this Basil sent his archdeacon to invite him into his presence, which, offended at the saint's ragged attire, he did reluctantly, and only after he had been twice bidden to summon him. After embracing one another with many florid compliments Basil asked him how it was that knowing no Greek he had twice cheered the sermon, and repeated sentences of it to the multitude? And Ephrem answered, "It was not I who praised and repeated, but the Holy Ghost by my mouth."

Shortly afterwards the same miracle was repeated which has already been told of him in Egypt. Under pressure from St. Basil he had consented to be ordained deacon, while his disciple, the interpreter, was admitted to the priesthood. When Basil had laid his hands upon him, being suddenly endowed with the knowledge of Syriac he said to Ephrem in that tongue, "O Lord, bid him arise," upon which Ephrem answered in Greek, "Save me, and raise me up, O God, by thy grace."

But in an age when Greek was the current language of the learned we cannot imagine an able man like Ephrem travelling about with an educated companion, and not picking up some slight acquaintance with it. He had grown also to eminence as a teacher at Edessa, a place famous for its schools: and as a commentator also he must have felt the need of some knowledge of the New Testament, and of the Septuagint, though the loss of his exposition of the former deprives us of the means of testing the extent of his learning, which seems to have been real, though perhaps not very great. We may add that Ephrem also speaks of himself as a priest,[c] though all external authorities conspire in calling him only a deacon. The value of the story lies in the general testimony it bears to Ephrem being an uneducated man. Even upon this we must not lay too much stress. We shall endeavour, however, in due time to gather from his own writings evidence as to the extent of his knowledge both of Greek and Hebrew.

Two instances are given in the *Acta* of the

[b] On the authenticity of this piece, which exists only in Greek, see the Prolegomena to Ephr. *Opp. Gr.* II. li.

[c] In *Opp. Syr.* iii. 467 D, Ephrem says, "Christ gave me the talent of the priesthood, and I, in my remissness, hid it in the ground." Vossius always speaks of him as a presbyter, but in opposition to his own chief authorities.

influence of Ephrem's teaching on the mind of St. Basil. It had been usual at Caesarea in the Doxology to say Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, to the Holy Ghost; but after Ephrem's visit Basil inserted the conjunction *and* before the third clause. Whereat the people in church murmured, and Basil sheltered himself from their displeasure at his interference with so familiar a formula by saying that his Syrian visitor had taught him that the insertion of the conjunction was necessary for the more clear manifestation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The other instance is as follows: In Gen. i. 2, the Septuagint renders "The Spirit of God was borne upon the surface of the water." In this sense St. Basil had understood it, but the Peshito-Syriac version renders it, "The Spirit of God brooded upon the face of the waters," which Ephrem explained of the Spirit resting upon them with a warm and fostering influence as of a hen sitting upon her nest, and so endowing them with the power of bringing forth the moving creature that hath life. In the loose periphrase of Benedict St. Basil is made to talk of the affinity between Syriac and Hebrew, and so on. Really he gives two reasons for trusting his Syrian friend. The first, that Ephrem led a very ascetic life; "for in proportion as a man abandons the love of the world, so does he excel in that perfection which rises above the world." The second reason is more in accordance with modern notions. "Ephrem," says St. Basil, "is an acute thinker, and has a thorough knowledge of the divine philosophy," *i.e.* of the general sense of Holy Scripture. There is nothing to suggest that any appeal was made to the Hebrew, though as a matter of fact the Syriac and Hebrew words are the same; and curiously enough in his own exposition (*Opp. Syr.* i. 8) Ephrem says that the words simply mean that a wind was in motion; for the waters were instinct, he argues, with no creative energy till the fourth day."[d]

From Caesarea Ephrem was recalled to Edessa by the news that the city was assailed by numerous heresies. On his journey he rescued the people of Samosata from the influence of false teaching by a miracle, and on reaching home took the step which has made his muse so famous, of encountering heresy by teaching orthodoxy in hymns. The fatalistic tenets of Bardesan, a Gnostic who flourished at the end of the 2nd century, had been embodied in a hundred and fifty psalms, a number fixed upon in irreverent imitation of the Psalter of David. His son Honorius had set these hymns to music, and so sweet were both the words and tunes that they were known by heart to the very girls and children, and sung by them to the sound of the guitar. To combat their influence Ephrem both composed numerous hymns himself, and trained young women, who were aspirants after the conventual life, to sing them in chorus. These hymns have no rhyme, nor do they scan, but are simply arranged in parallel lines, containing each, as a rule, seven syllables.[e] Their poetry consists in their elevated sentiments, and richness of metaphor, but their regular form was an aid to the memory, and rendered them capable of being set to music. The chosen subjects of these hymns were the Life of our Lord, including His Nativity, Baptism, Fasting, the chief incidents of his ministry, His Passion, Resurrection and Ascension. He wrote also on Repentance, on the Dead, and on Martyrs. Upon the Festivals of our Lord, we read, on the first days of the week, and on the days kept in honour of martyrs, Ephrem gathered round him his choirs, and so well had he instructed these maidens in the various keys and modulations of music, that the whole city flocked together to hear them, and the poems of Bardesan lost their influence.

While thus occupied Basil endeavoured to prevail upon him again to visit Caesarea, intending on his arrival to make him a bishop, but the saint even feigned madness rather than consent. Meanwhile his muse took a wider flight, choosing for its subjects the devastation committed by the Persians,[f] the Maccabaean martyrs, the Life of Constantine, and so on, until the accession of Julian to the throne rudely disturbed his studies. On his expedition against the Persians Julian had advanced as far as Haran, a town so famous for its obstinate adherence to heathenism, that Haranite in Syriac is equivalent to pagan, and there he determined to hold a great sacrifice, to which he commanded the Edessenes to send chosen citizens to do him homage, and grace by their presence his restoration of the old cult. But the emperor's messengers were met with such fierce opposition on the part of the people, and such an eager desire for martyrdom, that the embassy withdrew in haste, and Julian threatened Edessa with bitter vengeance upon his return. And now Ephrem, who had exerted himself to the utmost in this crisis, resumed his hermit life, quitting the mountains only for controversy with heretics or for services of a more charitable nature.

As a controversialist, Gregory of Nyssa relates of him with the utmost approbation an act entirely contrary to modern views of morality. The "insane and irrational Apollinaris" had written a treatise in two volumes containing much that was contrary to Scripture. These volumes he had entrusted to the charge of a lady at Edessa, from whom Ephrem obtained a loan of them by pretending that he was a disciple of Apollinaris, and was preparing to defend his views. But before returning them he glued the leaves together, and then challenged the heretic to a public disputation. Apollinaris accepted the challenge only so far as to consent to read from these books what he had written, declining more on account of his great age. They met, but when he endeavoured to open the books he found the leaves so firmly fastened together that the attempt was in vain, and he withdrew mortified almost to death by his opponent's unworthy victory.

Far more creditable is the last act recorded

[d] This, which is the Jewish interpretation, is the only one ascribed to Ephrem by Bar-Hebraeus in his *Garner of Mysteries*; and in Basil's own treatise on the Hexaemeron, Hom. 2, all that is said is that Ephrem told him that the word meant "fostered," and not "was borne."

[e] Ephrem also uses metres of four syllables, of five, and of lines of varying length. For discussions upon Ephrem's versification, see the works of Hahn, of Zingerle, and of Burgess.

[f] Extant in the *Carmina Nisibena*: see below.

of Ephrem's earthly labours. While withdrawn in his rocky cavern he heard that Edessa had been visited by a severe famine. Leaving his seclusion he came down to the city, and so wrought upon the minds of the richer citizens that they brought out their secret stores of food, on condition, however, that Ephrem should himself take charge of them. He did so, and managed what was given him with such skill and prudence, as well as honesty, that it sufficed not merely for the Edessenes, but for numerous strangers also. The next year was one of great plenty, and Ephrem resumed his solitary life amidst the prayers and gratitude of all classes.

His death followed shortly afterwards, fully foreseen by himself, as his Testament proves. In this hymn written in heptasyllabic metre, after playing upon his own name and professing his faith, he commands his disciples not to bury him beneath the altar, nor in a church, nor amongst the martyrs, but in the common burying-ground of strangers. They were to wrap him in no mantle of silk, but bury him in his gown and cowl, with no spices nor waxlights, but with their prayers. The rest is too long for quotation, but ends in an interesting manner, with an account of Lamprotata, daughter of the prefect of Edessa, who earnestly sought permission to be buried in due time at Ephrem's feet. In consenting to some extent to her request, the saint commanded her and her friends never again to permit themselves to be carried in litters on men's shoulders, because such a thing was degrading to those of whom the apostle had said that the head of every man is Christ.

The works of Ephrem were most voluminous. Sozomen (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 16) says of him that he wrote three million lines (three hundred times ten thousand), but a large proportion of them has perished. For at the time when so great activity prevailed in gathering manuscripts for the Vatican, an Egyptian vessel laden with books for pope Clement XI. unfortunately sank in the Nile, and many of Ephrem's writings were lost, and others rendered illegible. The general character of what remains is briefly but aptly said by Bellarmine to be "pious rather than learned." The great edition of his works is that in six volumes folio, published at Rome in 1732–43, under the editorship of the Maronite Peter Mobarek, better known by the Latin translation of his surname Benedict, and completed after his death by J. S. E. Asseman, titular bishop of Apamaea, who is answerable however for the translation of only vol. vi. pp. 425–687. The first three volumes consist of sermons and discourses in Greek with a Latin translation. Many of these are probably genuine, for Sozomen says that already in his lifetime works of Ephrem were translated into Greek, and as both Chrysostom and Jerome were acquainted with them, and Gregory of Nyssa quotes his Testament, it is certain that several of his writings were very soon thus made available for general use. But among them are pieces which must be received with caution, and one, for instance (*Opp. Gr.* ii. 356 sq.), arranged after the order of the Greek alphabet, can scarcely be genuine. The idea that Ephrem himself wrote discourses in Greek is to be altogether rejected. As there is generally a slavish adherence to the Septuagint version in these Greek works, we must suppose that the translation was as loose as that of Benedict himself. Certainly, the translation of his Testament into Greek (vol. ii. 230–247) is inaccurate and periphrastic in the extreme, and as the object of Ephrem's writings is edification, the translators may have thought that it was best to use the version that was generally received. These three volumes are however but a sample of the numerous works ascribed to Ephrem existing in translations into Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Armenian, some published and some unpublished, and which are to be found in most of the great libraries of Europe.[g] In due time many of these may be useful in giving us a critical edition of his writings.

The three other volumes of the Roman edition contain Syriac works of Ephrem, the most important of which is his Exposition of the Old Testament. Though affirmed in the *Acta* to be the earliest of his writings, it is really one of the latest, for he says in the preface that when asked to write a commentary on Genesis he declined, because it would only be to repeat what he had said before in his homilies and hymns. Finally he consented, and his Exposition occupies 115 pages, but is followed by a second taken from another manuscript, arranged as a catena by a monk of Edessa named Severus. In this form a large portion of it consists of passages taken from the writings of James, bishop of Edessa, and the rest is full of interpolations, of notes, and of additions intended to correct Ephrem's views, probably by Severus himself. Besides this double commentary on Genesis, vol. i. contains expositions upon the other books of the Pentateuch, on Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; in vol. ii. we have Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Zechariah, and Malachi, occupying pp. 1–315. The exposition of Lamentations consists of only two or three notes extracted from a catena of Severus.[h] From the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of J. S. Asseman (i. 70, 71) we learn that commentaries in Syriac by Ephrem upon the other prophets are to be found among the manuscripts of the Vatican, and Ebed Jesu, bishop of Soba, ascribes to him a commentary on the Psalms (*ib.* iii. i. 62), of which some remains in Greek exist in *Cod. Vat.* DCCLII. (*ib.* i. 157). Of the commentary upon the Gospels few traces remain, but Dionysius Barsalibi, bishop of Amid, says that Ephrem had followed in it the order of the Diatessaron of Tatian. As copies of Dionysius's own commentary exist in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and elsewhere, some portions of Ephrem's work, as well as some idea of Tatian's

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g The first important publication of works of Ephrem extant in Greek was that of Gerhard Voss in three folio volumes at Rome in 1589, and often republished afterwards. It contains, however, only a Latin translation of them. The first publication of a Greek text was that of Thwaites at Oxford, in folio, 1709. It contains 156 discourses collected out of eighteen MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

h Cardinal Wiseman, *Hor. Syr.* 137 sq. has affirmed, not without probability, that all we have really consists only of extracts from catenae. This criticism is strengthened by the remark of Lengerke, *De Ephr. Syr. Arte Herm.* p. 93, note, that whole chapters are often passed by without a single observation, though full of interesting matter.

arrangement, might be obtained from it. An Armenian translation of the commentary on St. Paul's epistles may be found in the third volume of a collection of Armenian translations of Ephrem's works, published in four vols. octavo by the Mechitarists at Venice in 1836.

Following upon the commentary are twelve metrical expositions of portions of Scripture, such as the creation of man in God's image, the temptation of Eve, the translation of Enoch, &c., occupying pp. 316–319. Some of these, especially that upon the mission of Jonah and the repentance of the Ninevites, have been translated into English by the Rev. H. Burgess, London, 1856, the author also of *Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus;* two vols. London, 1853.

These expositions are followed by thirteen metrical homilies upon the Nativity, pp. 396–436. Asseman says, however (*B. O.* i. 80), that in *Cod. Nitr.* viii. fifteen (or really twenty-seven) such hymns exist, and as they possess much poetical merit, though inferior to the funeral hymns, it is to be hoped that the rest may soon be published.

Next come fifty-six homilies against false doctrines (pp. 437–560), levelled chiefly against Bardesan, Marcion, and Manes. Some use has been made of these by Hahn, and also by Gesenius (com. on Isaiah, ii. 339 sqq.) and others.

In vol. iii. after the *Acta S. Ephraemi* (i.–lxiii.) the first place is held by eighty-seven homilies on the Faith, in answer to freethinkers. The last seven are called sermons upon the Pearl, which Ephrem takes as an emblem of the Christian faith, and works out the idea with great beauty, though with that diffuseness which is the common fault of his writings. Three very long controversial homilies (pp. 164–208) follow, repeating many of the thoughts urged in the previous eighty-seven.

A sermon against the Jews, preached on Palm-Sunday (pp. 209–224), has been translated by the Rev. J. B. Morris into English.[1]

Eighty-five funeral hymns succeed (pp. 225–359) to be used at the burial of bishops, presbyters, deacons, monks, princes, rich men, strangers, matrons, women, youths, children, in time of plague, and some for general use. Translations of these will be found, into English in Burgess's *Select Metrical Hymns*, into German by Zingerle, in the fourth volume of his *Translation of Select Works of Ephrem*, six vols., Innsbruck, 1831–45; and into Italian by Paggi and Lasinio, Florence, 1851. These are some of the most striking of Ephrem's poems, containing passages upon the horror of death, the ravages of pestilence, the punishment of the lost, the pains of hell, the blessedness of faith, the love of the Redeemer, of great power and eloquence, as these are the subjects which most strongly influenced his imagination. Some, however, of these hymns are mere compilations for liturgical use, notably the first six, (see Bickell, *Carm. Nis.* p. 6).

Next come four short homilies on Free-will (pp. 359–366), partly following the order of the Syriac alphabet; then seventy-six homilies on Repentance (pp. 367–561), being chiefly earnest exhortations to this duty. Next, twelve sermons on the Paradise of Eden (pp. 562–598); and finally eighteen sermons on miscellaneous subjects (pp. 599–687).

Considerable activity has been displayed in recent years in editing other Syriac works of Ephrem, as, for instance, by Dr. J. J. Overbeck, in *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae, Balaei, aliorumque Opera Selecta*, Oxonii, Clarendon Press, 1865. This selection contains a Discourse against Julian, Hymns, Select Homilies against False Doctrines, against Hypatius, Manes, Marcion, and Bardesan; Expositions on Adam's Fall, on his being created mortal, on Satan's Fall, on the Coming of the Holy Ghost and the Gift of Tongues, on the Love of Supremacy, a Letter to the Tyrians, Selections from a Discourse against Bardesan, and finally Ephrem's Testament, extant also in the Roman edition of his works, *Opp. Gr.* ii. 395–410, and in the loose Greek translation referred to above.

Almost more important is "*S. Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena*, edited by Dr. G. Bickell, Lipsiae, 1866."

Of these hymns, the first twenty-one treat of the long struggle between Sapor and the Romans for the possession of the city of Nisibis, beginning with its siege in A.C. 350, and carrying down its fortunes to the year 363, but stopping short of its miserable surrender by Jovian at a later period of that same year. The next five hymns have perished; in the next five, 26–30, the scene is changed to Edessa, and the subject is the schism which existed there in the bishopric of Barses, A.C. 361–370. Bickell considers that these were written about A.C. 370, and therefore towards the close of Ephrem's life. Hymns 31–34 treat of Haran and the many troubles which its bishop Vitus had to endure from the pagans there. The other hymns (35–77) treat of the Overthrow of Death and Satan by our Lord, of the Resurrection of the Body in refutation of the views of Bardesan and Manes, of Dialogues between Death Satan and Man, and of hymns upon the Resurrection, not of a controversial but of a consolatory character. It is evident from this enumeration that the title *Carmina Nisibena* is taken from the twenty-one hymns placed at the head of the collection. From the directions for singing them given at the beginning of each hymn, and the existence in most of them of a response or refrain noted in the manuscript by its being written in red, it is plain that the collection was made for liturgical use.

Bertheau edited a Syriac homily of St. Ephrem from a manuscript at Rome (Göttingen, 1837), and another from the Museum Borghianum was published by Zingerle and Mösinger in *Monumenta Syriaca*, Innsbruck, 1869, vol. i. pp. 4–12; in vol. ii. published at the same place in 1878 numerous fragments collected from manuscripts at Rome may be found in pp. 33–51. In most Chrestomathies specimens of Ephrem's writings are given, and that by Hahn and Sieffert consists entirely of them.

As a commentator Ephrem holds a middle place between Theodore of Mopsuestia, who contended for the literal interpretation alone, and Origen, who cared only for the allegorical.

[1] Morris, in his *Select Works of Ephr. Syrus*, Oxford, 1847, has translated thirteen rhythms on the Nativity, this against the Jews, the eighty rhythms on the Faith, the seven on the Pearl, and the three long controversial homilies.

As Basil and Gregory were both strongly influenced by Origen, Ephrem's independence is the more remarkable. In commenting on Isai. xxv. 7, vol. ii. 61, he gives a statement of his method as follows: "Though the prophet is speaking of Sennacherib he has a covert reference to Satan. For the spiritual sense is usually the same as the ecclesiastical. The words therefore of the prophets concerning those things which have happened or were about to happen to the Jews are mystically to be referred to the future propagation of the church, and the providence of God and His judgments upon the just and upon evil-doers." Benedict, followed by Lengerke, instead of *ecclesiastical*, translates *historical*; what Ephrem really says is that there is first the literal interpretation, and secondly a spiritual one, which generally refers to the church. But not always. When a text is explained of God's Providence, &c., or used for homiletic purposes, and for personal edification, such an interpretation is spiritual without being ecclesiastical. Ephrem's habit accordingly is to give first the literal and then the mystical exposition. Some of these are sufficiently far-fetched, as where in ii. 316 he explains Paradise of the human body, the four rivers being the four operations of the mind; or where on Judg. vi. 37 he says that Gideon's fleece signifies the conception of Christ by a virgin; while the bowl into which the water is wrung out is the baptismal font, and the floor which remained dry is the world. So also his use of types is constantly overstrained, as where the stone, set up between Mizpeh and Shen (1 Sam. vii. 12), is explained as a type of Christ, the corner-stone placed between the Old and the New Testaments. But we must remember in his excuse that ancient commentators too generally delighted in ingenious and fanciful interpretations. But as a rule he also carefully expounds the literal meaning, explains hard words, and gives geographical and other notes, generally valuable, though one or two are erroneous enough, as where he says (ii. 171) that Diblath was Daphne near Antioch, and the river Pison the Danube (i. 23). Throughout, however, his object is rather edification than knowledge.

As to his scholarship the question has often been asked whether he really possessed any competent acquaintance with Hebrew and Greek. Now Ephrem confessedly was not a man who had had a learned education, but he nevertheless displays considerable knowledge. Many of his interpretations of Scripture are drawn, as Lengerke has shewn, from Jewish sources; but this is not surprising, for the Jews were very active in Mesopotamia in the 3rd and 4th centuries, and Nisibis abounded with those whom Ephrem calls "circumcised vagabonds" (*Opp. Syr.* ii. 469), but who must have made people acquainted with the current views of their nation. Subsequently his home was at Edessa, a place crowded with schools and educated people, and Ephrem was himself a teacher, and not a man to cast such opportunities away. For in *Opp. Syr.* ii. 316–318 in his expository homily on Gen. i. 27 he says that wisdom is not to be acquired without labour and study, and therefore he exhorts his hearers to read Greek writers, especially Porphyry, Plato, Aristotle, and authors acquainted with physics like Galen and Hippocrates. He shews himself in this homily some knowledge of physical science, as also elsewhere; and generally in his discourses on fate, freewill, and so on, he manifests, without parading it, a sufficient mastery of Greek philosophy to be able by its help to refute the Gnostic errors so prevalent in the East. We need not be surprised, therefore, at what Sozomen says (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 16) that Basil wondered at his learning. The wonder was that one who had spent his life as a monk "in practising ascetic philosophy" (*ibid.*), should know so much; but he seems to have acquired it chiefly by hearsay. And this is, I think, the key wherewith to unlock the difficulties which beset the question as to his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew.

The chief places which suggest that Ephrem knew something of Hebrew are as follow. Commenting on the creation of whales in Gen. i. 21 (*Opp. Syr.* i. 18), he says that while they and leviathan inhabit the waters, behemoth inhabits the land, quoting not only Job xl. 15, but Ps. l. 10, which he translates, "And behemoth upon a thousand hills." Now both the Peshito and the LXX translate "cattle upon the hills and bulls." But Ephrem's rendering, though not correct, is perfectly possible, and must have been obtained by him from some Jewish source.

On 1 Sam. iii. 11, he explains the verb *to tingle* of the effect produced upon the ears by the beating of cymbals, and rightly says that both the Syriac and Hebrew names for cymbal resemble the verb so translated.

In 1 Sam. xxi. 7 he correctly explains the word "detained" by noting that the Hebrew word Neasar signifies pressed or hidden away.

In 1 Kings xviii. 44 the note that the Hebrew word *yam* rendered *sea* also means *the south* is probably an addition by James of Edessa; as also is that on 2 Kings viii. 10, noticing that the Hebrew has, "Thou shalt not recover."

In 2 Kings iii. 4 he rightly says that the Syriac Nokdo is really a Hebrew word, and means "head shepherd." Other instances might be quoted from his commentary on Job xli. 13 (in our version 21), and on Isa. xvii. 9, where, however, though he knows that Horesh, in our version *bough*, means in Hebrew *a wood*, he does not know that Azubah does not signify *a pit*, and Amir he leaves altogether without explanation.

In his Sermon against the Jews (*Opp. Syr.* iii. 218) he quotes Gen. xlix. 11 thus: "and his ass, my son, unto the choice vine." But in his Commentary on the passage (i. 108, 190) he twice reads "his ass's son," *i.e.* the foal of his ass, and so even in this sermon (iii. 224). Now "my son" is the apparent, though not the real, meaning of the Hebrew, and the quotation is curious. Probably, however, it is only a false reading, the difference between *my son* and *son of* being in Syriac very slight, and Ephrem makes no use of nor any allusion to so strange a rendering.

These are the main passages in which Ephrem makes any use of Hebrew, and all might have been picked up from conversation with others. On the other hand there is a marked absence of acquaintance with the language in his commentary as a whole. Thus, in Gen. i. 1, he explains the Syriac particle *yoth* as signifying the *person*

or *substance* of the heavens, and the *person* of the earth (vol. i. p. 6). In the Catena (p. 116) this is quoted, but only to be condemned, and the true explanation is given, probably by James of Edessa, that the Hebrew word is merely a sign of the accusative case.

Throughout Genesis, in places where a knowledge of the Hebrew language would have greatly aided him, he makes no appeal to it. The firmament, for instance, is something compact, and the cause of darkness: "For darkness does not exist," he says, "of itself, but is caused by the clouds and the firmament, which lies between the upper and lower waters like a child in its mother's womb, or, as others say, it is itself the womb of the universe."

So again on Gen. ii. 6. The word *mist* is rendered there in the Syriac version *fountain*, and Ephrem speculates upon its being the outflow from a subterranean reservoir into which the lower waters were gathered at the division on the second day, and which, by its bursting forth, caused the flood. No man acquainted with Hebrew could have so written.

On Gen. xi. 29, he says that Sarah was called Iscah, because of her beauty, *i. e.* he derives the name from the Aramaic root *seca*, "to look at;" in Syriac, "to expect." And generally he explains names from their meaning in Aramaic. But as it would be impossible to go through even a tenth part of the places in which Ephrem shews a more or less complete ignorance of Hebrew, where one would have expected the contrary, I shall content myself with an examination of those places where explanations are given of Hebrew or other rare words retained in the Syriac version.

In Gen. i. 1 the Peshito keeps the original words, rendering "the earth was tohu and bohu," *i. e.*, says Ephrem, "desert or empty, shewing that nothing existed but the bare earth." In p. 116, Severus tells us that in another copy Ephrem explained the words as meaning *invisible*, because the waters covered the earth on all six sides, and *unarranged*, because it was not as yet set in order for man's use. These expositions were probably got from Jewish sources, but shew no knowledge of the language.

The names of Job's three daughters (ch. xlii. 14) he explains thus:—The first, Jemima, signifies *daylight*, its Syriac meaning. Kezia, though the word is more than once rightly translated *cassia*, the spice, in the Septuagint, he renders a *log of wood*, *i.e.* the Syriac *kaisa;* while Kerenhappuch, the *antimony-horn*, or, as we should say, the rouge-box, is again explained from the Syriac as the twisted-horn, the last two interpretations being painfully far-fetched. In 1 Sam. vii. 3, where the Hebrew has *Ashtaroth*, in complete ignorance of this, he explains the Syriac word as meaning *shady gardens*. In 1 Sam. ix. 4, the land of Shalisha, *triangle-land*, is in the Syriac *the hill of Gumore*, which he renders *cat-land*, absurdly translated by Benedict *cucumber-field*. Bosez, in ch. xiv. 4, is explained as meaning *slim*, its Syriac signification; while Shen, a common Hebrew word meaning *thorn-hill*, becomes Sia, a Syriac word signifying a wall or fence of loose stones. We might go on indefinitely with this examination, and always with the same result, that Hebrew names and words are explained from the Aramaic with no reference to the Hebrew, except where, as in Bethel, the Hebrew and Syriac words are the same, but with nothing to show that Ephrem was aware of their identity.

Once or twice he does appeal to the Hebrew, but only to go wrong. Thus he says that for *I prayed*, in Deut. ix. 18, 25, the Hebrew has *I fasted*. Really it has *I fell down*, I threw myself down. *I fasted* is a false reading of the Syriac text. So, in Josh. xiii. 6, he says that Hamath is called Misrephoth-Maim, and that this means a *gathering of waters*, i. e. *a lake*. Benedict inserts *hot* before waters to connect the name with the Hebrew root *saraph*, "to burn." The Aramaic root from which the Syriac name is derived has the meaning of *running together*, though probably derived from the fusion of metals. Ephrem knew its Aramaic meaning, but Benedict has to supply him with its meaning in Hebrew.

From his errors, therefore, and still more from his general neglect of the original language in places where an appeal to it would have shewn the true meaning of the word or passage on which he was commenting, we conclude that Ephrem had no independent knowledge of the language, though he had picked up some useful information concerning it, probably by verbal communications with Jews; from which source also he had derived considerable acquaintance with Jewish expositions of Scripture.

One more passage must be quoted. Upon Ezek. vii. 17, he says, "The Hebrew has, 'All thighs shall be polluted with water.'" The Hebrew here is really the Syriac version of the *Hexapla* of Origen, made at a date subsequent to Ephrem's death. So manifest an interpolation confirms the suspicion that many similar notes have crept from the margin into the text. Such interpolations are usually found appended at the end to Ephrem's own exposition.

Of Greek he also shews but a very moderate knowledge, though his acquaintance with it was more real than with Hebrew. His own words in *Opp. Syr.* ii. 317 are to the point, as follow: "Not from the rivulet of my own thought have I opened these things for thy drinking, for I am poor and destitute alike of meat and drink; but, like a bottle from the sea or drops from a caldron, I have begged these things from just men, who were lords of the fountain." After mentioning Moses, whose words he was expounding, he explains these *just men* of the philosophers and medical writers of Greece. Without much knowledge of the language, he had apparently been able at a learned place like Edessa, which shortly afterwards became even famous for the numerous translations made there of Greek authors into Syriac, to acquire considerable acquaintance with their views. It is noteworthy also that in his controversies with Gnostics he gives Syriac equivalents for all their philosophic terms, and never uses the original Greek words. Possibly some Syriac compendia of their writings and of those of the chief Greek philosophers were in use in the schools of Edessa.

But an example will best shew how much more at home he is in Greek than in Hebrew. In 1 Kings xiv. 3 (*Opp. Syr.* i. 480) the Syriac version has, instead of *cracknels*, a rare word signifying *sweetmeats*. Ephrem notices that the Greek has *grapes*, and gives this as an explanation of the Syriac. But he makes no reference

whatsoever to the Hebrew word, which certainly signifies some kind of *cakes*, such as might rightly be called sweetmeats, but certainly is no kind of fruit.

As a poet, we have seen that he possesses merits of no common order, marred only by too great diffuseness. From his intense devotion and piety, his hymns were largely adopted into the services of the church, and prayers also composed by him are found in most Oriental liturgies. His personal character deserves high praise. He was an extreme ascetic, passing his whole life in poverty, in raggedness, in humility, and also in gentleness. The latter has been denied on account of the fierce language he sometimes uses in his controversial writings. Certainly the trick he played upon Apollinaris was disgraceful, though too much in accordance with the temper of the times. But as regards those whom he chiefly assailed, the Gnostics, he had no personal feelings of antipathy against them; most of them had been long dead; but living in seclusion, with his natural feelings curbed back, like all ascetics he bursts forth into turbulent declamations, entirely devoid of malice and ill-feeling, but giving the necessary relief to a strong but repressed temperament. We may take his words in his Testament as literally true where he says, *Opp. Gr.* ii. 396: "Throughout my whole life, neither by night nor day, have I reviled anyone, nor striven with anyone; but in their assemblies I have disputed with those who deny the faith. For if a wolf is entering the fold, and the dog goes not out and barks, the master beats the dog. But a wise man hates no one, or if he hates at all, he hates only a fool."

Of his other virtues, and especially of the reality and depth of his humility, there can be no doubt; as also that the Syrian church has not without reason extolled him as its greatest orator and poet, and styled him its teacher, its prophet, its pillar, and even, as its hymn writer, "the harp of the Holy Spirit." Roediger concludes his account of him in Herzog's *Encyclopaedia* with the following eloquent words: "His doctrines were those prevalent in the church in his days, but he sets them forth not didactically in dogmatic form, but hortatively with pathos. He urges their acceptance without refining upon them. It is moral earnestness and self-denial, even to asceticism, for which he strives, while he blames and despises all seeking after worldly good. The holy Scripture in its general sense and verbal expression forms the groundwork of his intellectual activity, but he allows himself largely to amplify it in a poetical and even rhetorical manner, for which purpose he calls in the aid not merely of the Apocrypha, but of legends. He states his subject in a picturesque and lively manner, and even dramatically (not always in this respect keeping to the rules of good taste, as where, in *Opp. Syr.* ii. 415, he introduces the Virgin making an address to the infant Saviour); he loves exclamations, apostrophes, antitheses, and plays upon words; he piles up metaphors and images, and knows how to employ them to bring out the manifold meaning of a passage, but is occasionally guilty of exaggeration, and of using far-fetched allusions. As a rule, however, his manner is tasteful and that of a master in the art of description, and where he fails, it is from diffuseness and from overloading his ideas with eloquent words. But his words reach the heart; for they treat powerfully of human joys and cares; they depict the struggles and storms of life, and sometimes its calm rest. He knows how to awaken terror and alarm, as he sets forth before the sinner his punishment, God's righteous judgment, his destined condemnation; he knows, too, how to build up and comfort, where he proclaims the hopes of the faithful and the bliss of eternal happiness. His words ring in mild, soft tones when he paints the happy rest of the pious, the peace of soul enjoyed by those who cleave to the Christian faith; they thunder and rage like a storm wind when he scourges heretics, or chastises pride and folly. Ephrem was an orator possessed of spirit and taste, and his poetical gifts were exactly those calculated to give weight and influence to his authority as a teacher among his countrymen." As such they venerated him, giving him especially the title of Malphono, the teacher, but one of his greatest services to the church as a whole was the marvellous variety and richness which he gave to its public worship. [R. P. S.]

EPHRAIM (5), ST., bishop of Mylasa in Caria, mentioned in the life of St. Eusebia, a Roman virgin of the 5th century. It is there stated (cap. iii. § 12, Boll. *Acta SS.* 24 Jan. ii. 600) that she died at Mylasa on the feast day of St. Ephraim, a former bishop of Mylasa, whose body lay in the neighbouring village of Leuce. Leo Allatius mentions Ephraim of Caria among the hymn writers of the ancient Greek church. (Allatius, *de Libr. Eccles. Graec.* Dissert. i. 82, Paris, 1646; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 921.) [C. H.]

EPHRAIM (6) (EPHREM, EPHRAEMIUS, or, as Theophanes gives the name, EUPHRAIMIUS), bishop of Antioch and patriarch, 527–545 A.D. The title, ὁ Ἀμίδιος, given him by Theophanes, indicates that he was a native of Amida in Armenia. He devoted the early part of his life to civil and political employments, and rose to high distinction in the service of the emperor, and became count of the east in the reign of Justin I. The city of Antioch having been nearly destroyed in the years 525 and 526 A.D. by successive shocks of earthquake, and by the conflagration which broke out among the ruined buildings, Ephraim was sent by Justin as commissioner to take measures for the relief of the sufferers and the restoration of the city. The high qualities manifested by him in the fulfilment of these duties gained the affection and respect of the people of Antioch, who unanimously chose him as the bishop in room of Euphrasius, who had been crushed by the falling buildings. (Evagr. *H. E.* iv. 5, 6.) His consecration is placed in 357 A.D. Moschus records (*Prat. Spirit.* c. 37) that his elevation to the episcopate had been shortly before predicted to him by a deposed bishop whom he had found working for his livelihood. As bishop he continued to manifest the same benevolence, and care of the poor and exhibited an unwavering firmness and zeal against the heretical tendencies of his day. Theophanes says that he shewed "a divine zeal against schismatics" (*Chronogr.* p. 118). Moschus tells a story of an encounter he had with one of the pillar ascetics, a follower of Severus and

the Acephali, in the neighbourhood of Hierapolis. This Stylite having proposed as a test of orthodoxy that they should each walk through a fire, drew back when he found that Ephraim was ready to accept the ordeal, and was eventually brought back to the orthodox faith on the bishop's casting his "omophorium" or stole into the flames, and its remaining uninjured. (*Prat. Spiritual.* c. 36.) He examined synodically the tenets of Syncleticus, metropolitan of Tarsus, who was suspected of Eutychian leanings, but who was acquitted. (Phot. *Cod.* 228.) In 537 A.D., at the bidding of Justinian, acting under the influence of Pelagius (the archdeacon of Vigilius, afterwards pope himself) he repaired with Hypatius of Ephesus, and Peter of Jerusalem to Gaza to hold a council in the matter of Paul, the patriarch of Alexandria, who had been banished to that city on account of supposed complicity in the death of Psoïus, a deacon and treasurer of the Caesaria, and as well as of Nestorian leanings, and who was there deposed from his primatial see. Pelagius having been urged by the turbulent monks of Palestine to secure the condemnation of their Origenistic brethren, obtained a rescript from Justinian, addressed to the patriarchs of the East, requiring them to convene synods for this purpose. In obedience to the emperor's command, Ephraim held a synod at Antioch, which repudiated the doctrines of Origen as heretical. (Liberat. c. 23, apud Labbe, *Concil.* v. 777 sq.; Baronius, *Annal.* 537, 538.) He was a very copious writer, being the author of a large number of theological treatises directed against the errors of Nestorius, Eutyches, Severus, and the Acephali, and in defence of the decrees of the council of Chalcedon. In 546 A.D. he yielded to the severe pressure put upon all the bishops by Justinian, and to escape deposition reluctantly subscribed the edict the emperor had put forth condemning "the three chapters," sui potius honoris quam virtutis dilector inventus. (Facundus, *Pro Defens. Trium Capit.* iv. 4.) He did not survive the disgrace of this cowardly concession, and died 347 A.D.

Ephraim's copious theological works have almost entirely perished, and we have little knowledge of them save through the prolix account given by Photius (*Biblioth. Cod.* 228, 229). He speaks of having read three of the volumes, but gives particulars of two only. The first of these volumes contained (1) a letter to Zenobius, a layman of Emesa, of the sect of the Acephali, defending the orthodoxy of the Oriental addition to the Trisagion, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς; (2) three letters to the emperor Justinian; (3) two letters to Anthimus, bishop of Trapezus, others to Domitius, to Syncleticus, bishop of Tarsus; a letter to a Persian named Brazes, containing scriptural proofs of the doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation, &c., to certain monks of Nestorian proclivities, and others; (4) synodical acts respecting certain Eutychian books; (5) eight panegyrical discourses delivered on Christmas Day, Maundy Thursday, in Lent, &c. The second volume contained four books, the first and two last of which were devoted to a defence of Cyril of Alexandria and the Synod of Chalcedon against their heretical opponents, and the last comprised his replies to five inquiries, more curious than edifying, proposed to him by his correspondent, the advocate Anatolius; *e. g.*, whether Adam was of compound substance; in what Adam's immortality consisted; the prolonged existence of St. John, &c. Some few fragments of his defence of the council of Chalcedon, and of the third book against Severus, and other works, are given by Mai (*Bibl. Nov.* iv. 63, vii. 204) and are printed by Migne (Patrolog. lxxxvi. pars 2, pp. 2099 sq.). A sermon of Ephraim of Antioch on the Transfiguration has been erroneously included in the works of Ephrem Syrus (Tillemont, viii. p. 757). (Photius, *Biblioth.* 228, 229; Theophanes, *Chronograph.* ad ann. 519, p. 118 D; Moschus, *Prat. Spiritual.* c. 36, 37; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 507; Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* lib. v. c. 38; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 733.) [E. V.]

EPHRES, bishop of Jerusalem. [EPHRAIM (2).]

EPHYSIUS was born at Jerusalem in the 3rd century. His parents were pagans, and when Ephysius came to reside in Rome he still adhered to their religion. He was appointed governor of Sardinia by Diocletian, and a short time after this he was converted to Christianity. This fact soon became known to the emperor, who at once appointed a new governor, Julius, to supersede him. Julius on arriving there at once instituted proceedings against Ephysius, and finding that he was determined to stand to his Christian profession, he ordered him to be put to death about A.D. 303. He is commemorated Jan. 15. (*Mart. Rom.*; *AA. SS.* Jan. i. 997.) [T. S. B.]

EPICARPIUS, presbyter of Beneventum, the subject of a letter of pope Leo I. to Dorus, bishop of Beneventum, March 8, A.D. 448. Paulus, another presbyter of Beneventum, had complained of the uncanonical promotion of Epicarpius above his seniors, many of whom of the first and second rank had yielded precedence. Pope Leo strongly blames Dorus for the favouritism, praises Paulus for not going away, and is indignant with the other presbyters for their subservience. (Leo. Mag. *Epist.* 18, al. 19 in Patrol. Lat. liv. 709.) [W. M. S.]

EPICHARIS, a martyr at Rome under Diocletian. She was arrested by Caesarius the prefect, tortured, and put to death. She is commemorated Sept. 27. (*Men.* Bas.; Baron. *Annal.* 303, 15; *AA. SS.* Sept. vii. 478.) [T. S. B.]

EPICTETUS (1). This philosopher was born at Hierapolis in Phrygia. Afterwards we find him a slave at Rome; his master was Epaphroditus, one of the courtiers of Nero. He obtained his liberty, but when or how is uncertain. In the reign of Domitian, all the philosophers were banished from Rome; and Epictetus retired to Nicopolis, a city of Epirus. There he discoursed on morals; and one among his hearers, Arrian, preserved notes of his lectures, which have come down to our own time. He is reported to have returned to Rome in the reign of Adrian, and to have enjoyed the friendship of that emperor Some even say that he lived into the reign of M. Antoninus, but this seems very unlikely. That emperor was however a great admirer of his works. The stories told about him evince at once his excessive poverty (at any rate as far as the early part of his life is concerned) and the resignation and sweetness of his character. In

his old age he saved the child of one of his friends, that would otherwise have been exposed to perish; the nurse whom he procured for this child was, it appears, the first servant he had ever had.

Epictetus lived strictly according to his philosophy; and hence his writings have that vital power which can be attained by no other means. They have indeed the characteristic marks of Stoicism; and among those marks there may perhaps be found in them the defect, that they treat the desires which men commonly experience in the course of their life too much as aberrations to be subjugated and put down. This character does of course belong to some desires, but not to all, nor to the greater part. Again, Epictetus is perhaps liable to the charge that as he depreciates too much the desires, so he exalts too much the power of the will; he thinks it far more capable of governing the desires than, by itself, it can be.

But when these defects are admitted (and they belong to all Stoical writers, though we, following Horace, are generally disposed to exaggerate them and to forget the merits of the philosophers thus criticised) it must also be said that they do but slightly mar the excellence which appears on almost every page of the writings of Epictetus. His spirit was, indeed, of a higher order than the system which he nominally followed. "A poor man, a slave, a cripple, but beloved by the gods;" such was the account which he, not untruly, gave of himself. A few extracts will, probably, give a better idea of his teaching than any description. The following are from the *Discourses*:—

"When you have shut your doors, and darkened your room, remember, never to say that you are alone, for you are not; but God is within, and your Genius is within; and what need have they of light to see what you are doing? To this God you ought likewise to swear such an oath as the soldiers do to Caesar. For do they, in order to receive their pay, swear to prefer before all things the safety of Caesar: and will not you swear, who have received so many and so great favours; or, if you have sworn, will you not stand to it? And what must you swear? Never to disobey, nor accuse, nor murmur at any of the things appointed by him: nor unwillingly to do or suffer anything necessary." (i. 14.)

"When one consulted him, how he might persuade his brother to forbear treating him ill: Philosophy, answered Epictetus, does not promise to procure anything external to man: otherwise it would admit something beyond its proper subject matter. For the subject matter of a carpenter is wood; of a statuary, brass; and so, of the art of living, the subject matter is each person's own life. 'What, then, is my brother's?' That, again, belongs to his own art of living; but to yours is external, like an estate, like health, like reputation. Now, philosophy promises none of these. . . . 'But how, then, is my brother to lay aside his anger against me?' Bring him to me, and I will tell *him*; but I have nothing to say to *you* about *his* anger." (i. 15.)

The following are from the *Enchiridion*; "Require not things to happen as you wish; but wish them to happen as they do happen, and you will go on well." (viii.)

"When you do anything from a clear judgment that it ought to be done, never shun the being seen to do it, even though the world should make a wrong supposition about it; for, if you do not act right, shun the action itself; but, if you do, why are you afraid of those who censure you wrongly?" (xxxv.)

"Never call yourself a philosopher, nor talk a great deal among the unlearned about theorems; but act conformably to them." (xlvi.)

"Never say of anything, I have lost it; but, I have restored it. Is your child dead? it is restored. Is your wife dead? she is restored. Is your estate taken away? Well, and is not that likewise restored? 'But he who took it away is a bad man.' What is it to you, by whose hands he who gave it, hath demanded it back again? While he gives you to possess it, take care of it; but as of something not your own, as passengers do at an inn." (xi.)

The following are from the *Fragments*. "If you would be good, first believe that you are bad." (ii.) "Instead of herds of oxen, endeavour to assemble flocks of friends about your house." (xlii.)

It is a natural question, whether Epictetus was indebted to the gospels, or to Christian writers, for any part of his morality. The answer cannot quite certainly be given; but on the whole it seems probable that there was no direct connexion between him and any Christian writer or teacher. He never alludes to Christianity. Yet some of his phrases are startlingly like Biblical expressions; and it is not impossible that the new thoughts and feelings which were spreading through society had touched him, though he was unconscious of their origin. If we compare Epictetus with those who most truly deserve the name of religious teachers, we are sensible that he lacks something of that fire which is so vital an element in all spiritual influence. But all must be struck with the eminently practical character of his teaching; and for his personal character it is impossible not to feel admiration.

Epictetus accepted the more material and quasi-scientific parts of the Stoic philosophy; but they were not the parts that had a chief attraction for him, and his allusions to them are rare.

There is a good translation of the extant works of Epictetus written in the last century (1758) by Mrs. Carter. From this translation the above extracts are taken. (See also Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, 1865, Theil iii. Abth. 1. pp. 660 sq., and the art. EPICTETUS in the *Dict. G. and R. Biog.*) [J. R. M.]

EPICTETUS (2) (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 248), bishop of Side and Ambratia. [EPITACIUS.] [C. H.]

EPICTETUS (3), successor of Fortunatianus in the see of Assurae (Zanfour, Playfair, *Travels in Footsteps of Bruce*, p. 207), Cyp. Ep. 65; succeeded, before A.D. 255, by VICTOR, who speaks sixty-eighth in *Sentt.* Epp. A.D. 256. [E. W. B.]

EPICTETUS (4), martyred with several companions at Portus Romanus (Us., Hier., Ad.) on the Via Ostiensis (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*); commemorated Aug. 22. (*Mart.* Hier., Ad., Us.) [T. S. B.]

EPICTETUS (5) I., bishop of Centumcellae (Civita Vecchia) in Etruria, on the sea coast, a see which was afterwards incorporated in that of Viterbo. This bishop is found amongst those who attended the council of Arles, A.D. 314, which was assembled at the order of Constantine to inquire into the question of the Donatists. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* x. 56; Mansi, ii. 477, where, together with the bishop of Portus, he subscribed the canons after the African bishops.) [L. D.]

EPICTETUS (6) II., bishop of Centumcellae, a violent Arian, a persecutor of the Catholics, and a friend of the emperor Constantius. Athanasius describes him (*H. Arian.* 307, Migne, Patr. Gr. xxv.) as a neophyte, audacious, and prepared for every evil; he narrates how Epictetus with two others consecrated Felix as pope in the place of the exiled Liberius, when three eunuchs from the imperial household represented the people in the election, as the palace did the church. (Baron. 355, li. lix.; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* x. 56.) [L. D.]

EPICTETUS (7), circ. A.D. 369, bishop of Corinth. He received a celebrated letter from Athanasius in reply to his request for arguments against certain errors then in controversy at Corinth. Some had maintained that the human body of our Lord was consubstantial with His deity; others that He was a man adopted only to be the Son of God. Athanasius blames Epictetus for having even allowed these opinions to be set forth. The letter has been quoted by Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxxvii. p. 997), by Theodoret, Cyril, Leo, by the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and by Justinian in his letter to Mennas. It was early corrupted for party purposes, as Paul of Emesa found to his cost in his controversy with Cyril. He imprudently quoted a false edition, and was corrected by Cyril. (Patrol. Graec. xxvi. p. 1049, § 720; Athanas. *Epist. ad Epictetum;* Ceillier, iv. 142; Gams, *Series Episcop.* 430.) [W. M. S.]

EPICTETUS (8), deacon of Rome, A.D. 432, bearer of the condemnation of Nestorius to pope Coelestinus I. The pope in his congratulatory letter to the synod of Ephesus calls him and his companion the presbyter John, "my devout sons, beloved of God." (Coeles. Pap. *Epist.* xx.; Patr. Lat. l. 538.) [W. M. S.]

EPICTETUS (9), bishop of Diocletianopolis, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (*Concil. Gener.* ii. 326 b, ed. Rome, 1628). His see town was probably the Diocletianopolis of Thrace. He has been confused with Elissaeus, bishop of Diocletianopolis in Palestine. (Reland, *Palaest. Illust.* ii. 736; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 645; Gams, *Series Episc.* 427.) [ELISSAEUS (1).] [C. H.]

EPICTETUS (10), bishop of Claudiopolis (Bithynium) in the province of Honorias, present at the council held at Constantinople, A.D. 536, under Mennas. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 569; Mansi, viii. 878.) [L. D.]

EPIDAURUS, bishop of Side, the metropolis of the first Pamphylia, subscribed the canons of the council of Ancyra, A.D. 314; Pisidensis in the subscription should be altered to Sidensis. Some MSS. have Pergamenus, whence it has been supposed that a second Epidaurus, bishop of Perga, the metropolis of the second Pamphylia, was also present. (Mansi, ii. 534; Gams, *Series Episc.* 450; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 997, 1013.) [L. D.]

EPIGONIUS, an African bishop, one of two legates sent by the first African council, A.D. 399 or 401, under Anastasius (Mansi, iii. 979), to the emperor Honorius, praying him to issue an edict for the protection of the privilege of sanctuary, which had long been enjoyed by the churches (*Cod. Th.* IX. xlv. 1, 2, 3), but which had been seriously invaded by Mascaze, during the recent rebellion of Gildo. Epigonius also took an active part in the third council of Carthage, A.D. 397 or 398. (Mansi, iii. 887, cc. 42, 44; Bruns, *Canon.* i. 130, 131.) [T. W. D.]

EPIGONUS, a disciple of NOETUS of Smyrna, who came to Rome about the year A.D. 200, and there promulgated his master's opinions (Hippol. *Ref.* ix. 7). He seems to have passed from the scene before Hippolytus wrote, having been succeeded as leader of the monarchian party at Rome by his pupil Cleomenes. But it does not appear that either of them was in formal separation from the church, for we are not told of the excommunication of any of this school prior to that of Sabellius by Callistus (Hippol. ix. 12). [CLEOMENES.] On De Rossi's proposed identification of Epigonus with Praxeas (*Bulletin. di Arch. Christ.* 1866, p. 69), see PRAXEAS. [G. S.]

EPIMACHUS (1), a martyr at Alexandria with Alexander during the Decian persecution; commemorated Dec. 12. They were kept for a long time in prison, and finally burned. (Eus. vi. 41.; *Mart.* Us.; Baron. *Annal.* 253, 105.) [T. S. B.]

EPIMACHUS (2), a martyr at Rome with Gordianus during the reign of Julian. They were scourged and tortured, and then cast into prison: upon refusing to renounce their faith they were beheaded. They were commemorated May 10. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hier., Bedae, Ad., Us.) [T. S. B.]

EPINOEA. [ENNOEA, SIMON.]

EPIPHANES, a Gnostic writer, who taught about the middle of the 2nd century, or earlier. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. p. 511) gives the following account of him. He was the son of CARPOCRATES, by a mother named Alexandria, a native of Cephallenia. He died at the age of seventeen, and was honoured as a god at Same, a city of Cephallenia, a handsome temple and other buildings having been raised in his memory; and at the new moon the Cephallenians being wont to come together to celebrate his apotheosis by sacrifices, libations, banquets, and the singing of hymns. He had been instructed by his father in the ordinary circle of arts and sciences, and in the Platonic philosophy. He was the founder of the "Monadic Gnosis," and from him flowed the heresy of those afterwards known as Carpocratians. He was the author of a work on Justice, which he made to consist in equality. He taught that God having given his benefits to all alike and in common, human laws are censurable which instituted the distinction of *meum*

and *tuum*, and which secure to one as his peculiar possession that to which all have an equal share. This communistic doctrine he extended to the sexual relations. It was injustice in a man by marrying a woman, in whom he had no more rights than any one else, to claim that she should be considered as peculiarly belonging to himself. The commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," he condemned as absurd. It was ridiculous to imagine that the same Being could make concupiscence a part of man's nature and then issue to him the command Thou shalt not covet. Whatever may have been the origin of the phrase "Monadic Gnosis," the doctrine here described seems the direct opposite of Dualism. Instead of accounting for the existence of evil as the work of a hostile principle, this theory would represent moral evil as having no existence, but as being a mere fiction of human laws, perversely instituted in opposition to the will of the Creator.

We may well believe on Clement's authority, the existence of the work on Justice bearing the name of Epiphanes; nor is Clement likely to have been misinformed as to his relation to Carpocrates. But it has seemed to some improbable that if he had died so young he could have held the place ascribed to him as head of the sect of Carpocratians. This perhaps may be explained by the fact that we are not told of any book written by Carpocrates, so that it may have been through the writings of the son that the sect really extended itself. Though we never find the name Epiphanians, the sect is described by Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxv. p. 77) as *οἱ τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς*. But the honours said to have been paid to Epiphanes at Same have appeared to many quite incredible. Dodwell (*Diss.* 4 *in Irenaeum*, §§ 29) suggests that he might have held his school at his mother's native place, and there have enrolled a multitude of disciples. But Mosheim (*De Rebus Christ. ante Const.* p. 370) conjectured that Clement made the same mistake that Justin Martyr is supposed to have committed in the case of Simon Magus, and imagined a heathen festival that he witnessed at Same, and which was there known as *τὰ Ἐπιφάνια*, to have been instituted in honour of the Epiphanes with whom he was familiar. Volkmar has worked out this hypothesis with much detail (*Monatschrift des wissenschaftlichen Vereins*, Zurich, 1856). The God worshipped was the Moon God, not, however, the ordinary lunar deity worshipped at the full moon, but *ὁ Ἐπιφανής*, the new appearing moon. The story that Epiphanes died in his 17th year mythically represents the fact that the new moon no longer exists when 17 days (or more than the half of the month) are over. And licentious community of women accompanied all moon worship. However little confidence the details of this theory inspire, we must admit the possibility that Clement may have been mistaken in supposing the Cephallenian rites to have been in honour of the Gnostic Epiphanes.

There is a passage in Irenaeus (I. xi. 3, p. 54) which, it has been contended, gives us another specimen of the teaching of Epiphanes. In giving an account of the doctrines of some followers of Valentinus, after stating the theory of Secundus, he goes on to mention the description which another "illustrious teacher of theirs" (clarus magister) gives of the origin of the primary Tetrad. In this the first principle is stated to be one existing before all things, surpassing all thought and speech, which the author calls Oneliness (*μονότης*). With this Monotes coexisted a power which he calls Unity (*ἑνότης*). This Monotes and Henotes constituting absolute unity (*τὸ ἓν οὖσαι*) emitted (though not in any proper sense of that word) a principle the object of thought only, which reason calls Monad. And with this Monad co-existed a power consubstantial with it, which the author calls Unit (*τὸ ἕν*). From this Tetrad came all the rest of the Aeons. Pearson conjectured (see Dodwell, *Dissert. in Iren.* iv. §§ 25) that the "clarus magister" of the old Latin translation represented *ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος*, and that this Epiphanes was a proper name, or at least that there was a play upon words referring to that name. The doctrine of the extract then, which seems an attempt to reconcile the theory of a Tetrad with strong belief in the unity of the First Principle, might well be a part of the Monadic Gnosis, of which Epiphanes was said to be the author. Pearson's restoration of the Greek has since been pretty nearly verified by the recovery of the passage as reproduced by Hippolytus (*Ref.* vi. 38), where it runs *ἄλλος δέ τις ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν*. Here the word in question is plainly an adjective, and Tertullian so understood it, who translates (*Adv. Valent.* 37) "insignioris apud eos magistri." On the other hand, Epiphanius understood the passage of Epiphanes. On examining what he tells of that heretic (*Haer.* 32) it is plain that Epiphanius has been following Irenaeus until, on coming to the words *ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος* he goes off to Clement of Alexandria, and puts in what he there found about Epiphanes. But Neander has made it almost certain that the person to whom Irenaeus really refers is MARCUS. He points out that these four names for the members of the primary Tetrad, Monotes, Henotes, Monas, and Hen, which the "illustrious teacher" (ch. 11) speaks of as names of his own giving, occur again with a *καθ' ἃ προείρηται* in a passage cited from Marcus by name (*Iren.* i. 15, p. 74).

The assertion of Epiphanius that Epiphanes comes chronologically after Secundus has been treated with more respect by Dodwell and others than the statements of so careless a writer deserve. He does not seem to have had any ground for his assertion except that he found in Irenaeus, after the mention of Secundus, what he supposed to be a mention of Epiphanes.

[G. S.]

EPIPHANIA (1), wife of the general Heraclius, and mother of the Eastern emperor of that name. (Theoph. *Chron.* A.C. 602.) [EUDOCIA (5).]

[C. H.]

EPIPHANIA (2), also called EUDOCIA, daughter of the emperor Heraclius by his first wife Eudocia. She was born July 7, 611; baptized August 15 by the patriarch Sergius in the church of the Deipara in the district of Blachernae at Constantinople, and on October 4 was crowned in the palatine oratory of St. Stephen. In 625 she was betrothed to Zebelis, prince of the Chazari, from whom her father had received considerable reinforcements in his wars; but on

her way to be married she heard of the prince's death, and returned to Constantinople. The Chazari were also called Gazari, and were Turks. (Theoph. *Chronogr.* 250 in Patr. Graec. cviii. 627; Du Cange, *Hist. Byzant.* p. 101, ed. Venice, 1729; Baron. *A. E.* ad ann. 625, iii.)

[W. M. S.]

EPIPHANIUM (Ἐπιφάνιον), a niece of Chrysostom's friend Constantius, the presbyter of Antioch. To her godly education Constantius entreats her mother to devote especial care. (Chrys. *Ep.* 238.) [E. V.]

EPIPHANIUS (1), bishop of Salamis, in the island of Cyprus, and one of the most zealous champions of orthodox faith and monastic piety, was born at Besanduke, a village near Eleutheropolis in Palestine. The year of his birth is unknown, but seeing that in A.D. 392, twelve years before his death, he was already an aged man, we may conjecturally set the date of his nativity in some year of the decade between A.D. 310 and A.D. 320. Much of his early lifetime was spent among the monks of Egypt, among whom he not only acquired a burning zeal for ecclesiastical orthodoxy and the new forms of ascetic life then coming into favour, but also came for the first time into contact with various kinds of heretics. It is probably a reminiscence of his life in Egypt, when he tells us that in his early youth, Gnostic ladies of seductive beauty had endeavoured to obtain his adhesion to their sect and given him some of their books to read. But the youthful anchoret, successfully resisting all temptations, revealed the matter to the bishops of the neighbourhood, and caused an investigation to be set on foot, which resulted in the banishment of eighty persons (*Haer.* xxvi. 17). At twenty years of age he returned home and built a monastery near Besanduke, of which he himself undertook the direction. It appears that he was ordained presbyter by Eutychius, then bishop of Eleutheropolis. With St. Hilarion, the founder of Palestinian monasticism, Epiphanius early stood in intimate relation, and at a time when the great majority of Oriental bishops favoured Arian or semi-Arian views, adhered with unshaken fidelity to the Nicene faith, and its persecuted champions, Eusebius of Vercelli and Paulinus of Antioch, whom Constantius had banished from their sees. In A.D. 367 he was elected bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, the ancient Salamis, where, for six and thirty years, he discharged the episcopal office with the like zeal to that with which he had presided over his monastery in Palestine. Under his influence the whole island was soon covered with monastic institutions. With the monks of Palestine, and especially those of his own monastery at Eleutheropolis, he continued as bishop to hold uninterrupted communication; and these last were unwearied in their efforts to extend his renown for piety, orthodoxy, and learning. It soon came to pass that people consulted him on all important questions of doctrine and discipline, and Epiphanius found no difficulty in convincing himself that a watchman of the church must reckon it among his chief duties to let his voice be heard in all the ecclesiastical controversies of the time. Some years after his elevation to the episcopate, he addressed a letter to the faithful in Arabia, in defence of the perpetual virginity of Mary, which was afterwards incorporated, almost without alteration in his great work, Against all Heresies. (*Haer.* lxxviii.)

Soon after this several presbyters of Suedra, in Pamphylia, invoked his assistance in their controversy with Arians and Macedonians, by drawing up for them a detailed exposition of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.

Similar applications were at the same time made to him from various other quarters; by an Egyptian Christian, for instance, named Hypatius, who himself undertook a journey to Salamis for that purpose, and by a presbyter, Conops, apparently a Pisidian, who, in his own name, and that of his co-presbyters, sought instruction from Epiphanius in reference to a long series of disputed doctrines. This was the origin of his Ἀγκυρωτός (*Ancoratus*) published in the year 374 A.D., being an exposition of the true faith, as it had from the beginning been taught in the church, which, anchor-like, might fix the minds of its readers, and save them from being tossed about by the malice of Satan amid the stormy waves of heresy.

A similar occasion gave the impulse to his great heresiological work, written in the years 374 to 376 or 377 A.D., the so-called Πανάριον, on which his fame as a combater of heresy chiefly rests. He wrote this work at the request of Acacius and Paulus, two presbyters and heads of monasteries in Coele-Syria, and in it attacks with like zeal the numerous Gnostic sects of the second and third centuries, and the ecclesiastical opposition of his own time, Arians, semi-Arians, Macedonians, Apollinarians, Origenists, whose various opinions he regards as so many corruptions of the true faith, as it had been handed down from the apostles themselves. But a merely literary activity could not satisfy his pious zeal; we find him also embracing every opportunity of personally opposing what appeared to him soul-destroying error. So, about the year 376 A.D., we find him taking an active part in the Apollinarian controversies. Vitalis, a presbyter of Antioch, had been consecrated bishop by Apollinaris himself; whereupon Epiphanius undertook a journey to Antioch for the purpose of recalling Vitalis from his error, and reconciling him to the orthodox bishop Paulinus. His utmost efforts, however, proved unsuccessful. Though not himself present at the oecumenical council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, which ensured the triumph of the Nicene doctrine in the Oriental churches, his shorter confession of faith, which is found at the end of his *Ancoratus* (c. 120), and seems to have been the baptismal creed of the church of Salamis, agrees almost word for word with the Constantinopolitan formula. He took no part in the synod held at Constantinople in the following year, A.D. 382; but towards the end of that year we find him associated with St. Jerome, Paulinus of Antioch, and the three legates of that synod, at a council held under bishop Damasus at Rome, which appears to have dealt with the Meletianic and Apollinarian controversies. During his residence in the Eternal City he was domiciled at the house of the elder Paula, who, under the spiritual guidance of St. Jerome, had dedicated her ample fortune to the support of the poor and sick, and he

seems to have strengthened her in her resolution to forsake home and children in order to lead an ascetic life at a great distance from Rome. At the beginning of the following spring, when the bishops were returning to their sees, Paula also went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On her voyage to Syria she stayed with Epiphanius in Salamis, remaining there about ten days. Somewhat later St. Jerome also came to visit Epiphanius, on his return from Rome and way to Bethlehem, bringing with him a train of monks to Cyprus, to salute "the father of almost the whole episcopate, the last relic of ancient piety." From this time onward we find Epiphanius in almost unbroken intercourse with St. Jerome. In alliance with this father he began in the last years of his life those miserable Origenistic controversies, in which monkish fanaticism combined with personal hatreds and jealousies, to brand with heresy the greatest theologian of the primitive church. Epiphanius had indeed already, in his *Ancoratus* (c. 54), and still more copiously in his *Panarion*, attacked Origen as the ancestor of the Arian heresy, in a most violent manner. It has been conjectured that Epiphanius in his early years, when among the Egyptian monks, had been already filled with horror at the erroneous doctrines of Origen himself. In confirmation of this view appeal has been made to what is related in the *Vita Pachomii* (Boll. *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, tom. iii. Appendix, p. 25 sqq.), that St. Pachomius had not only forbidden his monks to read the writings of Origen, but even to have any intercourse with those who did so. But this was probably a mere invention for the sake of ascribing to the founder of Egyptian monasticism the glowing hatred with which St. Jerome and his circle were afterwards inspired towards the great theologian. It is contradicted by the fact of the extreme reverence in which Origen was held by these very monks of Egypt in the times of Epiphanius and St. Jerome. It is far more probable that the zealous confidence with which the Arians were wont to appeal to Origen in support of their doctrine directed the attention of Epiphanius to the writings of the great Alexandrine father, and in them, though held in the highest esteem by Athanasius himself, to detect the hidden sources of Arian pravity. Incapable as he was of impartially estimating the various sides of Origen's speculative theology, Epiphanius seems to have fixed his whole attention on those passages which appear to teach the creaturely nature of the Son, and which in reality did emphasize His filial subordination to the Father in a stronger way than later orthodoxy found admissible.

Origen's predilection for Hellenic philosophy he regarded as the source of all kinds of error, as well as his audacious undertaking to explain the mysterious doctrines of Holy Scripture. He had also a particular aversion from Origen's allegorical interpretations and the whole idealizing tendency of his speculation, which seemed to Epiphanius to destroy the reality of the objective facts of Christian faith. The resurrection of the flesh, for instance, that is of our mundane corporeity, was zealously maintained by Epiphanius against the spiritualistic conception of Origen.

St. Jerome himself had originally belonged, like the friend of his youth Rufinus, and John bishop of Jerusalem, to the warmest admirers of the great Alexandrine father. But, attacked as he now was, with remonstrances from different sides, he began out of anxiety for his own reputation for orthodoxy to separate himself with the utmost care from the heresies with which he was charged on this account.

Epiphanius, moreover, on hearing that Origenism had made its appearance in Palestine himself hastened thither, in advanced old age (A.D. 394), to crush at once and on the spot the odious heresy. His appearance sufficed to drive the ci-devant Origenist, St. Jerome, into the camp of the opposition, and into the bitterest enmity with his old friends, who with greater independence of character refused even now to repudiate their old attachment. Epiphanius, received with all honours by the bishop of Jerusalem, proceeded at once to abuse the rights of hospitality by preaching in the most violent manner in the Church of the Resurrection. Bishop John, after listening for a time in silence, and expressing by gestures only his disapproval, sent at last his archdeacon to the preacher to beg him to abstain from speaking further on these topics. The sermon being over, Epiphanius, as he walked by the side of John to the Church of the Holy Cross, was thronged by the people, as St. Jerome tells us, who pressed upon him from all sides with tokens of veneration; those thought themselves happy who were able to touch the hem of his garment or to kiss his feet. Mothers held up their little ones before him to receive his blessing. The throng at last became so great that Epiphanius stood still. This homage was possibly spontaneous or possibly artificial; however that might be, bishop John, irritated as he was by the sermon, evidently preached against himself, reproached Epiphanius for the vanity and self-conceit which he shewed in not leaving the spot where these honours were pressed upon him, and afterwards availed himself of the next opportunity to preach for his part against certain simple and uneducated persons who represented God to themselves in human form and corporeity. Whereupon Epiphanius rose, and expressing his full concurrence with what John had said, went on to declare that it was quite as necessary to repudiate the heresies of Origen as that of the Anthropomorphists. He then hastened to join his friend Jerome at Bethlehem, and required the monks of that community to renounce at once all church-fellowship with the bishop of Jerusalem: they, on the other hand, entreated him unanimously to return to John. Epiphanius yielded, and went back to Jerusalem the same evening, but immediately regretting the step he had taken, and without so much as speaking to the bishop, he left Jerusalem again at midnight, and betook himself to his old monastery of Eleutheropolis. From these quarters he continued to press the monks of Bethlehem, with demands to renounce church fellowship with the Origenist bishop John, and finally availed himself of the occasion provided by a deputation, sent to him from Bethlehem, to ordain as presbyter, in a somewhat violent manner, St. Jerome's brother Paulinianus, and impose him on the community, as one who should in future administer the sacraments among them. This intrusion into the rights of another bishop Epiphanius endeavoured subse-

quently to excuse in a letter to bishop John, as an act of Christian charity supplying a spiritual want long felt by the community at Bethlehem, and even on the ground that the ordination had taken place in a monastery, exempt from his episcopal jurisdiction. He also alleged that he had himself empowered his neighbour bishops in the isle of Cyprus to give priests' orders in his absence, in the remoter portions of his diocese. As might be expected, these and the like excuses were far from satisfying the bishop of Jerusalem, who reported to other bishops this violation of the ecclesiastical canons, and, at the same time threatened the monks of Bethlehem with severe ecclesiastical penalties so long as they should recognise Paulinianus as their presbyter, or persist in their present separation. While Epiphanius and Jerome continued to insist on bishop John publicly purging himself of Origenistic heresy, the latter proceeded to invoke the mediation of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria. Theophilus' legate, a presbyter, named Isidore, openly sided with bishop John, and Theophilus himself, who at that time was reckoned among the friends of Origen, designated Epiphanius, in a letter to the bishop of Rome, as a heretic and schismatic.

According to another account, he accused him, as well as bishop John, of Anthropomorphism. Certain is it, that Epiphanius received in this controversy little or no support from other bishops. He returned to his Cyprian diocese, and was followed thither by his newly ordained presbyter Paulinianus. In this way, the main point in dispute between bishop John and the monks of Jerusalem was set at rest, and St. Jerome himself found it prudent to renew provisionally church communion with the bishop of Jerusalem, and with his old friend Rufinus. In the subsequent renewal of personal strife between St. Jerome and Rufinus Epiphanius took no part. On the other hand, a few years after the close of the first Origenist controversy he found himself involved in much more unpleasant transactions. Among the monks of Egypt, the controversy between Anthropomorphists and Origenists continued to rage, and found no end. Theophilus of Alexandria having, in the year A.D. 398, directed a Paschal epistle against the Anthropomorphists, a wild army of monks from the wilderness of Scete rushed into Alexandria, and so frightened the bishop that he thought his life depended on immediate concession. From that time and onwards Theophilus suddenly appeared as a violent opponent of Origen. In the paschal epistle of the following year, A.D. 399, he hastened to controvert the heresies of Origen in the most violent manner. Personal quarrels with his old friend Isidore, and with the so-called "Long Brothers," Dioscurus, Ammonius, Eusebius and Euthymius, who all enjoyed, on account of their piety and learning, the highest esteem amongst monks of Origenist proclivities, were added to the causes of strife, and inflamed the wrath of the passionate and violent bishop. Isidore and two of the "Long Brothers" had found a refuge among the monks of the Nitrian mountains. Theophilus followed them into the wilderness, assembled there a number of bishops, who under his influence condemned them as erroneous teachers, and persuaded the secular authorities to issue a decree for the banishment of Origenists.

About three hundred monks are said, at that time, in order to escape the violence of Theophilus, to have fled from Egypt. An Alexandrian synod, at which Theophilus presided, confirmed this condemnation of Origenist heresies. But the zeal of the patriarch was not even herewith satisfied. He not only continued to abuse Origen in his Paschal letters, but reporting at once to foreign bishops what had been done in Alexandria, he required them to condemn the heresies of Origen in similar terms. A synodical letter addressed to the bishops of Palestine and Cyprus (first published by Vallarsi in his edition of St. Jerome—Hieronym. *Opp.* tom. i. *Ep.* 92, p. 557) contains a long list of errors in doctrine said to have been discovered in the works of Origen. Similar writings were also sent to the bishop of Rome and other heads of the church. Theophilus wrote to Jerome that, mindful of the apostle's exhortation, "rebuke them sharply," he had with prophetic sickle cut down the adherents of the Origenist heresy, and Jerome answered in triumphant strain—"The old serpent hisses no longer, crushed and disembowelled (deviscerata); she has crept away into caves of darkness." Still greater joy was expressed by Epiphanius that in his extreme old age such happiness had befallen him, and to see what he had always himself maintained now confirmed and established by the witness of so just a bishop. "Know, my beloved son," he writes to Jerome, "that Amalek is destroyed to the very root; on the hill of Rephidim has been erected the banner of the cross. God has strengthened the hands of His servant Theophilus as once He did those of Moses." The aged bishop was soon to be drawn yet more deeply into these transactions. The bishops now began from all sides to lift up their voice against the heresies of Origen. A synod assembled at Jerusalem promised Theophilus to receive none of those whom he had condemned as Origenists into communion till he himself had removed the anathemas (cf. the synodal letter printed also for the first time by Vallarsi in Hieronym. *Opp.* tom. i. p. 549). Dionysius, bishop of Lydda, wrote to congratulate him on the accomplished work (loc. cit. p. 551). Anastasius also, bishop of Rome, and several other bishops of the West, expressed their readiness to put Origenism under the ban.

The persecuted Origenists had in the first instance hoped to find a place of refuge in Palestine, but even John of Jerusalem was now afraid to receive them, whereupon some of them, Isidore, for example, and the "Long Brothers," fled to Constantinople, where they presented to the patriarch, St. John Chrysostom, a formal complaint in writing against Theophilus. Chrysostom endeavoured to persuade them to withdraw their complaint, and meanwhile refused to admit them to the Mysteries till the matter had been decided by a synod, according them, at the same time, a friendly reception, and intervening on their behalf with Theophilus A.D. 401. But Theophilus, irritated by false reports, replied with an anathema against Dioscuros, and accused his colleague in Constantinople of acting against the canons, in setting himself up as judge in the affairs of another pro-

vince, whereupon the "Long Brothers" presented their complaint to the empress Eudoxia, who called upon the bishop of Alexandria to answer in person for himself at Constantinople. Theophilus made the most strenuous efforts to gain the assistance of the aged Epiphanius. He had already, on hearing of the arrival of the monks in Constantinople, called upon Epiphanius to pass judgment upon Origen and his worthless heresy, by means of a Cypriot synod, to inform the bishops of the neighbouring provinces of what had taken place in Egypt, and, above all, to forward the Alexandrine synodal decree to Constantinople by the hands of a trustworthy messenger. Epiphanius complied with his usual zeal, assembled a synod, at which he prohibited the works of Origen, and called on Chrysostom to do the same. He was then moved by Theophilus, as an ancient combatant of heresy, to appear personally at Constantinople, while Theophilus intentionally delayed his own departure. The astute plan succeeded. In the winter of the year 402 A.D. Epiphanius set sail for the imperial city, convinced that only his appearance was required to destroy the last remains of the Origenistic poison. Meanwhile a party at court which had long been displeased with Chrysostom's administration, were earnestly endeavouring to make use of the opportunity for deposing the stern detector of moral evils. This opportunity appeared to be given by the arrival of a bishop with such a name for piety as Epiphanius. The object was to make use of the approaching council in order to pass judgment less upon Theophilus than upon Chrysostom himself. Full of suspicion against the protector of the Origenistic heretics, Epiphanius, accompanied by several of his clergy, landed in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. His first step was, at the request of some fanatical monks of the party of Theophilus, to ordain a deacon in a monastic church. Notwithstanding this breach of the canons Chrysostom sent the whole of his clergy to give him the most honourable reception possible at the gates of the city, with a friendly invitation to take up his abode in the episcopal residence. This was rudely refused by the passionate old man, who declared himself unable to hold church communion with Chrysostom until he had expelled the "Long Brothers" from the metropolis, and had subscribed a condemnation of the writings of Origen. This Chrysostom gently declined with reference to the synod about to be holden, whereupon Epiphanius at once assembled the bishops, who had already gathered in considerable numbers at Constantinople, laid before them the decrees of his own provincial council against the writings of Origen, and required them all to subscribe them. Some of the bishops present consented willingly to do this, others, on the other hand, like the Scythian bishop, Theotimus, steadfastly refused. Whereupon the opponents of Chrysostom urged Epiphanius to come forward at the service in the Church of the Apostles, and openly before all the people to preach against Origen, the Origenists, and Chrysostom, as their protector. The latter, however, received timely notice of these intentions, and warned Epiphanius to abstain before it was too late from his passionate undertaking. The honest zealot may by this time have begun to suspect that he was but a tool in the hands of others. On his very way to the church he turned back, and soon after, at a meeting with the "Long Brothers," was obliged to confess that he had passed judgment upon them on hearsay evidence only, and, growing weary of the miserable business, determined to return home as soon as possible. A legend says that he bade farewell to the bishops who accompanied him to the ship with the words, "I leave you the city, the imperial palace, and their hypocrisies." According to another narrative, he sent a message to Chrysostom before his departure, "I hope thou wilt not die a bishop," to which the other replied, "I hope thou wilt not return home." Unhistorical as this narrative may be, it clothes in the form of two prophecies the fates which befell them both. Chrysostom soon after this, at the instance of the empress, was deposed from his see of Constantinople by a synod composed of his personal enemies, and presided over by Theophilus. Epiphanius died on board ship before he reached home in the spring of A.D. 403.

The end of the controversy proved how little it had to do with any real interests of faith. Theophilus, having once gratified his thirst for revenge, made up his quarrel with the banished monks.

The character of Epiphanius is well illustrated by these last transactions. An honest, but credulous and narrow-minded zealot for church orthodoxy, and notwithstanding the veneration in which he was held by episcopal colleagues, and still more in monastic circles, he was often found promoting divisions, where a more moderate course would have enabled him to maintain the peace of the churches. His violence of temper too often led him, especially in the Origenistic controversies, into an ill-considered and uncanonical line of conduct; and the narrow-minded spirit with which he was wont to deal with controverted questions contributed in no small degree to impose more and more oppressive fetters on the scientific theology of his time. His contemporaries, nevertheless, regarded him as an ideal of ecclesiastical piety. His charity to the poor was loudly praised, it went so far that when his own means failed he distributed without hesitation the rich possessions of his church among them. It is related that once when all had been given away, and his steward was complaining of such prodigality, an unknown benefactor suddenly appeared with a sack full of gold pieces. In practical life he often manifested that sound common sense which in theological conflicts too frequently failed him. It is related for instance how, on one occasion, he rebuked the ascetic zeal of St. Hilarion by a word of genuine evangelical spirit. Hilarion, at a common meal, had refused to partake of some fish which was offered him, alleging that he never partook of anything that had life. "And I," said Epiphanius, "since I commenced monastic life have never suffered any one to go to rest with any ground of offence on his mind against me." "Thy rule, my father," replied Hilarion, "is better than mine."

Less success had he with the elder Paula, whom, at St. Jerome's instance, he vainly endeavoured to persuade to relieve her physical infirmities by the use of a little wine. On Jerome's asking him what he had accomplished, his reply

was, "Only this, that she nearly persuaded an aged man to abstain likewise from the use of wine." In opposition to the attempts that were then being made to enlist pictorial art in the service of the church, Epiphanius maintained the full puritanical rigour of primitive times. Having entered on one occasion a village church in Palestine he found a curtain adorned with a picture of Christ or some saint; in sudden anger he tore it in pieces, and then promised the local presbyter to send him another curtain in its place. It was natural, therefore, that in the iconoclastic controversies of a later time the image breakers appealed to the example of St. Epiphanius.

His learning was much celebrated, he was said to have spoken five languages, Hebrew, Syriac, Egyptian, Greek, and also a little Latin, for which Rufinus satirised him with the remark that he thought it his duty as an evangelist to speak evil of Origen, among all nations and in all tongues.

His frequent journeys and extensive reading enabled him to collect a large but ill-arranged store of historical information, and this he used with much ingenuity in defending the church orthodoxy of his time, and opposing every kind of heresy. But as a man attached to dry literal formulas he exercised really very small influence on dogmatic theology, and his theological polemics were more distinguished by pious zeal than by impartial judgment and penetrating intelligence. He is fond of selecting single particulars, in which to exhibit the abominable nature of the errors he is combating. When one bears in mind that his whole life was occupied in the Origenistic controversy, his refutation of the doctrine of the Alexandrine theologian is quite astoundingly superficial, a few meagre utterances detached from their context, and in part thoroughly misunderstood, is all that he has to give us by way of characterising the object of his detestation, and yet at the same time he boasted of having read no less than 6000 of Origen's works, a much larger number, as Rufinus remarks, than the man had written. His credulity allows the most absurd relations to be imposed upon it; a heretic was capable of any abomination, nor did he think it at all necessary quietly to examine the charges made. He nevertheless enjoys the fame of having been, if not the most powerful champion of orthodoxy, yet certainly the most learned opponent of heretical pravities in his time, and one who, however deficient in critical acumen and orderly arrangement, had collected an enormous material for his purpose. In the eyes of contemporaries, his credulity and want of criticism detracted as little from his credit as the passionate violence of his mode of action.

The whole age regarded him as a saint; wherever he appeared, he found himself surrounded by troops of admiring disciples, and crowds waited for hours to hear him preach. Already in his lifetime all kinds of miracles were said to have been worked by him, and immediately after his death rumour said that demons had been exorcised and sick persons healed beside his grave.

His biography, written in the name of Polybius, an alleged companion of the saint (printed in the editions of Epiphanius by Petavius and Dindorf), is little more than a collection of such legends. His day in the calendar is the 12th of May.

Among the writings of Epiphanius the two most important are the *Ancoratus* and *Panarion* already mentioned. The *Ancoratus* comprises in 121 sections a prolix exposition, full of repetitions, of the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as of those of the true humanity of Christ and of the resurrection of the body, with a constant polemic against Origen and the heresiarchs of his own time, especially Arians, Sabellians, Pneumatomachi, and Dimoirites (Apollinarians). The whole is concluded with the Nicene creed in a twofold form with various additions. Epiphanius having had no theology peculiar to himself, this work has no other interest for us than as a witness to the orthodoxy of its time. The *Panarion* is of much greater importance. It is so called as being a kind of medicine chest, in which he had collected means of healing against the poisonous bite of the heretical serpent. It embraces in three books, which again are divided into seven sections, not less than 80 heresies. The catalogue of heresies is essentially the same as that which he had already given in his *Ancoratus* (chap. 11 and 12). He begins with not less than 20 heresies existing at the time of our Lord's birth; Barbarism, Scythianism, Hellenism, Judaism, Samaritanism. The last three divide again, each into several heresies; Hellenism and Samaritanism into four each, Judaism into seven, making 20 in all. Then follow 60 heresies after the birth of Christ, from the Simonians to the Massalians, and among them some which, according to the acknowledgment of Epiphanius himself, are not to be reckoned so much as heresies as acts of schism. Otherwise, every variation from the orthodoxy of the time is in his view a heresy. The extraordinary division of pre-Christian heresies is founded on a passage he often quotes (Col. iii. 11). Barbarism lasted from Adam to Noah, Scythianism from the time of Noah to the migration of Peleg and Reu to Scythia. Hellenism, he thinks, sprang up under Serug, understanding thereby idolatry proper. With regard to the various Greek schools of philosophy, which he regards as particular heresies belonging to Hellenism, and offers a complete list of them in the conclusion of his work, he shews himself but poorly informed. His communications, likewise, concerning the various Jewish sects are for the most part worthless; and what he says of the Nasarenes and Ossenes (*Haer.* xviii. and xix.) is derived purely from respectable but misunderstood narratives concerning the Ebionites and Elkesaites. The accounts he gives of the Jewish-Christian, and Gnostic sects of the 2nd and 3rd centuries exhibit a marvellous mixture of valuable traditions with misunderstandings and fancies of his own. His pious zeal to excel all heresiologues who had gone before him, by completing the list of heretics, led him into the strangest misunderstandings, the most adventurous combinations, and arbitrary assertions. He often frames out of very meagre hints long and special narratives. The strangest phenomena are combined with total absence of criticism, and things which evidently belonged together are arbitrarily separated. On the other hand he often copies his authorities, with slavish dependence on them, and so puts it in the power of critical commentators

to collect a rich abundance of genuine traditions from what seemed a worthless mass. For the section extending from *Heresies* xiii. to lvii. from Dositheus to Noetus, he used as clue a writing now lost, but of very great importance, which is also made use of by a contemporary writer, Philastrius of Brixia, the work namely of Hippolytus, *Against all Heresies*. Besides this he made use of the well-known book against heresies by Irenaeus of Lyons, as a welcome mine of information. The narratives derived from both sources are often pieced together in very mechanical fashion, and hence frequent repetitions and contradictory statements are found perpetually.

In addition to these two main authorities, he had at his command many original works of heretics themselves and numerous oral traditions derived from trustworthy witnesses. Very valuable are the extracts given from an old Valentinian work (*Haer.* xxxi.); the Epistle of Ptolemaeus to Flora, which is quoted entire (*Haer.* xxxiii.), and the copious extracts from Marcion's gospel (*Haer.* xlii.). For his section against the Montanists (*Haer.* xlviii.) he makes use of an anonymous controversial work of great antiquity, from which Eusebius also (*H. E.* v. 17) gives large extracts; in his article on the Alogi (*Haer.* li.) he probably makes use of the work of Porphyry against the Christians. In the section against Origen (*Haer.* xliv.) copious extracts are introduced from the work of Methodius περὶ ἀναστάσεως.

Several notices of heretical parties existing in Epiphanius's own time are derived from his own observation. The last main division of the *Panarion* (*Haer.* lxv. to lxxx.), which takes special care to note the different opinions of Arians, semi-Arians, Photinians, Marcellians, Pneumatomachi, Aërians, Aëtians, Apollinarists, or Dimoirites, is one of the most important contemporary authorities for the history of the Trinitarian and Christological controversies since the beginning of the 4th century. Although a fanatical partisan, and therefore not always to be relied on in his statements, Epiphanius speaks almost everywhere from his own knowledge, and moreover enhances the value of his representations by the literal communication of important documents. Of far inferior value to these historical sections are the refutations of various heresies attempted by Epiphanius. Apart from his strange fancy for calling his adversaries by the names of various animals, he has acquitted himself in a marvellous fashion in all kinds of fanatical terms of abuse, misrepresentation of opinions, and attacks on character. He takes particular pleasure in describing real or alleged licentious excesses on the part of heretics; his refutations proper contain sometimes really successful strokes of argument, but are for the most part weak and unhappy. The conclusion of the whole work is formed by the section περὶ πίστεως, a glorifying description of the Holy Catholic Church, its faith, its manners, and its ordinances. This description is of great and manifold significance for the history of the church of that time. Each section is preceded by a short summary. An Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις, probably the work of Epiphanius himself (preceded by a short extract from an epistle of Epiphanius to Acacius and Paulus, and followed by an extract from the section setting forth the Catholic faith), is itself an almost literal repetition of the contents of these summaries. This Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις, a work made use of by St. Augustine and St. John Damascene, seems to have circulated as an independent writing in a similar way to the x. book of the *Philosophumena* and the summary added to Hippolytus's σύνταγμα against all heresies, preserved in a Latin translation in the *Praescriptiones* of Tertullian. Of another somewhat more copious epitome, occupying in some measure a mid-position between the brevity of the Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις and the details of the *Panarion*, a large fragment has been recently published by Dindorf from a Paris MS., No. 854, in his edition of Epiphanius, vol. i. pp. 339–369, from a transcript made by Fr. Duebners (cf. also the various readings given by Dindorf from a Cod. Cryptoferrar. vol. iii. p. 2, praef. pp. iv. to xii.).

Among the other writings of Epiphanius should first be mentioned his book, "De mensuris, et ponderibus" (περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν), written in the consulate of Arcadius and Rufinus, A.D. 392. The title is unsuitable, inasmuch as only the smallest part of the work gives any account of biblical weights and measures. This work is a somewhat irregular collection of different notices, serving to introduce the reader to the Greek Bible of the Old Testament, with remarks on the accents and critical and grammatical signs concerning the origin of the Septuagint, the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, the Hexapla of Origen, etc. The section on the Greek version of the Old Testament was published by Montfaucon as a work by itself, with the help of two manuscripts (*Prolegg. ad Orig. Hexapla*, p. 77 sqq.), and also by Dindorf (vol. iv. part i. praef. p. viii. sqq.). The treatise *De Gemmis*, that is, concerning the 12 jewels in the breastplate of the Jewish high priest, is preserved in only two Greek extracts, the one first published by Conrad Gessner (Zurich, 1565), the other in the *Quaestiones* of Anastasius Sinaita (chap. xl.), and in an old Latin version, incomplete towards the end, first published by Foggini at Rome (A.D. 1743). This treatise, which is preceded by an epistle of Epiphanius to bishop Diodorus of Tyre, contains bits of information concerning names, origin, nature, and uses of the different precious stones, together with all manner of spiritualisations.

Further, there are two letters of Epiphanius in reference to the Origenist controversy, one, longer, addressed to John of Jerusalem; the other, shorter, to Jerome, preserved in a Latin version made by that father (found in the best form in Vallarsi's edition of St. Jerome). Among his lost writings must be reckoned an Eulogium on St. Hilarion, of which Jerome makes mention. Of doubtful origin is the so-called *Physiologus*, a short treatise on the nature of beasts, and with somewhat tasteless pious meditations (Pitra, *Spicilegium Solismense*, vol. iii. Paris, 1855).

Cassiodorus (*de Inst. div. Literar. Opp.* ed. Venet. tom. ii. p. 513) mentions a commentary by Epiphanius on the Song of Songs, of which he had caused a Latin translation to be made. This work is supposed to be identical with the mystical interpretation of the Song first published by Foggini, from a Vatican Codex, Rome, 1750. But of this work there also exists

another somewhat amplified redaction, bearing the name of Philo of Carpathus, one of Epiphanius's suffragan bishops, first published with the Latin translation of Stephanus Salutus, Paris, 1537, and afterwards by Giacomelli, Rome, 1772. Further are ascribed to Epiphanius the following works: A fragment of *An Exposition of the Gospel of St. John* (in Combefis *Auctar. Noviss. Bibl. Patr.* tom. i. p. 300). Seventeen Apophthegmata (in Cotelerii *Monumenta Eccl. Graec.* t. i. p. 426) and a lately discovered tractate, containing under 102 heads a collection of passages from the Old Testament, in which the author found the history of our Lord, announced beforehand (Opusculum S. Epiphanii *de Divina Incarnatione*, ed. Steph. Ant. Morcellus, Mutinae, 1828). Unquestionably spurious is the work *De Vitis Prophetarum*, which is full of fables, and nearly related to that of Pseudo-Dorotheus, concerning the prophets and disciples of the Lord (recently published by H. A. Hamaker, Amsterdam, 1833). And so are likewise eight homilies attributed to Epiphanius.

The Editio Princeps is that of Basle, edited for the printer, Joh. Hervagius, by Joh. Oporinus, 1544. This edition contains the *Panarion* with *Anacephalaeosis*, the *Ancoratus*, and *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*. The first part of the MS. used by Oporinus, sent him from Erfurt by Joh. Lange, is now lost. It contained the *Panarion* up to p. 604, of Petavius's edition. The second part of the MS. remains in the university library at Jena. It was written in the year 1304. The same MS. had before Oporinus been already made use of by Janus Cornarius for his Latin translation of Epiphanius, Basle, 1543. The second edition of Epiphanius is that prepared by the learned Jesuit, Dionysius Petavius, Paris, 1622, in two volumes. It contains the Greek text with a new Latin translation, and numerous and still valuable Latin notes. To the writings contained in the editio princeps, a few smaller ones are added, most of them doubtful or spurious. A reprint of this is the Cologne or rather Leipzig edition of 1682, which is marred by numerous misprints. The Paris MS. used by Petavius (*Bibl. Nat.* 833, 835) is derived from the same source as that of Jena, but was more recently written, 16th century. To the same class of MSS. belong another Codex Membr. saec. xv. in the *Bibl. Rhedigerana*, at Breslau, and a *Codex chart. Vindobonensis*, saec. xiv. (127, in suppl. Kollarii, p. 738), which contains only fragments of the *Panarion* and of the *Anacephalaeosis*. To another and better family belong a MS. now no longer heard of, in the Vatican (Codex Vatican.), and another in St. Mark's library at Venice (Cod. Marcian. 125). Of the former Petavius used a collation made by Andreas Schott for the second and third tomus of the 1st Book of the *Panarion* (pp. 55–395, ed. Petav.). This collation appears attached to the margin of a still existing copy of the Basle edition, which fell accidentally into Oehler's hands.

The Codex Marcianus, 125, in the year 1057, in reliance on which the brothers Coleti began to prepare a new edition, contains, alas, only the first part of the *Panarion*, to p. 604 (ed. Petav.). This manuscript contains a much more original text than those of the first-named family. With its help not only are we enabled to correct innumerable corruptions and arbitrary alterations of text made by later writers, but also to fill up numerous and some very considerable lacunae. A complete collation of this MS. was first made by W. Dindorf as groundwork of his edition of Epiphanius (Leipsic, 1859–1862, 5 vols. sm. 8vo.). This, now the best edition, contains all the genuine writings of Epiphanius (the *Ancoratus*, the *Anacephalaeosis*, the *Panarion*, and the *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* in the Greek text, *De Gemmis*, in all three text forms, and the two Epistles, in Jerome's translation), and beside these the spurious homilies, the abovementioned epitome, and the *Vita Epiphanii* of Polybius. Vol. iii. pt. 2, contains the critical apparatus to the *Panarion*, vol. v. the Annotations of Petavius. An appendix, which has not yet appeared, besides several supplements, not further described, is announced to contain various readings of two MSS. of the first part of the *Panarion*, rivalling in value the Venetian Codex, as well as the remaining doubtful or spurious writings of Epiphanius.

The Greek and Latin edition of the *Panarion* by Franz Oehler, in the *Corpus Haeresiologicum*, vols. ii.–iii. (Berlin, 1859–1861), has only made use of a few specimens of the text of the *Codex Marcianus*, and that for its two first sections containing the first and second books of the *Panarion*. The third division of the second volume, containing the third book of the *Panarion* and the *Anacephalaeosis* adds, pp. 592–676, addenda et corrigenda, by way of making up for neglected revision of the text. The third volume contains, besides the Annotations of Petavius, valuable contributions by Albert Jahn, to the criticism and exegesis of the *Panarion*. Compare reviews of both editions by Lipsius, in *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*, 1859, N. 15, 1860, N. 42, 1864, N. 23. A worthless edition is that of Migne, in the Patrologia (Series Graeco-latina, tom. xli.–xliii. Paris, 1863–64). This edition contains the *Panarion*, the *Anacephalaeosis*, the *Ancoratus*, the book *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, the treatise *De Gemmis*, the two *letters* addressed to John and to Jerome, and the doubtful or spurious works *De Vitis Prophetarum*, *De Numerorum Mysteriis*, *Seven Homilies*, and the *Physiologus*. A Syriac translation (so-called) of the *Panarion*, which has found its way from the Nitrian monastery of St. Maria Deipara into the British Museum, appears to contain nothing but the *Anacephalaeosis*. This last is found not only in MSS. of the *Panarion*, but in several other Greek Codices. A Syriac translation of *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* is found in two Syriac MSS. of the British Museum, Cod. add. 17148 and 4620. A number of various readings of this treatise have been published by P. de Lagarde (*Philologus*, xviii. p. 352 sq.). The sources of the Biography of Epiphanius are pretty numerous and scattered; beside the notices found here and there in his own writings, the reader may compare especially Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 10, 12–14; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 32, vii. 27, viii. 14–15; Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Chrysostomi* (in Chrysost. *Opp.* ed. Montfaucon, tom. xiii.); Hieronym. *Catal. Viror. Illustr.* 114, Epist. ad Pammach. 38 (61), ad Theophil. 39 (62), *Vita S. Hilarion.* tom. iv. pt. ii. p. 72, ed. Martianay; *Apolog. adv. Rufin.* ii. passim. Compare also *Vitae Patrum*, ed. Rosweyde, tom.

v. (Antwerp, 1615); *Acta Sanctorum*, 12 Mai. Completely useless is the above-mentioned *Vita Epiphanii*, by Polybius. Of works and treatises concerning Epiphanius may be mentioned the book attributed to the abbé Gervais, *L'Histoire et la Vie de St. Épiphane*, Paris, 1738; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. x. p. 484, sq. 822 sq.; Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* ed. Harl. viii. p. 261 sq.; Schröckh, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte*, tom. x. p. 3 ff.; Eberhard, *Die Betheiligung des Epiphanius an dem Streite über Origenes*, Trier, 1859; Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanios*, Wien, 1865. [R A. L.]

EPIPHANIUS (2), bishop of Cratia or Flaviopolis, in the province of Honorias adjoining Paphlagonia, present at the oecumenical council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 577; Mansi, iv. 1213.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (3), according to Idatius, the unlawful possessor of the see of Seville from A.D. 441 onwards, in which year Sabinus, the rightful bishop, was driven out. (Idat. *Chron.* § xvii. olymp. 305, in Migne, Patr. Lat. li. 831; *Esp. Sagr.* iv. ann. 441.) The conquest of Seville by Rechila, the Arian king of the Suevi, in 441, probably led to the expulsion of Sabinus and the intrusion of his successor. (*Esp. Sagr.* ix. 137.) [MARCELLUS.] [M. A. W.]

EPIPHANIUS (4), bishop of Arce in Phoenicia. He was present at the synod of Antioch, A.D. 448. (Mansi, vi. 495; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 825.) [J. de S.]

EPIPHANIUS (5), bishop of Perga, the metropolis of the second Pamphylia, present at the Latrocinium Ephesinum, A.D. 449, where he spoke against Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum (Mansi, vi. 918); he afterwards attended the council of Chalcedon, and subscribed to its decrees, A.D. 451 (Mansi, vii. 140). He received a letter from the emperor Leo, and sent back a synodal reply, concerning the murder of St. Proterius and the faith of Chalcedon, A.D. 458 (Mansi, vii. 573; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1015). [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (6), bishop of Colossae in Phrygia; his name was subscribed in his absence by his metropolitan, Nunechius of Laodicea, to the definition of the faith that was read before the emperor Marcian at the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 165; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 815.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (7), bishop of Soli in Cyprus, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, by Soter of Theodosiana in Cyprus as his proxy. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1072; Mansi, vii. 159.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (8), bishop of Cestrus, in Isauria, to the north of Antioch (Wiltsch, *Handbuch der kirchl. Geographie*, i. 203, note 15). He was present at the fourth general council at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and also signed the synodical epistle of the Isaurian bishops to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 402; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1025.) [J. de S.]

EPIPHANIUS (9), bishop of Epiphania in Syria Secunda. He signed the synodical letter of the province of Syria Secunda, addressed to the emperor Leo, referring to the murder of Proterius, and the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 523; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 917.) [J. de S.]

EPIPHANIUS (10), bishop of Aspona in Galatia, subscribed the answer of the synod of his province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458, to his enquiry concerning the murder of St. Proterius of Alexandria, and the faith of Chalcedon. The signatures are corrupted; Julianus is called bishop of Aspona, and Epiphanius (Eufanius) of Spona. (Mansi, vii. 616; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 481.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (11), bishop of Hispellum (Spello), a town about three miles from Perugia in Umbria. He was present at the synod held at Rome by pope Felix III. A.D. 487. The reading Spoletinus has been corrected to Spellates, both on the authority of MSS., and because Amasius was at that time bishop of Spoleto. (Mansi, vii. 1171; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* x. 115.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (12), bishop of Satala in Lesser Armenia, subscribed the letter of his province to the emperor Leo concerning the faith of Chalcedon and the murder of St. Proterius, A.D. 458. Atalenus, in the subscription, should be altered to Satalenus. (Mansi, vii. 589; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 434.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (13), ST., bishop of Pavia. We are indebted for all our knowledge of this estimable prelate to a *Life* of him written by St. Ennodius, who was intimately acquainted with him. He was born A.D. 438, and was from his infancy regarded with affectionate interest by St. Crispinus, bishop of Pavia, who ordained him deacon at the age of twenty. Designated by Crispinus as his successor, he was unanimously elected bishop by the clergy and people of Pavia in the year 467. His life was one of marked austerity and devotion; but what is most interesting about him is that he was largely employed as a peacemaker and public benefactor in the stormy strifes of the 5th century. In 469 he succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between the emperor Anthemius and his son-in-law Ricimer; in 474 he made peace between the emperor Glycerius and Euric, king of the Visigoths. Euric was much impressed by him, and invited him to dinner, but Epiphanius, knowing that he was accustomed to have Arian bishops dining with him, excused himself from accepting the invitation. When Pavia was stormed by Odoacer in 476, Epiphanius was able to save his sister St. Honorata and other women from being taken as captives. He had influence enough with Odoacer to obtain for the town a five years' exemption from taxation. His reputation commended him equally to the conqueror of Odoacer, the great Theodoric, who sent him on a mission to Gundobald and his Burgundians, to redeem the captives whom they had carried away from Italy. Epiphanius is said to have brought back 6000 persons, partly given up freely by Gundobald, and partly purchased with a very moderate payment. "Such deeds," observes Gibbon, "are the best of miracles." In 496 he travelled to Ravenna, to ask of Theodoric the remission of the next year's tribute. Two-

thirds of what he asked was granted. But this journey proved fatal to him, and he died some days after his return to Pavia, A.D. 495, in the 58th year of his age. Ennodius's *Life* may be found in Sirmond, tom. i.; see also Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 1078; Boll. *Acta SS.* 21 Jan. ii. 364.
[J. Ll. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (14), bishop of Beneventum, present at the first synod in March 499 under pope Symmachus at Rome. (Mansi, viii. 235; Hefele, § 220.) [A. H. D. A.]

EPIPHANIUS (15), bishop of Midaïum (Μιδάειον, written also Midaeum and Midaum) in Phrygia Salutaris, present at the council of Chalcedon; his name occurs also among the bishops signing the synodal letter of that council to Leo I. (Leon. *Ep.* 98, 1106; *Oriens Christ.* i. 841). His name appears also in the list of bishops signing the decrees of the council held at Rome in 503, but this list certainly belongs to some earlier council (Baron. ann. 503, ix.). [C. G.]

EPIPHANIUS (16), 14th bishop of Nantes, succeeding Clematius and followed by Eumerius. He was present at the first council of Orleans in 511. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 798; Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* viii. 356, Flor. 1759–98.)
[S. A. B.]

EPIPHANIUS (17), 16th bishop, 5th patriarch of Constantinople. He succeeded John II. A.D. 520 (Theophanes, A.D. 512), and died in A.D. 535, after a rule of 16 years.

He appears to have been a quiet, prudent, complaisant person, living unobtrusively in stirring times, exactly the character to submit gracefully to the ecclesiastical activity of his emperor. Seven years he was under the peasant general Justin; the other eight under Justinian. The contemporary popes were Hormisdas, John I., Felix III., Boniface, and Agapetus. The kings of Italy were Theodoric, Athalaric, and Theodahat, the ungrateful murderer of his queen Amalasontha. The eastern empire was now rising to a high degree of splendour through the victories of its generals, Belisarius and Narses. Idolatry was universally suppressed, heathen books were burnt, pagan images destroyed, the professors of the old religion imprisoned and flogged. At Constantinople, the zeal of Justinian for a church policy was shewn during the patriarchate of Epiphanius by such laws as those of 528 and 529, which regulated episcopal elections and duties. These enactments, and the passivity of Epiphanius and his clergy, are remarkable proofs of the entire absence in these times of any claims such as the clergy of later centuries asserted for exclusively clerical legislation for the spiritualty.

The chief civil event in the city was the great sedition in 531, called Nika, which arose from the celebrated quarrel between the greens and the blues in the Hippodrome. The church of St. Sophia and other public monuments were burnt. Justinian even thought of flying to Heracleae, in Thrace; but Narses and Belisarius put down the insurrection by the slaughter of 30,000 of the insurgents. Through these varied scenes Epiphanius lived. His first conspicuous office was the charge of the catechumens of the church of Constantinople. In 519, the year before his election, he was sent with bishop John and Count Licinius to Macedonia, to receive the documents "libellos," or subscriptions of those who wished to accept reunion with the catholic church, at the request of the apocrisiarius of Dorotheus bishop of Thessalonica.

In 520, February 25, he was elected by the emperor Justin, with the consent of the bishops, monks, and people. He is described in the letter of the synod of Constantinople to pope Hormisdas as "flourishing in virtues, reproofs, Scripture meditations; holding the right faith, and maintaining a fatherly care for orphans; in fact, too good to be praised" (*Patrol. Lat.* lxiii. 483). He accepted the conditions of peace between east and west concluded by the patriarch John, his predecessor, with pope Hormisdas, and ratified them at a council held at Constantinople, where he accepted also the decrees of Chalcedon. Dioscorus, agent of Hormisdas at Constantinople, writes thus:—"His beginnings do not seem bad, for he talks reasonably, and promises that he will keep the rules of the fathers, and, far from dissipating the unity and peace that has been arranged, will increase them. So much he promises: what he can fulfil we don't know. He has not yet asked us to communion." (*Patrol. Lat.* lxiii. 482.) Four letters of Epiphanius remain, addressed to Hormisdas, telling him of his election, sending him his creed, and declaring that he condemned all those whose names the pope had forbidden to be recited in the diptychs. Hormisdas had written to Epiphanius, complaining that he had not heard from him, and that he had sent no deputies according to custom; that he might have congratulated him, and thanked him for the zeal which he had shewn for unity. Epiphanius adopts the symbol of Nicaea, the decrees of Ephesus, Constantinople, and Chalcedon, and the letters of pope Leo in defence of the faith. His second letter was accompanied by a chalice of gold surrounded with precious stones, a patina of gold, a chalice of silver, and two veils of silk, which he presented to the Roman church. In order to make the peace general, he advises the pope not to be too rigorous in exacting the extrusion of the names of former bishops from diptychs, about which the people of the see concerned might be reluctant. His excuse for the bishops of Pontus, Asia, and the East is composed in very beautiful language. The answers of Hormisdas are given in the Acts of the Council of Constantinople held under Mennas. He trusts to the prudence and experience of Epiphanius, and recommends lenity towards the returning, severity to the obdurate. Epiphanius is to complete the reunion himself. (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 1534, 1537, 1545, 1546, 1555, ed. 1671; *Patrol. Lat.* lxiii. 497, 507, 523.)

The severe measures by which Justin was establishing the supremacy of the Catholics in the east were arousing Theodoric, the Arian master of Italy, to a policy of retaliation in the west. Pope John I., the successor of Hormisdas, became thoroughly alarmed; and in 525, at the demand of Theodoric, proceeded to Constantinople to obtain the revocation of the edict against the Arians, and et their churches restored to them (Marcellin. *Chron.* ann. 525; Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 1600). Great was the honour

paid to him in the eastern capital. Twelve miles the whole city went out to receive him, bearing ceremonial tapers and crosses. The emperor Justin prostrated himself before him, and wished to be crowned by his hand. The patriarch Epiphanius, with great civility, invited pope John to perform mass; but the pope, mindful of the traditional policy of encroachment, refused to consent until they had offered him the first seat. With high solemnity he said the office in Latin on Easter-day, communicating with all the bishops of the East except Timothy of Alexandria, the declared enemy of Chalcedon. Nothing was omitted at Constantinople which could do honour to the pope; there was universal joy because the old men of the Greeks declared that since the days of Constantine the Great and pope Sylvester the saint, no bishop of Rome had come into "Greece." John was less happy on his return. He was thrown into prison at Rome, and died in his cell. The reason assigned is that he refused to ask that Arians who had become Catholics should be allowed to return; and perhaps he owed part of his disgrace to his excessive honours at Constantinople. Theodoric, in fact, though once just and tolerant, had now become cruel; witness the deaths of Boethius and Symmachus (Baron. 525, 8, 10; Pagi, ix. 349, 351; *AA. SS.* May 27; Schröckh, xvi. 102, xviii. 214–16; Gibbon, iii. 473; Milman, *Lat. Christ.* i. 302).

In April, 527, Justinian was associated with Justin, and in August became sole emperor. In 532 he rebuilt the church of St. Sophia. In 529 he succeeded in extinguishing the last Pagan philosophy, Neo-Platonism, by the closing of the schools of Athens. In 529, also, pagans and heretics were excluded from civil and military office; a great mass of pretended conversions followed, some sectarians put an end to their lives; the Montanists in Phrygia burnt themselves in their churches (Procop. *Hist. Arcan.* xi. 34–5). How far Epiphanius acquiesced in all these measures we do not know; the meddlesome nature of Justinian allows us to give him the benefit of the doubt.

In 531 the dispute between Rome and Constantinople was revived by the appeal of Stephen, metropolitan of Larissa, to pope Boniface, against the sentence of Epiphanius. Stephen was eventually deposed, notwithstanding his appeal.

In 535, on June 5, Epiphanius died, after an episcopate of sixteen years and three months (Theoph. A.C. 529 in *Patrol. Graec.* cviii. 477.) All that is known of him is to his advantage.

Besides his letters to Hormisdas, we have the sentence of his council against Severus and Peter (*Patrol. Graec.* lxxxvi. 783–786). Forty-five canons are attributed to him (Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* 619). [W. M. S.]

EPIPHANIUS (18), bishop of Ascoli (Asculum), one of the four Italian bishops present at the synod at Constantinople, in May, 536, presided over by Mennas, the patriarch. (Mansi, viii. 969; Hefele, § 250.) [A. H. D. A.]

EPIPHANIUS (19), bishop of Pitane in the province of Asia, on the Elaeatic gulf, present at the synod held at Constantinople by Mennas, A.D. 536. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 706; Mansi, viii. 1147.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (20), bishop of Baratta, a town in Lycaonia, whose position and exact name is uncertain: present at the synod held at Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 974; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1079.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (21), bishop of Heraclea Pontica, in the province of Honorias, present at the council held at Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 573; Mansi, viii. 974.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (22), bishop of Raphia (on the seaboard of Palestine, to the extreme south), who in A.D. 518 signed the synodical letter of John of Jerusalem against Severus (Labbe, v. 191), and in A.D. 536 the sentence against Anthimus (*ibid.* 283). (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 629.) [E. V.]

EPIPHANIUS (23), bishop of Tyre and metropolitan at the beginning of the 6th century. He was strictly orthodox, and refused to hold communion with Severus of Antioch, and rejected his synodical letters. (Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 33.) A letter from him and his four suffragans to Theophilus, bishop of Heraclea and his synod, detailing the evil deeds of Severus, was read in the fifth day's proceedings of the synod of Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536. (Labbe, v. 193–202; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 809; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 518, xl.) [E. V.]

EPIPHANIUS (24), metropolitan (or possibly called patriarch) of Grado, to which place the see of Aquileia had been transferred after the Lombard invasion, c. 612. "Ex illo tempore" (says Paul Diac. iv. 33) coeperunt duo esse patriarchae." The earlier metropolitans had been in schism with Rome on the subject of the three chapters, but Candidianus, the predecessor of Epiphanius at Grado, had made peace with Rome. At Aquileia itself, however, with the consent of the Lombard king and Gisulf, duke of Friuli, a metropolitan (or patriarch) was appointed. Probably the name of patriarch was usurped by the bishops of Aquileia, and therefore allowed by the popes to the bishops of Grado. See the *Chronic. Patr. Grad. Mon. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 394, in which the patriarchs of Aquileia are spoken of as schismatics. In the year 707 the schism was finally brought to a close by a synod at Aquileia. See Paulus Diac. vi. 14, quoted from Bede. The two patriarchs of Aquileia and Grado—with no powers really beyond those of metropolitans—had controversy as to their rival jurisdictions. Their limits were ultimately defined by Leo IX. in the 11th century. (Wiltsch, *Handbuch der kirchl. Geog.* Engl. transl. vol. i. p. 296; Hefele, § 283.) [A. H. D. A.]

EPIPHANIUS (25), bishop of Albanum (Albano), at the first Lateran council, A.D. 649. (Mansi, x. 865; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 250.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (26), commonly called THE YOUNGER, bishop of Constantia or Salamis, the metropolis of Cyprus, in the latter half of the 7th century. He was represented at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 680, by Theodorus of Trimuthus, Stratonicus of Soli, and Tycho of Citrius. Several of the discourses printed in the collected works of his eminent namesake and

predecessor are suspected to be his, as also is a treatise "in Hexaemeron," which is still in MS. (Fabric. *Biblioth. Gr.* ed. Harles, ix. 94; iii. 113, 129; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1038, et seqq.; EPIPHANIUS (3), *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biogr.* ii. 38 B.) [T. W. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (27), bishop of Euchaita in Helenopontus. His name is found both in the subscriptions to the canons of the sixth general council, A.D. 680, and also in those of the "Trullan" or Quinisext synod, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 693, 992; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 543.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (28), bishop of Selymbria (Eudoxiopolis) in Thracia, following Georgius, who was bishop in 692. He took part in the Iconoclastic controversy, according to Suidas, and wrote an useful work against the image-burners. (*Index Scriptorum*, ap. Migne, Patrol. Graec. cxvii. 1258.) [J. de S.]

EPIPHANIUS (29) (THEOPHANIUS), bishop of Silva Candida, not far from Rome, on the Via Aurelia, an episcopal seat combined in later times with Portus. This bishop lived during the pontificate of Zacharias, and was present at the councils held at Rome A.D. 743 and 745. (Mansi, xii. 367, 380; Hefele, § 367; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i. 91.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (30), bishop of Perugia, subscribed a letter of pope Paul I. in June 761, to the abbat John about the privileges of the monastery of St. Stephen and St. Silvester in Rome. (Mansi, xii. 649; Jaffé, *Regesta Pont.* 195.) [A. H. D. A.]

EPIPHANIUS (31), bishop of Miletus, present at the seventh general council, A.D. 787, when he signed, not among the Carian bishops, but among the archbishops, as if he claimed the metropolitan chair; whilst Theophylactus, a deacon, signed as locum tenens for the bishop of Stauropolis (Aphrodisias), the proper metropolis of Caria. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 919; Mansi, xii. 1095.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (32), bishop of Perta in Lycaonia, present at the second Nicene council, A.D. 787. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1088; Mansi, xii. 998 E.) [L. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (33), bishop of Lappa, in the west of Crete. Present at the council of Nicaea, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 735; *Or. Christ.* ii. 268.) [J. de S.]

EPIPHANIUS (34), bishop of Eleutherina, in central Crete, present at the seventh general Council at Nicaea, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 391 and 735; *Or. Christ.* ii. 270.) [J. de S.]

EPIPHANIUS (35), bishop and martyr in Africa with Donatus and others. Commemorated April 6 (*Mart.* Hier., Notker); April 7. (Us.). [T. S. B.]

EPIPHANIUS (36), archdeacon of Alexandria; author of a letter in reply to one received from Maximian, bishop of Constantinople, about the end of 432 or beginning of 433 A.D. The letter is preserved only in a Latin version. After some account of the state of the controversy between St. Cyril and the Nestorians, the writer of the letter says that St. Cyril is vexed because Maximian has not been as zealous as he might be for him, and gives him various directions and suggestions as to services expected of him. He states that letters have been sent by St. Cyril to Pulcheria and other persons attached to the court, and that presents have been sent as well. So many gifts (benedictiones), the writer proceeds, were sent from Alexandria at this time that the clergy complained that the Alexandrian church was stripped naked (nudata), and already owed 1500 pounds of gold besides to Count Hammonius (see appendix, *Concil.* Baluz. pp. 907–909; Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacr.* viii. 385; Robertson, *Ch. Hist.* i. p. 453). [J. W. S.]

EPIPHANIUS (37), presbyter of Constantinople, sent with Memnon and Germanus to summon Eutyches the third time to the Council of Constantinople in 448. Their report was received on the 17th of November. (Mansi, vi. 496 a; Baronius, ad ann. 448, xxxix.) [W. M. S.]

EPIPHANIUS (38), the bearer of letters from the presbyters and archimandrites of Constantinople, A.D. 476, to pope Simplicius, informing him that Basiliscus had restored Timotheus Aelurus to the see of Alexandria (Simpl. Pap. ep. 7, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 43; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 50). Epiphanius seems to have also carried letters to Simplicius, from the patriarch Acacius a few months later (Simpl. ep. 19; Jaffé, *u. s.*). Ceillier (x. 402) calls Epiphanius a layman; but Simplicius, replying in the letters just cited, styles him "filius" and "diaconus." [T. W. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (39) SCHOLASTICUS, an ecclesiastic about the beginning of the 6th century, A.D. 510, but of whose personal history almost nothing is known to us except that he was the friend of Cassiodorus, the celebrated head of the *Monasterium Vivariense*. [CASSIODORUS.] He seems to have borne the name Scholasticus, not so much because of any devotion to literature or theology, but in the sense frequently borne by that word in the middle ages, when it was applied to the chaplain, or amanuensis, or general assistant of any dignitary of the church (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s. v.). It was in this relationship, in all probability, that Epiphanius stood to his distinguished master, by whom he was summoned to take a part in the great work then engaging his attention, that of urging his monks to classical and sacred studies, and especially to the transcription of manuscripts. The task assigned to Epiphanius was the translation into Latin of the histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. Cassiodorus himself revised the work, corrected its faults of style, abridged it, and arranged it into one continuous history of the church. He then published it for the use of the clergy. The book attained a high reputation. It was known as the Tripartite History; and, along with the translation of Eusebius by Rufinus, it became the manual of church history for the clergy of the West for many centuries. The book is generally published as if Cassiodorus were its author, under the title of *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Tripartitae Epitome.*

Epiphanius translated several additional works, such as the commentaries of Didymus upon the Proverbs of Solomon and the seven Catholic Epistles, those of Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, upon the Canticles, and perhaps others, all of which are said by Cave to have perished. One, however, survives, and may be found in Labbe (*Conc.* tom. v.), his *Codex Encyclicus*, a work to which he was also urged by Cassiodorus, and which consists of a collection of synodical letters addressed by different synods to the emperor Leo in defence of the decrees of the council of Chalcedon against Timotheus Aelurus. [Timotheus Aelurus.] [W. M.]

EPIPHANIUS (40), presbyter in Thessalonica, cir. 520, apparently one of the mission from pope Hormisdas for regulating the disordered affairs of that province, and possibly author of a report which is given in the 67th letter of Hormisdas (Hormisd. Pap. *Epist. et Decret.* Patrol. Lat. lxiii. 481). [W. M. S.]

EPIPHANIUS (41), deacon, to whom Licinian bishop of Cartagena and Severus bishop of Malaga, cir. A.D. 581, addressed a letter on the incorporeal nature of angels, and of the human soul (Gams, *Kirchengesch.* ii. 1, 53; *Esp. Sagr.* v. Append. 4, p. 426). [M. A. W.]

EPIPHANIUS (42), abbat of St. Remigius at Rheims, by whose evidence mainly Aegidius bishop of Rheims was convicted of treason against king Childebert II., A.D. 590. Epiphanius was himself deprived of his abbacy about the same time. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* x. 19.) [T. W. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (43), subdeacon of Rome, commissioned by pope Gregory I. to associate himself with Scholasticus, the "judex Companiae," in investigating an outrage perpetrated at Naples upon Paulus bishop of Nepesina. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. iii. ind. ix. epp. 1, 2, A.D. 592, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 603, 604; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 102.) [T. W. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (44), presbyter in Sardinia, accused of serious crimes. Gregory the Great, writing to Sabinus, Defensor of Sardinia, orders him to be sent to Rome. Writing later to Januarius bishop of Cagliari, Gregory sends him back, and declares him innocent. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iii. indict. xi. *Ep.* 36; lib. iv. indict. xii. *Ep.* 27; Migne, lxxvii. 632, 697.) [A. H. D. A.]

EPIPHANIUS (45), lector of Caralis (Cagliari) in Sardinia, who bequeathed money to found a monastery in that town. Januarius the bishop objected to the house selected for the purpose, as it adjoined a monastery of "ancillae Dei," and pope Gregory, to whom the decision was referred, directed either that the females should remove into another house, or that the foundation willed by Epiphanius should take effect in an untenanted monastery outside the city. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. xi. ind. iv. ep. 25, Nov. 600; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 141.) [T. W. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (46), archpresbyter of Caralis (Cagliari) in Sardinia, present as a witness at Rome in Oct. 598 (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. ix. ind. ii. ep. 7; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 946; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 126). In a subsequent letter of Gregory (lib. xiv. ind. vii. ep. 2), Sept. 603, he is called oeconomus of the church of Caralis, and Vitalis the defensor is charged to see that he takes proper care of the Xenodochia, which had been greatly neglected in consequence of the age and ill-health of Januarius the bishop of Caralis. [T. W. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (47), ordained deacon by pope Gregory I. [Elias (39).]

EPIPHANIUS (48), deacon, who with Theodore bishop of Catania was ordered by the governor to accompany the envoy of the patriarch Tarasius to the pope Adrian in 785. At the Council of Nicaea in 787 he was the representative of the archbishop of Sardinia. He pronounced a panegyric, which is contained in the synodal acts of the *Council*, on the council itself, on Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, on the empress, whom he compared to St. Helena, on the emperor, and on the town of Nicaea, already famous for the council held there against Arius. (Mansi, xii. 1076; xiii. 442; Hefele, § 345, § 357; Ceillier, xiii. 630; Patr. Graec. xcviii. 1313–1332, from Mansi.) [A. H. D. A.]

EPIPHANIUS (49), an archimandrite of Constantinople sent by Theodorus Studites, when he was exiled and in prison, to implore the aid of Leo III. bishop of Rome, A.D. 809. (Theod. Studit. *Ep.* i. 33.) He was kindly received by the pope, and when he returned brought letters from him to Theodore. Epiphanius was also sent by Theodore to Paschal I., A.D. 818, when the Studite was once more an exile and a prisoner. Theodore addresses him as "great Epiphanes," and with a play on his name bids him "manifest himself a faithful messenger." Paschal also received him kindly, and on his return he again brought with him letters of sympathy and encouragement for Theodore. (Baronius, *Annal. s. a.* 818, ix.) [T. W. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (50), a Sophist, friend of Apollinaris. [Apollinaris the Elder; Epiphanius (10) in *Dict. G. and R. Biog.*]

EPIPHANIUS (51), a young man challenged by Gregory Nazianzen in a playful letter to a contest of friendship in the form of an epistolary correspondence. (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 239, in Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxvii. 381.) [T. W. D.]

EPIPHANIUS (52), tribune, carried a letter, *Ep.* 44, among the letters of Leo, dated October 13, 449, from pope Leo I. to the emperor Theodosius (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 54, 956, Migne) and a letter, *Ep.* 50, dated Oct. 15, 449, from Leo to the clergy and laity of Constantinople (cf. *Ep.* 59, § i. 976). [C. G.]

EPIPHANIUS (53), a person in Sardinia who left the income of his property to Matrona his wife, for the support of a monastery in the house of her mother Pomponiana. Vitalis, the defensor of the Roman church in Sardinia, and bishop Januarius, were charged between them with diverting this property both from Matrona and the monastery, A.D. 603. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. xiv. ind. vii. ep. 2 in Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 1305.) [C. H.]

EPIPHANIUS (54), Patricius of Constanti-

nople, who was active in the prosecution of Maximus the Confessor, for his opposition to Monothelitism, towards the commencement of the latter half of the 7th century [MAXIMUS, CONFESSOR, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biogr.* ii. 968, et seq.] At first, he appears to have been inclined to treat the Confessor with some consideration, but afterwards he allowed himself to indulge in very strong and abusive language, which he followed up by harsh and cruel treatment of him (Maximi *Opp.* in Migne, Patr. Gr. xc. 114, 120, 162, 165, 166; Fleury, *H. E.* xxxix. 12–20). [T. W. D.]

EPIPODIUS (1), one of the martyrs of Lyons. When the persecution had commenced, he retired, together with his friend Alexander, to a villa in the neighbourhood of Lyons, where they remained in safety for a considerable time, owing to the watchful care of a widow named Lucia. At length, however, they were discovered, brought before the governor, and Epipodius, after having been tortured, was put to death, A.D. 178. He is commemorated Ap. 22. (*Mart.* Hier., Ad., Us.; Surius, *Ap.* ii. 22 and 24; Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Conf.* cap. 64; Baron. *Annal.* 179. 36.) [T. S. B.]

EPIPODIUS (2), ST., appears in the Catalogues as ninth bishop of Le Puy, between St. Scrutarius and St. Suacrius, before the year 451. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 689.) [S. A. B.]

EPISEMON. The word *ἐπίσημον* is included in this dictionary, being strangely absent from Greek lexicons, ancient and modern, in the sense in which it occurs in ecclesiastical writers. The Gnostic MARCUS laid much stress on the mysteries derived from names by calculating the numerical values of their letters. In the account of his system given by Irenaeus (I. xiv. p. 65 sq.), copied by Hippolytus (*Ref.* vi. 45) and by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 34), *τὸ ἐπίσημον* is repeatedly used to denote the numerical character for six; the number 6 is *ὁ ἐπίσημος ἀριθμός*; the six-lettered name *Ἰησοῦς* is *τὸ ἐπίσημον ὄνομα*, &c., language perplexing to the old Latin translator, who renders the word by "insignis." A similar use of the word is found in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 16, p. 812); but this cannot be called a quite independent illustration, for on comparison of the sections just cited from Clement and from Irenaeus the coincidences are found to be such as to put it beyond doubt that Clement, in his account of the mysteries of the number 6, makes unacknowledged use of the same writings of Marcus as were employed by Irenaeus. Eusebius (*Quaest. ad Marin.* Mai, *Nov. Pat. Bib.* iv. 299), copied by Jerome or Pseudo-Jerome (*Brev. in Psal.* 77, vii. 198, ed. Vallars.), suggests, as a way of reconciling the difference between the evangelists as to whether our Lord suffered at the third or the sixth hour, that a transcriber's error may have arisen from the likeness of Gamma and the Episemon, *i.e.* apparently Γ and *F*.

The source whence all modern writers have learned their use of the word episemon is Scaliger's essay on the origin of the Ionic letters (*Animadv. in Chron. Euseb.* p. 110). He there (p. 116) quotes as from Bede, *de Indigitatione* (but we have not been able to verify the reference), a statement of an old grammarian, who, having mentioned that the Greeks denote numbers by letters, and for this purpose join to the letters of their alphabet three other characters, goes on as follows:—"Prima est *s* quae dicitur Episimon et est nota numeri VI.; secunda est G quae vocatur kophe et valet in numero XC.; tertia est ϡ quae dicitur enneacosia quia valent DCCCC." Here, as well as in the preceding passages, episemon is used with special reference to the character for six; but Scaliger turns into Greek the phrase "nota numeri VI." *τὸ ἐπίσημον τοῦ ἓξ ἀριθμοῦ*, and seems to have inferred that the marks for the numbers 90 and 900 had equal rights to the same title; and he also gives the name Episemon to each of the six Phoenician letters said not to have been received by the Ionians, saying, for instance, that the letter *ἦτα* was originally an episemon, and distinguishing between the episemon of the number 6 and the digamma or episemon of Vau. He does not name his authority for this way of speaking, and we have not been able to find any; nor do we know that the character which was by some called *βαῦ*, and by others *τὸ ἐπίσημον*, was ever called by any one before Scaliger by the combination *ἐπίσημον βαῦ*. However this may be, Scaliger has been followed by all who have written on the subject since his time.

The true account of these three characters seems to be that though the Phoenicians themselves did not use the letters of their alphabet for purposes of numeration, the Greeks, who derived their alphabet from them, did so in the 5th century before Christ; that their alphabet then still contained two of the Phoenician letters which in the next century were disused, viz., *βαῦ* in the sixth place, and *κόππα*, the Roman Q, coming after *π*; that these letters then took their natural place in the system of numeration, which was afterwards made complete by the addition, at the end of the letters of the alphabet, of another character to denote 900, which from its shape was at a considerably later period called *σαμπῖ* (Hankel, *Geschichte der Mathematik*, p. 34; Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des gr. Alphab.*). The character for six had not come to be identified with the abbreviation for *στ* in the time of Marcus, as known through Hippolytus. In calculating the numerical value of *χρειστός* he counts the *σ* and *τ* separately; and it is to be noted that he calls the former *s* Sigma, and the latter San. It is possible that Marcus expressly identified his episemon with the digamma, for though in Irenaeus, p. 71, line 9; p. 72, line 7, the reading is undoubtedly *διπλᾶ γράμματα*, the context gives probability to Dr. Hort's conjecture that Marcus wrote *γάμματα*. He says that this number added to the number of the twenty-four letters makes thirty. Now the double letters are already included in the twenty-four, but the Digamma stands outside the alphabet, and therefore its number might properly be added to that of the letters.

With regard to the properties of the number 6, Marcus and Clement were in part indebted to Philo, who explains (*De Op. Mund.* 3) that it is the first perfect number, *i.e.*, according to Euclid's definition, one equal to the sum of the numbers 1, 2, 3 which divide it without remainder (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xi. 30), the second such number

being 28,[a] which is the sum of its divisors 1, 2, 4, 7, 14 (Orig. *t.* 28 *in S. Joann.*); that being 2 × 3 it arises from the marriage of a male and female, *i.e.*, odd and even number; that there are six directions of motion, forward, backward, right, left, up, down; &c. Marcus observed that not only was the world made in *six* days, but in the new dispensation our Lord after *six* days went up to the Mount of Transfiguration; that there, by the appearance of Moses and Elias, the number of His company became *six;* that He suffered at the *sixth* hour of the *sixth* day of the week; and thence concludes that this number has the power not only of production, but of regeneration. As seven is the number of the heavens, and eight is the supercelestial ogdoad, so six denotes the material creation (see also Heracleon, Orig. iv. 221); and, in particular, the material body through which the Saviour revealed Himself to men's senses, and conveyed to them that enlightenment of their ignorance in which redemption consisted. Clement, if not Marcus, finds the Saviour's higher nature represented by the episemon, which is not taken into account by one who looks merely at the order of the letters in the alphabet, but reveals itself in the system of numeration.

Irenaeus points out that the mysteries of Marcus all depend on the employment of the modern form of the Greek alphabet, and that they disappear when a Semitic alphabet is used. He shews also (ii. 24) that it is possible to say as fine things about the properties of the number 5 as about those of the numbers which are glorified by Marcus. [G. S.]

EPISTEME, martyr. [GALACTEON.]

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS. The Greek text known by this name has been known only since its publication in the year 1592 by Henricus Stephanus, in whose handwriting it is extant at Leyden (MS. Voss Q 30), as taken both by him and by Beurer, whose transcript is lost, from a single faded exemplar, the same which (as Gebhardt has shewn) was collated latterly by Cunitz at Strasburg, where it perished in 1870. In this codex the text given under the heading *To Diognetus* was broken into three fragments by two clear breaks with marginal notes from the old scribe in Greek penmanship of the 13th century, saying, "Thus I found a break in the copy before me also, it being very ancient," and "Here, too, the copyist had a break." No other copy of any portion has yet been found.

The author of the discourse directed *To Diognetus* is thus known to us only through a single mediaeval transcription of a very ancient and defective original, and is reported through this solitary channel of our knowledge to be "The same" as the author of a preceding oration *To Greeks*, preserved only by the same transcriber, and of some other previous work which bore his name in the title. No reason has ever been shewn for doubting this tradition taken by itself; but the mediaeval transcriber had no more such unique treasures to offer, and the place at the head of the series was usurped by the tailpiece of the series that preceded. For the codex contained in the same old hand, 1st, two pieces, each of "the holy Justin, philosopher and martyr," demonstrating the divine monarchy and admonishing Greeks; 2nd, a discourse of a man said to be "Justin, philosopher and martyr" expounding the faith *Concerning Trinity;* 3rd, the two discourses of the man said to be the same, *To Greeks* and *To Diognetus;* and lastly, after a few pages left blank and filled in by a later hand; 4th, "Athenagoras *On Behalf of Christians*," and "the same *On Resurrection.*" Thus the pleader with Greeks and with Diognetus seemed to be identified with the ambiguous person of the Expositor said to be Justin, and so was ushered before the world by Stephanus as none other than JUSTIN himself.

In the discourses *To Greeks* and *To Diognetus* the author never says who he is, except that *To Greeks*, he begins: "Think not, men and Greeks, that my secession from your customs was unreasonable or injudicious, for I found nothing right nor pious in them," which is as much as to say that he is 'the same' as had made some public refusal any longer to conform to Hellenism; but he proceeds with a review of Greek mythology without giving any more personal details till the closing appeal, "Come, be instructed, be as I am, for I was as ye are;" and when, just after, we find an applicant for instruction addressed in a fresh discourse—"Since I see thee, most noble Diognetus, much at pains to learn the religion of the Christians," and so on, it is natural to be told that the speaker is the same again. In this latter discourse, the speaker says nothing of himself, but the piece seems to be the sequel to the preceding. It is not really an epistle.

Thus the direct assertion that the writer to Diognetus is Justin, not being a pretension of his own, dates only from Stephanus; but the tradition on which the assertion is supported is much earlier, and consists of three links, so as to be annulled by the failure of any one of them. The first statement that Justin wrote the Exposition is now believed untrue, and the second that the same man wrote *To Greeks* falls with it, but may be due to accidental error, and in that case the third statement remains by itself, as in no way invalidated by the failure of the other two. The pieces whose author is called merely 'The same,' 'The same,' may have been taken from a torn copy with a piece missing at the beginning, and have been copied with the same headings in immediate juxtaposition to the works of Justin, as they were afterwards again copied by Stephanus and bound up next to a work of Amphilochius. The tradition that Justin wrote two pieces *To Greeks* is not a tradition that he wrote *this* piece, as well as the one extant in his name, and the tradition, such as it is, that this piece is by the author of the Exposition is hardly an authentic tradition that it is by Justin. The traditional writer *To Diognetus* is therefore not Justin, but a certain writer *To Greeks*, whom there is no traditional authority for identifying with Justin.

He is now found, as had been suspected, to be somebody quite different. For among the discoveries published by Cureton in his *Spicilegium Syriacum*, from a 6th or 7th century Syriac MS.

[a] It is curious that the Zoroastrian system counts as springing from Ormuzd first *six* Amshaspands, then *twenty-eight* Izeds. (Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, p. 26.)

(Add. 14,658 in the British Museum), is a version of what appears to be another set of notes or Hypomnemata of the same discourse *To Greeks*, which is there ascribed to one "AMBROSIUS, a chief man of Greece, who became a Christian, and all his fellow councillors raised a clamour against him," and this was his Reply, Cureton's English rendering of the Syriac and Otto's recension of the Greek are collated on pp. 61–69 of the *Spicilegium Syriacum*, and the two reports are plainly reports of the same discourse.

Thus the only tradition respecting the writer *To Diognetus* is that he is the same as a certain writer *To Greeks*, concerning whom there is no further tradition, except that he is clearly the same as one concerning whom the only tradition is that he is a certain Ambrosius.

It is natural enough from facts otherwise known to us to find an Ambrosius addressing a Diognetus. Common as the name was in the old Greek world, the only Diognetus known to us in times after Christ was a painting master, who, about the year 133, had charge of the boyhood of a young noble, and led his little pupil, even through his failures in art, to turn from dilettante ways, cockfighting, and belief in charmsellers, to give ear to people who spoke out their mind, and to attend the lectures of philosophers and begin writing dialogues, and to sleep on a hard bed, and live with Attic simplicity, for which lessons the youngster recorded his thanks, and probably gave substantial expression to his gratitude, when he had grown to manhood as the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Greek names became Roman surnames, and were transmitted from generation to generation, and those who received the Roman franchise not seldom took the gentile name of the reigning house. So, looking back from Aurelius Ambrosius, the royal defender of British Christianity against the Saxons, and from the senatorial archbishop of Milan with his sister Marcellina, sprung of illustrious martyr lineage, to the Ambrosius and Marcella of high station in the palace, encouraged to confession by Origen in the usurper Maximin's persecution in A.D. 236, and led into the church by the same father, probably at Athens in A.D. 229, from some Valentinian, Marcionitish, or Sabellian heresy, we seem pointed to some yet earlier Christian progenitor converted from actual heathendom, and to a first rise of the Ambrosian family of the gens Aurelia from a Grecian magnate of the age of the Antonines (cf. De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, iii. 23). It is natural enough, therefore, to be told that such an Ambrose became a Christian in the days when persecution still came in outbursts of local clamour rather than in imperial onslaughts interrupting a guaranteed repose, before the sanction of Christianity by Alexander Severus, and before the commencement of imperial connivance at Christians in high places under Commodus. It is natural to find such a convert at such a time following up his conversion by three discourses, the second addressed *To Greeks*, the third *To Diognetus*, and so taking his place beside MELITO, TATIAN, and THEOPHILUS, between Justin and ATHENAGORAS, among the APOLOGISTS of persecuted Christianity.

The characteristics of the pieces brought to light by Stephanus are in accordance with the tradition of identity of authorship. Alike vindicating the good sense of secession from Hellenism, whether on his own behalf in reply *To Greeks* or on behalf of Christians in response *To Diognetus*, the author speaks after the same fashion in the latter case as in the former; forcibly presenting facts, powerfully mingling indignation with contempt, abounding in telling antitheses, or expanding a single striking image, or rising into a lofty hymn, but ever in the same Attic diction with the same Roman dignity. He shews the same temper that was too sociable (*Ad Graecos* 1) to follow Plato in taking Homer's wild chiefs for patterns of self-mastery, too rational (*ib.* 2) to believe with Hesiod in potentates not righteous fostering righteousness, too lively and too orderly (*ib.* 3) to revere creatures like Hercules who on tragic shewing could not keep their first estate, too earnest (*ib.* 4) to be amused with the follies of his neighbours at the panegyric festivals. He exhibits the same change of mood (*ib.* 5) from the scornful vigour of the satirist to the joyous sweetness of the evangelist in turning to do homage to the discipline that trained men to more than mortal courage and to surrender himself to the strong charm of the Divine Word. He pursues the same method of teaching others (as he had himself been made to learn) by first shewing them their own folly, then pointing to the wisdom from on high; first bidding the Greek look at his manufactured gods (*Ad Diogn.* 2), and convicting the Jews of vain oblations (*ib.* 3) and ungrateful service (*ib.* 4) to the Giver of all to all; then (*ib.* 5) portraying the wondrous life of Christians, at home yet strangers everywhere, like (*ib.* 6) the soul in the body of the world, and so (*ib.* 7) passing from the earthly things to the heavenly to tell how it was God who implanted the Word by the mission of the Maker of all things, sent as an imperial Son, in love, to be sent again as Judge.

In the next fragment the same method is pursued, as the author, resuming (c. 7) in the middle of a sentence with pointing to martyrdoms as perpetual signs, not of the return, but of the presence of the Lord, passes (c. 8) to contrast the pretentious follies of philosophy, especially of the stoical worship of the fire everlasting, with the clear assurance wrought by the Father revealing Himself to faith. In explaining the delay of the revelation the author silently shews the method that he follows to be itself divine, on the model of Him who waited to shew forth what He had prepared from the beginning (c. 8) till iniquity was made manifest, then (c. 9), when the time came, took our sins (Is. liii. 4), gave His own Son for us, would have us trust Him, and so (c. 10) learn to know Him, and to rejoice in Him, and to be like Him.

Thus far, then, from the beginning of the Reply *To Greeks* the author appears and reappears in the same likeness as an accomplished orator and man of the world, nobly bred and responsible to his peers, still keeping all his wits about him on the unworldly quest of a wisdom not offered by the art of the rhetoricians, nor supplied by the ideals of the poets, nor to be hoped from the debates of the philosophers, nor to be found but in the heroes of the King incorruptible, nor to be learnt except from the Divine Word, and when found and when learnt to be offered to all

who will come to it to share. He repeats the same succession of echoes, first of psalmist and prophet in their warnings, not their predictions (*Ad Gr.* 4, Is. i. 14; *ib.* 5, Ps. ii. 10, lviii. 5; *Ad Diogn.* 2, Ps. cxv. 8; *ib.* 7, Mal. iii. 2); then of the simplicity of the Galilean teaching (*Ad Gr.* 5, Jas. iii. 17, Lu. xv. 18; *Ad Diogn.* 4, Matt. xii. 13; *ib.* 6, Matt. v. 44); then of the summons to submit to a new order heralded by Paul (*Ad Gr.* 5, 1 Tim. i. 17, Heb. iv. 12, Gal. iv. 12, v. 21; *Ad Diogn.* 4, Gal. iv. 10; *ib.* 5, Rom. viii. 12, 1 Cor. iv. 10, 2 Cor. vi. 9, x. 3, Phil. iii. 18; *ib.* 6, Eph. v. 29; *ib.* 7, Heb. xi. 10); then of the new commandment that was from the beginning as recorded by John (*Ad Diogn.* 6, John xvii. 16; *ib.* 7, Jn. iii. 17, v. 22). He shews the same liberal culture, as of one who had made the history of the Greek mind the story of his own, and the same plain independence of tone, as of one who had sworn fealty to no human dogmatist, and the same manly adhesion to that which he has now discovered to be the law of his being. And the same ingenuous desire to establish not immunity for his creed but community of belief in it, and the same vigilant and reverent caution in not choosing to give holy things to dogs till they have been brought to hunger for the crumbs of the Master's table. He never even says expressly that he is a Christian himself.

The connexion of the various portions of the treasure-trove of Stephanus, one with another and especially of the last appended fragment with the discourse to Diognetus remains to be considered. We shall distinguish the answers *To Greeks* and *To Diognetus*, no longer as orations and epistles, but as Reply and Responses. The author's peculiar position, as through study of the apostolic writings directly and immediately "a disciple of apostles" becoming in turn "a teacher of Gentiles," whether of Greeks at large or of a single inquirer like Diognetus in particular, is avowed after the second break. But in this concluding fragment, where the author is excusing himself for frank communication of Christian mysteries to Gentiles, a change of style is soon discernible. It is no longer a pleading of Greek with Greek, but the voice of a steward of the ancient revelation among his disciples, promising Paradise to the upright, but warning a new-comer that knowledge must not be parted from life, and that no serpent may touch the fruits. Even as he silences the scruples of the believers he passes on to unfold such depths of doctrine as seemed to Stephanus far too profound for the ears of Diognetus. Hence both Stephanus and nearly all the critics of the ist quarter of a century take this whole section for an accidental accretion. As either of the gaps might represent a chasm in which the commencement of a fresh piece had dropt out, the question whether the appended peroration be proper to the body of the discourse is to be decided on internal evidence only, and therefore, before approaching it, it is needful to have a clear and just conception of the writer to Diognetus himself, and of the scope of his discourse. Now Stephanus is already found guilty of giving rise to four several misconceptions of the preceding discourse. If the writing were Justin's, if it belonged to any of the authors supplied by conjecture, if it were an epistle, if it were up to this point continuous, it would be impossible to suppose the peroration really to belong to it. Stephanus directly ascribed it to Justin, prefixed it to the oration *To Greeks*, distinguished it as an epistle, and omitted to print it as fragmentary. The two pieces, *To Greeks* and *To Diognetus*, being once disjoined from their true order, so obviously belonged to different classes of writing that they have never again been so much as printed side by side, and though they have been denied to Justin on precisely similar grounds, yet nobody seems to have thought of comparing them together till just the other day. Thus the writer to Diognetus has been set down to the first century, and supposed Apollos, or at least regarded as an apostolic father and referred to the reign of Trajan, or again he has been assigned to some school of thought, real or imaginary, that was antagonistic to Justin, in a supposed division of the early church between Judaizers and Hellenizers; but only in his capacity of writer to Diognetus, not as writer to Greeks. On all these hypotheses it has been found difficult or impossible to credit him with the entire Peroration, whereas the sober criticism of Dorner was able to point to the Peroration as the keynote of the whole. However, the early date assigned to the whole by Dorner (who supposed it prior to Justin) is rejected for the body of the discourse by the most recent German verdicts, but is still more difficult to accept in the case of the Peroration, and has never even been suggested for the oration *To Greeks*. Again, it has been argued that the Peroration could not form part of a first lesson in Christianity, but if the Response be the sequel to the Reply *To Greeks*, and that to a preceding refusal of conformity, the lesson was really not the first but the third. Again, the Peroration is manifestly not the conclusion of an epistle, but of a homily before the catechumens departed, and there is no reason whatever against accepting the previous discourse as such. Again, the piece has never been printed as *three* fragments, the second fragment so obviously belonged to the author of the first, and yet the former gap is presumably as important as the latter.

We claim, then, to have presented on ancient authority a view of the writing *To Diognetus*, which is (strange to say) novel in modern times, though really the oldest accessible, and thus we are entitled to demand a reconsideration of the current opinion regarding the connexion of the Peroration with the rest. For we have shewn grounds for believing that we have a complete discourse of the same author for comparison with this discourse, which is incomplete, to assist us in determining what kind of completion might have been expected for it. We no more intend to deny the strong contrast between the peroration and the body of the Response than we intend to ignore the contrast between the Response and the Reply. Yet, in the Response and the Reply, however dissimilar, judicious critics have discovered the same absence of anything unsuited to the age of Justin or incompatible with the general tenor of his teaching, and the same presence of a magnificent eloquence, superior in sustained power to any effort ascribed to Justin, excepting only the splendid triplet of excerpts *On the Resurrection* preserved by Damascen, and superior even to that in mellow richness. It has been on similar grounds that the Peroration has

been denied to Justin also. Now, we have suggested that the Reply and Response, so similar yet so dissimilar, belong not only to the same author, but to the same argument. The resemblance between them is shewn by the recurrence in each, not only of the same style, but of the same two successive contrasted styles, and an author who has two styles may have three. The change of style in each piece is necessitated by the progress of the argument, and the contrast between the two pieces themselves is due to their difference of standpoint and of object. Having denounced worldlings and their rhetoric in renouncing the world, he replies upon the bigots with a review of their poetry, and then offers to introduce a desirous and candid inquirer to a better school than was to be found among the hypocrites with their philosophies. Thus, in the second discourse he is able to begin to take religious ground, but he is not yet able to withdraw his own person into the background, and so with a dignified reserve, quite unlike Justin's naive frankness, he gives a review of his own past error and tests false religion by its incompatibility with common human morality. But in the third discourse he prays that speech may be given him, and then that the Speaker may not be grieved (Eph. iv. 30), and throughout he strives to awaken the sense that it is possible to sin not only against self or against a neighbour, but against God, and that redemption is needed not only for the soul but for the world.

Thus, the Reply *To Greeks* alone might have left us in doubt whether the author were a Christian or a Gnostic; but in the Response *To Diognetus* he shews himself manifestly catholic, he reveals his delight in the beneficence displayed in creation, his admiration for the unworldliness of a simple, unpretentious, Christlike life, his reverence for the Son as author, not only of salvation, but of all harmony. There is nothing Marcionitish in the Reply, but in the Response every word uttered against Judaism tells against Marcion with equal force. In the Reply at the last he speaks of the Maker of the soul; but it is in the Response that he begins to speak with reverence of the God of the Jews, the Maker of the world. In the Reply he speaks of a Divine Word; but in the Response he shews that with him the Divine Word is the gospel of Christ, and though at first he merely opposes Christianity and Judaism, he says that God alone can reveal Himself, and yet that the Jews thought rightly of Him, and so he shews quite plainly that he regarded the old revelation as divine, and we might expect to find him saying so at last. Thus, again, though in the Reply he tells his own story, and in the Response he almost withdraws himself from view, he manifests more of himself in the Response than in the Reply. For in the Reply he is engaged on the common task of refuting Hellenism, in the Response he girds himself to his proper task of proving Christianity to be ordained the only possible substitute. But all the doctrines which are first brought to light in the Response belong to him as he sketches himself in the Reply. In shewing the possibility of sin against God, he appears the same man who could find nothing higher to adore than such virtues as may be human, who was, like the Hebrew prophets, unlike the Platonist Justin, led to abhor idolatry by the very anthropomorphism of his theology. In discovering his catholicity he shews himself to be the same man who unlike Marcion was quite averse to asceticism, and yet was not repelled, but attracted by discipline. He shews himself in the latter piece, as in the former, to be opposed to that philosophizing tendency in the church of which Justin and Marcion were themselves opposite representatives.

Now as the earlier piece changed in style when its work was accomplished, and a fresh standpoint was reached, so we might expect it to be with the latter. Moreover, we perceive that Diognetus was not now receiving his first lesson in Christianity, but his third. He had been carried along with the speaker in his renunciation of the ways of the Greek world and in his reply to Greeks. It was important that he should hold back no longer.

"If any chose to come to me," says Justin, speaking of his abode at the Christian meeting-house (*Acta* 3), "I imparted to him the words of truth." The great danger of the Christians in the reign of Marcus was that they could not celebrate the Eucharist in the presence of unbelievers. If a great man found his way into a Christian meeting, it must have been hard to induce him to withdraw with the catechumens. Now the Peroration is manifestly the conclusion of a homily before the withdrawal of the catechumens, and if Diognetus himself had shewn his desire for instruction by coming as men came to Justin, the whole discourse may have been delivered before just such an audience as is addressed in the Peroration at the close. Thus the author's refusal of conformity, Reply to Greeks and Response to Diognetus would be three successive utterances each growing out of the other, and each a brave act, as well as a solid work, though each successive act was less memorable, and each successive work more valuable.

The first question of Diognetus starts from the point to which he had been led in the previous discourse. He asks, "On what God relying and how worshipping, Christians all look above the universe itself and despise death, and neither reckon those gods who are so accounted by the Greeks, nor observe any superstition of Jews." He is answered that the reasons for non-compliance with Hellenism or Judaism are obvious, but the Christians' God is the one God of the Jews, and their religion consists of purity and charity, and was founded by the mission of the Son, whom God will send again. The answer probably continued after this fashion. An end of all things is the doctrine of your Greek sages, but the Jews looked for a perpetual earthly kingdom, and when Christ proclaimed a kingdom not of this world they killed Him. Yet (he resumes) you see He is not dead, and Christian worship is not to deny Him.

Thus far, then, Christianity has been vindicated as a sect, and as such has been vindicated completely. Diognetus had been before convinced that it was a thing religious and heroic, not quite unnatural, and perhaps not quite unphilosophical, but he had been offended by the seeming impertinence of Christian nonconformity, and he is now made to see that this is a proof not of contumacy, but of loyalty. Far from being clandestine enemies to

society, they live openly and mingle freely with others, and only escape notice because they are peaceable good citizens, while the doings for which they are condemned are confessedly unknown, for their worship remains unseen. This passive submission to persecution does not make them less active as patriotic citizens. Even their close union and their recent origin are shewn to be no grounds for suspecting them, for they love all men, and their Founder was not man but God. Christian miracle is shewn to be conformable to the law of nature.

The second question of Diognetus is still unanswered. It yet remains to say, "What the kindly affection is that they have one for another." So the author passes to vindicate Christianity as a doctrine, as that question touched the inmost springs of Christian life. Christian love is indeed supernatural, as it comes from belonging to the family of God the Father. Now, having shewn Christianity to be superior to natural religion, and to Judaism, it remains to notice philosophy as a last refuge of lies, and to shew that it is the philosophers who are the charlatans and their disciples who are the dupes, while Christian love is just the natural expression of the knowledge that comes of Christian faith.

Thus having named the Lord of Christians, he goes on to speak of faith, revelation, the Saviour, a ransom, the Servant of God, the Only Begotten, &c., all which Christian notions were absent from the former part of the discourse. In the tenth chapter a fresh section seems to commence with the fruits of faith, first of all in the Father; but before he has gone any further into the Christian creed the piece is broken off. But the author has shewn that as his sect is not Marcionitish but Catholic, so his doctrine is not Sabellian but orthodox. For if in the Reply to Greeks he spoke of God and the Divine Word and the piercing power of the Word, as each personal, without setting them forth as a triad, and if in the first fragment of the response he described God as doing all the works in the Son, and thus shewed his deep sense of the unity of the Godhead, he here again sets forth the everlasting communion of the Divine Persons, as God shared His counsel with His Servant (παῖς) from the beginning.

The third question asked by Diognetus was "What, in short, this new race or practice might be that has invaded society now and no earlier?" This question was the sum of the other two, and in answering the other two completely it would be answered with them. But the answer would not be complete and catholic and orthodox, till it had been carried further than merely saying that "it was God who implanted the Word," or that He did so "when the time came." "The Word that appeared new" must have been "found old," and this is the answer given in the third fragment. Again we are led into quite a new region, but the course is still straightforward, and the guide is still the same. The style is not really different, except as far as a difference is necessitated by the difference of subject. There is the same anarthrous use of nouns; there is the same accumulation of clause on clause, not pursued too far; there are the same unexpected turns at the close of the sentences. There is the same union of dignity with sweetness; there is the same blending of Pauline and Johannine teaching; there is the same persistent subordination of doctrine to life. To the last the writer never uses the word Spirit. If "the fear of the law is chanted," and "the grace of prophets is known," so it was before. We say without any hesitation that no other termination was probable from that author to that discourse than that which we find actually appended to it, and again that the peroration itself must have belonged to some such discourse as that to which it is found appended.

The frank unfolding of doctrine is justified by the example of the Word who was believed among Gentiles. "This is He that is from the beginning, who appeared new and is found old, and is always young in hearts of saints being engendered. This is He that is ever reckoned a Son to-day." At His bidding in presence of His Grace, which rejoices and may be grieved, the man is stirred to speak with pain, out of love. But those who love rightly become a paradise yielding all manner of fruits. Knowledge and life grow side by side, for the knowledge that (as the apostle says puffs up), is knowledge pursued apart from the bidding of truth unto life. "Let thy heart be knowledge, and life, the true Word entertained. Whose tree if thou bearest and fruit if thou choosest, thou shalt eat those things that with God are desired, which the serpent toucheth not, neither doth error approach, nor is Eve corrupted, but a virgin is trusted, and a salvation is shewn, and apostles are made intelligible, and the Lord's passover cometh forth, and wax is brought together and is fitted up in order, and teaching saints the Word is gladdened, through Whom the Father is glorified, to Whom be glory world without end." We have adopted Beurer's interpretation of the phrase Κηροὶ συνάγονται καὶ μετὰ κόσμου ἁρμόζεται. Compare Virg. Georg. iv. 57, "Excudunt ceras." Stephanus renders "wax tapers"—the usual sense of the word. Sylburg conjectures καιροί; Maranus, χοροί; Lachmann, πτηροί; Bunsen, κληροί.

It is worth while comparing with this whole Peroration a homily ascribed in the MSS. to Cyril of Jerusalem on the feast of the Hypapante, or Presentation in the Temple, where Christians are told to bring their tapers to the true light (Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxiii. col. 1187). This discourse has been denied to Cyril, because its style is contrasted with the style of his catechetical homilies much in the same way in which the style of this Peroration is contrasted with the style of the preceding discourse, and also because the observance of the Hypapante and the ritual use of wax lights have both been supposed later than Cyril's time. The occasion, however, of Cyril's discourse was the Hypapante on the day before the Epiphany, the old manner of observing the feast, which we find noted in the Feilire of Aengus and in the Hieronymian Martyrology. Thus the meeting of Christ by Simeon the day before His manifestation to the Magi, and the meeting of the Lamb of God by Nathanael the day before the manifestation of His glory at Cana, were made typical of the meeting of the Lord in the air by the church before His manifestation to the world. This manner of observing the feast may very well be as ancient as the 2nd century, and be the occasion of the present discourse. At that time wax lights were neces-

sarly used in the underground services, and as a matter of course were filled with mystical meanings.

The epochs to which we should assign the whole group of writings may be determined with great probability, not with absolute certainty, except that, if genuine, they cannot be Post-Nicene. The picture of the church presented to Diognetus, and the account given of the life of Ambrosius, pretty plainly belong to a date earlier than the accession of Commodus. The chief school of Christian thought would seem still to be at Athens, though on the eve of its transference to Alexandria by Athenagoras.

In the reign of Marcus it was death either to confess Christianity, or to accuse another of being a Christian. Hence Ambrose is arraigned, not for Christianity, but for abstinence from Grecian rites. Yet he defends himself, not for atheism, but for fanaticism. The charge of atheism had been exploded by Justin: it revived in A.D. 177 as a fresh charge of atheistic priest-worship, to be refuted by Athenagoras.

It is among the writings of Tatian, Melito, and Theophilus and the fragments of Apollinaris, Abercius, &c., that these pieces seem most at home. The writer seems to appear in his freshness beside Justin in his ripeness, and to be the meeting-point of the teachings of Justin and Marcion, as he is at the point of departure of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen on the one hand, and Praxeas, Noetus, and Sabellius on the other.

It is worth noticing that the Ambrose of the 3rd century was accused of Marcionism and Sabellianism, and that the writer to Diognetus has been taken for Marcion himself, while the peroration furnished a model for a Sabellian formula found in an inscription at Rome, "Qui filius diceris et pater inveniris" (De Rossi, *Bullettins*, 1866, pp. 86, 95). The words, "This is he that is ever reckoned a Son to-day," seem to furnish the germ both of Hippolytus' doctrine of the fresh birth of the Virgin's Son in every believer, and of Origen's doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son of God. In the second fragment we find two phrases unwarranted by scripture, which seem to be derived from reminiscences of heathen poetry. The "wrathless" God gave His Son, "the deathless for the dying." The doctrine of Irenaeus that "violence appertaineth not to God" is anticipated in this piece.

Lost in the crowd of predecessors whom Irenaeus and Clement hardly ever name and merged in Justin's shadow, convinced that God alone can reveal Himself and, content to be hidden in his Saviour's righteousness, the old writer has gradually emerged by virtue of an inborn lustre, obscurest at once and most brilliant of his contemporaries, and has cast a glory on the early church while remaining himself unknown. It is time that he should take his own place, and receive his proper name, for some have begun to take him for a forger, though when or why or how a man should have forged such master-pieces in Justin's name no one has ever been able to say.

Authorities.—Stephanus (*Justini Philosophi et Martyris Epist. ad Diognetum et Oratio ad Graecos*, 1592), Sylburg (*Justini Opera*, Heidelberg, 1593), Maranus (*Justini Opera*, Paris, 1742), Gallandi (ap. Migne, Patr. Gr. ii. 1159 ff.), Bickersteth (*Christian Fathers*, 1838), Dorner (*Person of Christ*, i. 260 ff.), Hefele (*Patres Apostolici*, Tübingen, 1842), Otto (*de Justini Scriptis*, Jena, 1841), Semisch (*Justin Martyr*, i. 84 ff., 193 ff., Clark), Neander (*Church History*, ii. 420, 425, Bohn), Westcott (*Canon* [ed. 1875], p. 85 ff.), Luthardt (*St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 67), Otto (*Justini Opera*, ii. Jena [1842], 1849), Hollenberg (*Der Brief an Diognet*, Berlin, 1853), Bunsen (*Hippolytus*, i. 187 ff., *Analecta Antenicaena*, i. 103 ff.), Credner (*Kanon*, p. 58 ff.), Kayser (*Revue de Théologie*, p. 265 ff., 1856), Donaldson (*History of Christian Literature*, ii. 126 ff.), Davidson (*Introduction to the New Testament*, ii. 399), Overbeck (*Ueber den pseudojustinischen Brief an Diognet*, Basel, 1872), Gebhardt and Harnack (*Patres Apostolici*, i. 205 ff., Leipzig, 1875, 2nd edit. 1878), *Supernatural Religion* (ii. 37 ff., 354 ff. ed. vi.). *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1877, and references supplied to us by the writer of the article, Cureton (*Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1854), Ceillier (*Auteurs sacrés*, i. 412, ed. 1865). [E. B. B.]

EPISTLES, APOCRYPHAL. I.—1. *The Epistles of Abgarus or Agbarus, King of Edessa, to Christ* and *The Answer of our Lord* are given by Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 13), who professes to derive them from the archives of Edessa, and to have carefully translated them out of the Syriac. Abgarus expresses his faith that Christ must be "either God or the Son of God," requests the cure of a disease, and since the Jews reject Him, offers Him a share in the kingdom of Edessa. The Lord replies by blessing Abgarus, since it is written of Him that they who see Him should reject Him, that they who see Him not, believing, may obtain life. He must accomplish that for which He is sent, but after his departure one of His disciples shall come to cure Abgarus, and endow him with the gift of life. And to this is added, according to Eusebius, a narrative in Syriac of the despatch of Thaddeus, the apostle, one of the seventy by "Judas, who is also called Thomas," to cure Abgarus and many of his subjects, and convert them to the faith. The story and the letter of Abgarus are found in a different form in the *Acta Thaddei*, first published by Tischendorf (*Acta App. Apoc.* p. 261). Thaddeus there (as in St. Jerome's version of the story, vii. 57, ed. Vallars.) appears as one of the twelve, and is said to have been an Edessene by birth. The name Ananias is given to Abgarus's messenger; the letter contains the offer of the kingdom, and far more severe expressions against the Jews, but not the alternative suppositions concerning the nature of the Lord's person. Ananias also receives from Abgarus the commission to bring back an exact description of the appearance of Jesus, who, miraculously discerning the man's desire, gives him a napkin on which He has impressed His portrait by wiping His face in it after washing. At the same time He delivers a verbal message to Abgarus, promising the visit of Thaddeus by name. Abgarus, adoring the sacred picture, is cured before the arrival of Thaddeus, who baptizes him and his people. Tischendorf (Proleg. p. lxxi.) supposes these acts to have possibly been drawn from some very ancient original. Ephrem Syrus (*in Testam.*, quoted by

Reading in his note on Eusebius, *l. c.*) gives the legend without the addition concerning the picture, quoting Abgarus's letter, but representing the answer of Christ to have been an invocation of blessing upon the city of Edessa. The whole story is probably a local legend invented for the glory of Edessa; see Heinichen's note on Eusebius, *l. c.* The epistle of Christ to Abgarus is said by Fabricius (*Cod. Ap.* iii. 511), on the authority of Hickes, to be extant in an Anglo-Saxon MS. in the Bodleian. 2. *Other supposed writings of Christ.* Augustine (*De Consens. Evang.* cc. ix. and x.) mentions some who believed in writings of Christ revealing the secret by means of which His miracles were worked, and in letters of His to Peter and Paul. Augustine derides their ignorance in supposing that because Peter and Paul were placed with the Lord in sacred pictures they were therefore the most likely persons to have received letters from Him. The same Father (*contra Faustum*, xxviii. 4) mentions a pretended letter of Christ alleged by the Manicheans. St. Leo (*Serm.* iv. *de Epiph.*) accuses the Manicheans as confingentes sub apostolorum nominibus et sub verbis Salvatoris ipsius multa volumina falsitatis. Timotheus, presbyter of Constantinople, in his epistle published by Meursius (*Var. Div.* p. 117), gives a long catalogue of Manichean apocrypha, third among which is ἡ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὁμάς, *farrago epistolarum.* Licinianus, bishop of Carthage, reproves Vincentius, a bishop, for believing in an epistle of Christ sent down from heaven, and from the account which he gives of its contents, it appears to be the same which Adelbert, a Gallic bishop of the 8th century, declared to have fallen from heaven into the city of Jerusalem. It is chiefly directed to urging the observance of the Lord's Day. (Fabricius, *Codex Apoc.* i. 314.) II. *Epistles of the Blessed Virgin.* 1. To Ignatius. This letter fills but nine short lines in Fabricius (*Cod. Ap.* i. 843). It is an exhortation to faith and courage. The letter of Ignatius to the Blessed Virgin, is said by Ussher (*Diss. ad Epp. S. Ign.* c. 19) to be quoted by St. Bernard. But this is owing to a mistake in the earlier editions of that saint, who is really referring to the well-known letter to Mary of Castabala. (Zahn, *Ig. von Ant.* p. 81.) The letter of the Blessed Virgin was first printed at Paris, 1495, filling—with that of Ignatius to her, and one to the Apostle John—a blank page at the end of a Life of Thomas à Becket. They do not appear ever to have existed in Greek, and their genuineness is surrendered by Baronius, Bellarmine, and Suarez (Fab. *l. c.*). 2. Epistola S. Mariae ad Messanenses, ten lines in Fabricius, conveys an exhortation to faith and a blessing. The priest who seems to have forged it (see Mabillon in Fabricius) pretended that it existed in Hebrew, but it is unknown in any language but Latin. 3. Epistola S. Mariae ad Florentinos was expounded by Savonarola in a sermon, Oct. 25, 1495; but no ancient testimony to it exists. It is but of four lines, exhorting to prayer and patience. (Fab. i. 852.) III. *Epistles of St. Paul.* 1. *The Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans.* This forgery is founded upon Coloss. iv. 16. It is only extant in Latin, and has been generally supposed to have been originally written in that language. The Greek version given by Fabricius (*Cod. Ap.* i. 873) is that of Elias Huttar, published in his polyglot *New Test.* 1599. But Professor Lightfoot, in his exhaustive treatise upon this epistle (appended to his edition of Coloss. p. 347 sqq.) gives reason to think that it was originally composed in Greek, and he appends a new Greek version of his own, in which the Pauline phrases which constitute the staple of the work are given as they stand in the Greek Testament. Rejected by St. Jerome (who says ab omnibus exploditur) and by Theodoret, it obtained a species of recognition (or what seemed such) from Gregory the Great (*Mor. in Job*, lib. xxxv.), and under the sanction of his name was widely used. Professor Lightfoot gives a list of nineteen MSS. of the Vulgate which contain it, and two pre-Reformation English versions. It consists of twenty brief verses, most of which are extracted from St. Paul, but the connecting matter is so vapid that the result is inexpressibly poor. It has no doctrinal object whatever, and must have been a mere exercise of perverted ingenuity, or composed under the idea that it was well by a pious fraud to obviate the supposition that an inspired epistle had been lost. 2. A third (or rather first) Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. On the question whether 1 Cor. v. 9 refers really to an earlier epistle now lost, see Meyer and Stanley *in loc.* Ussher, in a note upon Ignat. ad Trall. (see Cotel. *Pat. Apost.* ed. Cler. ii. 67), mentions a spurious Epistle of the Corinthians to St. Paul, with the reply of the apostle, as existing in an Armenian MS. in the library of Gilbert North. The text was published by Wilkins (Amst. 1715; see Fab. *Cod. Ap.* i. 918; iii. 670). The Corinthians announce that Simon and Clobius had come to Corinth preaching that it is not right to read the Prophets, that God is not omnipotent, that there is no resurrection, that man is not the creature of God, that Jesus was not born of Mary in the body, that the world is not the creation of God, but of some angel; to these errors the apostle himself should reply. St. Paul replies that he had taught what he himself received from the apostles who walked with the Lord, that Jesus was born of Mary, was sent to her from the Father in order that He might be made one with the world, and might free every body by His body, and might raise us from death, who shewed His person as an example that man was created by the Father, and was not left in his perdition but sought, that by the hand of adoption he might remain living. It has been conjectured that this epistle, of very doubtful orthodoxy, was composed by some Armenian Christian after the condemnation of Nestorianism and Eutychianism, and when the latter heresy was spreading in Armenia; the Eutychian doctrine being aimed at under the names of Simon and Clobius. Ussher, however, considers it to have been written in reference to Gnosticism, while La Croze (quoted by Fabricius) ascribes it to some monk of the 10th or 11th century, who intended it against the errors of the Bogomili. The names Simon and Clobius were probably taken from the *Apost. Constit.* [Cleobius.] 3. The correspondence of St. Paul and Seneca. The whole question of the relations of this philosopher to Christianity and to St. Paul is discussed by Professor Lightfoot (on *Philipp.* 268 sq.). The extant correspondence, including eight letters of Seneca and six of the apostle, may be read in

Haase's edition of Seneca (Teübner). They are given in a less correct text in the earlier editions of that author, and in Fabricius (*Cod. Ap.* i. 892 sq.). They are first mentioned by St. Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* cap. xii. ed. Vallars. ii. 851). But he speaks of them as so widely received that he considers their existence a sufficient reason for placing Seneca in his catalogue of sacred writers. St. Augustine also apparently accepts them. (Seneca, cujus quaedam ad Paulum Ap. leguntur epistolae, *Ep.* cliii. *ad Macedonium*. See, too, *De Civit. Dei*, vi. 10, where the allusion seems very doubtful.) The correspondence was very widely read in the middle ages. Among the moderns Faber Stapulensis ventured to append these pretended letters of St. Paul to the genuine epistles and to defend their authenticity. But they have been generally given up both by the Romanists and the Reformed. Baronius (ad an. 66, num. 13) supposes himself to have discovered the origin of the fiction in the spurious *Acta* passionis Pauli ascribed to Linus, in which mention is made of the friendship of the apostle and philosopher. But these *Acta* Pauli were little known (see Fabricius, i. 888); and the early belief that Seneca was at least half a Christian, suggests that the object of the forgery may have been the mere satisfaction of the curiosity of Christian readers as to an intercourse which would have so naturally taken place during the apostle's visit to Rome. If any more deliberate motive be looked for, it may be found in Professor Lightfoot's suggestion that the letters were written "either to recommend Seneca to Christian readers, or to recommend Christianity to students of Seneca." Certainly the reader will search them in vain for any of that interchange of spiritual ideas which a qualified forger of such an imaginary correspondence might have devised. They are little more than an interchange of empty compliments. The date of the forgery is placed by Professor Lightfoot in the 4th century. See the subject amply discussed in his appendix to the essay above mentioned. (*Com. on Phil.* p. 327.)

IV. *Epistles of other Apostles.* 1. *An Epistle of Peter to James* is mentioned by Photius (*Cod.* 113) as prefixed with the epistle from Clement (printed by Cotel. *Pat. Ap.* i. 611) to the Recognitions of the latter author. The import of Peter's letter according to Photius is, that he sends his Acts in consequence of a request to that effect from James. This letter, therefore, appears to be different from the letter of Peter to James, first printed by Turrianus (*Pro Ep. Pont.* lib. 4 and 5), and given by Cotelerius (i. 608). For the latter is an admonition from Peter to keep his preaching strictly secret. Both these letters belong to the Clementine literature, and their genuineness falls with it. 2. An epistle of St. John to a dropsical man, healing his disease. It is given by Pseudo-Prochorus in a forged narrative of the acts of St. John (Fab. i. 927).

[R. T. S.]

EPITACIUS (Epitatius, Epictetus, Epictitus, Epitectus, Epictritus), said to have been bishop of Tude (Tuy) in Galicia, and afterwards of Ambratia in Lusitania, where he suffered martyrdom, A.D. 57. Ambratia is the modern Plasentia in Estremadura, still preserving, says Bivar, a memory of its earlier name in a small tower named Torre de Ambroz. He was commemorated on May 23. (Dexter, *Chron.* ann. 37, Bivar's note 8, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xxxi. 128 A; *id.* ann. 268, note 4, p. 388; *Mart. Rom.* May 23; Boll. *Acta SS.* 23 Mai. v. 248; Sandoval, *Antiguedad de la Ciudad y Iglesia de Tuy*, 1610, fol. 11.) [T. W. D.]

EPITHYMIA in a Gnostic system described by Irenaeus (i. 29, p. 108), one of the evil offspring of the Maker of the world. [G. S.]

EPITIMITUS (Epathimitus), bishop of Naples in the 1st century according to the received lists; he stands third, following Patrobas, in one reckoning, and second, Patrobas being omitted, in another. He is commended for his munificent charities; his body was translated to the church of St. Stephen. (Ughel. *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 26.) [C. H.]

EPITYNCHANIUS, bishop of Germa in the province of the Hellespont, present at the synod held at Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 768; Mansi, viii. 974.) [L. D.]

EPLECIUS, EPLETUS. [Explecius.]

EPODIUS, bishop of Opitergium in Italy, A.D. 421, according to Ughelli (*Ital. Sacr.* x. 152) on the authority of an ancient inscription which he gives (v. 1178). [T. W. D.]

EPOLONUS, one of three children baptized by Babylas [Babylas (1)], and martyred with him at Antioch during the Decian persecution. Commemorated Jan. 24. (*Mart.* Bedae, Us.; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* i. 28.) [T. S. B.]

EPPA (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 717 D), presbyter. [Eappa.] [C. H.]

EPPA, bishop of Ilici (Elche), subscribes the acts of the sixteenth council of Toledo, under Egica, A.D. 693. (*España Sagrada*, vii. 241; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 333.) [Serpentinus.]

[M. A. W.]

EPPOALDUS. [Egoaldus.]

EQUITIUS (1), tribune of the first schola of scutarii at the time of the death of the emperor Jovian, 364. His name was proposed as successor to the empire, but without success, his want of polish ("asper et subagrestis") being felt to disqualify him (Amm. xxvi. 1, § 4). In the following year he was made commander of the army in Illyria, and afterwards magister for his services during the rebellion of Procopius (Amm. xxvi. 5, §§ 3, 11). He still held this office in 371 (Amm. xxix. 6, § 3). The Quadi suspected him of being the instigator of the murder of their king Gabinius (Amm. xxix. 6, § 12), and St. Jerome (*Chron.* sub ann. 376) accuses him of being the real author of the troubles in Illyria, which Ammianus attributes to Probus. On the death of Valentinian I. Equitius was instrumental in raising the young Valentinian to the purple (Zozim. iv. 19).

[M. F. A.]

EQUITIUS (2), a deacon of Apamea, about 389. Theodoret tells us that when Marcellus the bishop of that city was trying to destroy the temple of Zeus, the fire refused to burn until Equitius sprinkled holy water upon it,

after which the building was quickly reduced to ashes (Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 21, § 13).
[M. F. A.]

EQUITIUS (3), bishop of Hippo Diarrhytus, notorious for his turbulence and misconduct, but in what respect the latter consisted is not known. The Council of Carthage, A.D. 401, in consequence of his repeated misbehaviour, appointed a commission of twenty bishops to take steps for deposing him and appointing a bishop in his stead. But their purpose was not carried out immediately, for we find that in 404 Theasius and Evodius, the deputies appointed by the council to convey to Honorius its request concerning the Donatists, are desired also to request the emperor that Equitius might be expelled from his diocese. This was in accordance with the law of Gratian, A.D. 378. (*Cod. Eccl. Afr.* 78, 93; Bruns, *Canon.* i. 175, 185; *Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. tit. ii. 35; Tillemont, art. 134, vol. xiii. p. 356; Mansi, *Concil.* iv. 490, 500; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 180.) [H. W. P.]

EQUITIUS (4), one of three bishops addressed by pope Simplicius, Nov. 19, 475, on the subject of Gaudentius bishop of Aufinium (Simpl. Pap. Ep. 3 in Pat. L. lvii. 37, and Mansi, *Concil.* vii. 973; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 49; Ceillier, *Aut. Sac.* x. 402). [C. H.]

EQUITIUS (5), bishop of Matelica, a town at the source of the Esino in the March of Ancona; present at the third council of Rome, A.D. 487, under Felix III. (Mansi, vii. 1171 c).
[T. W. D.]

EQUITIUS (6), a Roman noble, father of the abbat St. Maur, whom at the age of twelve he placed under St. Benedict, A.D. 522 (Greg. Mag. *Dial.* ii. 4 in Migne, lxvi. 140). Faustus, the contemporary biographer of Maurus (*Vit. S. Maur.* cap. i. § 8), has Eutychius instead of Equitius, and the Bollandist editor notes Euitius, Aequitius, Euthitius, as other variants of the name (*Acta SS.* 15 Jan. i. 1040).
[T. W. D.]

EQUITIUS (7), abbat of a monastery in the province of Valeria, of whom an account, mixed with legend, is given by pope Gregory I. (*Dial.* i. 4) and quoted by Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 504, xi. sq.) and the Bollandists, the latter assigning his commemoration to March 7 (*Acta SS.* Mart. i. 649), while the Roman martyrology commemorates him on Aug. 11. The "province of Valeria" is explained to be that district about the Lacus Fucinus in the land of the Marsi (Abruzzo Ulteriore) traversed by the Via Valeria, which reaches it from Rome through Tibur. The small town of Pescina near the east shore of the lake is thought to represent the general locality of Equitius (Ferrarius, *Lex. Geogr.* voc. "Valeria"). Basilius the Magus, expelled from Rome in the reign of Theodoric the Great, sought an asylum under Equitius, having disguised himself as a monk, but the abbat soon detected and repelled him. Baronius places this story under the year 504. Equitius lived as an humble rustic, working with his monks on their farm, often preaching as an itinerant in the neighbourhood, poorly mounted, meanly clad, but with the Holy Scriptures in his saddle-bag. Jealous of these proceedings, the Roman clergy complained of him to the pope (Symmachus in the chronology of Baronius, but unnamed by Gregory), who invited him to an interview, and ultimately stood his friend. (Cf. Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 260, 261, ed. Brewer.)
[C. H.]

ERACLEAS. [HERACLEAS.]

ERACLIANUS, sixth bishop of Sens, between Audactus and Lunarius, in the 4th century (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 4; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 628). [R. T. S.]

ERACLIUS. [HERACLIUS.]

ERACLIUS (1) (HERACLIUS, in the older editions ERADIUS), deacon of the church of Hippo, A.D. 425. He had inherited a considerable property, part of which he spent in raising a "memoria" of the martyr [Stephen]; the rest he offered as a gift to the church. St. Augustine, fearing that the acceptance of such a gift from so young a man might be the subject of future reproval or regret, would not receive it in the form of money to be spent; but caused Eraclius first to invest the money permanently in the purchase of land, which might be given back to him, should any unforeseen reason for restitution arise. On becoming one of Augustine's clergy, Eraclius made his poverty complete by setting free a few slaves whom he had retained. (Aug. *Serm.* 356, vol. v. 1387.) In the year 426 Augustine was summoned to Milevis, to obviate some threatened dissensions. Severus, the late bishop, had designated his successor in his lifetime, but had only made his choice known to his clergy, without publishing it to his people. This caused some discontent, and the interference of Augustine was judged necessary to secure the unanimous acceptance of the bishop so chosen. Augustine, being then in his seventy-second year, was thus reminded of the expedience of taking steps to secure his own church from similar trouble in the event of his death, and he made choice of Eraclius, then apparently the junior presbyter of the church, to be his coadjutor, and designate successor. (See DICT. CHRIST. ANT. i. 228.) Only, though he had himself been ordained bishop in the lifetime of his predecessor, Valerius, he now held that this had been an unconscious violation of the Nicene canon against there being two bishops in the same church, and therefore resolved that Eraclius, while discharging all the secular duties of the see, should remain in the office of presbyter until his own death. To remove all possibility of future dispute, he assembled his people (Sept. 26, 426), to obtain their consent to the arrangement, having the notaries of the church in attendance to draw up regular "gesta" of the proceedings, which the persons present were asked to subscribe (*Ep.* 213, vol. ii. p. 788). These gesta contain an interesting specimen of the recording of popular acclamations. According to present English parliamentary usage interruptions to a speaker are usually inarticulate, or at most amount to an "Oh, oh," or "hear, hear." In the Roman Senate usage permitted the interruption of a speaker by calling out a short sentence, which was duly recorded by the reporters of the proceedings. When the cry found favour, it was often taken up by the assembly and repeated by them (probably in a kind of chant), and the acts then carefully record the number of times it was repeated. Thus

Trebellius Pollio, *Claud.*) "Auguste Claudi di te nobis praestent; *dictum sexagies;* principem te aut qualis tu es semper optavimus; *dictum quadragies;* te respublica requirebat, *dictum quadragies,*" &c. Similar instances are common in the Augustan historians. On the whole subject of such acclamations, see Ferrarius, *de Vet. Acclam.* in Graevii *Thes. Ant. Rom.* Christian assemblies of course followed the usage of their time; and the reader of the acts of councils will be familiar with the record of acclamations sometimes as interrupting the proceedings, and ordinarily as testifying the assembly's approval of the final result. In the present instance the gesta record the different acclamations by which the discourse of Augustine was interrupted, and the final acclamations made at his special request, "Fiat, fiat, *dictum vicies quinquies,* Dignum est justum est *dictum vicies octies.* . . . Exaudi Christe, Eraclium conserva *dictum octies decies.*"

The fall of Hippo into the hands of the Vandals prevented the arrangements of Augustine from taking effect, and he does not appear to have had any successor in his see. Eraclius, in 427, held a private discussion with Maximinus, the Arian bishop, which led to the subsequent public disputation between Maximinus and Augustine. (*Coll. cum Max.* viii. 650.) Two sermons by Eraclius are preserved, the first of which, preached in Augustine's presence, is almost all taken up with compliments and apologies (v. 1523 and 72, Append. p. 131). [G. S.]

ERACLIUS (2). Isidore (*Origg.* viii. 634) enumerates a heretic of this name and a sect of Eraclitae; but on comparison with Augustine (*Haer.* 47) it becomes apparent that HIERAX and his followers are intended. [G. S.]

ERADIUS (1), martyr at Tudertum in the Diocletian persecution, together with Cassian the bishop. (Baron. *Annal.* 303. 21.) [T. S. B.]

ERADIUS (2), bishop of Orange, mentioned in the letter of the bishops of the province of Vienne, A.D. 356, as a supporter of Saturninus, the Arian bishop of Arles. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 765; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 591.) [R. T. S.]

ERADIUS, deacon. [ERACLIUS (1).]

ERAMBERTUS, bishop of Senlis. [EREMBERTUS (2).]

ERAMBOLDUS (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 350), bishop of Bayeux. [FRAMBOLDUS.] [C. H.]

ERARD (EBERHARD, ERHARD), bishop at Ardagh and Ratisbon. Commemorated Jan. 8. The life and acts of this saint are involved in great obscurity, and there is much uncertainty as to the time when he lived and the places where he exercised his ministry. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Jan. tom. i. 533–546) give three Lives: two of these are also given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 22–38), who says six lives of this saint have come into his hands, but the other four contain nothing which makes them worthy of publication; he adds extracts, however, from two Breviaries of Augsburg, the Breviary of Herbipolis (Würzburg), and the Breviary of Ratisbon, and gives an Appendix of four chapters upon the commemoration, see, time, and country of St. Erard. Yet even these form but a small portion of the accounts compiled of this very celebrated missionary preacher. St. Erard is generally allowed to have been a native of Ireland, and to have had two companions, whom some call his brothers, Albert and Hildulph. Before leaving Ireland, he was bishop at Ardagh, in the county of Longford. With nineteen companions he set out for Germany, and first joined himself to St. Hildulph in his place of retirement in the Vosges Mountains in the east of France; whether this was St. Hildulph of Treves, or another of the same name and brother of St. Erard, is matter of dispute, and for decision will depend upon the time when it is supposed that St. Erard lived, as Hildulph, bishop of Treves, is stated to have retired about A.D. 676 to the Vosges, and there founded a monastery. From the Vosges St. Erard went to Bavaria to proclaim the Gospel, and is said to have become a great favourite with Pepin, king of the Franks (A.D. 741–68). But here there is evidently, on the one side or the other, a slip in the chronology, which Lanigan attempts to rectify by supposing that the Pepin now spoken of was not the father of Charlemagne, but the father of Charles Martel, Pepin d'Heristal, Mayor of the Palace.

While in Bavaria, he had his chief place of abode at Ratisbon or Regensburg, where the Regen falls into the Danube, but it is not agreed as to what position he occupied there. Tradition asserts that he built a church, which he dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and seven different monasteries; but Mabillon (*Ann. O. S. B.* tom. i. lib. xvi. sec. xv. 507), while affirming this, does not believe that he was bishop of Ratisbon, or acting otherwise than as a zealous missionary. There he spent the remainder of his life, and we hear of only one journey he undertook beyond the Bavarian frontier, namely, to baptize the infant daughter of Etto or Ethicus, duke of the Alemanni, who was living in Alsace, near the Rhine. This infant was afterwards known as the famous St. Odilia, of whom Mabillon (*Ann. O. S. B.* tom. i. lib. xv. sec. lxi. 489–90) gives an account. From the Rhine St. Erard returned to the banks of the Danube, built in Ratisbon the Lower Monastery, which he dedicated also to the Blessed Virgin, and, after a lingering illness in the scene of his labours, died there on Jan. 8. The year is unknown. Colgan thinks he flourished A.D. 750, and in this Ware agrees; so also does Baronius, whom Colgan follows. But Mabillon and Lanigan, with more probability, maintain that he lived before Charles Martel (A.D. 714–41) and belongs at latest to the end of the seventh century. The Bollandists also seem to prefer an early date, but do not fix a year. Tanner (*Bibl.* 248) adopts Dempster's date of A.D. 675, and his ascription of the work *Ad Bavaros fidei rudimenta,* lib. i. St. Erard's tomb was, as usual, surrounded with miracles, and multitudes of pilgrims attended to participate in the gifts of healing. And such was the celebrity it had attained, that about A.D. 1052, when Pope Leo IX. visited Germany, and was staying at Ratisbon, the saint received formal canonisation, and his relics were removed to a more spacious shrine. (Colgan and Bollandists, *ut supra;* Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 18, §§ 7, 8; Ware, *Bishops,* by Harris, vol. i. "Bishops

of Ardagh," pass.; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 87, 114 sq. 152, ii. 445; Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. ii. 781; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Feb. 9; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* 51–2; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* viii. 31; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 247; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 100, Feb. 9.) St. Erard is usually commemorated on Jan. 8, though Jan. 6, Feb. 9, Apr. 14, and Oct. 8 are occasionally given to him, and by some he is called Eberhard. [J. G.]

ERARIC, one of the tribe of the Rugii who had accompanied Theodoric into Italy, and always kept themselves distinct from the Ostrogoths. He was elected king by his own people after the murder of Ildibald, whom the Ostrogoths had chosen as king when Vitigis was carried prisoner to Constantinople. The Ostrogoths, however, were thoroughly discontented with the inefficiency of Eraric, and called Totila, nephew of Ildibald, to be their head, ann. 541. But Eraric entered into secret negotiations with the emperor Justinian to betray Italy to him, and receive the title of Patrician. During the absence of his messengers Eraric was murdered by the Goths after a five months' reign, and Totila became sole king. His life illustrates one of several phases of disunion which existed among the followers of Theodoric after his death. (Procopius, *de Bell. Goth.* iii. 2, ed. Bonn. ii. pp. 287–290; Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, ii. 227.) [A. H. D. A.]

ERASISTRATUS, bishop of Corinth, present at the robber-synod of Ephesus, A.D. 449, where he spoke in favour of Eutyches (Mansi, vi. 837). Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* ii. 151) puts him thirteenth bishop of Corinth, between Perigenes and Peter. Pope Leo I., addressing certain bishops in Illyricum (ep. 13, cap. 3, in Patr. Lat. liv. 665), mentions a certain metropolitan of Achaia (unnamed) who was slighting the papal authority and acting independently of Anastasius bishop of Thessalonica, the papal vicarius; who had, moreover, offended the Thespians by consecrating for their bishop a stranger whom they had never seen. This metropolitan is identified with Erasistratus bishop of Corinth by Migne's editor, and Ceillier (x. 206) takes the same view. Jaffé (*Reg. Pont.* 35) dates Leo's letter A.D. 444. [C. H.]

ERASMA, a noble Roman virgin, said to have suffered martyrdom at Aquileia with Euphemia, Dorothea, and Thecla, under Nero; commemorated Sept. 3. (*Rom. Martyrol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 606.) [T. W. D.]

ERASMUS (1), sent, together with Onesimus and fourteen others, to Rome to Licinius: by him they were delivered to Diomedes the prefect, who had them conducted to Puteoli, where they were beheaded. They are commemorated May 10. (*Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

ERASMUS (2) (HERASMUS, Us.), bishop and martyr in Campania, during the Diocletian persecution. Commemorated June 3. (*Mart.* Ad., Us., Notker., Flor.) [T. S. B.]

ERASMUS (3), bishop of Cibyra, on the borders of Caria and Phrygia, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 904; Mansi, ix. 393.) [L. D.]

ERASMUS (4), a martyr at Antioch; commemorated Nov. 25. (*Mart.* Us.) [T. S. B.]

ERASTUS, the οἰκονόμος of the city of Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23), reputed bishop of Philippi. The pseudo-Dorotheus, confusing his title and his locality, says he was first oeconomus of the church of Jerusalem and afterwards bishop of Paneas, or Caesarea Philippi, in North Palestine (Doroth. *De lxx. Discip.* in Patr. Gr. xcii. 1063). Other traditions place Erastus at Philippi in Macedonia (*Rom. Mart.* July 26; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 67, 833; Boll. *Acta SS.* 26 Jul. vi. 298 E). [C. H.]

ERATAOTH, the name of a dogfaced demon in the diagram of the Ophites (Origen, *adv. Cels.* vi. 30). [HEBDOMAD.] [G. S.]

ERBIN, brother of St. Digain, and son of Cystennin Gorneu, a prince of Devon, was himself included among the Welsh saints, and was the ancestor of many holy persons; he flourished in the 5th century, but is remembered in no dedication. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 42; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 113, 134.) [J. G.]

ERC (1) (EARC, ERCUS, HERCUS), bishop of Slane. Commemorated Nov. 2. He was son of Deg or Decc, of the race of Corb Olum, descended from Rudraighe, king of Ireland (A.M. 4912-81 by the Irish calculation); he himself belonged immediately to the royal house of Ulster, but his progenitors came from the province of Munster, and he is always spoken of as belonging to Munster (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 544 n. [43], for his kindred; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 293). As the *Four Masters* (by O'Donovan i. 197) say his age was fourscore and ten years when he died in A.D. 512, he must have been born in A.D. 622, or, as Ussher prefers, A.D. 624, which is the date assigned for his birth by the *Annals of Tigernach*. When St. Patrick landed at Colptha Inbher Colptha or Colbdi (now Colp in the barony of Lower Duleek, at the mouth of the Boyne), and had travelled with his companions to the great plain of Bregia, he arrived at nightfall on Easter Eve, A.D. 433, at Ferta-fer-Feic (the "graves of the men of Fiacc"), now Slane, on the north bank of the Boyne, in Meath (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. p. 167 n. [k]). He set up his tent and kindled his Paschal fire; but this was the time when, according to the Pagan custom, every fire had to be extinguished in Ireland, and kindled again from the sacred fire on Temoria or Tara Hill at the idolatrous feast. Whether knowingly or in ignorance, St. Patrick began his Paschal feast as usual by lighting a fire, and his fire on the hill of Slane was seen in amazement by King Laeghaire on the hill of Tara. The king at once took counsel with his people, and set out to see the reason, but as his Druids would not permit the king to enter the Christian enclosure for fear of magic, St. Patrick was required to come before the king and give an account of his doings. St. Patrick entered the royal assembly, intoning the verse of the Psalm (xx. 7): "Some put their trust in chariots, and some in horses; but we will remember the name of the Lord our God." But while the king had commanded that none should rise to shew the Christian bishop

reverence, there was one of the king's pages, "Unus ex juvenibus regis, nomine Ercus," &c., who rose up, is said by some even to have offered St. Patrick his seat, received, at any rate, his blessing, and became the famous bishop of Slane, the place where the assembly was then held. (This story of the first meeting between St. Patrick and king Laeghaire, and of the first appearance of Erc, is told in the *Lives of St. Patrick*, as given by Colgan, and also by Tirechan in his *Annotations* in the *Book of Armagh:* see also upon it Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 5, § 5; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 414 sq., and the account of St. Erc's baptism from Tirechan, in pp. 442–3; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 409 sq.; Petrie, *Tara Hill*, 84 sq.) By the *Four Masters* (by O'Donovan, i. 136 n. [t], 137) he is included among the family of St. Patrick as "Bishop Erc, his sweet-spoken Judge," and Evinus (*Vit. Trip. S. Patr.*) calls him "Sanctus Ercus Episcopus, Cancellarius, et Supremus Judex in spiritualibus." He is spoken of as a teacher and the ordainer of St. Brendan (May 16) of Clonfert, who also received the monastic garb from him: this may have been the case, as both belonged to Munster, and may have been related by kindred. He was also a friend of St. Brigida (Feb. 1), and accompanied her into Munster, where they attended a large synod for some days. His obit is given by the *Four Masters* at A.D. 512. "St. Erc, bishop of Lilcach and of Fearta-fear-feig, by the side of Sidhe-Truim, to the west, died on 2 Nov. His age was fourscore and ten years, when he departed," and the *Mart. Doneg.* gives the same entry, adding his genealogy, and the testimony of the "very ancient old vellum book" that in habits and life he was like St. Martin; but Ussher places his death in A.D. 514, and this Lanigan accepts as the true date. His relic appears to have been enshrined with those of St. Finnian of Clonard in 776 (*Ann. Ult.*). In the *Annotations of Tirechan* (preserved in the *Book of Armagh*, fol. 10, a a) St. Patrick would appear to have built eight churches in the plain of Bregia (in Meath), in which he first preached the gospel and built churches; of these in order is, "ii. aeclesiae Cerne, in qua sepultus est Hercus qui portavit mortalitatem magnam," but the reference in the closing words is unknown, though pointing apparently to his dying of the plague. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 167, c. 98, 535, c. 71, 536, c. 72; Ussher, *Eccl. Antiq.* vi. Ind. Chron. A.D. 514; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* ii. 88, 128; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 8, § 4, c. 10, § 7; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 80 sq.; O'Conor, *Ep. Nunc.* 106; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 64, 75 [n], 76, 293.) [J. G.]

ERC (2), bishop of Domnach-mór-Maighe-Luadhat in the north of Ui-Faelain. Commemorated Oct. 27. O'Clery says this may be Erc, bishop, son of Fergna, son of Folachta, of the race of Bresal Breac, from whom the Osraighi are descended. Erc, son of Fergna, is included by Colgan among the saints belonging to the house of St. Kieran (Mar. 5) of Saighir. If so, he belongs to Leinster, about Kilkenny or Waterford, but O'Donovan (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, ii. 1138 n. [u]) is of opinion that Magh Luadhat or Magh Luaghat, though the name is now obsolete, is probably the ancient name of the plain now called Maghera-Cregan, situated near Newton-Stewart, in the barony of Omagh, and county of Tyrone. Colgan thinks he may be the Erc who was a disciple of Senan, but the identification of this Erc is very uncertain (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 31, 91, 95). Colgan calls him "Martyr," and the *Drummond Kalendar* "confessor." (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 287; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 472, c. 3, 540; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 10, § 7, c. 11, § 4; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 26.) [J. G.]

ERC (3) Nasca, of Tulach-lis, now Tullylish, in the barony of Lower Iveagh and county of Down, commemorated May 12. O'Clery's full entry on this day (*Mart. Doneg.* 125) is: "Herc Nasca, of Tulach-lis, in Ui-Eachach Uladh. And Earc is of the race of Art Corb, son of Fiacha Suighdhe," but Dr. Reeves' version (*Eccl. Antiq.* 316 n. [w]) is: "Bearnosga of Tullach-lis ('hill of the fort') in Iveagh of Ulidia," while *Mart. Tallaght* (Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* p. xxiv.) gives "Nasci" as a different individual, and the *Drummond Kalendar* (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 13) has "apud Hiberniam sancti confessoris Erci natale celebratur." Among the saints who are descended from the family of St. Mida or Ita (Jan. 15) Colgan (*Acta SS.* 73, c. 2) includes an Erca, virgin daughter of Ernin, whose feast is May 12, but Erc of Tullylish is the only person of the name who stands in the kalendars on that day. [J. G.]

ERC (4), ST., or Herygh, brother of St. Ia gives name to the Cornish parish of St. Erth ("ecclesia St. Erci," in early documents), at the head of the Hayle estuary, in which St. Ia and the other Irish devotees landed. His feast was on the vigil of All Saints, *i.e.* Oct. 31, and the parish feast at St. Erth is still on the Sunday nearest to the festival of All Saints (Whitaker, *Cathedral of Cornwall*, i. p. 291, ii. p. 4 and 210; see, too, Leland, *Itin.* iii. p. 20). Some identify him with St. Erc, the first bishop of Slane [ERC (1)], in Ireland, who died A.D. 514, and whose day is also at the beginning of November. William of Worcester makes St. Herygh the patron saint of Chittlehampton, in Devonshire, as well, and calls him a bishop, and adds, "jacet in quadam ecclesia sita sub cruce ecclesiae Sancti Pauli Londoniarum." [C. W. B.]

ERCA (1), virgin, daughter of Ernin, of the family of St. Ita, is confounded by Colgan with Erc of Tullylish. [ERC (3).]

ERCA (2), one of St. Patrick's embroiderers (*Four Mast.* A.D. 448). [ERCNAT.] [J. G.]

ERCA (3) (ERTHA), mother of St. Blane. [BLANE.]

ERCAMBERT is given in the list of the bishops of Beauvais as twentieth, succeeding Radingus and followed by Rocoaldus. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 696.) [S. A. B.]

ERCANBALD (ERCELBALD, Baron. *Annal.* ann. 801, xx. ed. Theiner), an officer (notarius) of Charlemagne, sent by him to Liguria in 801 to bring home the presents of the king of Persia. (Einhardi *Ann.* s. a.) An Ercanbaldus 'cancellarius' (possibly identical with the above), is mentioned by Leo III. in a letter to Charles,

written between the years 806 and 810 (*Mon. Carol.* ed. Jaffé, p. 322). [T. R. B.]

ERCANRAD, bishop of Paris. [ERCHENRAD.]

ERCEMBERT (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* lib. ii. in *M. H. B.* 717 E), ERCENBERHT (*A. S. C.* ann. 640, in *M. H. B.* 310), king of Kent. [EARCOMBERT.] [C. H.]

ERCENUUALD (Kemble, *C. D.* 35, 38, 40), ERCENWALD (*ib.* 18), bishop of London. [ERKENWALD.] [C. H.]

ERCHAD, ERCHAN, ERCHARD. [IRCHARD.] [J. G.]

ERCHAN, clerical witness to the liberation from laical possession of the church of Trylec Lann Mainuon (Trelech, Monmouthshire) by Meurig, son of Arthfael, in the time of Cerenhir, bishop of Llandaff (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 453). [J. G.]

ERCHANFRIDUS, named as bishop of Laureacum, and likewise of Juvavia (Salzburg), in the 6th century (Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 307, 327), the former town having been the primitive, and Juvavia the later, seat of the Noricum bishopric. The transfer of the see is discussed by Friedrich, *Das wahre Zeitalter des heil. Rupert*, 1866, pp. 18–44). Laureacum, on the right bank of the Danube, near the junction of the Enns opposite Mauthausen and below Linz, is the modern Lorch (Ferrarius, *Lex. Geog.*; Wiltsch, *Handbook*, i. 122). Neither in Friedrich nor in Hund (*Metrop. Salisburgens.* 1582) does the name of Erchenfridus occur. Hansiz (*Germ. Sacr.* i. 100) makes him bishop of Patavia (Passau) from 598 to 623. [T. W. D.]

ERCHANWALDUS (Fredegar. *Chron. continuat.* i. 91, in Patr. Lat. lxxi. 665), mayor. [ERCHINOALDUS.] [C. H.]

ERCHEMBRICT (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* ii. in *M. H. B.* 719 B), ERCHENBERT (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1377, in *M. H. B.* 780), ERCHENBRICTH (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 723 B), king of Kent. [EARCOMBERT.] [C. H.]

ERCHENEGODE (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1285, in *M. H. B.* 780), daughter of Earcombert, king of Kent. [EARCONGOTA.] [C. H.]

ERCHENRADUS I. (HERCHENRADUS) was the forty-third bishop of Paris, following Deodefridus, and succeeded by Ermenfredus. There is extant a placitum dated in the seventh year of king Charles the Great (A.D. 775), in which judgment is given against Herchenradus in a dispute between him and Folradus, abbat of St. Dionysius concerning the monastery of St. Mary and St. Peter, at Plaisir (Placicium), near St. Germains (*Cod. Dip.* xxv. in Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvii. 945, reprinted from Mabillon, *de Re Diplom.* lib. vi. num. 50, p. 518. The document does not occur in the collections of either Baluze or Pertz). In a diploma or charter of Louis the Pious given in the seventh year of his reign (A.D. 820) to the church of Paris, it is recited that Charles the Great had, upon the petition of Erchenradus, given a charter to the same church confirming it in the possession of property of which the title-deeds had been burnt or lost. (Migne, Patr. Lat. civ. 1102.) He is said to have been present at the council of Frankfort in A.D. 794 (*Gall. Christ.* vii. 29). [S. A. B.]

ERCHERBRICHT (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1275; *M. H. B.* 780), king of Kent. [EARCOMBERT.] [C. H.]

ERCHINOALD succeeded Aega as mayor of the palace in Neustria to Clovis II. in 640. Erchinoald was of the Merovingian royal race, and is described by the chronicler (Fredegar, 84) as a man full of long-suffering and kindness, gentle and respectful towards the clergy, and without pride or rapacity. On the death of Flaochat in 642, Erchinoald became the ruler of Burgundy, if not titular mayor of the palace. (Pertz, *Geschichte d. Merovingischen Hausmeier*, p. 46). On the death of Sigebert III. of Austrasia in 656, when Clovis became king of the united Frankish realm, Erchinoald became mayor of the palace in all three kingdoms (Pertz, *ib.*; Bonnell, *Anfänge d. Karolingischen Hauses*, p. 113), being the first to unite in his own person these three dignities. Shortly afterwards (c. 658) he died (*Gesta Reg. Fr.* 45), and Ebroin was appointed in his place in Neustria and Burgundy, Wulfoald in Austrasia. [T. R. B.]

ERCNAT (ERGNAT, ERCA HERENAT), virgin, of Dun-da-en, now Duneane, in the barony of Upper Toome and county of Antrim. Commemorated Jan. 8, Oct. 30. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 41–2, Jan. 8) gives an account of this virgin from the references made to her in the *Lives of St. Patrick*. Her father was Daire, Derga, or Darius, son of Fincadh, son of Eugenius, son of Niall, of the race of Colladachrioch, a noted chief of the Hy-Neill, in that part where Armagh now stands; he gave Druimsailech, now Armagh, to St. Patrick. So worthy in grace and virtue did St. Ercnat appear that St. Patrick gave her the charge of the sacred vestments, to make, cleanse, and repair them. This charge she received along with St. Lupita St. Patrick's own sister, and St. Crumtheresia, daughter of a British king. But falling in love with St. Benignus (Nov. 9) through her fondness for that art in which the psalmist of St. Patrick excelled, she is said to have actually died of love and been brought to life again, thenceforward to love the saint only spiritually. She rests in Tamlacht-bo, a church in the province of Ulster, supposed by Dr. Reeves (*Eccl. Antiq.* 300 n. [h]) to be Tamlaght, anciently called Tawlaghta-bo, a townland in Eglish, near Armagh, and her feast is observed there and at Duneane. According to Colgan she flourished A.D. 460, and had a double commemoration, Jan. 8 and Oct. 30; on the former the *Mart. Doneg.* commemorates "Eargnat, virgin, of Dún-dá-én, in Dal Araidhe;" and on the latter "Hercnat, virgin, of Dún-dá-én, in the Fiodhbhadh, in Dal Araidhe." The *Four Masters* call her Erca, and count her one of the three embroiderers of St. Patrick. But in the *Felire of Aengus the Culdee*, there is a curious note on "Cuach, virgin, of Cill-Cuaiche in Cairbre-Ua-Ciardha" (as she is entered in the *Mart. Doneg.* at Jan. 8): "Ercnat, the virgin nun, was cook and robe-maker to St. Columb Cillé, and her church Cille Choca, in Cairbre-ua-Ciardha.

Ercnat was her true name, which means an embroideress, because *Ercadh*, in the ancient Gaedhelic, was the same as drawing and embroidering now: for it was that virgin who was the embroideress, cutter, and sewer of clothes to St. Columb Cillé and his disciples." [COCCA.] (O'Curry, *Lect. Anc. Ir.* iii. 122; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, ii. 299; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 300 sq. and *Anc. Ch. Armagh*, 11–2; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 138 n. [h], 139; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, i. 27; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 124–6.) [J. G.]

ERCOMBERT (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* ii. in *M. H. B.* 716; Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 76, ed. Hardy), ERCOMBIRCHT (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 11), ERCONBERCT (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 1; v. 19), ERCONBERHT (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 640, 664, 675, in *M. H. B.* 529 C, 532 C, 531 C; id. *Geneal. Reg. Cant.* in *M. H. B.* 627, 638 C, D), ERCONBERT (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* 636 B, 637 E, 638 A; Wend. *F. H.* ann. 654, 676), ERCONBYRHT (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 616, in *M. H. B.* 645), king of Kent. [EARCOMBERT.] [C. H.]

ERCOMBERT, king of Kent. [EARCOMBERT.]

ERCONGOTA (*A. S. C.* ann. 640, in *M. H. B.* 310; Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 640, in *M. H. B.* 529 D; id. *ad Chron. App.* ib. 635 C; Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 11, ed. Hardy), daughter of Earconbert, king of Kent. [EARCONGOTA.] [C. H.]

ERCONVALD (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 11, in *M. H. B.* 221 A), ERCONWALD (Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 664, 675; *M. H. B.* 532 C, 535 A, B; id. *Nom. Episc. Lund.* ib. 617 B; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 781), bishop of London. [ERKENWALD.] [C. H.]

ERCUNBERHT (Nennius, *Hist.* in *M. H. B.* 74 C), king of Kent. [EARCOMBERT.] [C. H.]

ERCUNUALDUS (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 19, in *M. H. B.* 193 A), patrician in Gaul. [ERCHINOALD.]

ERCUS, Cornish saint. [ERC (4).]

ERECHOREUS (ERECHTIUS, ERETIUS, EVRICHORIUS, ERYTRIUS), bishop of Lagania, in the province of Galatia Prima. (Wiltsch. *Handbook*, i. § 104.) He was present at the Council of Neocaesarea, A.D. 314, and also at that of Nicaea, A.D. 325. The MSS. not only give the name differently, but also the designations of the see, some having Daumasiae, others Gadanitanus, Gadatitanus, Lagaanensis, Plamatonensis, Plaonensis, and Platanensis. Le Quien supposes all these variations to have arisen with Latin transcribers, who mistook the Greek letters of their originals. (*Oriens Christ.* i. 488; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 441.) Lagania is the only known Galatian see to which the designations can apply. [T. W. D.]

ERECHTHIUS, bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, c. 440. A fragment of a sermon delivered by him in the great church at Constantinople before Proclus, at the Theophania, is given by Mai (*Script. Vet.* vii. 165; and Migne, Patrolog. lxxxvi. 2, p. 3321). [E. V.]

ERECHTIUS, bishop of Lagania. [ERECHOREUS.]

ERECLECH (ERECLACIUS), commemorated March 3. Colgan gives a short memoir of St. Ereclacius, presbyter and confessor, from the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*. He was the friend and fellow-traveller of St. Patrick; when St. Patrick was in the region of the descendants of Aengus (probably the father of Eochaidh Muinreamhar), and had built the church of Fothrath, he in the same region built the church of Rathmudain which was so called from Muadan, father of Enan [ENAN (2)], and gave it to Ereclacius. Colgan thinks this must have been about A.D. 450. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 455–6, and *Tr. Thaum.* 146, c. 130, 180 n. [197]; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 79, 284, 322; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 14 n. [90]; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* p. 82.) [J. G.]

EREDNAT (ERETNATAN, HEREDNAT), commemorated Apr. 10. Known under these names in the Irish *Martyrologies*, she is identified with the Ernait, virgin daughter of a king of Ciannacht, in Ulster, who went south and took up her abode at Tulach Bennain, which is unidentified but appears to have been in Munster, and was a cell of St. Fintan (Jan. 3), abbat of Dunbleisque. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 11 c. 7, 13 n. [14–15]; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 46.) [J. G.]

ERELIEVA, a concubine of Theodemir, by whom she was the mother of Theodoric the Great, c. 454. She became a Catholic, and was known by the name Eusebia. (*Excerpta Valesiana*, i. e. the Chronicle of Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna; so Waitz and Holder Egger, *Monumenta Rerum Ital. et Langob.* 1878, p. 273; ed. Gardthausen, 1875, 58, p. 295.) She was living in 490, and probably later. (Jordanis ed. Closs. 180; Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, ii. 63.) [A. H. D. A.]

EREMBERCHT (Willibald. *Vit. Bonif.* § 23, in Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 603 B; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 739, i.), bishop of Freising. [ERIMBERT.] [C. H.]

EREMBERTUS (1), ST., eleventh bishop of Toulouse, succeeding Willegisilus. He was born at a place called Viliolicorte, on the Seine, about five leagues above Paris, in the time of Dagobert I. or his son Clovis II. He joined the monastery of Fontanelle, while Wandregisilus, or, according to another account, Lantbertus was abbat. At this time he must have been no longer young, as from the Life of St. Wandregisilus it appears that he already had a son, Hartbainus, who is spoken of as vir illustris and a benefactor of the monastery. In the time of Clotaire III. he was elected to the bishopric of Toulouse (about A.D. 656). Nothing definite is related of his acts while bishop, except that he miraculously quenched a fire which broke out during a visit to his native place. After twelve years' labour in his see, he retired to his former monastery of Fontanelle, now ruled by Lantbert, afterwards archbishop of Lyons. His successor in the bishopric was Aricius. He is said to have died in A.D. 671 or 678, and was buried in the church of St. Paul, though his remains were more than once translated. He is commemorated on the 14th day of May. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 389; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 8; *Vita S. Wandregisili* and *Vita S. Ansberti* in Bouquet, tom. iii. pp. 563, 617.) [S. A. B.]

EREMBERTUS (2) (ERAMBERTUS), the eighteenth bishop of Senlis, between St. Antbertus and Vulfredus; present at two councils, that of Gentiliacum near Paris in A.D. 767, and that of Rome in 769. (*Gall. Christ.* x. 1384; Labbe, *Conc.* viii. 463, 484.) [S. A. B.]

EREMITAE, given by Macarius Magnes (*Apocrit.* iii. 43, p. 151) as another name for ENCRATITES. [G. S.]

EREMIUS, bishop of Thessalonica. [HEREMIUS.]

EREMWULFUS, a Bavarian condemned for heresy, and excommunicated by St. Boniface in A.D. 732. (Willebaldi *Vita S. Bonif.* c. 6, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Mogunt.* p. 455; Baronius, s. a. 733, § 4; Hansiz, *Germ. Sac.* i. 121.) [T. R. B.]

ERENA, sister of pope Damasus (Boll. *Acta SS.* 21 Feb. iii. 244.) [IRENE.] [J. G.]

ERENAEUS (ERNENEUS), confessor and Eremite, is a saint in Marr, Aberdeenshire, mentioned by Dempster and Camerarius, but he is probably a Scotch reflexion of the Irish Ernin (Aug. 18), son of Crasen, of Rathnoi. Dempster calls him the friend of St. Columba and author of *Acta St. Columbae*, lib. i. He says he flourished A.D. 587, and had his feast on Feb. 15, but Camerarius says Apr. 26. [ERNIN (3).] (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 192, 237; Tanner, *Bibl.* 263; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 135; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 265.) "Reliquiae colebantur in Sutherlandia" (Fordun, *Scotichr.* iii. c. 14). [J. G.]

ERENBRECHTUS (ERENBERTUS), tenth bishop of Worms, succeeding Folcwicus, and followed by Bernhardus. From a distinguished abbat at Weissenburg, he became bishop. He is said to be mentioned as bishop in a diploma of Charles the Great, dated in A.D. 798, confirming a gift made by king Dagobert I. to St. Amandus, fifth bishop of the see, and to have died in the same year. The document attesting the original gift of Dagobert is in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxx. 505. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 663.) [S. A. B.]

ERENDRUDA (ERENDRUDIS, ERENTRUDE, EREDRUDA, ERNDRUDA, ARIODRUDA), abbess at Salzburg cir. 585 or later. She was niece of Rudbert or Rupert bishop of Worms, afterwards of Salzburg, and the apostle of Bavaria (first *Vita S. Rudb.* cap. 2, § 9, Boll. *Acta SS.* 27 Mart. iii. 704 A; second *Vita*, cap. 2, § 5, *ibid.* 705 E). Owing to the title "soror" by which Rudbert addressed the abbess in her spiritual capacity, they have been, as observed by Pagi (viii. ad Baron. 718), erroneously considered brother and sister (vid. Boll. *Acta SS.* 30 Jun. v. 580 C, marg.; Hund, *Metrop. Salisburg.* i. 2, ii. 409, ed. Ratisp. 1719), while some have increased the confusion by making the Irish St. Trudpert their brother (Boll. 26 Apr. iii. 425 B; *ibid.* 427, Syllab. Capit. 3, 7, note). As Rudbert belonged to the royal stock of the Franks (Boll. *Mart.* iii. 703 D), his niece was a lady of rank, "nobilis virgo," and she was residing at Worms when invited by her uncle to preside over the female monastery he was founding at Salzburg. Thither she proceeded, accompanied by a body of matrons and virgins, one date of the event being A.D. 585; but much uncertainty attaches to the precise chronology of this abbess (second *Vita*, cap. 2, *ut sup.*). The monastery was seated high up the hill beyond the city walls, and was originally named Cella, but it subsequently became known as Nonnenberg, "Nunnarum mons" (Hund, ii. 409). The Bollandists, who reckon Erendruda's period cir. A.D. 630, commemorate her death on June 30 (*ut sup.*), but the feast of her translation was observed at Salzburg on Sept. 3 (*ibid.* 582 C). An account of this abbess will be found also in Hansiz, *Germ. Sac.* ii. 46. [C. H.]

ERENFRIDUS, bishop of Constance. [ERNFRIDUS.]

ERENNIUS (HERENNIUS; IRENAEUS, Jerome; Ἀῤῥήνιος, Soc.; Ἐρέννιος, Soz.; Ἐρέννιος, Epiphan.), one of the bishops intruded into the see of Jerusalem by the Acacians after the deposition of Cyril in A.D. 349. Jerome places him second, as successor to Eutychius. Eutychius is ignored by Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 45), Sozomen (*H. E.* iv. 30), and Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxvi. 20), who all place Erennius immediately after Cyril's deposition. See on this perplexed and intricate subject, Tillemont's note, *Mém. Eccl.* viii. 782. [E. V.]

ERENWALDUS (Baron. *Annales Eccles.* A.D. 724, 13), bishop. [ERKENWALD.] [I. G. S.]

EREPTIOLUS, bishop of Coutances, died about A.D. 475. He was, according to some accounts, a native of Coutances, sent from Rouen as a missionary to his countrymen; according to others he was sent thither by St. Germanus while in Britain. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 864; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 542.) [R. T. S.]

ERETIUS (Labbe, *Concil.* i. 1488 D, ed. 1671), bishop. "Eretius Placianensis Galatiae Primae." [ERECHOREUS.] [T. W. D.]

ERFO, A.D. 762. His name occurs in an ancient charter of a monastery of Friuli, found in the monastery of S'. Mary, Val d'Aoste. In a corresponding copy found elsewhere the name is printed Herto. Whatever his name was, he states that he and his two brothers have founded certain monasteries at Friuli. In one of the copies he signs as abbat (Patr. Lat. xcix. 627). [W. M. S.]

ERFOINUS, A.D. 720. In a charter dated at Anninchova, February, in the reign of Chilperic II., Erfoinus and his sons Teotarius and Rotarius make a grant of lands and goods in favour of the monastery of St. Coll. The lands are Oppenwiller (probably Popenwiller, now Pfaffenweiler, near Freiburg), and Eberingen (*Ecclesiast. Monum.* num. lv. saec. vii. et viii. Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1268). [W. M. S.]

ERFURWIN (EVURWIN, EFORWIN), a benefactor, with his coheirs Hildirad and Irminevin, to the monastery of St. Saviour at Verden on the Aller, founded by St. Ludger the apostle of Saxony. Erfurwin's deed, dated at Diapanbec, Sept. 17, in the thirty-second year of Charlemagne, grants land in the wood of Hoissi to the presbyter Ludger "and the relics of the Holy

Saviour which he always carries with him." (*Chartularium Werthinense*, charter 11, in Patr. Lat. xcix. 802.) [C. H.]

ERGNAT, Irish saint. [ERCNAT.]

ERHARDUS (Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 304), bishop of Ratisbon. [ERARD.] [C. H.]

ERHART, a Northumbrian abbat who attended the synod in which the legatine canons of 787 were accepted. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 460.) [J. R.]

ERIBALDUS, eighteenth in the list of the bishops of Viviers, succeeding Arcontius, and followed by Thomas I. at the beginning of the 9th century. There is an instrument of gift in favour of the church of Viviers bearing his name, but without date. (Rouchier, *Hist. religieuse etc. du Vivarais*, tom. i. p. 556; *Gall. Christ.* xvi. 547.) [S. A. B.]

ERIBALDUS CERNUUS, praepositus or provost of the cathedral of Arles, mentioned in the years 796, 799, during the pontificate of bishop Elifantus. From an early period down to modern times the head of the chapter of Arles has borne the title of provost; though that of dean, which was a distinct office, occasionally occurs. Eribaldus Cernuus commences the extant series of provosts; but no successor occurs until A.D. 869. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 595 c.) [C. H.]

ERICIUS (ARRICUS), bishop of Lausanne, present at the council of Chalon-sur-Saône, A.D. 650. (*Gall. Christ.* xv. 329; Mansi, x. 1194.) [T. W. D.]

ERIMBERT (EREMBERCHT, ERMBERT), second bishop of Freising, brother (apparently the elder brother) of Corbinian, his predecessor, and the son of Waldekis, a Frankish noble (*Vit. Corbinian.* by Aribo, cap. 1, § 1, in Boll. *Acta SS.* 8 Sept. iii. 281, and cap. 5, § 43, *ibid.* p. 291 A, note cc; Swyskin's *Comment. Praev.* cap. 7, § 84, *ibid.* 276). He was consecrated to the see by Boniface, the apostle of Germany, according to the biographers of that saint (Othlon. cap. 31, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 649; Willibald, cap. 28, *ibid.* 623), and the date of this event is computed by Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 739, i.) to have been A.D. 739 (see also Wiltsch, *Handbook*, i. 370). Not much reliance can be placed on this date. Hund (*Metrop. Salisburg.* i. 70, Ratisp. 1719) quotes one ancient authority, making Erimbert to have sat twenty-eight years, and another, which he prefers, giving him only thirteen. His successor Joseph was (according to Hund) elected in 758. Hansiz (*Germ. Sac.* ii. 72) believes he did not live later than 748. The *Annales Altahenses Majores* (Pertz, *Monum. Germ.* xxii. Scriptt. xx. p. 782) give 750 as the year of his consecration. Erimbert's episcopate appears to have been contemporary with the reign of Utilo duke of Bavaria, Freising (on the Isar, north of Munich) being then the capital of Upper Bavaria and the ducal residence. In Erimbert's time the dioceses of Bavaria are said to have been definitely marked out. During his rule also many benefactors of the church of Freising appeared, a certain Mandebert with his wife Gothane being especially named. Erimbert consecrated the monastery of Tegernsee, in Upper Bavaria, among the northern slopes of the Tyrolese mountains (Hund, *ut sup.*). [T. W. D.]

ERINALDUS, thirty-seventh bishop of Auch, succeeding Anerius and followed by Lupus or Aster, about the middle of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 976; Gams, *Series Episc.* 497.) [S. A. B.]

ERINNYS in a Gnostic system described by Irenaeus (i. 29, p. 108), one of the evil offspring of the Maker of the world. [G. S.]

ERIPHIUS, addressed by Sidonius Apollinaris (v. 17), who describes to him the solemnities of the feast of St. Justus at Lyon. (Ceill. x. 389.) [R. T. S.]

ERKEMBODUS, or ERKEMBODO, ST., fifth abbat of the monastery of St. Bertin (also called the monastery of Sithiu from its position) in the diocese of St. Omer. There are extant a charter of Chilperic II., given in the third year of his reign (718), confirming to Erkembodus and the monastery gifts of his predecessors, and two of Theoderic IV. in A.D. 721, of similar import, all making mention of venerabilis vir Erkembodus (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1129–1132). In 723, upon the death of Ravengerus, he was made bishop of Teroüanne (ecclesia Morinensis), but retained the government of the monastery, and in the same year enriched it by the purchase of various lands, the deed conveying which may be seen in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1279. He died April 12, on which day he is commemorated, about the year 737, and was succeeded in the bishopric by Adalgerus. He was buried in the church of St. Omer. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 92; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 487, x. 1531; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* ann. 723, n. xl. tom. iv. p. 699.) [S. A. B.]

ERKENBERT (1) (Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 294), bishop of Minden. [HERUMBERT.] [C. H.]

ERKENBERT (2) (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 640), ERKENBRIGHT (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1283, in *M. H. B.* 780), king of Kent. [EARCOMBERT.] [C. H.]

ERKENGOTA (Wend. *F. H.* ann. 640), daughter of Earcunbert, king of Kent, abbess of Brie. [EARCONGOTA.] [C. H.]

ERKENWALD, the fourth bishop of the East Saxons, whose capital and episcopal see was London (*M. H. B.* 617); brother of St. Ethelburga, founder of the abbeys of Barking and Chertsey, and specially honoured at St. Paul's. On the early life of Erkenwald we have no historical light, but the legendary biographers assert that he was born at Stallington, in Lindsey, and was connected by birth with the family of Offa, king of the East Angles, by which statement probably the "Uffings," the family denomination of the East Anglian kings, is denoted. (Capgrave, f. 130.) According to the same authorities he was brought early under the influence of Mellitus, who was bishop of London from 604 to 619. From Bede we have more trustworthy information as to the next stage in his career. We learn that before he was raised to the episcopate he had gained a high reputation

for sanctity, and become the founder of two monasteries, one at Chertsey in Surrey, in the kingdom of the West Saxons, the other at Barking in Essex. Chertsey he governed himself; Barking he committed to the care of his sister Ethelburga as a school for women. (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 6.) In the foundation of Chertsey Erkenwald was assisted by Frithewald, who is called by William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* ed. Hamilton, p. 143) a subregulus or ealdorman of Wulfhere, king of Mercia. This statement is to some extent supported by charters of Chertsey, in which Erkenwald and Frithewald are mentioned as joint founders, and which, though not beyond suspicion as charters, are good evidence of ancient tradition. In one of these (Kemble, *C. D.* 986) Wulfhere confirms the grants made by the two founders; in another (*ib.* 987) Frithewald bestows estates on the monastery which Erkenwald rules, and which had been founded in the days of Egbert, king of Kent; in a third (*ib.* 988) Erkenwald and Frithewald join in a full settlement of the monastic estates, and in another (*ib.* 151) Offa, in 787, confirms the grants of the two founders settled a century before. If these documents are to be trusted Chertsey must have been founded whilst Surrey was in the hands of Egbert of Kent, who died in 673; it must later have come under the rule of Frithewald, the minister of Wulfhere of Mercia, who died in 675, and who was Egbert's brother-in-law; the foundation could therefore have preceded Erkenwald's elevation to the episcopate by a very few years. The foundation at Barking probably kept pace with that of Chertsey. To instruct his sister in the monastic rule, Erkenwald, according to his late biographers, invited Hildelitha from Chelles; if the nun Eadgyd died of the plague in 664 (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 8), Barking must have been founded before that year; the Chertsey register, however (*Mon. Angl.* i. 436), gives 666 as the year of the foundation of Barking, and there is a charter of Erkenwald, no doubt spurious but ancient, in which the date 677 is given (*ibid.* p. 439). [ETHELBURGA (3).]

On the death of Wina, to whom Wulfhere had sold the see of London, and probably, after the death of Wulfhere, to whom the East Saxon kings Sebbi and Sighere were subject (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 30). Theodore consecrated Erkenwald as Wina's successor, or rather, as the legendary life puts it (Dugdale, *Hist. Paul.* ed. 1658, p. 182), as successor to St. Cedda, the apostle of the East Saxons. The exact date of his appointment is not given by Bede, but as it is placed directly after the deposition of Winfrith, bishop of Mercia, in 675, it was probably in that or the following year, and may denote the recovery of some independent power for the East Saxons after the death of Wulfhere. In 676 the name "Frignualdus," which probably represents Ercenwaldus, is found attached to a copy of a charter of the Hwiccian prince Osric. (Kemble, *C. D.* 12.) The other charters throw no light upon this point, unless we may trust the above quoted charter of Barking, in which Erkenwald is made to say that he had visited Rome in the time of pope Agatho and in the year 677; even this he might have done as abbat.

The length of his episcopate is uncertain; eleven years are assigned to it in the notice of his life cited by Wharton (*Epp. Lond.* p. 17); if this be accepted, his death would fall in 687, but 685 is the year assigned by the same authority (Dugdale, *Hist. Paul.* p. 113); in the Barking charter he is represented as alive in 695, eighteen years after his visit to Rome. On this point we have two important evidences; Ine king of Wessex, who began to reign in 688, in the preface to his laws, issued in or about 690, describes himself as legislating with the counsel of Eorcenwold his bishop. (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, p. 45; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 214.) With this the evidence of charters agrees; there are two attested by him in his closing years, in one of which, undated, he witnesses a grant to Barking made by Hodilred, a kinsman of king Sebbi, attested by bishops Wilfrid and Haedde, and therefore probably belonging to the period of Wilfrid's exile in Mercia after the year 692. (Kemble, *C. D.* 35.) In another which is less trustworthy and dated 688 (*ib.* 994) he attests an act of Caedwalha of Wessex. It seems probable, then, that Erkenwald survived Theodore, who died in 690, and did not live to see the consecration of Brihtwald in 693. When Sebbi king of Essex, shortly before his death in 695, went into a monastery, he received the monastic habit from Waldhere, Erkenwald's successor. The year of Erkenwald's death may thus be provisionally fixed about 693; the day as observed among the festivals at St. Paul's was April 30.

Erkenwald is one of those early prelates whose posthumous fame, bearing no proportion to the known events of their history, shews that their whole life and character impressed their generation more than any single act or trait. He was in close relations with three if not four of the rival dynasties of southern England, Kent, Wessex, Essex, and Mercia. He was summoned by Theodore when on his deathbed to advise him as to the restoration of Wilfrid in 686. (Edd. *V. Wilfr.* c. 42.) He was the founder of two famous monasteries, and such a benefactor to his cathedral church that he was reputed as almost its founder. His personal sanctity is spoken of by Bede in language which even his professed encomiasts in the biographies do not exceed; and the tradition that miracles of healing were ordinarily wrought by the horse-carriage which he had used in his illness is recorded with no expression of doubt by the venerable historian himself.

To the details of his life, as given by Bede, the biographers add little, except the story of a miracle in which his carriage is represented as running on one wheel when the other had parted from the axle, and some circumstances about his death and funeral. According to this story he was attacked by his last illness at Barking; there he called his friends and servants around him and blessed them before he breathed his last. Whilst he was dying the chamber was filled with a sweet odour. As soon as he was dead the monks of Chertsey and the nuns of Barking each claimed his body for burial in their own church. During the quarrel the citizens of London broke in, and insisted that, as he had been ordained bishop in their city, he should be buried there. They then proceeded to carry off the body, followed by the monks and nuns. As soon

as they quitted the monastery the torches were put out by a storm of wind and rain. When they came to the river Lea, they found it swollen and impassable without boats, which were not at hand. The monks and nuns claimed this as a divine interposition on their behalf; the Londoners stoutly resisted, and declared that they would not yield. The quarrel was allayed by the mediation of one of Erkenwald's clergy, who advised both parties to pray for a sign from heaven that might determine the question; and the multitude immediately betook themselves to prayers and hymns. Thereupon the water divided and allowed the procession to advance to Stratford, where the torches were miraculously relighted and the storm ceased. The remains of the bishop were carried into London, being met by a crowd of rejoicing citizens, and placed in a shrine in the body of the church of St. Paul. On Feb. 16, 1140, the body was placed in a new shrine in the same place. From that place the relics were translated on Nov. 14, 1148, and placed in a new shrine on the east side of the wall above the high altar. (M. Westm. p. 245.) In 1386 bishop Braybrooke decreed that the feasts of the deposition and translation of St. Erkenwald should be kept on equal terms with the highest festivals; offerings were made and miracles recorded at the shrine down to the Reformation; it had considerable endowments, and was the centre of a religious guild. (Dugdale, pp. 20–22.) An engraving of the shrine is given by Dugdale, who has likewise preserved the short biography of the saint which was hung by the side of it, and which gives 675 as the date of his consecration, 685 as that of his death. (*Ib.* p. 113.) The tablet containing this was erected apparently in 1632.

At St. Paul's Erkenwald received all the honours due to a founder. His festivals were kept as first-class feasts, "sicut sacrum diem Dominicum," by bishop Braybrooke's ordinance (statutes of St. Paul's, ed. Simpson, p. 393); on those days the bishop was bound to personal attendance on the service (*ib.* p. 11); there were special forms of Secreta and Post-communio. (*ib.* p. 394.) Among the muniments was preserved a privilege brought by the saint himself from Rome (*ib.* p. 379; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 161), by which pope Agatho (A.D. 678–681) among other benefits secured to the clergy (congregatio) of the monastery the right of electing their bishops, who were to be confirmed at Rome. The continuity of the miracle-working at the shrine is remarkable even in an age of such wonders; and the indulgences granted were in proportion to the reputation of the sanctuary.

At Chertsey the memory of Erkenwald was cherished as long and as continuously. Besides the charters already noticed, the cartulary contained a privilege of exemption granted by pope Agatho to Chertsey, probably forged in the time of Edgar, but seemingly the model on which the privilege of St. Paul's was framed; by which the monastery was exempted from all interference from without, and the election and confirmation of the abbat were provided for. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 161–163.) A more genuine as well as more ancient evidence is found in a letter addressed by Sigebald, abbat apparently of Chertsey, to St. Boniface, in which he entreats him to allow himself to be recorded as a patron of the writer, together with bishop Daniel of Winchester, his diocesan; and, should Sigebald survive, the saint's name is to be inserted with that of St. Erkenwald in his prayers. (*Mon. Moguntina*, pp. 166, 167.) The Cartulary (MS. Vitellius A. 13) also contains a history of the foundation of the abbey, which is placed in 666. (*Mon. Angl.* i. 426.)

At Barking also the memory of Erkenwald was had in honour. The charter granted by Erkenwald himself secured to the monastery privileges analogous to those contained in the papal grants to St. Paul's and Chertsey (*Mon. Angl.* i. 438, 439), which privileges the grantor had been empowered by pope Agatho to bestow, when eighteen years before the granting of the charter, in 677, he had visited Rome. If this charter was genuine, which it is not, it would prove that Erkenwald lived until 695; it is attested by the same witnesses as those who attest the charter of Hodilred above mentioned. The fact of Erkenwald having visited Rome rests on the evidence of these charters and on the words of the biographer, that he was "de urbe Romulea destinatus." (Dugdale, p. 183.) It is not in itself improbable, but cannot be accepted as true without better evidence.

The historical materials for St. Erkenwald's life and miracles are those which have been quoted, a *Vita S. Erkenwaldi*, preserved in two 12th century MSS., Cotton, Claud. A. 5, and *C.C.C.C.* 161, is printed by Dugdale (ed. 1658, p. 181; ed. 1818, p. 289). This life is supposed by Sir T. D. Hardy to be the work of a canon of St. Paul's, nephew of bishop Gilbert Universalis (1128–1134), who also wrote the book on the miracles, which is found in the same *C.C.C.* MS. (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 292, 293.) Two other lives, one based upon this and printed by Capgrave, and in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland. Apr. 30, vol. iii. p. 780; and another unprinted of the 14th century are also noticed by Sir T. Hardy. But all these are really of too late date to add anything trustworthy to the account of Bede, or the local tradition exemplified in the charters, which were probably fabricated in the reign of Edgar. The real fame of Erkenwald must rest on the fact that under the guidance and advice of Theodore he developed the condition of his great and influential diocese from the missionary stage in which Cedda had left it to the full-grown state in which it became a well-organised church. Unfortunately the history of London during the whole Anglo-Saxon period is very obscure, but the great fame of Erkenwald, and the continuous honour shewn to him, seem to prove that he had been the greatest founder and benefactor whom the city recognised through the space of the four centuries that followed the conversion. More can scarcely be said; the continuity of his cultus and the permanence of the work ascribed to him, tell more than the most minute biography.

See also Elmham, *Hist. August.* ed. Hardwick, pp. 270, 271; Reyner, *Apostolatus Bened.* pp. 64, 65. [S.]

ERLAUREUS, twenty-eighth bishop of Meaux, following Sigenoldus, and succeeded by Aidenerus, in the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1602.) [S. A. B.]

ERLEFRIDUS. In the Chartulary of Saint Bertin, compiled by Folquinus, a monk of that abbey, about A.D. 875, chapter xix. recounts the succession of Erlefridus to Rigobertus as abbat of the monastery of Sithiu; chapter xx. is a deed of purchase of certain lands executed by him; chapter xxi. relates the death of St. Bertin (the founder of the monastery), under the rule of Erlefridus; chapter xxii. the death of Erlefridus and succession of Erkenbodo. The death of St. Bertin took place in the fifteenth year of king Childebert, A.D. 709. (Patr. Lat. cxxxvi. 1199, Folquin St. Bertin. Monach. *Chartul.* cc. xix.–xxii.) [W. M. S.]

ERLINGUS, an archbishop of Tours, said to have been the forty-third, succeeding Gavienus, and followed by Josephus I., but there is great uncertainty as to the order of the bishops of this see, between Gregory and Josephus I. He lived towards the close of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 33; Gams, *Series Episc.* 640.) [S. A. B.]

ERLOMHAN had been kept in chains by Moenach, king of Munster, but on being released at the intercession of St. Fechin, he embraced the monastic life, lived under Fechin's rule, and died in sanctity. He does not appear in the kalendars. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 137–38: O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 370, 371.) [J. G.]

ERMARICUS appears among the signatures of the third Council of Toledo as Ermaricus Laniobrensis. The see of Laniobria cannot, however, be identified. The name appears in three councils—the third, thirteenth, and sixteenth, and nowhere else. Florez supposes the name to be a copyist's error for Britoniensis, a theory which Gams has adopted in his *Series Episcoporum.* (*Esp. Sagr.* xviii. 20; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 15; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 238, iv. 287, 333.) [MAILOC.] [M. A. W.]

ERMBERT (*Annales Altahenses Major.* ann. 750; Boll. *Acta SS.* 8 Sept. iii. 291 A), bishop of Freising. [ERIMBERT.] [C. H.]

ERME, Cornish saint. [HERMES.]

ERMEDHACH (AIRMEDHACH, EIRMBEADHACH, ERMEDUS, HERMITIUS), abbat of Craebhlaisre, commemorated Jan. 1. He was the founder and patron of the monastery of Craebhlaisre ("the tree of St. Laisre"), now Creevagh, near Clonmacnoise, and on the banks of the Shannon, King's County. He is called Eirmbeadhach in the *Ann. Four Masters*, which place his death on Jan. 1, A.D. 681. In attempting to identify Aithmet or Ermedus, bishop of Clochar (Clogher), who is named in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* among those who wrote the acts of that saint, Colgan suggests that he may be this Ermedhach or Hermitius of Craebhlaisre, but the only likelihood lies in the similarity of names. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 742, c. 6, and *Tr. Thaum.* 128, c. 69 172 n. [45]; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 288, n. [e], 289; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 19, ii. 261; *Irish Nennius*, by Todd and Herbert, 208; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 5.) [J. G.]

ERMEFREDUS, bishop of Lugo from about A.D. 653 onwards, signs the eighth council of Toledo in 653, under Rekesvinth, and the tenth in 656. He was, therefore, the contemporary and, after the tenth council of Toledo, the suffragan of St. Fructuosus. For an inscription which is declared to have been found in 1753 in the cloisters of the monastery of Samos, in the diocese of Lugo, in which Ermefredus appears as the founder or restorer of the monastery, see *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 367. Hubner has not admitted it into his *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, and the authority of Florez and Risco is not sufficient in matters of inscriptions. (*Esp. Sagr.* xlvi. 80; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448, iv. 158.) [M. A. W.]

ERMEGUNDIS, an Anjevin woman, healed of blindness and contraction of the limbs on the feast day of St. Martin at Tours. (Greg. Tur. *Mirac. S. Martin.* iv. 23, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 1000.) [T. W. D.]

ERMELENDIS, a virgin anchoret in Brabant, cir. A.D. 600. She was born of noble parents, Ermenoldus and Ermensindis, and was related to Pippin and his daughter, St. Gertrude, a saint whose virtues she was desirous of emulating. As she was resolved to spend her days in celibacy and solitude, contrary to the wish of her parents, they assigned her the profits of their little village of Odenca. This spot, where was probably their abode, is the modern Donck, not far from the left bank of the Demer, near its junction with the Geete or Gette, its principal affluent, below Hasselt. She would not remain however, but, divesting herself of her locks, set out alone, and, after a narrow escape with her honour in one place where she attempted to settle, reached the village of Meldric, now Meldert, some eight miles distant, beyond the Demer, on a little beck named the Zwart that runs into that river. Here she subsisted on wild herbs for the rest of her days. Forty-eight years after her death her obscure tomb was discovered in a vision to a wayfarer, who built a chapel over it in her honour. She was commemorated on Oct. 29. Her life, from an ancient manuscript belonging to the church of Maestricht, is given by Surius. (*De Prob. Hist. SS.* 29 Oct. iv. 398.) [C. H.]

ERMELIUS, a Belgian saint. [ELMERUS.]

ERMEMBERTUS (ERMINBERTUS, *Mon. Carol.* 278), thirty-ninth occupant of the see of Bourges, succeeding Deodatus. There is extant a letter of pope Adrian to Charlemagne, assigned to the year 786, from which it appears that the king had sent Ermembertus to Rome to obtain from the pope the pallium, which at this time was worn by archbishops only. Bourges being the metropolitan see of Aquitaine, the request was granted, as appears from Adrian's letter. Ermembertus is said to have died A.D. 788, and was succeeded by Segolenus. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 20, and Instr. 2; Migne, Patr. Lat. xcviii. 392; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* ann. 786, n. 59–60; ann. 788 n. 19, tom. vi. pp. 315, 370.) [S. A. B.]

ERMEN, virgin, commemorated on Feb. 13, and perhaps to be identified with Mar. O'Gorman's Ernengilda of the same day, but both are otherwise unknown (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 49, and n.; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 516). [J. G.]

ERMENALDUS, bishop of Senlis. [ERMINUS.]

ERMENARIUS (1), bishop of Limoges. [ERMENUS.]

ERMENARIUS (2) (HERMENARIUS, HERMINARIUS), twenty-sixth bishop of Autun, succeeding St. Leodegarius (Léger) and followed by Ansebertus. Our information concerning him is derived from the earliest and best of the Lives of St. Léger dedicated by the anonymous and contemporary author to Ermenarius himself. During the persecution which ended in the martyrdom of his predecessor, Ermenarius was abbat of the monastery of St. Symphorian. St. Léger being shut up in Luxeuil, the people, wishing for the presence of a bishop among them, asked Childeric II. to appoint Ermenarius, and it seems that the latter at the same time begged earnestly of the king that St. Léger might not be brought forth from Luxeuil, fearing that his enemies meant him harm. It appears that the motives of Ermenarius were misinterpreted, and he was accused of being his bishop's foremost enemy, in order that he might obtain his place (s. 6). Later, when St. Léger was lying in the custody of Wanigus with his features mutilated, Ermenarius obtained access to him, tended his wounds, and gave him food and drink (s. 13). Lastly, he came forward to claim, though unsuccessfully, the body of the martyr for his own church of Autun (s. 17). This life is published by Mabillon in the *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. ii. p. 680 seqq., Paris, 1668–1701. Ermenarius's episcopate began in 678, the year of St. Léger's death, but its duration is unknown (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 356).

[S. A. B.]

ERMENBERGA (1), daughter of Betteric or Witteric, king of the Spanish Visigoths. In 607 she was sought in marriage by Theuderic king of Burgundy, and was allowed to be conducted to him by his ambassadors, Aridius bishop of Lyon and two others, after they had engaged by oath that she should never be degraded from her royal dignity. She became, however, the victim of court intrigues, which made her disliked by Theuderic, who sent her back to her father, but kept the treasure she had brought with her. (Fredegar. *Chron.* ann. 607, § 30, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 621.)

[T. W. D.]

ERMENBERGA (2) (Flor. Wig. *ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 635 C, 638 A), queen of Mercia, daughter of Eormenred king of Kent. [EORMENBURH.] [C. H.]

ERMENBURGA (1) (Flor. Wig. *Gen. Reg. Cant.* in *M. H. B.* 627; id. *ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 635 C), daughter of Eormenred king of Kent, sister of Ermenberga queen of Mercia. Wendover (*F. H.* ann. 654, 676) makes her daughter of Eormenred king of Kent, wife of Merewald king of Mercia, and the foundress of an abbey; but see EORMENBURGA (1). [C. H.]

ERMENBURGA (2), supposed abbess of Eastry [EORMENBURGA (1).]

ERMENBURGA (3), queen of Northumbria and abbess. [EORMENBURGA (2)].

ERMENFREDUS (1), son-in-law of Aega or Aeganes the mayor of Neustria. Having in 640 slain count Aenulf or Ainulf in a mallus held at a vicus named Albioderum (unidentified; see Bouquet, *Recueil*, iii. Geog. Index), he fled for sanctuary to the church of St. Remigius at Rheims. (Fredeg. *Chron.* cap. 83, ann. 640, in Patr. Lat. lxxi. 658; Aimoin, iv. 37, in Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 37.) [C. H.]

ERMENFREDUS (2), forty-fourth bishop of Paris, succeeding Erchenradus I. and followed by Inchadus. He is said to have been present at the council of Aix-la-Chapelle in A.D. 809, but it is only a conjecture. (*Gall. Christ.* vii. 30.)

[S. A. B.]

ERMENFRIDUS (1), abbat of Cusantia (Cuisance) in Franche-Comté, a spot about seven miles from the left bank of the Doubs at the source of a little stream, the Cuisancin, which flows into that river near Beaume-des-Dames, above Besançon. It is still marked by some castle and monastic ruins. Erminfrid was born of noble parents, and with his brother Wandalen passed some years of early life at the court of Clotaire II. About 627 he entered monastic life under abbat Waldebert at Luxovium (Luxeuil), the foundation of Columbanus, and at that time in the freshness of its fame. A monastery had been already erected at Cusantia by a nobleman named Iserius, and the property came by inheritance to Ermenfrid, who restored or enlarged the buildings, and, withdrawing from Luxeuil, went to preside there in person. Before the third year of Dagobert he subjected the house as a priory to Luxeuil. After a good old age he was buried near his brother in the church of St. John the Baptist at Cusantia, and his memory was long afterwards venerated in those parts. He was commemorated on Sept. 25. His life by Egilbert or Gilbert, a subsequent prior of Cusantia, is given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Sept. vii. 111). The monastery was in the 12th century made a priory of St. Eugendus Jurensis, now St. Claude, on the southern slopes of the Jura, at the junction of the Bienne and its affluent the Tacon.

[T. W. D.]

ERMENFRIDUS (2) (ERMENFREDUS, HERMANFROIZ), the slayer of Ebroin mayor of the palace, was a Frank noble, who held a fiscal office in the kingdom of Theodoric III. Ebroin had deprived him of the greater part of his property, and threatened him with death. Ermenfridus, driven to despair, resolved to anticipate his persecutor. Stationing himself one Sunday morning at daybreak before Ebroin's door, he struck him down with his sword as he issued forth to attend matins (A.D. 681). He made good his escape to Austrasia, where he was welcomed by Ebroin's foe, duke Pippin. (*Vita S. Leodegar.* auct. anon. xvi.; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 694, Paris, 1668–1701; Fredegar. *Chron. Cont.* xcviii.; *Gesta Regum Francorum*, xlvii.; Sigeb. Gembl. *Chron.* ann. 688; *Chron. S. Denis*, v. 24; *Brev. Chron.* in Bouquet, iii. 365.) [S. A. B.]

ERMENFRIDUS (3) (*Gall. Christ.* v. 894), abbat of Augia Dives, and bishop of Constance. [ERNFRIDUS.] [C. H.]

ERMENGITHA (Flor. Wig. *ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 635 C), daughter of Eormenred king of Kent. [EORMENGITHA.] [C. H.]

ERMENHILDA (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 76, ed. Hardy; Wend. *F. H.* ann. 676, ed. Coxe), **ERMENILDA** (Flor. Wig. *ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 635 D, 637 E; Thom. Eliens. in *Ang. Sac.* i. 596; Dugd. *Monast.* i. 458, ii. 49; Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 368, 369), daughter of Earcombert king of Kent, queen of Mercia, abbess. [EORMENGILDA.] [C. H.]

ERMENIUS, thirty-first occupant of the see of Avignon, succeeding Eucherius and followed by Antoninus. The compilers of the *Gallia Christiana* (i. 865) quote an old codex to the effect that he was born in Burgundy, and that, when ordained bishop by St. Caesarius of Arles, he was a priest or abbat of the monastery of the Holy Cross at Arles. Pope Boniface II., in a letter to Caesarius, speaks of Armenius, presbyter and abbat, as the bearer of letters from Caesarius (A.D. 530). The variation in the initial letter is of no great weight. He is said to have died in A.D. 547. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 865; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxv. 31.) [S. A. B.]

ERMENO, bishop of Senlis. [ERMINUS.]

ERMENRED (*A. S. C.* ann. 640, in *M. H. B.* 310; Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 675, in *M. H. B.* 534 E; id. *ad Chron. App.* in *M. H. B.* 638 A; Wend. *F. H.* ann. 640, 654; Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 78, ed. Hardy), son of Eadbald king of Kent. [EORMENRED.] [C. H.]

ERMENTHEUS, nineteenth bishop of Toul, succeeded Adeodatus, after whose death the see was vacant for some months, owing to the wars between Dagobert II. of Austrasia, and Theodoric III. of Burgundy. He flourished about 680, and is said to have obtained from Theodoric the restitution of a piece of land called Ociacavilla, wrongly held from the church by count Hildrannus. He was succeeded by Magnaldus. (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 964.) [S. A. B.]

ERMENTRANNUS, an archdeacon who subscribed the council of Rouen, held in A.D. 682. (Baron. an. *A. E.* 682, n. xi.; Labbe, *Conc.* vii. 1449.) [S. A. B.]

ERMENTRUDA, a matron of rank, who bequeathed certain possessions to certain churches about A.D. 700 at Paris. A long fragment of her will remains, signed by her friend count Mummolus and other distinguished persons. Its Latinity is extremely barbarous. Among churches she mentions the basilica of the Holy Cross or of St. Vincent of Paris, also that of St. Symphorian. Among her bequests is the chariot in which she was driven, with the oxen that belonged to it. This was the custom of noble ladies under the Merovingian kings. (Greg. Turon. *Hist.* iii. 26. The will is given in *Eccles. Monum.* saec. vii. et viii. in Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1243.) [W. M. S.]

ERMENUS (ERMENARIUS, ERMENO), 23rd bishop of Limoges, succeeding Caesarius, and followed by Salutaris. In A.D. 690 he is said to have buried the remains of St. Tillo (St. Theau), the recluse of Solignac, and to have been by them miraculously healed of an infirmity. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 505.) [S. A. B.]

ERMESINDA (BERMESINDA), Pelayo's daughter and the wife of Alfonso the Catholic duke of Cantabria. Through her marriage (? before 737) with Alfonso the two small Christian states of Cantabria and Asturias were, after Favila's death, united, when Alfonso succeeded his brother-in-law, in right of his wife, and in the absence of other sons of Pelayo. The union thus achieved of the whole of the country north of the Asturias mountains, between the Pyrenees and Gallicia under one head, is of course an important step in the history of the infant kingdom. [ALFONSO I.] Ermesinda was the mother of Froila I. (q. v.) and Vimaranus, and of Adosinda, who afterwards became the wife of Silo, and who is mentioned in the *Libellus* of Beatus and Etherius against Elipando. [ADOPTIONISTS.] Alfonso the Catholic and his wife were buried together in the monastery of St. Mary, near Cangas (Seb. Sal. cap. 15, apud *Esp. Sagr.* xiii.), but her tomb, together with Alfonso's, is now shewn in the church of Covadonga (Florez, *Reynas de España*, i. 44). [M. A. W.]

ERMINA. [ERNIN (7).]

ERMINFRID, son of Eadbald king of Kent. [EORMENRED.] [C. H.]

ERMINUS, ST., born at Laudunum (Laon) in Picardy. Becoming famous for his learning and piety, he was removed to the monastery of Laubium (Lobbes), on the left bank of the Sambre, nearly opposite Thuin, in Hainault, where he succeeded St. Ursmarus as abbat and bishop. He excelled as a preacher, and was held in great repute as a prophet. He died A.D. 737, and was commemorated on April 25. (*Acta SS.* 25 Ap. iii. 374; Baron. *Annales Eccles.* A.D. 737, 3.) [I. G. S.]

ERMINUS (ERMENO, HERMINIUS, ERMENALDUS), twenty-fifth bishop of Senlis, following Ragnaldus, and succeeded by Godefredus. All we know of him is that he was present at three councils held at Rheims in A.D. 813, at Noyon in 814, and at Aix-la-Chapelle in 816. (*Gall. Christ.* x. 1384; Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rhem.* ii. 18; Labbe, *Conc.* ix. 339, 393, 399.) [S. A. B.]

ERMIUS, bishop of Nantes. [ENNIUS.]

ERMOALD (1), a Frank noble near Chartres in the 6th century, who after an ill-spent life sent a present of forty solidi on his death-bed to the abbat Launomarus with a request that he would pray for his recovery. The abbat returned the money with this text, "The sacrifices of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord." (*Vita Launomari*, cap. iv. § 19, Boll. *Acta SS.* 19 Jan. ii. 233.) [T. W. D.]

ERMOALD (2), abbat of the monastery of St. Salvator ("domini Salvatoris locus qui dicitur Leones") c. 760. (*Catalogus Rerum Langob. et Ital.* Brixiensis et Nonantulus, in *Monum. Rerum Ital.* 1878, p. 503.) [A. H. D. A.]

ERMOLANDUS, bishop in Brittany, 710.

ERMULFUS, bishop of Coimbra in 633, in which year Renatus, archpriest of Coimbra, signs as his vicar the acts of the fourth council of Toledo. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiii. 73, Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385.) [LUCENCIUS.] [M. A. W.]

ERMUVOLFUS (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 733, iv.), heretic. [EREMWULFUS.] [C. H.]

ERNACHUAG, of Dun-da-en, is given in the *Felire of Aengus* at Oct. 30 as "Ernachuag, son of Jairnn his name, and at Dun-da-en in the Feevah (wood) of Dalaradia he is commemorated" (Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 300, 380). The place is now Duneane, in the barony of Upper Toome, co. Antrim, and the person is to be distinguished from Ercnat or Herenat virgin of Duneane (Oct. 30), and Ernach, son of Echin (Oct. 30). [J. G.]

ERNADHACH (EIRENACH), son of Echin, abbat of Leithghlinn (Leighlin, co. Carlow), died A.D. 774 (*Ann. Ult.* 773; *Four Mast.* 769). [J. G.]

ERNAEUS (ERNEUS, ERINEUS, HERNEUS), founder and abbat of the monastery of St. Martin, near Le Mans, in the 6th century. His name appears only in modern martyrologies. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 9 Aug. ii. 425; *Gallia Christ.* xiv. 432.) [T. W. D.]

ERNAN is a name which assumes many forms, such as ERNEN, ERNIN, also MERNOC, MARNOCK (from the use of the affectionate prefix *Mo* and of the diminutive *oc*), and is sometimes turned into the Latin equivalent FERREOLUS; it frequently occurs in the Scotch and Irish Hagiologies. O'Hanlon (*Irish Saints*, i. 175 n. [6]) gives a list of twenty-five with their days of dedication in the kalendars. [J. G.]

ERNAN (1), son of Aedh. Commem. May 16. O'Clery (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 133) supposes this to be Ernin, son of Aedh, of the race of Irial, son of Conall Cearnach, as he does not find any other Ernan, son of Aedh, in the Saint History or Naomhseanchus. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 17 n. [11]) says he flourished in Ulster about A.D. 660. [J. G.]

ERNAN (2), son of Eoghan. Commem. Jan. 1. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 7–9) gives a short memoir of this Ernan, and in a note adds an interesting account of this and the other Ernans, associated with the name of St. Columba, namely, the uncle and two nephews of that saint, and the little boy whom he blessed and declared would be in course of time so famous. St. Ernan of Jan. 1 was nephew of St. Columba, being son of Eoghan, son of Feilim or Feidhlimidh, and thus was connected with the ruling families of the Dalriadic Scots. In the Appendix to Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col.*) in Codex B we find "Iogen germanus frater Columbae junior." But concerning Ernan Boethius and Dempster have these serious mistakes, which Colgan has generally accepted; they have confounded him with Ernan, the uncle of St. Columba and praepositus of Hinba, and thus have included him among the twelve who accompanied St. Columba from Ireland; they have given him the name of Ethernan, and made him brother of Cibthachus or Cobthach, brother of St. Baithen (June 9) Ethernan; and based on these, they have, rightly or wrongly, supposed that he was many years with his uncle in Scotland before returning to take up his residence in Ireland (Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 15, works, vi. 237; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 157; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 7, 8). Whether he was in Scotland or how long he remained we really do not know, but he outlived St. Columba by a long time, as when he was a very old man he related to St. Adamnan (who was born A.D. 624) the wonderful vision vouchsafed to himself and others when they were fishing in the river Finn, in Donegal, on the night of St. Columba's death; he assured St. Adamnan, who was then a youth, that the whole vault of heaven suddenly became illuminated, and, when he raised his eyes and looked to the east, he saw something like an immense pillar of fire, which seemed to be ascending into heaven, and when it penetrated the heavens darkness followed, as if the sun had just set. St. Adamnan's informant was, he says (*Vit. St. Colum.* iii. c. 24), "a very old man, a servant of Christ, whose name may be called Ferreol, but in the Scotic tongue Ernene, of the race of Mocufirroide, who, as being himself a holy monk, is buried in the Ridge of Tomma (now Drumhome), amidst the remains of other monks of St. Columba, and awaits the resurrection with the saints" (Reeves, *Adamnan*, 237–8). He is called Mocufirroide, because he was descended from Fergus, son of Conall Gulban. He established himself, apparently neither as abbat nor bishop, at Druim-Tomma, in the region of Tyr-Aedha (now Drumhome, in the barony of Tirhugh, co. Donegal), and, as said above, died and was buried there about A.D. 640 or a few years later (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 11, § 10; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 21, 429; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 332–3). With so many Ernans identification is difficult, but this person is said to be patron of Kilviceuen, (the Church of the Son of Eoghan), in Mull, and of Killernan. He may also have given its name to Killearn, Kilernadil, or Kilearnadale, a parish in Jura, Argyleshire, and now united to Colonsay (C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. 276; Monro, *West. Islands*, 117; Martin, *West. Islands*, 239). Ussher (*Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, works, vi. 540) identifies him with the Ernian who appears in pope John's pastoral letters, but the person was really St. Ernan (Aug. 17), of Torach or Tory. In the Scotch kalendars he is called Ethernan, and commemorated on Dec. 21 and 22. Thus Adam King has "Dec. 22, St. Ethernane, bishop and confess., disciple to St. Colme in Scotland under king Aidanus, A.D. 582." Dempster has on the same day, "In Scotia Ethernani episcopi qui in Insulis Scoticis natus, sancti Columbae discipulus fuit;" and Camerarius completes the identification, "Dec. 21, S. Ethernanus, abbas et confessor, S. Columbae, ex fratre nepos" [ETHERNAN.] (Bp. Forbes, *Kal.* 170, 222, 243). [J. G.]

ERNAN (3), abbat of Hinba. He was uncle of St. Columba, and accompanied him to Iona. Being brother of St. Columba's mother Eithne, he was son of Dina, son of Noe, of the race of Cathaeir Mór. He was placed by St. Columba in charge of the monastery founded by St. Columba at Hinba, but the place, though evidently a favourite resort for St. Columba and the scene of many wonders, such as the appearance of the fiery pillar above St. Columba's head when he celebrated the Eucharist in the presence of St. Comgall (May 10), of Bangor, St. Cainneoh (Oct. 11) of Aghaboe, St. Brendan (May 16) of Clon-

fert, and St. Corbmac Ua Luathain or O'Lethan (June 21) of Derry, and again the "glorious and unspeakable visitation" made for three days and three nights by the Spirit to St. Columba (Adamnan, *Vit. S. Columb.* iii. cc. 17, 18), is not clearly identified, though probably it was Elachnave, one of the Garveloch group of islands. He died at Iona immediately on his arrival from Hinba, and before St. Columba and he could meet, according to the prophecy of St. Columba (Adamnan, *Vit. S. Columb.* i. c. 35). (On his life, see Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 11, § 13; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 15, works, vi. 237 sq.; Tanner, *Bibl.* 264; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 8, n. [3], and *Tr. Thaum.* 379–80, 490; but Colgan errs in regarding him as the same with Ernin or Mernoc, of Rathnoi; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 26, 87, 246–7, et al.) Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 253) ascribes to him *Exhortationes ad fratres in Hinba insula*, lib. i., and *In regulam S. P. Columbae*, lib. i., but they probably never existed. [J. G.]

ERNAN (4), nephew of St. Columba, son of his sister Cumania and her husband Degillus, but it is doubtful as to whether he has any dedication, either as Ernan or Mernoc, the latter name being given him in the list, in Codex B, of St. Columba's relations. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 8 n. [3], and *Tr. Thaum.* 490 n. [52], 491 n. [81]; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 15, works, vi. 231; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 246.) [J. G.]

ERNAN (5) of Cill-na-sagart, Oct. 26. In the Martyrologies he is "Ernan of Miodhluachair, of Cill-nasagart" (*Mart. Doneg.*), Miodhluachair being the name of the great road which led from Leinster to Armagh, but beyond this we have no information regarding his time, place, or history. Dr. Reeves, however, suggests the probability of his being Ternoc, son of Ciaran, who died A.D. 716 (*Ann. Tigh.*), and whose memorial is still seen in the form of a pillar-stone at Kilnasagart, near Jonesborough, co. Armagh. [TERNOC.] (*Ulst. Journ. Arch.* i. 223–24; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 285.) [J. G.]

ERNAN (6) of Cluain-deochra, Jan. 11. In St. Fechin's Life (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 138, c. 38, 142 n. [29]) there is a notice of his paying a visit to St. Ernan in his monastery of Cluain-deochra, in Meath; he was so annoyed with the sound of the mill beside the guest-house or hospice that he gave it his blessing, and thereby delivered the guests of all future time from the noise of the grinding. O'Clery, by his entry in the *Mart. Doneg.* (by Todd and Reeves, 13) evidently seeks to identify this Ernan as Ernin, son of Crasen, but they are probably different persons; others regard him as the same with Ernan, of Torach; and Archdall has placed Cluain-deochra at Clonrane on the Brosna, co. Westmeath. But by either name the place is unknown, and the facts regarding the saint remain in uncertainty (Archdall, *Mon. Hib.* 708; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 238; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 174–75, ii. 448). [J. G.]

ERNAN (7) of Tech-ernain, Jan. 17. He is thus designated in *Mart. Doneg.*; in *Mart. Tallaght* on this day is "Ernain ocus Hernind o Tigh-Ulltain," Tigh probably being the place, and Ulltain the name of another person, as in *Mart. Doneg.* Colgan somewhat doubtfully suggests his identification with Ernan or Mernoc, nephew of St. Columba and son of Degillus (see above, No. 4); efforts also are made towards localising Tigh or Tigh-ernain, in the counties of Meath and Westmeath, but with no very marked success. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 491 n. [81]; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 21; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* xii.; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 297, 298.) [J. G.]

ERNAN (8) of Torach, Aug. 17. He was son of Colman, son of Maenan, son of Muiredhach, of the race of Eoghan, son of Niall, and thus second cousin to Damongoch, son of Saran, pilgrim of Tory. O'Donell (*St. Columb*, i. cc. 73) relates the wonderful history connected with the foundation of the first church on the island of Torach or Tory, on the north coast of Donegal, and the placing St. Ernan over it as its first abbat, but Colgan is mistaken in trying to identify him with Ernan (Jan. 11) of Cluain-deochra, in Meath. He was evidently a well-known person in his day, and his name appears as Ernianus or Hernianus in the famous letter which John the pope-elect (Bede, ii. c. 19) addressed in A.D. 640 to the clergy of the north of Ireland, urging them to conformity with the rest of Christendom upon the Paschal questions and to a firm opposition to Pelagianism. [CRONAN (11).] St. Ernan, of Torach, flourished about A.D. 650 (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 17 n. [11], and *Tr. Thaum.* 401, 451 n. [70], 490 n. [51]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. c. 15, § 11; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 238; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, works, vi. 540–1; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 174; *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* 150 n., 153; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 253.) [J. G.]

ERNANIA was a nun in a monastery called Druim-forachadh or Kill-Ua-sona, in Carbery, co. Longford, who is said in the *Vita St. Fechini* to have drawn milk from a hind for the use of those labouring in the mill (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 138, c. 41, 140 n. [31]). [J. G.]

ERNDRUDA, abbess. [ERENDRUDA.]

ERNENEUS, Scottish saint. [ERENAEUS.]

ERNENGILDA, Irish saint. [ERMEN.]

ERNESTUS, abbat, mentioned as present at a council held at Dingolvinga, or Dingolfing, in Bavaria (Baron. *Annales Eccles.* A.D. 772, 24). [I. G. S.]

ERNEUS, abbat of Le Mans. [ERNAEUS.]

ERNFRIDUS (ERENFRIDUS, ANEFRIDUS), abbat of Augia Dives, and 18th bishop of Constance, succeeding Rudoltus or Rodulfus, and followed by Sidoinus or Sidonius. In the Chronicle of Hermannus Contractus (ad an. 736, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxliii. 157), he is given as the successor of Audoinus, who preceded Rudoltus, but a letter addressed by pope Gregory III. in 738 to various German bishops, and amongst them Rodulfus (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 580), has induced the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (v. 894) to insert his name between those of Audoinus and Ernfrid. The latter's episcopate lasted ten years, and his death is placed in the year 748. [S. A. B.]

ERNIN (ERNENE) is only another form of the name of ERNAN, and often, like it, becomes MERNOC, MARNOC, and MARNAN. In the Irish Martyrologies there are many Ernins, but com-

paratively few admit of identification or present any point of use or interest.

(1) Of Cluain-railgheach, commemorated Aug. 5. In the *Life of St. Farannan* (Feb. 15) this Ernin is included in the list of those prelates who met St. Columba on one occasion of his returning to Ireland, but from this, which is so full of anachronisms, nothing can be deduced as to his time or history; Cluain-railgheach is said to be in Meath (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 213; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 337, c. 7, 339 n. [27]).

(2) Of Cremchoill, commemorated May 31. He has his commemoration on this day in *Mart. Doneg.*, but in *Mart. Tallaght* he is mixed up with Eoghan, abbat of Magh-bile. [EOGHAN (6).] The name of his church has passed through a series of changes, Crawmkill, Croghill, Craughill, Crewill, to the present Cranfield, a parish in the barony of Upper Toome, co. Antrim. (Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 87 et al.; Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places*, 2 ser. 329; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 650, c. 8.)

(3) Of Rathnoi, commemorated Aug. 18. The entry in *Mart. Doneg.* (by Todd and Reeves, 223) is "Ernin, *i.e.* Mernog, of Rath-noi, in Ui-Garchon, *i.e.* in Fotharta, of Leinster: and of Cill-draighnech, in Ui-drona;" and the entry in *Mart. Tall.* (by Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* xxxii.) is "Ernini Mac Creisini, o Raithnui, in h. Garrchon." The person thus designated is the saint who in Ireland is usually known as Ernin or Mernoc, and in Scotland as Marnoch,—mo-ernin-occ, "my dear little Ernin." [MARNOCH.] He was son of Crasen or Cressin, and probably belonged to the neighbourhood of Clonmacnoise, in the barony of Garrycastle, King's County. On one occasion when St. Columba visited that monastery, while he was founding his own one at Derry, as related by St. Adamnan (*Vit. St. Columb.* i. 3), and was being conveyed with great state and acclamation by the assembled monks into the precincts of the monastery, there came, among the crowd, a poor lad, mean in dress and bearing, and evidently not much thought of by his seniors. Yet St. Columba prophesied his piety, eloquence, and renown. "This," says St. Adamnan, "was Ernene, son of Crasen, who was afterwards famous and most highly honoured in all the churches of Scotia" (Ireland) (Reeves, *Adamnan*, 25–6). This was about A.D. 590. His death, unnoticed in the *Ann. Four Mast.*, took place in the year 635 (*Ann. Tig.*). Ussher says he flourished about that time in Ireland, but evidently that great antiquary's mind was in the utmost confusion regarding the saint. His churches are Rathnaoi, now Rathnew, the parochial name of Wicklow, and Kill-droighneach, in Ui-drona, now Killdreenagh, a townland in the parish of Dunleckny, barony of Idrone East, and county of Carlow. (Reeves, *Adamnan*, 256; Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, iii. 209–10, Edinb. 1861; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 17, § 1; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 502, 540–41; Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 2 ser. 4; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 340, c. 3, 373 n. [29], 401, c. 71, 434, c. 17, 450 n. [69].)

(4) Son of Finnchan, abbat of Leithglinn (Leighlin, co. Carlow). Commemorated Nov. 12 (*Mart. Doneg.*).

(5) Cas, of Leithglinn (Leighlin, co. Carlow)' is commemorated in *Mart. Doneg.* and *Mart Tall.* on Feb. 23, but otherwise unknown (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 681).

(6) The sons of one of this name had their dedication on Sept. 22, in Inismac-n-Ernin or Inishmacnerin, now Church Island, in Lough Key, co. Roscommon (*Mart. Doneg.*).

(7) Ernin or Ermina, daughter of Airchuin or Archenn, and by some identified with Febair or Fedbair (Nov. 6), is commemorated in the Irish Martyrologies on Feb. 28, and placed by the Bollandists among their praetermissi. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 733.) [J. G.]

ERNISIUS, presbyter, one of two who are said to have founded Llanthony, Monmouthshire, in the time of St. David, its original patron (Girald. Cambr. *Itin. Kamb.* i. c. 3, wks. vi. 40). [J. G.]

ERNTRUDIS (Hund. *Metrop. Salisburg.* p. 2, ed. 1719), abbess. [ERENDRUDIS.] [C. H.]

ERONUS (HERO), twenty-eighth bishop of Langres, succeeding Garobaldus, and followed by Astoricus. In the chronicle of the Monastery of St. Benignus (quoted Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 686, n. xxxix., tom. iv. p. 159, and *Gall. Christ.* iv. 524), it is related that in the time of Wulfecrannus, the abbat, the head of the church of Langres was the venerable bishop Eronus, who, among other benefits which he conferred upon that monastery, obtained from popes Johannes and Sergius a mandate that none should dare to make or consecrate any cemetery besides that belonging to the church of St. Benignus. And, in accordance with this, there is extant a charter given by pope Sergius in the tenth year of his reign, confirming to the monks of St. Benignus the privileges of their cemetery. The genuineness of this instrument, however, is called in question by Le Cointe, from internal evidence. Eronus died about A.D. 713, (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 35; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 524; Le Cointe, an. 697, n. iii., tom. iv. p. 336, and an. 713, n. xxxvii., tom. iv. 526). [S. A. B.]

EROS (Ἔρως, HEROS, HERUS), fifth bishop of Antioch, coming between Cornelius and Theophilus (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 20; Niceph. Call. *H. E.* iii. 25, p. 258; Georg. Syncell. p. 350 B). He has been called (as by Constantius, *ut inf.*) Heros II. through the mistake of supposing that the name of the third bishop (Heron, Ἥρων) might be a slight variety of Ἔρως. Fleury (lib. iii. 33, 39) miscalls him Heron. There is some discrepancy as to the dates of Eros. The Chronicle of Eusebius places his accession under A.D. 143, there stating that he ruled twenty-four years, while Theophilus is made to succeed under A.D. 170, so that either there was an interregnum or there must be an error in the "twenty-four years," which, however, is the authoritative reading: it is the one adopted by Migne. The episcopate of Eros is stated to have lasted twenty-six years by Syncellus, who is here followed by some in preference to Eusebius, as *e.g.* by Boschius, who gives A.D. 142–168. Constantius (in Neale's *Patriarchs of Antioch*) has 151–169. Eros of Antioch is thought by Neale (*Pat. Ant.* p. 24) to be the Ἔρως of a

Greek iambic couplet at June 24 of the *Menaea*. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 701; Boschius, *Patr. Ant.* p. 11, in Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iv. Introd.) [C. H.]

EROS, bishop of Arles. [HEROS.]

EROTEIS, martyr. [CAPITOLINA.]

ERPULION (EXPULION), son of Witiza king of Spain. On his father's death he fled with his brother Farmarius or Furmalus to Africa, where count Julian (the husband of their father's sister) espoused their cause against Roderick, and occasioned the Moorish conquest of Spain. Mariana calls the two brothers Eba and Sisebutus. (Lucas Tudens. *Chron.* ann. 748 in Schott. *Hisp. Illust.* tom. iv. p. 70; Marian. *De Reb. Hisp.* lib. vi. cap. 19, vol. i. 239, 240, 243; Baron. *A. E.* 713, 19.) [T. W. D.]

ERPWALD (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iii. ann. 582, in *M. H. B.* 720 D), king of East Anglia. [EARPWALD.] [C. H.]

ERTHA, Irish saint. [BLANE.]

ERTHAD, Pictish saint. [IRCHAD.]

ERVIGIUS (1), ERVIG, ERWICH, Gothic king of Spain from A.D. 680 to 687. Sebastian of Salamanca, a 9th-century chronicler (*Esp. Sagr.* xiii. 476) says that his father Ardabastus was a Greek exile from Byzantium, who married a relation of king Kindasvinth. What is more probable is that Ardabastus was a native of one of the coast towns which remained under Byzantine rule up to 625, or possibly of Tingis or Septum, which still obeyed Byzantine governors at the time of the Moorish invasion. Anyhow, his marriage had brought him within the circle of the Gothic nobility, and we find his son Erwig among Wamba's *palatini* at the time of the extraordinary conspiracy which overthrew that king. [WAMBA.] What was Ervig's share in the plot cannot now be made out with certainty. The poison story, however (Sebastian of Salamanca, in *Esp. Sagr.* xiii.), seems to be a legendary accretion of later times. What probably happened was that in the unconsciousness of illness Wamba was hurried into the penitential habit (see for an account of this custom and its abuses, legislated upon before Wamba's time by Kindasvinth, Masdeu's *Hist. de España*, vol. xi. *España Goda*, p. 272), that when he returned to his senses he found arrayed against him a conspiracy of the nobility and clergy, headed by Ervig and the famous Julian of Toledo, too formidable to be resisted, and by which he was forced first to surrender his crown, and secondly to subscribe to two documents: (*a*) nominating Ervig his successor, (*b*) entreating the metropolitan of Toledo to anoint Ervig king. Accordingly, on the 22nd of October, 680, eighteen days after the monastic habit had been imposed upon Wamba, Ervig was anointed king by Julian (the second instance of anointing known in Spanish history; Wamba's is the first). On the 9th of January the twelfth Council of Toledo, called by Ervig, met in the church of the Holy Apostles. It consisted of thirty-four bishops, four abbats, three proxies, and fifteen viri illustres officii palatini. The king appeared, asked, kneeling, for the prayers of the bishops, implored them to find remedies for the diseases of the state, and handed to them a *tomus* containing his wishes and recommendations. He then retired, and the *tomus* was read. In it the council was asked to confirm his election to the throne, to approve his fresh laws against the Jews, twenty of which had been drawn up by himself and Julian in the interval between his accession and the assembly of the council, as well as to reaffirm the existing laws (*Lex Visigothorum*, edition by Spanish Academy, Madrid, 1815, tit. 12, lib. 3). The modification of Wamba's law of military service, *De his qui ad bellum non vadunt*, is recommended also on the ground that half the population of Spain had forfeited civil rights under its over-strict provisions. The king had indeed resolved to amend the law for the future, but the council is asked to reinstate those who have already suffered from it.

The four canons which follow are of considerable historical and constitutional interest. The first recognises the legality of Ervig's title to the throne. The council have, it says, examined three documents laid before them: (1) a declaration signed by the *seniores* of the palace, describing the assumption of the ecclesiastical dress and tonsure by Wamba; (2) a paper in which Wamba names Ervig his successor; (3) a document addressed to Julian by Wamba, in which Julian is directed to anoint Ervig king. After inspection of these it declares Ervig elected king by the unanimous consent of all the bishops, and releases the people from the oath of allegiance to Wamba. May anathema and the vengeance of God overtake any who lift a hand against Ervig.

The second canon provides that all who have assumed the garb of penitence, *even against their will*, shall thenceforward be compelled to keep their oath, and to refrain from all temporal employments. The argument that the vow was made for them, and the dress assumed by them without their assent and consciousness, is to avail them nothing. Children are not conscious in baptism of what is done for them, but the baptismal vow is none the less binding. Notwithstanding the priest who rashly imposes the penitential dress upon an unwilling or unconscious person is to be punished by a year's excommunication. It shall be sufficient, however, if he can prove that the penitential dress was asked for by signs only, *manuum indiciis*. (Under Kindasvinth, Co. Tol. x. 3, a declaration in writing had been required.) This canon is of course levelled against the still living Wamba.

The third canon provides for the readmission into ecclesiastical communion of certain political offenders who had been pardoned by the king and invited by him to the royal table. It is not fitting that those "who eat with the king" should lie under the bann of the church. Dahn (*Könige der Germanen*, Vte Abtheilung, 477) takes this as referring to Ervig's co-conspirators, who had been the traitors of Wamba's reign, and most probably concerned in Paul's rebellion and by whose help, together with that of the church, Ervig had risen to power.

Stephen, metropolitan of Merida, is then introduced, and implores the pardon of the assembled bishops for his complicity in certain acts of Wamba. Wamba had attempted with "his

accustomed self-will" to institute two new bishoprics, upon his own responsibility only. Stephen pleads compulsion by the king, and the fourth canon absolves him, and arranges what is to be done with regard to the bishoprics. The fifth canon restores to all those who had suffered outlawry for the violation of Wamba's military law, the capacity of giving evidence, together with the titles of their former rank and class. In the ninth canon the laws against the Jews, of which the titles as given in the acts correspond exactly with those now standing in the above-quoted book and title of the *Fuero Juzgo*, are confirmed. The sixth canon is perhaps the most important of the council. It provides for the transference of the right of election to bishoprics to the metropolitan of Toledo and the king only, abolishing thereby at one fell swoop all the constitutional process of election by clergy and people, consecration by metropolitan and suffragans, and confirmation by the crown, which had been decreed by Cc. Tol. iv. 19. We shall have more to say of this famous canon under the head of Julian. In connexion with Ervig it is interesting, as throwing light upon the character and objects of the conspiracy to which he owed his throne.

The twelfth council of Toledo, as Helfferich has already pointed out (*Entstehung und Geschichte*, &c. 194), was imitated in all points from the eighth council under Rekesvinth. "Like Rekesvinth, Ervig calls the council in January, makes a speech, brings forward proposals of legislation, has the decisions drawn up in twelve canons, the thirteenth canon being merely a thanksgiving which has its parallel also in the eighth council, orders the same complete list of signatures, and that decretum and lex shall not be wanting (see C. Tol. viii.; Aguirre-Catalani iii. 448) appends a decretum and constitutio from Gundemar's time." [GUNTHIMAR.] The intention seems to have been to connect the new reign immediately with that of Rekesvinth, Ervig's relation, passing over the reign of Wamba, and thus to give it, if possible, an air of legitimacy.

Nearly three years later (Nov. 4, 683) Ervig summoned the thirteenth council of Toledo, which, under the presidency of Julian, consisted of forty-seven bishops, nine abbats, twenty-six proxies, and twenty-six viri illustres. The same ceremonies were observed as at the preceding council, and we have again the king's appearance among the bishops, his prostration before the fathers (coram coetus vestri reverentia humilis devotusque prosternor), and the delivery of the *tomus*. In this council those who had suffered outlawry and confiscation of goods under the previous reign on account of Paul's rebellion were still further propitiated. Canon 1 ordered the restitution of the forfeited property except in cases where the property had been already bestowed on others. All that still remained in the royal treasury (fisci—juribus applicata) of the confiscated goods was ordered to be restored. Canon 2 forbade the arbitrary imprisonment or ill-treatment of *palatini* or ecclesiastics. Accused persons of high ecclesiastical or secular rank were not to be tortured or chained or robbed of their goods before trial. They were to be brought without delay before the tribunal of their peers, and there judged after a fair hearing. By canon 3 all arrears of taxes up to the first year of Ervig's reign were remitted, a measure which looks like a bid for popularity on the part of a consciously weak government. Canon 4, *de Munitione Regis Prolis*, is the first appearance of a form which recurs in later councils under Egica. Decrees on the same subject, differently worded, are to be found in C. Tol. v. 2 and C. Tol. vi. 16. Attempts to murder the queen or the royal family, to despoil them of their goods, to impose the tonsure upon the sons or the religious habit on the daughters or daughters-in-law, to inflict exile, mutilation, or stripes upon any of them, are described and denounced with singular minuteness. We shall find this canon first attacked and then imitated by Egica, Ervig's successor (q. v.) Canon 5, which no doubt had a clear political meaning at the time, is now inexplicable to us. It forbids the marriage of a king's widow with any one, even though a king himself, much less with a subject. It cannot be allowed that a former queen, a part of the body of the deceased king, should give herself to a subject. The third council of Saragossa, held in 691, went further than this, and drew up a canon (Can. 5, Hefele, *Conc.-Gesch.* iii. 297) directing that a royal widow should be compelled to retire into a cloister immediately after her husband's death. Canon 6 provided that henceforward no slave or freedman should ever be admitted to the palace offices. "Exceptis servis vel libertis fiscalibus," no non-noble person should be made administrator of the fiscus or of the royal property. The canon contains an interesting reference to past slave revolts.

For the remaining six canons of C. Tol. xiii. on matters of ecclesiastical discipline see Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 285, or Hefele, *Conc.-Gesch.* iii. 289. The council was scarcely over, and all the members of it had not yet left Toledo, when legates arrived from pope Leo II. (towards the end of Nov. or Dec. 683) asking for the confirmation in council by all the Spanish bishops of the acts of the sixth general council against the Monothelites. The king and Julian, however, replied that it was impossible immediately to reassemble the national council which had just broken up, and to compel distant bishops to undertake another winter journey. They consented, however, to call a council for the following year, and meanwhile copies of the acts of the Council of Constantinople were sent to every metropolitan to receive the signatures of the bishops of his province. In Nov. 684 the fourteenth council of Toledo met. Only seventeen bishops from Carthaginensis were present, though the metropolitans of Tarragona, Narbonne, Merida, Braga, and Seville sent vicars. Taken in connexion with the canon of the twelfth council upon which rests the primacy of Toledo, it is noticeable that here, as in the thirteenth and fifteenth councils, Julian alone signs as metropolitanus out of the six Spanish metropolitans. All the rest (Merida, Braga, Tarragona, Narbonne, and Seville) sign as plain episcopi. Julian indeed was at this time the greatest power in the state, and seems to have completely governed the vacillating and often conscience-stricken Ervig.

At the C. Tol. xiv. the acts of the sixth general synod were approved, and the acts of the council of Chalcedon were ordered to be incorporated in

the *Codex Canonum* of the Spanish church (drawn up probably before 633). Three years afterwards, on the 14th November, 687, Ervig laid down his ill-won dignity, and died a few days afterwards in a monastery. He had previously, to the exclusion of his own sons, named Egica, Wamba's nephew and the husband of his daughter, Cixilo, as his successor—an act no doubt of amends and conciliation towards the party of the dispossessed king. Ervig made certain alterations in the *Fuero Juzgo*, for an account of which see Helfferich, p. 200. Sebastian of Salamanca says of him "leges a Wambane institutas corrupit et alias ex nomine suo edidit." The truth, however, seems to be that, putting the Jew laws out of count, the revision of which he himself speaks in i. 2, 1 of the *Fuero Juzgo* was confined to the alteration of Wamba's law of military service (ix. 2, 8), the abolition of a law of Kindasvinth on the subject of false witness (ii. 4, 7), and the addition of certain unimportant laws, one of which certainly was afterwards rehandled by Egica.

The acts of the twelfth and thirteenth councils of Toledo throw a curious and uncertain light on this reign of crime and disaster. Ervig seems to have come to power as the instrument of the vengeance of the church and nobility upon his predecessor, who had attacked the privileges and attempted to tame the excesses of both orders. His own reign appears to have been little more than a series of efforts, more or less successful, to maintain by concessions to the powerful parties who had carried him to power, the sceptre thus obtained. By the modification of the law of military service, by the atrocious laws against the Jews, and by the concentration of the whole power of the church in the hands of the metropolitan of Toledo, the stability and coherence of the Gothic state were sensibly shaken. The primacy of Toledo had been Julian's reward for his share in the conspiracy against Wamba. He used it mainly in those frightful persecutions of the Jews, which had an important influence upon the coming downfall of the Gothic kingdom (Dozy, *Hist. des Mussulmans d'Espagne*, ii. 26). On the other hand the weakening of Wamba's military law left the country defenceless against the attacks of Mousa and Tarik thirty years later. "With Ervig's accession," says Gams, "began the thirty years of agony and anarchy ended by the battle of the Guadalete."

See the Latin and Spanish texts of the acts of the twelfth and thirteenth councils of Toledo, which are the chief sources for the history of this reign, with notes, in Tejada y Ramiro's *Coll. de Canones de la Igl. Esp.* Madrid, 1849; Sebastian of Salamanca, *Chron. Esp. Sag.* xiii. 477; Chron. Albeld. id. ib. The 13th-century chroniclers, Rod. Tol. and Luc. Tud. *apud* Schott. *Hisp. Illus.* The best modern account is that of Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, Vte Abtheilung, 215; see also Helfferich's *Entstehung und Geschichte des Westgothen-Rechts.* The older French and German histories of Romey, Rosseuw St. Hilaire, Lemkke, Schaefer, and Aschbach have been superseded by Dahn. For the Spanish accounts, and indeed for the whole literature of the subject, see lists given at the beginning of Dahn's Vte Abtheilung. For an inscription containing Ervig's name, but of uncertain date, see Hubner's *Inscrr. Hisp. Christ.* 23A. [M. A. W.]

ERVIGIUS (2) or ERVINGIUS, ninth bishop of Beziers, succeeding Pacotasis (*Gall. Christ.* vi. 299). Among those present at the sixteenth council of Toledo occurs "Beterrensis ecclesiae episcopus" (Mansi, xii. 84 c). See the following article. [S. A. B.]

ERVIGIUS (3), bishop of Calabria, subscribes the fifteenth and sixteenth councils of Toledo, 688 and 693, under Egica. The Ervig of the sixteenth council has been held erroneously to have been a bishop of Beziers (Biterra), in Gallia Narbonensis. Florez gives various reasons against this (*Esp. Sagr.* vi. 227), and certainly the order of the signatures in the fifteenth and sixteenth councils seems to identify the two Ervigs. Ervig is the last bishop of Calabria (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 47; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 313, 333.) [SERVUS-DEI.] [M. A. W.]

ERWALD (1) (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* in ii *M. H. B.* 719 D), king of East Anglia. [EARPWALD.] [C. H.]

ERWALD (2) (ANNUALIS, ARNUAL, ERUALD, ERUALDUS) was a Scotic monk, companion and disciple of St. Kilian of Franconia; he was martyred Jan. 19, A.D. 680, but is not found in the *Acta St. Kiliani*, and much doubt surrounds his history. The Bollandists place him among their praetermissi of Jan. 19, Feb. 15, July 8, and Oct. 2, while the Scotch annalists also commemorate him, but can give no authentic information. (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 244; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 178; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 565.) [J. G.]

ERYTHARIUS, praetorian prefect under Leo I. and Zeno. (*Cod. Just.* lib. i. tit. 4, 16.) Finding that the taxes which Zeno was trying to levy were excessive, he asked leave to retire from his office, to the universal regret of the state (*Suid.* ad nom.) [M. F. A.]

ERYTHRAEUS (ERYTHRIUS), bishop of Amisus, in the province of Helenopontus, who signed the letter addressed by the bishops of that province to the emperor Leo on the subject of Timotheus Aelurus, c. A.D. 458. (*Acta Co. Chalced.* pt. iii. c. 54; Mansi, vii. 608 A; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 536.) [T. W. D.]

ERYTRIUS, bishop of Lagania. [ERECHTIUS.] [T. W. D.]

ESADDAEUS, the name of one of the paternal angels in the system of JUSTINUS (Hippol. *Ref.* v. 26, p. 151). The name is apparently the same as that given by the NAASSENES to the Maker of this world, *τῷ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως δημιουργῷ ἠσαλδαίῳ θεῷ πυρίνῳ ἀριθμῷ τετάρτῳ* (Hippol. *Ref.* v. 7, p. 104). Both forms no doubt represent the Hebrew אֵל שַׁדַּי. In the Gnostic systems the Hebrew names for God are commonly used to denote subordinate agents; and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 40, p. 296) notes this in particular of the name Σαδδαΐ. Harvey (Irenaeus I. 225), adopting the form Esaldaeus, attempts, with little probability, to connect the word with אֶשֶׁל, a tree. [See GNOSIS.] [G. S.]

ESAIANI, heretics. [ESAIAS (8).]

ESAIAS (1), an Egyptian, who suffered martyrdom with others at Caesarea, in Palestine, under Diocletian (Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* c. 11; Basil. *Menol.* Feb. 16; *Rom. Mart.* Feb. 16; Boll. *Acta SS.* 16 Feb. ii. 865). Baronius assigns the martyrdom to A.D. 308 (*A. E.* ann. 308, iv.). [T. W. D.]

ESAIAS (2), a Persian knight of the royal guard, and the son of Adabus of Arzun in Armenia. He was present at the torture and execution of Brichjesus, Elias, and their companions under Sapor II. in 327. [ELIAS.] He wrote the narrative of their acts in Chaldee, whence Metaphrastes translated it into Greek. (Assem. *Mart. Orient.* i. 211, 224.) [G. T. S.]

ESAIAS (3) (ISAIAS), an Egyptian abbat. There are assigned to one of this name and designation twenty-nine *Orationes* on the monastic life, apparently addressed to those who were under the author's care, and nineteen *Capitula* on the monastic life, entitled *De Religiosa Exercitatione et Quiete.* Both these works are given by Migne (Patr. Gr. xl. 1106–1211). Cotelerius, in his *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, has published several sayings of an abbat Esaias, as well as the saying of an ascetic who mentions Esaias as one well known (*Apophtheg. Patr.* in *Eccl. Gr. Mon.* i. 445, 596, 801, 808). Among the works of Benedict of Aiane (797–821) there are sixty-eight *Regulae ad Monachos* by "Isaias abbas" (Patr. Lat. ciii. 427–437). John of Damascus also has preserved two fragments of an abbat Esaias (Patr. Gr. xl. 1212). Whether all these works are to be ascribed to the same person or not is by no means clear. Ammonius, a bishop (apparently Egyptian, possibly Ammon of Antinoe, c. A.D. 394), writing to Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria (385–412), mentions an Esaias whom he had known, and respecting whom Theophilus had made some enquiries; but he acquaints us with nothing more than his name and the fact of his being an ascetic. Rufinus of Aquileia (ob. 410), in his *Historia Monachorum* (Patr. Lat. xxi. 427), speaks of three ascetics (Esaias being one) who met on the banks of the Nile and went in company to visit the anchoret Anuph, and he adds that they were present at Anuph's death. Anuph, otherwise known as Anub, seems to have died c. A.D. 401 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 643). Palladius (c. A.D. 420) relates a story very similar to that of Rufinus (*Hist. Laus.* cc. 55–58, in Patr. Gr. xxxiv. 1138). He also (cc. 15, 16) speaks of an Esaias, the son of a wealthy Spanish merchant, devoting himself along with his brother Paësius, on the death of their father, to an ascetic life, one of them founding a monastery, the other becoming an anchoret; but which of them it was that became an abbat cannot be determined from the narrative. (Galland. *Notit.* praef. *Orationes Is. Abbat.*; Tillemont, vii. 711, *Vie Muce Abbé en Thébaïde*; Cave, *Hist. Lat.* i. 254.) [T. W. D.]

ESAIAS (4), bishop of Hermopolis Parva (Damanhur) on the Egyptian Delta. He took part in the Ephesine "Latrocinium," A.D. 449, but also in the fourth general council in 451, having apparently changed his opinions. (Mansi, vii. 404; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 516.) [J. de S.]

ESAIAS (5), bishop of Elaea, in the province of Asia, signed the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 699; Mansi, vi. 1085.) [L. D.]

ESAIAS (6) (ISAIAS), bishop of Naucratis, in the province of Aegyptus I., in the latter half of the 5th century (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 523). He was one of the Egyptian bishops who wrote to the emperor Leo, after the murder of Proterius bishop of Alexandria by Timotheus-Aelurus and his followers, A.D. 457 (*Act. Co. Chalced.* pt. iii. c. 22; Mansi, vii. 530 C), and also one of the signataries to the synodical letter of Gennadius bishop of Constantinople, condemning simony, A.D. 459 (Mansi, vii. 917 E). When the emperor Zeno restored Timotheus Solofaciolus, the successor of Proterius, to his see, Esaias was one of the legates whom that bishop sent to Simplicius, bishop of Rome, to announce the fact of his return (Simpl. Pap. ep. 11, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 49; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 478, ix.; Le Quien, ii. 523). [T. W. D.]

ESAIAS (7), bishop of Rhodes and metropolitan, under which designation his name is attached to the report of the synod of Constantinople, A.D. 520, to pope Hormisdas, respecting the ordination of Epiphanius (Mansi, viii. 492 D). In the following year, as related by Theophanes, Esaias of Rhodes was deposed and punished for corrupt morals by the emperor, together with Alexander of Diospolis in Thrace. (Theoph. *Chronog.* ann. 521, p. 151, in Patr. Gr. cviii. 407; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 925.) [C. H.]

ESAIAS (8) (*Ἡσαΐας*), a deacon, apparently, of Palestine, who was ordained bishop of Alexandria in succession to Peter Mongus (Liberatus, *Brev.* c. 18, in Migne, Patr. lxviii. 1029 A; Le Quien, *Oriens Chr.* ii. 420). Sophronius calls him the "associate of another Peter," whom he denounces in no measured terms (*τὸ Ἰβηρικὸν καὶ φρενοβάρβαρον μίασμα, Ep. Synod. ap. Act. Conc. Const.* A.D. 680, actio xi.; Labbe, vi. 889 B, ed. 1671; *Conc. Gener.* iii. 167, ed. 1628). His election being opposed, and the validity of his ordination being challenged, on the ground that the hands of the ordainer, Epiphanius of Perga, the metropolis of Pamphylia Secunda, had been laid on him by others after that prelate was dead, on which account his opponents called Esaias *νεκροχειροτόνητος*, and numbers still adhering to him, a schism took place, and his followers were designated "Esaiani" (Liberatus, *u. s.* 1029 B; Timoth. Presb. *de Recept. Haeret.* in Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. pt. i. 45, § 14; Asseman. *Diss. de Monophysit. Bibl. Or.* ii. s. i.). Sophronius (*u. s.*) charges Esaias and Peter with having originated "another Acephalian heresy among the Acephali" (Neale, *Patriarchate of Alexandria*, iii. § 3, p. 22). [T. W. D.]

ESALDAEUS. [ESADDAEUS.]

ESCHATOLOGY. The word, of comparatively late origin in theological language, is applied to that branch of theology which deals with the ultimate destinies of mankind, with the four last things (*τὰ ἔσχατα*)—death and judg-

ment, heaven and hell. Other subjects, which may be thought of as belonging to the last stage of the great drama of the world's history, presented in the apocalyptic language of Scripture with more or less clearness—such as the coming of the antichrist, the millennial reign of Christ—are dealt with separately [ANTICHRIST; CHILIASTS]. In closer connexion with eschatology properly so called, lying so closely on the border-land that they naturally come within our view, are the questions as to the intermediate state of souls between death and judgment, which are dealt with under DEATH AND THE DEAD and PURGATORY. Three distinct elements may be noted as working upon the minds of the Christian church in the period in which their belief as to the future state of the souls of men was taking definite shape. There was (1) the teaching of the New Testament; (2) the belief inherited from Judaism; (3) the mythical or philosophical speculations of the Greek and Roman world. A full examination of (1) lies outside our present province, but it may be noted, as in part explaining the varying phases of the Church's doctrine, that its language also seems to look in three different directions. On the one hand, stress is laid, in parables, and the interpretation of parables, on the separation between the good and the evil as the last act of the Divine Judge. The angels of judgment "sever the wicked from among the just" (Matt. xiii. 49). "The wicked go into *aeonian* punishment, the righteous into *aeonian* life" (Matt. xxv. 46). Words that express an indefinitely prolonged duration are piled one on the other as representing the result of that separation. "The smoke of the torment of the lost ascendeth up for aeons of aeons" (Rev. xiv. 11). Even those who hold that the finality of that judgment, or the perpetuity of the sufferings to which it leads, is not asserted in terms must admit that it is at least a natural inference from the language in which Christ and His apostles speak of it. In reference to the intermediate state, its teaching is less definite. On the one hand, the fact that the day of judgment, when the books shall be opened and men shall be judged according to their works, is thought of as in the near or distant future Matt. xxv. 31; 2 Cor. v. 10; Rev. xx. 1412), seems to preclude the thought that an irrevocable sentence is passed at the moment of death, leaving nothing for the Judge to do but to proclaim what had been already, as it were, registered in the books of God; while, on the other hand, the adoption of the Hebrew phraseology which spoke of Abraham's bosom and Paradise for the souls of the righteous, of the language of Greek thinkers as to a punishment retributive or reformatory in Hades; of departing and being with Christ, as better than the continuance of the present life (Luke xvi. 22–23, xxiii. 43), excludes the thought of a long sleep, in which the soul is unconscious, between death and the resurrection, while this again is, in its turn, balanced by the language which speaks of death, as others spoke of it, as a sleep (1 Thess. iv. 13, 14; 1 Cor. xv. 20; Matt. xxvii. 52; John xi. 11). That the sleep was not one of unconsciousness, and that some were capable of rising to a higher stage of knowledge and holiness seemed to be implied in the statements that Christ "went and preached to the spirits in person," and that the "Gospel was preached to the dead" (1 Pet. iii. 18; iv. 6). It cannot be wondered at that starting from these data the conclusions of Christian eschatology have, for the most part, affirmed the endlessness alike of the rewards and punishments which shall be awarded by the Judge after the resurrection, that they have looked to the intermediate state with both hope and fear; that there, if anywhere, they have seen the region in which a work of illumination and purification might be carried on behind the veil.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the teaching of the New Testament tends in not a few passages to the thought of an universal restoration. The very term "restitution of all things" (Acts iii. 21) seems to imply a return to the primeval state in which God looked on the work of His hands, and saw that it was good (Gen. i. 31) before sin and pain, evil, moral or physical, had marred its perfection. If evil in both its aspects was the devil's work, Christ came to destroy the works of the devil (Heb. ii. 14; 1 John iii. 8), and that destruction is hardly accomplished by rescuing here and there, as it were, one soul in a thousand. He is to reign, this reigning apparently being closed by the judgment, and therefore including the whole intermediate state, until He has put all enemies under his feet (1 Cor. xv. 25). And among these enemies are death and Hades (1 Cor. xv. 26, 55), which are to be cast into the lake of fire, which is the second death (Rev. xx. 14). The argument of St. Paul in the great *Theodicy* of the Epistle to the Romans halts in chap. v. if we make the ultimate result of the work of the second head of the human race narrower in its range than that of the first. "The many" who "shall be constituted righteous" are represented as corresponding with "the many" who were constituted sinners (Rom. v. 19), and the language of the previous verse shews that "the many" are equivalent to "all." The hope of St. Paul for his kinsmen that "all Israel shall be saved" (Rom. xi. 26) is not satisfied by the conversion of a few, or even of many, individual Israelites in some far-off future generation. Even those who stumbled at the rock of offence had not so stumbled as to fall irretrievably (Rom. xi. 11). All, Jews and Gentiles alike, have been concluded under unbelief that God might have mercy upon all (Rom. xi. 32). Lastly, there were not a few passages in the apostolic writings which might suggest, and, as a matter of fact, have suggested, rightly or wrongly, the idea of "destruction" in the sense of "annihilation" as the ultimate punishment of the wicked. There is the constant use of the words "destruction," and its equivalent "perdition" (ἀπωλεία) of the various forms of the cognate verbs "destroy" and "perish." There is the prominence given to the thought that life, eternal life, is represented as the gift of God (Rom. vi. 23); that unrepented sin brings the loss of that life; that the King destroys his enemies; that the extremest penalty is described as the second death (Rev. xx. 14; xxi. 8). The language of the New Testament writers, it has been urged, does not assume, on philosophical grounds, as Plato did, the natural immortality of the soul. It speaks of God only as having immortality as belonging to His essential being

(1 Tim. vi. 15); of the gospel of Christ as having brought to light or illumined that hope of immortality (2 Tim. i. 10). Death, which is, at least, the ever-recurring symbol of the punishment of evil, suggests the thought of the loss of conscious existence rather than of a perpetuated consciousness of misery (Gen. iii. 17; Rom. vi. 23).

It is obvious that as the language of the New Testament was, for the most part, addressed to those who had been trained in the popular beliefs of Judaism, it was likely, so far as it did not protest against them, to be interpreted by those beliefs. We have to ask, accordingly, what they were, what sense was attached in them to such terms as "death," "destruction," "hades," "Paradise," "Gehenna." As far as one Jewish sect, that of the Sadducees, is concerned, there is no room for doubt (Matt. xxii. 23; Acts xxiii. 26). They denied the resurrection, and did not fall back, as the Greek thinker did, upon a belief in the immortality of the incorporeal souls. They confined the action of the retributive justice of God, following, as they urged, the teaching of Moses, to the rewards and punishment of the present life. With the Pharisees and the great body of the Jews of the dispersion, who attached themselves to no school or sect, the case was otherwise. They believed in a resurrection (Acts xxiii. 26), and, if we accept the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 13), in the natural "immortal vigour" (ἰσχυς ἀθάνατος) of the soul. They spoke of the joy of Paradise, of the flames and torments of Gehenna. There is no room for doubt that they looked on the state of the dead as one capable of being influenced for good by the prayers of the living [DEATH AND THE DEAD]. Prayers for the dead were an established part of the ritual of the synagogue at the time of the Maccabees, and in that of the temple sacrifices were added to the prayers (2 Macc. xii. 43–45). They are apparently implied in St. Paul's prayer for Onesiphorus (2 Tim. i. 16–18). They appear in the earliest inscriptions, probably in the 2nd century after Christ, in Jewish cemeteries (Garucci, *Cimitero degli Ebrei*). How far the Pharisaic, or the popular, belief accepted the endlessness of punishments is, from this point of view, a question of great importance. It has been broadly asserted by those who speak with the authority of experts that the Talmud is altogether silent on that point; that the punishment even of the worst sinners is, in the judgment of the Rabbis, but for a season, and that the sacrifices, or even the prayers of the day of atonement avail to obtain pardon for those who have deserved condemnation (Deutsch, *Remains*, p. 35, and the authorities cited in Farrar's *Eternal Hope, Exc.* v). It may be questioned, however, whether this is not a somewhat one-sided statement. Josephus, who, at least, represents a widely diffused form of Hellenistic Pharisaism, speaks of the Pharisees not only as holding the natural immortality of the soul, but as thinking that those who have done evil are kept in an everlasting (αἰδιος, not αἰώνιος), prison-house (*Ant.* xviii. 1, f. 3), and Schöttgen (*Hor. Hebr.* in Matt. xxv. 46), quotes from the Midrash on Koheleth (fol. 74), "In hoc mundo quae peccata sunt possunt reparari, sed futuro tempore quod peccatum est non potest reparari." "If a man prepares no food before the sabbath, how can he expect to share in the sabbath meal?" Taking, however, the great stream of Rabbinic traditions, as represented *e. g.* in Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* (part ii. c. 6), it may be admitted as true that they surround the idea of Gehenna with well-nigh all imaginable alleviations. They think of the condemned as allowed to rest on sabbaths and new moons; Abraham and Moses and Elias, and the prayers of kindred and of friends have power to deliver from it; the souls that are tormented praise God in the midst of the fire for the mercy that is mingled with His judgments. Some are punished for a few days, or weeks, or years (Ugolini, *Thes.* xxx. p. 177), and when they are purified pass to Paradise. A few only, apostates and "Epicureans" (*i.e.* unbelievers in the resurrection), suffer for "many generations;" but in the end, Gehenna, which even now is separated from Paradise only as by a party-wall two hand-breadths thick, shall be itself purified and be made fit for the habitation of the blessed.

Lastly, there were the beliefs which Gentile converts, who were not deterred by physical or metaphysical difficulties from accepting the doctrine of the resurrection, would bring with them, and which were likely to modify more or less, consciously or unconsciously, their interpretation of the teaching of Scripture. It is, of course, admitted that the cultivated intellect of the age had engendered a widely-spread scepticism as to the existence of a life after death:—

> "Esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna
> * * * *
> Nec pueri credunt." . . .
> Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 149.

The hopes of Tacitus did not go beyond, "Si quis piorum manibus locus; si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae," holding, as it were, an aristocracy of immortality, while the great mass of mankind slept the "eternal sleep," which is almost the stereotyped formula of Greek and Roman epitaphs (*Agric.* c. 46). Cicero, after an eloquent utterance of his hope, confesses his misgiving, "Quod si in hoc erro, quod animos hominum immortales esse credam, lubenter errro" (*de Senect.* c. 23); and though he speaks much of the glory of the just, is silent as to the punishment of evil doers. Julius Caesar urged torture and imprisonment rather than death as a punishment for those who were traitors to the republic, on the ground that, as men looked for nothing after death that penalty had lost its deterring power (Sallust, *Catil.* c. 50). On the other hand, the old belief was not without its followers. The teaching of Plato in the Phaedon, the Gorgias, and the Republic, had been popularised by Virgil in the sixth book of the Aeneid, and those who accepted it thought of the unseen world as a scene partly of retribution, partly of purification. Some pass to the Elysian fields, and some are cleansed in the Stygian lake, and some are sent to Tartarus for a year, and some remain there for ever (Phaed. p. 113).

> . . . . "aliis sub gurgite vasto
> Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni;
> Quisque suos patimur manes. Exinde per amplum
> Mittimur Elysium et pauci laeta arva tenemus."
> Virg. *Aen.* vi. 743–746.

The Eleusinian and other mysteries, perhaps, helped to diffuse and sustain this belief among those who were initiated, and the language of Lucretius is that of one who sees in the belief in endless punishment not an extinct superstition, but one against which the philosopher has to do vigorous and earnest battle.

> "Nam si certam finem esse viderent
> Aerumnarum homines, aliqua ratione valerent
> Religionibus atque minis obsistere vatum.
> Nunc ratio nulla est restandi, nulla facultas,
> Aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendum."[a]
> *De Nat. R.* i. 107–111.

II. It remains for us now to trace the course of Christian thought working upon these materials. For the most part it will be necessary to notice only those who held some modification of what may be recognized as historically the general belief of Christendom, that the punishment assigned to evildoers after the resurrection will be endless as the blessedness of the righteous, or who taught that a redeeming and purifying work might be carried on in the intermediate state, giving fresh opportunities, and therefore a fresh probation to some, if not to all, who, at the time of their death, were not qualified by their faith or works for the peace and rest of God.

Of the two methods which present themselves, —that of noting chronologically the views maintained by the great fathers and teachers of the church on the point now before us, or classifying them, still retaining as far as may be, subject to that classification, a chronological arrangement, according as they represented this or that school of thought,—the latter will be adopted, as presenting, on the whole, most advantages.

1. It would not be true to say that the theory of the annihilation of the wicked after they have endured, subsequent to the resurrection, a penalty commensurate with their guilt, is altogether without patristic authority; but Taylor's language (*Christ's Advent to Judgment*, vol. v. p. 45, ed. Heber), that it was what "the primitive doctors were willing to believe," is unduly coloured by his own manifest leaning towards that view, and his shrinking from the popular belief in equal and endless tortures for all the lost. The passages that look in that direction are, indeed, very few, and their main purpose is less to assert the finite character of punishment than to protest against the Platonic assumption of an inherent immortality involving, as that seemed to do, an eternal pre-existence, and a perpetual series of transmigrations. Thus Justin speaks: "Our souls are not immortal nor uncreated, yet I say not that all souls die, for that indeed would be a godsend (ἔρμαιον) to the wicked, but that those of the godly abide in a better place, and the unrighteous and evil in a worse, waiting for the t me of judgment. And thus some, appearing worthy of God, die no more, and some are punished (κολάζονται) *so long as God wills them to exist and to be punished*" (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 5). The words clearly admit the thought of an ultimate "ceasing to be" in the lost, but they cannot be said to do more. Elsewhere, in the same treatise (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 130), he speaks, in reference to Isaï. lxvi. 24, of the very bodies of sinners as consumed by the worm and the ceaseless fire, and yet remaining immortal (ἀθάνατα), and in his Apology he speaks freely of αἰώνιος κόλασις as contrasted with the thousand years of Plato (*Rep.* p. 615; *Phaedr.* p. 249; *Apol.* i. 12), of the punishment as lasting for a limitless period (ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα), (*Apol.* i. 28). What has been said of Justin holds good also of Irenaeus. He, too, speaks of life as the gift of God: "And he who shall reject life and prove himself ungrateful to his Maker . . . deprives himself of continuance for ever and ever" (ii. 34, § 3). "Good things are eternal, and without end in God, and therefore the loss of them is also eternal and never ending" (v. 27, § 2). Taken by themselves, these words, though they are compatible with, and perhaps even suggest, the thought of the annihilation of the wicked, cannot be said to affirm it. Irenaeus, like Justin, argues against the Platonic theory of the pre-existence and natural immortality of the soul. Eternal life is God's gift to those who are worthy of it, but the privation of that life may mean the loss of the blessedness of being rather than of being in itself, and his language elsewhere shews that this is what he actually did mean. "Those who fly from the eternal light of God . . . are themselves the cause of their inhabiting eternal darkness, destitute of all good things" (iv. § 39, 4). "The word of God prepares a fitting habitation for both those who seek and those who shun the light . . . for those who are in the light that they may rejoice in it, for those in darkness that they may partake in its calamities" (v. 28, § 1). So a passage in the Epistle to Diognetus (c. 10), which speaks of the eternal fire as punishing μέχρι τέλους admits of being interpreted of ultimate annihilation. Hints of the annihilation of the lost after this period are few and far between. Arnobius, however (*Dispp. adv. Gentes*, ii. 15–54) teaches that the soul has no natural immortality, and that after the resurrection souls and bodies are gradually consumed and annihilated in Gehenna. [ARNOBIUS.]

2. The belief in a universal restoration is commonly associated with the great name of Origen. It would be truer to say, and this was afterwards treated as the vulnerable point in his system, that he taught the perpetual freedom of the will, and therefore set no time-limits to the capacity for restoration. The fullest statement of his views is found in the treatise περὶ Ἀρχῶν, noticeable as the first attempt at the systematic and scientific treatment of theology in Christian literature. He is brought face to face with the question, What does the whole scheme of redemption issue in; what is the end and consummation of all things? He opens, as if half fearing the charge of heresy from prejudiced hearers, and premises that he speaks with caution, discussing rather than dogmatising. But he openly proclaims his belief that the goodness of God, when each sinner shall have received

[a] The passage is not without its importance as bearing on the sense of the word "aeternus," which Latin writers accepted as the nearest equivalent of the Greek ἀιώνιος, and which was, in fact, derived from the same root. Lucretius uses it, as Augustine does afterwards (*infra*), meaning that there is no "certa finis." Comp.

> "Temporis *aeterni* quoniam, non unius horae
> Ambigitur status."—iii. 1073.

and,

> "Mors *aeterna* tamen nilo minus illa manebit."
> iii. 1091.

the penalty of his sins, will, through Christ, lead the whole universe to one end. This seems to him involved in the promise that all enemies shall be put under the feet of Christ (Ps. cx. 1; 1 Cor. xv. 25). The end will be like the beginning, and all shall be very good. The statement in Phil. ii. 10, that "At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things under the earth," seems to him to involve a willing subjection, and therefore the cessation of a rebellious and resistant evil. Even the angels who kept not their first estate may, some of them at least, profit by the help of their unfallen brothers and be capable of restoration. The prayer of Christ for unity (John xvii. 21), which embraces the universe, as also does St. Paul's vision of the "perfect man" in whom all shall be united (Eph. iv. 13). Is this hope to be extended to the devil and his angels, or has inveterate habit hardened in them into a second nature? He, for his part, will not refuse to extend that hope even to them. Aeons may pass, greater punishments be endured; but if the will is free, any nature endowed with reason may pass from one order of being to another, each act of volition bringing with it its own punishment or reward (*De Princ.* i. c. 6). The change, as distinct from the destruction, of the heavens or the earth (Ps. cii. 26) so that they become new (2 Pet. iii. 13), witnesses for him to a like change, and not destruction, of those who are wending their way to that final blessedness. He is led to examine into the nature of the fire which tries every man's work and is the penalty of evil, and he finds it in the mind itself—in the memory of evil. The sinner's life lies before him as an open scroll, and he looks on it with shame and anguish unspeakable. The Physician of our souls can use His own processes of healing. The "outer darkness" and Paradise are but different stages in the education of the great school of souls, and their upward and onward progress depends on their purity and love of truth (*Princ.* i. 6).

The same wide hope shews itself, though less definitely, in his general method of interpretation "He who is saved is saved as by fire, that if he has in him any mixture of lead the fire may melt it out, so that all may be made as the pure gold. The more the lead, the greater will be the burning, so that even if there be but little gold that little may be purified. If any one has come to be nothing but lead then" (here he seems to tend to the annihilation theory) "then shall come to pass that which is written, and he shall 'sink as lead in the mighty waters'" (*Hom.* vi. *in Exod.*). In the legal purification after childbirth he sees an adumbration of the truth that "even after the resurrection we shall all alike need a sacrament to cleanse and purify us" (*Hom.* xiv. *in Luc.*). The fire of the last day will, it may be, be at once a punishment and a remedy, burning up the wood, hay, stubble, according to each man's merits, yet all working to the destined end of restoring man to the image of God, though, as yet, men must be treated as children, and the terrors of the judgment rather than the final restoration have to be brought before those who can be converted only by fears and threats (*Cont. Cels.* v.). Gehenna stands for the torments that cleanse the soul, but for the many who are scarcely restrained by the fears of eternal torment it is not expedient to go far into that matter, hardly indeed to commit our thoughts to writing, but to dwell on the certain and inevitable retribution for all evil (*Cont. Cels.* vi.). God is indeed a consuming fire, but that which He consumes is the evil that is in the souls of men, not the souls themselves (*ibid.*). The hope of Origen colours even his view of the guilt of Judas, and he sees in his suicide the act of one who wished to meet his Master in the world of the dead, and there to implore forgiveness (*Tract.* xxxv. *in Matt.*) It is noticeable, however, that he does not there speak of the final salvation of Judas, and that his doctrine of reserve shews itself in his dwelling on the separation of the evil and good in Matt. xxv. 46 as final, without speaking of the hope of a restoration as lying beyond it in the remote future.

What Origen thus whispered, as it were, to the ear in the secret chamber was proclaimed by Gregory of Nyssa as from the housetop. His universalism is as wide and unlimited as that of bishop Newton of Bristol. The whole course of this life was for him a discipline leading to virtue. If any one remain uncured by it the healing process (θεραπεία) is continued in the life that follows. It may take for some, sharp and severe forms, the work of the knife and cautery; for others, the work of God, restoring the creature of His hands to its original likeness will be sufficient (*Orat. Catech.* viii.). Those who are not sharers in the purification by baptism will be purified by fire (*Orat. Catech.* xxxv.). Men are angry often with those who use severe remedies, but afterwards they thank them, and so, in like manner, when the evil now intermingled and implanted in their nature has been, after long periods of time, eradicated, and there shall be a restoration (ἀποκατάστασις) of those who are now lying in evil to their primal state; there shall be an accordant thanksgiving to God from all creation, both of those who needed and those who did not need purification (*Orat. Catech.* xxvi.). The same thought of an ἰατρεία is developed more systematically in the treatise *de Animâ et Resurrectione.* "The process of healing shall be proportioned to the measure of evil in each of us, and when the evil is purged and blotted out, there shall come in its place to each immortality and life and honour" (vol. iii. pp. 255, 260, ed. 1637). Now the race of man is by its evil shut out from the divine, but the barriers by which sin excludes us from that within the veil will one day be broken down, and when our nature shall be reconstructed, as in a new tabernacle (σκηνοπηχθῇ), and all the corruption that sin has brought in shall be blotted out from the universe; then shall there be the great feast of God for all whom the resurrection has brought together as His guests (iii. p. 245). In the end there shall be one common joy for all, and those who are now through sin outside the sanctuary of the divine blessedness will then cling to the horns of the altar, *e.g.* to the Founder of the world above (*De Animâ, Opp.* ii. p. 677). It is true that he, too, speaks of punishment through aeons to which no limit can be assigned (*De Animâ, Opp.* ii. p. 650) of a chastisement that shall extend through an eternal interval (εἰς αἰώνιον διαστῆμα); but it is clear, as indeed the last word shews, that he looks forward beyond this to the ulti-

mate extirpation of evil and the restoration of mankind, to a time "when there shall no longer be a sinner in the universe (in *Psalm.* iii. vol. ii. p. 289), and the war between good and evil shall be ended (*ibid.*), and the nature of evil shall pass into nothingness, and the divine and unmingled goodness shall embrace all intelligent existence." (vol. i. 844). What is noticeable in Gregory of Nyssa is that in thus teaching there is no apparent consciousness that he is deviating into the bye-paths of new and strange opinions. He claims to be taking his stand on the doctrines (δόγματα) of the church in thus teaching with as much confidence as when he is expounding the mysteries of the divine nature as set forth in the creed of Nicaea (ii. p. 663). And the same absence of any sense of being even in danger of heresy is seen in most of those who followed in his footsteps or those of Origen. The *Apologia* for Origen, which was the joint work of Eusebius and Pamphilus, defends him without any hesitation. Theodore of Mopsuestia teaches that in the world to come "those who have done evil all their life long will be made worthy of the sweetness of the divine bounty. For never would Christ have said 'until thou hast paid the uttermost farthing,' unless it were possible for us to be cleansed when we have paid the penalty. Nor would He have spoken of the many stripes and few unless after men had borne the punishment of their sins they might afterwards hope for pardon." (*Fragm.* ed. Fritzsche, p. 41.) Even Gregory of Nazianzus, when speaking of the fire that is not quenched, throws out the thought, as though it were at least admissible, that there may be a πῦρ φιλανθρωπότερον καὶ τοῦ κολάζοντος ἐπαξίως (*Orat.* xl. 36). Diodorus of Tarsus taught that the penalty of sin is not perpetual, but issues in the blessedness of immortality, and was followed by Stephanus, bishop of Edessa, and Solomon of Bassora, and Isaac of Nineveh. "Even those who are tortured in Gehenna are under the discipline of the divine charity" (Assemanni, *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. p. 323); and they were followed in their turn by Georgius of Arbela and Ebed Jesu of Soba (*ibid.* iv. p. 204). Timotheus II. patriarch of the Nestorians, wrote that "by the prayers of the saints the souls of sinners may pass from Gehenna to Paradise" (*ibid.* iv. p. 344). Many of these teachers were, it is true, like the last-named, followers of Nestorius, and were so far not in communion with the orthodox churches of the East, but it is obvious that the special point on which Nestorius was condemned had no direct connexion with this or that form of eschatology, and that it was derived by them from those whose orthodoxy, like that of Gregory of Nyssa, was unquestioned. We have no evidence that the belief in the ἀποκατάστασις, which prevailed in the 4th and 5th centuries, was ever definitely condemned by any council of the church, and so far as Origen was named as coming under the church's censure it was rather as if involved in the general sentence passed upon the leaders of Nestorianism than singled out for special and characteristic errors. So the council of Constantinople, the so-called fifth general council, A.D. 553, condemns Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinarius, Nestorius, Eutyches, and Origen in a lump, but does not specify the errors of the last-named, as though they differed in kind from theirs, and it is not till the council of Constantinople known as in Trullo (A.D. 696) that we find an anathema which specifies, somewhat cloudily, the guilt of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Origen and Didymus and Evagrius as consists in their "inventing a mythology (μυθοποΐα) after the manner of the Greeks, and inventing changes and migrations for our souls and bodies, and impiously uttering drunken ravings (ἐμπαροινήσαντας) as to the future life of the dead" (*Conc. Quinis.* can. i.). It deserves to be noted that this ambiguous anathema pronounced by a council of no authority under the weak and vicious emperor Justinian II. is the only approach to a condemnation of the eschatology of Origen which the annals of church councils present.

So even in the West, where the harder nature of the African and the practical character of the Roman section of the Latin church made men indisposed to share in the wider sympathies and hopes of the great Alexandrian thinker, there was no formal sentence on the part of any synod, no tone of horror in the language of individual writers. Jerome, who does not accept Origen's view, speaks of it with a tolerant fairness, as though it were almost or altogether an open question: "Those who think that the punishment of the wicked will one day, after many ages, have an end rely on these testimonies," sc. on Rom. xi. 25, Gal. iii. 22, Mic. vii. 9, Isai. xii. 1, Ps. xxx. 20, which he gives *in extenso*. "And this we ought to leave to the knowledge of God alone, whose torments, no less than His compassion, are in due measure, and who knows how and how long He ought to punish. This only let us say, as suiting our human frailty, 'Lord, rebuke me not in thy fury, nor chasten me in thine anger'" (Hieron. *in Esai.* lxvi. *ad fin.*). So in commenting on Isai. xxiv. "*post multos dies visitabuntur.*" "This," he says, "seems to favour those friends of mine who grant the grace of repentance to the devil and to demons after many ages, that they too shall be visited after a time." He explains the text so as to shew that it does not of necessity involve this, and then, as before, falls back upon man's ignorance. "Human frailty cannot know the judgment of God, nor venture to form an opinion of the greatness and the measure of His punishment" (Hieron. *in Esai.* xxiv.).

The drift of Augustine's mind, with his exclusion of all outside the visible church from the hope of salvation, his *levissima damnatio* for unbaptized infants, his doctrine of the divine decrees, hardly leads us to expect anything at his hands less than an absolute rejection of the Origenistic views. It deserves to be noted, however, that it was Pelagius rather than Augustine who laid stress upon the eternity of future punishment, insisted on Matt. xxv. 46 as involving their endlessness, and taunted his Catholic opponents who held a remedial discipline as applicable at least to Christians dying with an imperfect holiness as being followers of Origen (*de Gest. Pelag.* c. 9–11). The taunt apparently had its effect. Augustine shrank from the term "*Origenista*," as the framers of the forty-second article of 1552 shrank from being classed with the Anabaptists who revived Origen's wider hope in the 16th century, and was led to disclaim more emphatically any approach

to the special view of Origen. On the other hand, he continued also to assert even more definitely his own view of a purgatorial punishment for the baptized. Even in him, however, there is at times a strange absence of the horror and alarm with which the assertion of the hope of universal restoration has not unfrequently been met in later times. He admits that that view was held by "*nonnulli, imo quam plurimi*," who were led by feelings of human pity. He does not accept it, but he allows men to believe, if they like, that there will be *mitigatio* and *levamen* of the punishments of the lost (see *infra*). When he deals more systematically with the question it is in the same half-supercilious tone as Jerome: "We must now enter on a peaceable discussion with our compassionate friends" . . . He names Origen as holding that even the devil and his angels would after long ages of punishment be restored to fellowship with the holy angels. On this ground, he says, and for other reasons, especially for the "unceasing alternations" of blessedness and misery which Origen's theory was supposed to have involved, the church had rightly rejected (*reprobavit*) it. He condemns two modified forms of the Origenistic view—(1) that of the universal restoration of all mankind, but not of fallen angels, or even spirits, through the goodness of God, or (2) that of a like restoration obtained by the intercessions of the saints, as inconsistently stopping short of their logical consequence. If the assumption that the divine compassion will include the whole human race, why should it stop short there? Those who held the latter view, and Augustine states that he had met many who held it, rested (1) on the belief that the saints in Paradise will not cease in their perfection to pray for those for whom they used to pray on earth; (2) on the words of Ps. lxxvi. 10 as in the Latin version, *Num obliviscetur misereri Deus, aut continebit in irâ suâ miserationes suas?* and (3) on the fact that the history of Jonah's mission to Nineveh proved that punishments threatened in unconditional language might yet be withdrawn. He notices further modified forms of the wider hope which held out the promise of salvation to all who have been baptized, even though it be with heretical baptism, or to all who have received baptism in the Catholic church, even if they have fallen afterwards into heresy, or, at least, to all who have kept the Catholic faith, irrespective of holiness of life, or have not failed, whatever other sins they may have committed, in works of charity. He urges against all these views that the scriptural word *aeternum*, with its equivalent "*in saecula saeculorum*," can only mean "*quod finem non habet temporis*," and that it must bear the same meaning in Matt. xxv. 46, whether describing the blessedness of the righteous or the punishment of the wicked (*de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 17–27). It may be noted that in this discussion of all the views on this matter that seemed to him at variance with the language of scripture, Augustine does not even name the theory of the annihilation of the impenitent doers of evil. That view, if it had been ever really held in the Christian church, had clearly been thrown altogether into the back-ground, and was practically nowhere. From this period, with the authority of the great African father thrown into the scale against it, the doctrine of universal restoration tended to fall into the same position, as far as the Western church was concerned, and though never formally condemned, may be said to have virtually been rejected. It was, perhaps, partly as a consequence of that rejection that the intermediate view, the history of which now remains to be traced, came into greater prominence.

3. Those who shrank from the consequences, real or supposed, of the teaching of Origen were able to cherish the hope of an undefined though not an universal restoration, even in the case of those who departed this life in a state so imperfect that it called for punishment. As the greater includes the less, it is obvious that the followers of Origen and Gregory of Nyssa would admit both the beliefs and the arguments of those who maintained the more moderate and cautious view. The dominant thought in the mind of these latter was that the redeeming work of Christ and the possibility of repentance, and the remedial agency of the church in her prayers and sacraments, and the sanctifying work of the Spirit, are not confined within the narrow limits of this life, but have a wide range of action in the period that lies between death and judgment. Here again it is in the church of Alexandria, as represented by Origen's master, Clement, that we find the earliest and most distinct utterances of the wider hope. He recognises that Christ preached the gospel to those in Hades, and that it brought repentance not to the souls of patriarchs and Jewish saints only, but to heathen seekers after righteousness. Then also the apostles had been fellow-workers with their Master in proportion to their likeness to Him, some working, according to the task assigned to them on earth, among the souls of the Hebrews, some among those of the Gentiles (*Strom.* vi. 44, 45). The punishments (κολάσεις) of God in Hades are remedial and reformatory (σωτήριοι καὶ παιδευτικαί), and lead to repentance, and this work is easier for those who are no longer hampered by the temptation of the flesh (*ibid.* c. 46). God is all-good and all-powerful, and is able to save all who turn to Him, whether it be here or there (*ibid.* c. 47). He quotes the Κήρυγμα Πέτρου as shewing that the moral government (οἰκονομία) of God requires that those who have had no opportunity of knowing the truth in this life should have that opportunity elsewhere, since otherwise they would have no adequate probation (*ibid.* c. 48). He recognises in the ἐκπύρωσις of the Stoics an anticipation of the Christian doctrine of the purification by fire of those who have lived evil lives (*ibid.* v. 9). The souls that are punished (κολαζόμενοι) are yet purified by the fire (*Fragm.* 14).

The wide acceptance of the gospel of Nicodemus, with its vivid pictures of the descent into Hades, and the work of deliverance accomplished there, robbing death and Hades of all their prisoners (*Evang. Nicod.* c. 24), wiping away these tears from all faces (*ibid.* c. 23), rescuing those whom Satan had held bound, and placing him in chains in place of Adam and his sons (*ibid.* c. 23), testifies to the prevalence of the belief which Clement thus asserts, and we must not forget that when the article "He descended into hell" was received into the

Apostles' Creed, in the earlier text of which it does not appear, it came weighted, so to speak, with all the associations that had thus gathered round it. It was received because it spoke to men of the work of Christ as not limited to this world, but extending to the unseen. Even in Hades the cross had been set up as the symbol and pledge of deliverance. Even there He was drawing all men unto Him. So Athanasius (if the treatise *de Passione et Cruce Domini* is his) speaks of Satan as cast out of Hades at the time of the descent, and seeing all whom he had kept prisoners set free by the victorious Christ (*Opp.* ii. p. 1017, ed. 1586). So Chrysostom (*de Coemet. et Cruce, Expos. in Ps.* xlvi.) speaks of the descent into Hades as binding the devil and bringing his prey, the human race, into the treasury of the eternal King. So Cyril of Jerusalem, almost reproducing the very language of the gospel of Nicodemus, speaks of Christ as descending to Hades that He might ransom the just. He descended alone, but He returned with many following Him. The souls that had been long in prison were set free (*Catech.* iv. xiv.). So Epiphanius describes the descent as made to rescue those who had not fallen away utterly from God, but were kept on account of their frailties in Hades, by giving them, as it were, an amnesty (ἀμνησίαν) (*adv. Haer.* i. 3). And in this view the Latin fathers are at one with the Greek. Ambrose refers the gospel preached to the dead of 1 Pet. iv. to the descent into Hades "ut quotquot cupidi ejus essent, liberarentur" (*in Eph.* iv.). He ascended into heaven with the souls that He had rescued (*in Rom.* x.). Some of these were they who appeared to many after His resurrection (*in Eph.* iv.). Comp. also the statements in the *De Myster. Pasch.*

It was natural that men like Origen and his school should interpret the "fire that tries every man's work" of 1 Cor. iii. 13, the "saved so as by fire" of a purifying punishment in the intermediate state, and should extend that idea even to the "aeonian fire" of Matt. xxv. 46, and the "unquenchable fire" of Mark ix. 43. It is more suggestive to note that even those who shrank from that conclusion, did not confine the redeeming or purifying work in Hades to the brief periods of the actual descent. So Synesius (*Ep.* 44), though he speaks of the deathless soul paying, if its guilt is incurable, a deathless penalty, teaches that there are δαιμονές, whose work it is to purify souls, as fullers cleanse a soiled garment. Even Tertullian (*de Animâ*, c. 58) teaches that the last farthing "of the sinner's debt, if it be but a *modicum* delictum," may be paid by sufferings there. Even Cyprian (*Ep.* lx.) holds that some of those who are sent, on death, into the prison-house may come forth when they have paid the uttermost farthing, while martyrs receive their crown at once; that it may be necessary for some to be cleansed and purified by fire by long-continued suffering, waiting for the judgment of the great day. Even Jerome, while holding that there are eternal torments for the reprobate and godless, speaks of the works of Christians as "having to be tried and purified by fire" (*in Esai.* lxvi. *ad fin.*); of Christians who have fallen into sin as "salvandos post poenas" (*Dial. c. Pelag.* i. 28), and adopts the general ("a plerisque") explanation of the undying worm and the fire that is not quenched, of the anguish of conscience (*in Esai.* lvi. 24). Even Augustine admits that between death and judgment there may be punishments that endure for a season only (*de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 13); that some sins not forgiven in this world are forgiven in the world to come, sc. in that interval (*de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 24) and are *purgatoriae* in their nature (*ibid.* xxi. 16; *Enchirid. ad Laurent.* c. 18). We pray for those who have not fallen utterly from grace, that after punishments the Divine compassion may be shewn to them, so that they may not go into eternal fire (*ibid.* xxi. 24). The fire which tries and purifies is not eternal, and of this view that each soul will suffer according to its need of suffering, Augustine says: "Non redarguo quod forsitan verum est" (*ibid.* xxi. 26). The effect of this earlier doctrine of purgatory on devout souls is well illustrated by the touching prayer at the close of the *Hamartigeneia* of Prudentius already quoted (Art. DEATH AND THE DEAD, vol. i. p. 796). Those that are suffering that "*ignis purgatorius*" may be helped in the interval between death and the resurrection, by the prayers and alms of the faithful, and by the "*sacrificium altaris.*" The fact that that sacrifice was offered in the liturgies of Augustine's time for *all* souls, and not for the elect only, to whom his theory limited the hope of salvation, presented a difficulty which he meets with a characteristic subtlety. These sacrifices differ in their effect according to their object: "pro valde bonis gratiarum actiones sunt; pro non valde malis propitiationes sunt; pro valde malis etiamsi nulla sunt adjumenta mortuorum, qualescunque vivorum consolationes sunt. Quibus autem prosunt aut ad hoc prosunt, ut sit plena remissio, aut certe ut tolerabilior fiat damnatio" (*Enchirid.* c. 29). But after the resurrection the door of hope will be closed. Admitting the fact that the belief in a respite or cessation of the "aeterna damnatorum poena" was held by "nonnulli immo quam plurimi" (a doctrine so held must have been at least regarded by the church as not incompatible with the faith of which she was the keeper) he for his part rejects it. He barely allows ("non ideo confirmo quia non resisto," *de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 24) the possibility of a *levamen* of the *cruciatus* or *poena sensûs* of the lost, but the *poena damni*, the *alienatio a vita Dei* will be the common portion of all (*Enchirid.* c. 29).

And so the dark shadow of Augustine fell on the theology of the Western church, and condemned its thoughts of the love of God to many centuries of disastrous twilight. It started from the assumption that the whole human race was, through the sin of Adam, *una massa perditionis.* From this Divine grace elected some to salvation. But none are elected outside the range of those who believe and are baptized. The whole heathen world, therefore, was left to eternal torments: its virtues were but "splendida vitia" (*de Civ. Dei*, xix. 25). Even for unbaptized infants dying before they had done good or evil there was but the "levissima damnatio" of the alienation from the life of God, which was the common lot of all the lost, and compared with the eternity of which, any torments enduring for ages and then ceasing,

would be a light thing to bear (*Enchirid.* c. 29). And baptism, though indispensable, was yet not sufficient. To hold the true faith, to live a holy life, these he rightly saw were conditions of eternal blessedness, and these were possible only for those who came under the decree of God's electing grace. The narrowness of mediaeval scholasticism, the hardness of Calvinistic Protestantism are each of them traceable to the influence of the great bishop of Hippo. And to that influence also, it must be added, is traceable the whole scholastic and Tridentine doctrine of purgatory, with all its practical corruptions. The instincts of mankind led them to turn to the one mitigating feature in the terrible theology that shut out ninety-nine hundredths of mankind from all hope of escaping hell, and the "ignis purgatorius pro non valde malis," admitting of mitigation, capable even of being shortened by prayers, alms, the sacrifice of the altar, came into greater and greater prominence. Practically each man thought of his own kindred and friends as *non valde mali*, and natural affection, or even the conventional decorum which required the shew of affection, led men to provide the means of mitigation. They could repeat prayers, give alms, pay for masses. The indulgences of Tetzel were but the natural development of the theology of Augustine. It was reserved for Calvinism and popular Protestantism to reproduce all that was hardest in it without even that element of mitigation. The teaching of the Western church from this period offers hardly any exception to the reproduction of Augustine's leading lines of thought. The language of the next great Latin father, Gregory the Great, is indeed even sterner: "There is a purgatorial fire, but it is only for very small sins." Admitting the natural meaning of Matt. xii. 31, it is only for such sins as "an idle word or immoderate laughter" that remission may be looked for in the other world, and then only by those who have deserved remission by good deeds in this life (*Dialog.* iv. 34). Even the "mitigatio" of Augustine has passed into the back-ground, and he teaches a progressive increase in guilt and therefore in punishment: "ad deteriora quotidie impulsus cadit" (*Hom. in Job*, viii. 8–10). The speculations of the schoolmen as to the punishment of the lost and their development of the purgatorial theory, interesting as they are, do not fall within the scope of the present work.

[E. H. P.]

ESCHROPOEI (Αἰσχροποιοί), mentioned by Antiochus, the monk of St. Saba, as a designation of the later Origenist sect (Antioch. Monach. *Homil.* 130, p. 1246, Patr. Gr. lxxxix. 1847 a).

[T. W. D.]

ESCONN, bishop of Bochluain, commemorated Nov. 20. He is thus designated at his commemoration in *Mart. Doneg.*, but in Dr. Reeves's Calendar he is said to be "of Druimdaganda." The attempt is made, though not very successfully, to identify this Esconn under his honorific name, Mo-Esconn, with Maxentia, Virgin Martyr, who is venerated on the same day, and also on April 16 and Oct. 24. [MAXENTIA.] (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 314–15, 406–7; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 381; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Nov. 20, xi. 429; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 168.) In the *Kal. Drummond*, March 24, there is "Esco mac Cairthinn, Confessor" (Bp. Forbes, *ib.* 8). [J. G.]

ESCUUALD, a presbyter of Kent, A.D. 761 (Kemble, *C. D.* 107, 132). [C. H.]

ESCWINE (AESCWINE, AESCUUINE, ESCUINUS, ESCUUINE, ESEWINE, OSWINE, CHENFUSIEN, *i.e.* CENFUSING or son of Cenfus), king of Wessex, succeeding Sexburga, to whose husband Coinwalch he was distantly related in the royal line. According to the *A. S. C.* he became king in 674, died in 676, and was succeeded by Centwine, the brother of Coinwalch. His reign is marked by a great battle fought in 675 against Wulfhere, king of Mercia, at Biedanheafde, Bedanheafd, Bidanheafd, or Chef de Bede (in Gaimar), which is placed by Camden (*Brit.* i. 109, ed. Gough) at Great Bedwin in the east of Wilts, near which town are the striking Saxon earthworks known as Chisbury Castle. This locality implies an invasion from Mercia. Malmesbury assigns the victory to Escwine, and Henry of Huntingdon to Wulfhere. Wessex was very unsettled at that time, and writers vary in their statements. Florence makes the reign last nearly three years, Hardy calculates its commencement early in 675, and its close late in 676. Malmesbury differs from the *A. S. C.* and Florence in the pedigree. According to king Alfred (as stated by Florence), it was Cenfus that succeeded Sexburga. The whole of the reign of Escwine falls within the period of ten years, following the death of Coinwalch, which Bede (*H. E.* iv. 12) describes as anarchical, the several ealdormen attempting independent rule. The importance of Escwine's place in West Saxon history arises chiefly from the fact that it furnishes a proof that some attempt was made to continue the line of succession in the royal house. In this reign Wessex formed a single diocese, occupied by Leutherius, who sat at Winchester. The foundation of the monastery of Malmesbury (near the borders of Mercia) under its first abbat Aldhelm is assigned to the year 675 (Dugd. i. 257), which would fall within the reign of Escwine. The charter of Leutherius conveying the site is a fictitious one, bearing date Aug. 26, 675, according to Kemble's text (*C. D.* 11), but Aug. 26, 672, in the copy used by Malmesbury (*G. R. A.* i. § 30, ed. Hardy). Haddan and Stubbs (iii. 124) give the year of foundation as 675 or earlier. The year 675 (Dugd. i. 505) for the foundation of Abingdon, another Wessex, monastery seems very doubtful. (*A. S. C.* ann. 674, 676; Flor. Wig. *Chron.* in *M. H. B.* 534, 535, *Ad. Chron. Append.* ib. 641, *Geneal. Reg.* ib. 633; H. Hunt. lib. ii. ib. 718, 719; Ethelwerd, *Chron.* cc. 7, 8, ib. 506; Gaimar, *Est.* vv. 1411–32, ib. 781, 782; Malmesb. *G. R. A.* i. § 33, ed. Hardy, note; Wend. *F. H.* i. pp. 162, 167, ed. Coxe; Lappenberg, *Hist. Eng.* i. 255, 256, ed. Thorpe.)

[C. H.]

ESDRAS (EZR, JESER), catholicos or patriarch of Armenia. He was born at P'harhajnagerd in the canton of Nik or Nica, and the province of Ararad in Great Armenia, and in 628 succeeded Christophorus Abrahamita. Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* i. 1386), who does not date his accession, quotes a catalogue which assigns ten years to his rule, but Saint-Martin makes him

succeeded by Nerses III. in 640 (*Mém. sur L'Arménie*, i. 438). For the important synod of Charnum (A.D. 632 or 633) which distinguishes the pontificate of Esdras, see ARMENIANS, Vol. I. p. 165. [C. H.]

ESEWINE (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1412, in *M. H. B.* 781), king of Wessex. [ESCWINE.] [C. H.]

ESI, abbat. [ESUS.]

ESICHIUS. [HESICHIUS.]

ESICHUS I. and II., bishops of Poitiers, stand respectively eleventh and twelfth in the episcopal lists of that see, but nothing whatever is known of their history. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 1143; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 59.) [R. T. S.]

ESICIA (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. i. ind. ix. ep. 6, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 450), a lady. [ESYCHIA.] [C. H.]

ESIMPHAEUS (ESIMIPHAEUS), king of the Homeritae or Himyari, the people of Yemen in Arabia Felix. He was a Christian, and was raised to the throne of his country by Hellestheaeus the king of Aethiopia, on the condition, however, that he became his tributary. During his reign he rendered valuable aid to Justinian in his war with the Persians. After the death of Hellestheaeus Esimphaeus was deposed, and Abraham, who also was a Christian, was chosen in his stead. (Procop. *de Bell. Pers.* i. 20.) [T. W. D.]

ESITIUS, bishop of Grenoble. [HESYCHIUS.]

ESLINGUS, bishop of Tours. [ERLINGUS.]

ESNE (AEINE), the tenth bishop of Hereford. (*M. H. B.* 621.) Under the form of Aeine his name appears among the signatures to the legatine canons of 787. As his predecessor Aldberht was at Brentford in 781, and his successor Ceolmund attests charters in 788, the date of Esne is so far ascertained, but nothing more is known of him. The name, which signifies a servant, or a serving man (see Schmid, *Ges.* p. 569) seems to be peculiar to this bishop as a distinctive appellation; but it appears in the will of king Alfred as belonging to a bishop of his time, unassigned to any see, and may there be an interpolation: see *Lib. de Hyda*, p. 65; Kemble, *C. D.* No. 314. [S.]

ESNIG, Armenian patriarch. [EZNIK.]

ESOTIUS. [EXOTIUS.]

ESPASANDUS, bishop of Complutum (Alcala de Henares), subscribes the acts of the fifteenth and sixteenth councils of Toledo, under Egica. He was bishop from about 686 till after 693 (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 189; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 313, 333) [ASTURIUS]. [M. A. W.]

ESPERAINDEO, bishop of Italica, signs the twelfth Council of Toledo, called by Ervig, and presided over by Julian. [ERVIG.] His name comes eleventh among thirty-five. He died probably about A.D. 682, and was succeeded by Cuniald, whom Wamba had endeavoured to make bishop of Aquis (*Esp. Sagr.* xii. 267, Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270). [EULALIUS.] [M. A. W.]

ESPIAN, venerated at Beauvais in France is said, by Guerin and Giry, to have been son of Ella, king of Scotland and Northumbria, and of his queen Pantilomena in the 5th century, and thus the brother of SS. Maura and Brigida (the first Ella reigned in Deira 559–588: another Ella, or Aella usurped the throne of Northumbria, A.D. 867. *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*). On the death of his father he declined the throne, and went with his sisters to France, where, after visiting Rome, they were set upon by barbarian hordes and murdered at Balagny, near Creil, in the diocese of Beauvais. Their bodies were enshrined at Nogent-les-Vierges in the 12th century. But the whole story is legendary, and does not rise to the value of history (Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, July 23, pt. ii. 306–309). [J. G.]

ESPIUS, fifth bishop of Syracuse, probably early in the 2nd century. He succeeded Eulalius I., and was followed by Ethimotheus. (Rocca-Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, i. 600.) [R. S. G.]

ESSENES or ESSAEANS (Ἐσσαῖοι or Ἐσσηνοί). One of the three sects of Judaism at the time of Christ, the other two being the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The etymology and import of this name will best be considered after an examination of the tenets and practices of this sect or brotherhood, as well as of their rise and development.

I. *The Doctrines and Practices of the Essenes.*—Being Hebrews of the Hebrews, the Essenes firmly believed in God as the Creator and Disposer of all things. They believed in the immortality of the soul, and in a future state of retribution, where the righteous and the wicked will be rewarded according to the deeds done in the body. They regarded death as a great gain, inasmuch as it was the entrance into glory. With the discarding of this corruptible body, the incorruptible soul obtained her liberty from bondage, and mounted upwards to the region of pure spirits, whilst the souls of the wicked were consigned to a dark and tempestuous dungeon, full of never-ceasing punishments. But if we are to accept the opinion of Josephus, which, as we shall see hereafter, is very doubtful, they did not believe in the resurrection of the body. Their faith in the inspired law of God was so intense that they were led thereby to pay the greatest reverence to Moses the lawgiver, and to consider blasphemy of his name a capital offence. They divided their doctrines into three classes: 1. Love to God; 2. Love of virtue; and 3. Love to mankind. "Of their love to God," Philo tells us, "they give innumerable demonstrations, by their constant and unalterable holiness throughout the whole of their life, their avoidance of oaths and falsehoods, and by their firm belief that God is the source of all good, but of nothing evil. Of their love of virtue they give proofs in their contempt for money, fame, and pleasure; their continence and endurance; in their satisfying their wants easily; in their simplicity, cheerfulness of temper, modesty, order, firmness, &c. As instances of their love to man, are to be mentioned their benevolence, equality, and their having all things in common." Their aim of life was to be separate from the world with its evil practices, to live a life of holiness and devotion to God, to benefit mankind,

to become the temple of the Holy Spirit, so as to be enabled to prophesy and perform miraculous cures, and to prepare themselves for a future state of bliss and reunion with the Father of Spirits. To obtain this end they had to adopt stringent regulations which should keep them from the contaminations of the world.

The Levitical and ceremonial laws of purity which were developed after the restoration by Ezra, and especially during the Maccabean period, and which were observed with more or less rigour by the different schools of the Jewish nation, constituted the foundation upon which the Essenes reared the whole edifice of their domestic arrangements and regulations. As, according to these laws, contact with any one who did not observe the rules of purity, or even did not observe them to the same degree, rendered the faithful followers impure, the Essenes had to form themselves into a separate society or community. Moreover as contact with things manufactured or prepared by any one who did not keep the same rules, likewise produced impurity, the Essenes were also obliged to cultivate and manufacture all the articles of food and dress which their commonwealth required. The rigorous observance of the laws of purity also led some of the Essenes to choose a celibate life, inasmuch as conjugal intercourse, and the periodical defiled state of women arising from their courses and childbirth were a perpetual source of defilement to a sanctified life. Their regulations were therefore religio-industrial.

II. *Their Daily Occupation and Manner of Life.*—To raise the supplies, all the members took their share in the work day by day, according to the talent or trade which they possessed. They got up before sunrise, and never talked about any worldly matters till they had all assembled together, and, with their faces turned towards the sun, offered up their national prayer for the renewal of the light of day. Immediately after the morning service they betook themselves, under the direction of the stewards whom they elected by universal suffrage, to their respective employments. The farmers among them cultivated the ground and reared the bees; the shepherds tended the flocks, the bakers prepared the food, the tailors and shoemakers made and repaired the articles of dress. At this work they remained till the fifth hour, *i.e.* 11 o'clock A.M., when the labour of the forenoon regularly terminated. Hereupon all of them assembled together, submitted to their daily rite of baptism in cold water, discarded their working-clothes, arrayed themselves in white garments, being the symbol of purity, and resorted to the refectory, which they entered in solemn silence, as if it were the holy Temple. Having seated themselves according to their age and order, the brethren who were the bakers and cooks placed before each a little loaf of bread and a dish of the most simple food, consisting chiefly of vegetables. The silence which was continued all this time was broken by the priest of Aaronic descent, who invoked God's blessing upon the repast. The mysterious silence was again resumed, and continued during the meal, which had the character of a sacrament. After the meal, the priest offered thanks to the bountiful Supplier of all wants, which was the signal of dismissal. All then withdrew, put off their white garments, dressed in their working clothes, resumed their several employments till the evening, when they again assembled to partake of a common meal, under the same regulations. All of them devoted certain hours of the day to the study of the mysteries of nature and revelation, as well as of the celestial hierarchy. Such was their manner of life during week days. The Sabbath they observed with the utmost rigour. Even the removal of a vessel from one place to another, they regarded as a violation of this holy day. They took special care not to forsake the assembling of themselves together. Ten persons constituted a complete and legal number for Divine worship in the synagogue. In the presence of such an assembly they would never spit. As at meals, each one took his seat in the synagogue according to age, and in becoming attire. They had no ordained ministers, whose exclusive right it was to conduct the service. Any member who felt moved to do it, took up the Bible and read in it, whilst those who had much experience in spiritual matters expounded the portion thus read. The distinctive ordinances of the brotherhood, and the mysteries connected with the Tetragrammaton, as well as with the angelic worlds, constituted the principal theme of Sabbatic instruction. The study of logic and metaphysics was eschewed as injurious to a devotional life.

III. *Candidates for and Mode of Admission into the Brotherhood.*—Every candidate for admission into the order had to pass through a noviciate of two stages, extending over three years. Upon entering the first stage, which lasted twelve months, the novice had to cast in all his possessions into the common treasury, he then received (1) a copy of the regulations of the brotherhood, which he had carefully to study, and rigidly to follow the rules contained therein; (2) a spade to bury the excrement (comp. Deut. xxiii. 12-15); and (3) a white robe to put on at meals, being the symbol of purity. But though in possession of these symbols, he was an outsider during the whole of the twelve months, and was not admitted to the common meals. At the expiration of his probationary period, the novice was admitted into the second stage, if the community found that he had properly acquitted himself. He was now called an "approacher" (*προσίων ἔγγιον*), and during this stage, which lasted two years, he was admitted to closer fellowship with the brotherhood, and shared in their lustral rites. But he was still excluded from the common meal, and was ineligible for any office. If he passed satisfactorily through the second stage of probation the approacher then became "an associate" or full member of the society (*ὁμιλητὴς*), when he bound himself by solemn oaths, "First to fear God, and next to exercise justice to all men; neither to wrong any one of his own accord, nor by the command of others; always to detest the wicked, and side with the righteous; ever to keep faith inviolable with all men, especially with those in authority, for no one comes to office without the will of God; not to be proud of his power, nor to outshine his subordinates, either in his garments or greater finery, if he himself should attain to office; always to love truth, and strive to reclaim all liars; to keep his hands clear from stealing and

his mind from unholy gain; not to conceal anything from the brotherhood, nor disclose anything belonging to them to those without, though it were at the hazard of his life. He has, moreover, to swear not to communicate to any one their doctrines in any other way than he has received them: to abstain from robbing the commonwealth, and carefully to preserve the writings of the society, and the names of the angels" (Josephus, *War*, II. viii. 7).

The whole brotherhood was divided into four classes—(1) the novices, (2) the approachers, (3) the new full members, and (4) the old members. Each class advanced so much in holiness above the others by the longer number of years of their membership, that if the senior member of a class happened to touch the member of a class below him, he had to purify himself by lustration in the same way as if he had been defiled by contact with a stranger. If a brother was accused of sin he was brought before the brethren, and could not be judged unless there were, at least, a hundred of them present, and agreed in their verdict. If he was pronounced guilty, he was excommunicated, yet was he not regarded as an enemy, but was admonished as a brother, and received back after due repentance.

IV. *The Relationship of Essenism to Judaism.*—The fact that the Essenes professed to be guided by the teachings of the Hebrew Scriptures, that a rupture between them and the Jewish community is nowhere mentioned, and that, on the contrary, they are described by the orthodox Jews themselves as the holiest and most consistent followers of the Mosaic law, would, apart from anything else, shew that they were an order of the orthodox Jewish faith. We have, however, more minute and definite data, which incontestably prove that in doctrine, as well as in practice, Essenism is simply an intensified or exaggerated form of Pharisaism, which was the national religion in the time of Christ. It is unfortunate that the only two contemporary Jewish accounts of the Essenes as a separate brotherhood are those of Philo and Josephus, which are manifestly shaped to exhibit the Jews to the cultivated Greeks in a Hellenistic garb. In spite, however, of this mystification a careful examination of these strongly-coloured records will show the identity of the cardinal doctrines and principal practices of Essenism and Pharisaism. Passing over their belief in God the Creator and Disposer of all things, as requiring no proof that this also constituted the most essential article of the faith of the Pharisees, we shall examine the other doctrines and practices which Josephus describes, and which might be deemed to be distinctive features of Essenism.

1. The Essenes, we are told, believed in the immortality of the soul, and in a future state of reward and punishment. So the Pharisees, "This world is the outer court to the world to come; prepare thyself in the outer court so as to be admitted into the palace" (*Aboth*, iv. 16). "Those that are born are destined to die, those that die are destined to live again, and those that live again are destined for judgment" (*Aboth*, iv. 22).

2. The Essenes considered blaspheming the name of Moses a capital offence, so did the Pharisees. It was to bring him under the penalty of this law that Stephen was charged with having spoken "blasphemous words against Moses" (Acts vii. 11).

3. The Essenes were divided into four classes, according to the age of membership, and according to the degree of holiness which they practised, and the member of a higher class became defiled if he touched anything belonging to a member of the lower class; so the Pharisees. In consequence of a conscientious desire to discharge their religious duties in a state of legal purity, prescribed in Levit. v. 2; vii. 20, 21; xii. 1–8; xv. 19–31; Numb. xix. 14–22, the authoritative expounders of the canon law ordained that since one does not know whether he has been defiled by contact with any unclean person or thing, every member of the Pharisaic association is "to wash his hands before eating his ordinary food, the second tithes or the heave-offering; to immerse his whole body before he eats the portions of holy sacrifices; and to bathe his whole body before touching the water absolving from sin, even if it is only his hands which are unclean. If one immersed himself for ordinary food (חולין), and designed it only for ordinary food, he could not eat second tithes; if he immersed for second tithes (מעשר) he could not eat of the heave-offering; if he immersed for the heave-offering (תרומה), and meant by it the heave-offering, he was not allowed to eat the portion of the holy sacrifice; if he immersed for the holy sacrifice (קדש), and meant it for the holy sacrifice, he could not as yet touch the water absolving from sin (חטאת), but he who immersed for the more important could share in the less important" (*Mishna Chagiga*, ii. 5, 6). This gave rise to four degrees of purity, and to four divisions in the Pharisaic association. Each degree of purity required a greater separation from the above-named Mosaic defilements. Hence "the garments of an *Am Ha-Aretz* (עם הארץ, or a non-member of the Pharisaic association) defile the Pharisee (*i.e.* him who lived according to the first degree of purity); the garments of a Pharisee defile those who eat the heave-offering (*i.e.* the second degree); the garments of those who eat the heave-offering defile those who eat the holy sacrifice (*i.e.* the third degree); and the garments of those who eat the holy sacrifice defile those who touch the water absolving from sin (*i.e.* the fourth degree) (comp. *Mishna Chagiga*, ii. 7; *Taharoth*, vii. 5). Hence it is declared that "he who takes upon himself to become a member of the Pharisaic association must neither sell to an *Am Ha-Aretz* moist or dry fruit, nor buy of him moist fruit, nor become the guest of an *Am Ha-Aretz*, nor receive him as guest in his garments into his house" (*Mishna Demai*, ii. 3).

4. A candidate for admission into the order of the Essenes had to go through a noviciate of twelve months. The same was the case with the Pharisees. When any one applied to become a member of the Pharisaic association he had to pass through a noviciate of twelve months (*Berachoth*, 30 *b*).

5. The novice among the Essenes received an apron the first year of his probation. The same was the case in the Pharisaic association. The newly-admitted associate received a garment called כנפים, and having duly qualified himself in

this stage, he was afterwards admitted to the nolier lustrations, מקבלין לכנפים ואחרכך מקבלין אתו לטהרות (*Tosephta Demai*, ii. p. 48, ed. Zuckermandel, Berlin, 1877; *Jerusalem Demai*, ii. 3; *Babylon Berachoth*, 30 *b*).

6. The Essenes rose early, and offered up prayer for the renewal of the light of day, and many of the Pharisees, too, considered it essential to offer morning prayer at the break of the rays of the sun (*Berachoth*, 12).

7. The Essenes were chiefly engaged in cultivating the land. So were some of the most distinguished spiritual leaders of the Pharisees. The many Talmudic treatises which exclusively treat on agriculture, and the numerous maxims dispersed throughout the Talmud which set forth its importance, shew the great respect in which this pursuit of life was regarded among the Jewish community at large. Hence we find R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanos, R. Ismael, R. Eliezer b. Azariah, R. Jehudah b. Shema, R. Gamaliel, and a host of others of the most celebrated teachers engaged in cultivating the soil as the most favourite of all work (Comp. Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, s. v. ACKERBAU).

8. The Essenes regarded their social meal as their sacrament. The Pharisees, too, regarded the refectory as a sanctuary, and compared its table to the altar in the temple, because the altar in the temple is represented as the table of the Lord (Ezek. xli. 22). Thus we are told, "Three persons who eat at a table and recite at it the words of the law are as if they were eating off the table of the Lord, blessed be he, for it is written, 'And he said unto me, This is the table that is before the Lord'" (*Aboth*, iii. 3). Hence R. Jochanan and R. Eliezer remark, "As long as the temple stood the altar atoned for the sins of Israel, but now it is man's table which atones for his sins" (*Beruchoth*, 55 *a*; *Chagiga*, 27 *a*; *Menachoth*, 97 *a*).

9. The Essenes "not only prepare their Sabbath-day's food the day before, that they may not kindle a fire on that day, but they will not move a vessel out of its place, nor go to ease nature." The Pharisees, too, prepare their Sabbath-day's food on Friday, and will in nowise kindle a fire on the Sabbath, in accordance with the command laid down in Exod. xxxv. 3, nor remove a vessel from place to place (comp. *Tosephta Succa*, iii.). The orthodox Jews to the present day not only kindle no fire on the Sabbath-day, but will not even carry a handkerchief in their pocket; they tie it round their body to serve as a girdle, in order to avoid carrying even so small a weight on the sacred day.

10. The Essenes endeavoured so to regulate their life that with them conversation was yea, yea, and nay, nay. Hence they would not use an oath to corroborate or attest anything which they stated. So the pious Pharisees. On Ruth iii. 18 we are told that R. Huna said, in the name of R. Samuel b. R. Isaac, "With the pious their yea is yea and nay, nay" (*Midrash on Ruth*, *Parsha* vi. p. 70, ed. Stettin, 1863). On Levit. xix. 36 the Talmud remarks, "It is designed to teach thee that thy yea should forsooth be yea, and thy nay should forsooth be nay" לומר לך שיראה הן שלך צדק ולאו שלך צדק (*Baba Metzia*, 49 *a*).

11. The highest aim of the Essenes was to attain to such a state of holiness as to be able to perform miraculous cures and to prophesy. So the Pharisees. Thus Josephus, among other things, foretold the coming of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire (comp. *Antiq.* iii. 8, 9; *Life*, § 42; *War*, III. viii. 39).

12. The Essenes "being bound by oaths and customs cannot receive food from any out of the society, so that when any are excommunicated they are forced to eat herbs" (Josephus, *War*, II. viii. 8). So the Pharisees. Josephus himself tells us when at Rome while Felix was procurator of Judea, he pleaded before Caesar the cause of certain captive priests who were his friends, and who were so God-fearing that even under affliction they subsisted on figs and nuts (*Life*, § 3).

13. The Essenes had esoteric doctrines and ancient books on magical cures and exorcisms, and the novice had to swear that he would "preserve the writings of the society, and the names of the angels" (Josephus, *War*, II. viii. 8). So had the Pharisees. Josephus himself assures us that "God enabled Solomon to learn that skill which expels demons, which is a science useful and sanative to man. He composed such incantations also by which distempers are alleviated. And he also left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive away demons so that they never return, and this method of cure is of great force until this day. For I have seen a certain man of my own country whose name was Eleazar releasing people that were demoniacal in the presence of Vespasian and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers" (*Antiq.* VIII. ii. 5). The esoteric doctrines of the Jews which comprised the mysteries connected with the Tetragrammaton (שם המפורש) and the other names of God and the angels, the theosophy (מעשה מרכבה) and the cosmogony (מעשה בראשית) could only be communicated to the initiated. Hence the injunction in the Mishna, "The mystery of the cosmogony (מעשה בראשית) must not be explained when two are present, and the mystery of the theosophy (מרכבה) not even to one unless he is a sage" (*Chagiga*, ii. 1).

The real differences between Essenism and Pharisaism are—(1) The Essenes, or rather a portion of them, led a celibate life; (2) they were not present at the offering of their sacrifices, though they sent their holy gifts to the temple; and (3) they did not believe in the resurrection of the body, though they firmly believed in the immortality of the soul and a future state of reward and punishment. The first and second differences, as we shall see hereafter, were exaggerated, but still strictly logical developments of the Levitical and Pharisaical laws of purity, whilst the third was not peculiar to the Essenes, if it can be attributed to them at all.

V. *The Relationship of Essenism to Christianity.*—Two diametrically opposite opinions are advocated with equal dogmatism and pertinacity on the relationship of Essenism and Christianity. On the one hand it is declared that Christianity is "Essenism alloyed with foreign elements" (Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 288, 3rd ed. Leipzig, 1878), and on the other

hand it is as firmly asserted that the supposed coincidence in doctrine and social institutions of the two communities simply exhibit the natural outgrowth of the moral sense common to mankind which may be seen whenever and wherever circumstances favour its development. As is often the case in controversies both these antagonistic views suffer from admixture of truth and error. The advocates of the former betray prejudice against Christianity and a want of appreciation of its true nature, whilst those of the latter shew ignorance of the varied opinions and institutions which obtained among the Jews before the time of Christ, and are equally prejudiced against Judaism. They seem, moreover, to be possessed by an unwholesome fear lest the admission that Christ belonged to a branch of the national synagogue established by law, into whose membership He was admitted by the prescribed rites, and whose services He attended and publicly took part in, and that He found some excellent doctrines and commendable practices in the religion of His people which He deemed worthy to incorporate into His own teaching would betray the sacred ark into the hands of the enemy. The truth will be found between these two extremes, as will be seen from the following comparison.

The ruling principle of Essenism was, above all, to seek the kingdom of God. Christ urged on His disciples to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness. (Matt. vi. 33; Luke xii. 31.) The Essenes demanded of those who wished to join their community, to sell their possessions and give to the poor. (Josephus, *War*, II. viii. 3.) Christ told the young man who kept the commandments, and whom He loved, "If thou wilt be perfect, sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow Me." (Matt. vi. 33; Mark x. 21–23; Luke xii. 31.) The Essenes regarded the laying up of treasure upon earth as injurious to leading a spiritual life, hence they despised riches, and were content with self-imposed poverty. (Joseph. *War*, II. viii. 3.) Christ told His disciples, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth . . . for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also"; and —"that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven." (Matt. vi. 19–21; xix. 23, 24.) Love of the brotherhood was the soul of Essaean life, and was the basis of all their actions. So intense was this feeling amongst them, that the love which they manifested for the brethren called forth the greatest admiration, and was declared to be without a parallel in the rest of the Jewish nation. (Josephus, *War*, II. viii. 2.) Christ made love the basis of His teaching: "This is My commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you." (John xv. 12, 17.) "This is the message which ye have received from the beginning, that ye love one another." (1 John iii. 11; v. 7, 8, 11.) Indeed it was regarded as the test of Christianity: "We know that we have passed from death to life because we love the brethren." (1 John iii. 14.) To realise the idea of brotherhood, the Essenes lived together like one family; had all things in common, and appointed one of the brethren steward to manage the common bag. (Joseph. *War*, II. viii. 3.) So the primitive Christians: "All that believed were together, and had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need." (Acts ii. 43, 44.) One managed the common bag. (John xii. 6; xiii. 29.) Even in travelling the Essenes "go to those whom they have never seen before, as if they had been most intimate, so that they take nothing with them when they go on a journey." (Josephus, *War*, II. viii. 4.) Christ, too, commanded His disciples that they should take nothing for their journey save a staff only; no scrip, no bread, no money in their purses; but be shod with sandals, and not put on two coats. (Mark vi. 9, 10.) As a result of this mode of living together like brethren, the Essenes put all their members on the same level, forbad the exercise of authority of one over the other, and enjoined mutual service. (Joseph. *Antiq.* XVIII. i. 5.) Christ declared that all His disciples are equal; forbad them to lord one over another; but commanded them to be servants to each other. (Matt. xx. 25, 28; Mark ix. 35–37; x. 42–45.) Again, as a result of the great moral law which was the foundation of Essenism—viz. love to God and love to all mankind—the Essenes absolutely proscribed slavery. (Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. i. 5.) Though no single detached precept can be adduced in which Christ explicitly condemns this social institution, yet who can fail to see that the whole spirit and genius of his teaching is antagonistic to this degrading practice? Owing to the same great moral law, the Essenes proscribed all offensive war and warlike pursuits; they even refused to manufacture martial instruments, and only took weapons with them when they went on a perilous journey. Christ, too, who declared that "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword" (Matt. xxvi. 52), told His disciples, when about to start for the Mount of Olives, "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." (Luke xxii. 36–38.) The aim and end of Essenism were to be meek and lowly in spirit, to mortify all sinful lusts, to be pure in heart, to hate evil but reclaim the evil-doer, to be merciful to all men. (Josephus, *War*, II. viii. 7.) The same qualities Christ sets forth as constituting the blessed, in the Sermon on the Mount. (Matt. v. 1–10.) With the Essenes, therefore, truthfulness was the natural result of their life. Hence, swearing to attest the veracity of a statement was strictly forbidden; their communication was "Yea, yea," and "Nay, nay." (Josephus, *War*, II. viii. 6.) So sacred was their word, that Herod the Great, who exacted the oath of allegiance from the other Jews, exonerated the Essenes. (Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. x. 4.) Christ enjoined His disciples, "Swear not at all . . . but let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay." (Matt. v. 34–37.) The Essenes especially devoted themselves to alleviate the ailments of the sick, thus combining the healing of the body with that of the soul; and regarded the power to perform miraculous cures, to cast out evil spirits, &c., as belonging to the highest state of discipleship. Christ, too, combined the two functions, and gave His true disciples power "to heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out evil spirits," &c. (Matt. x. 1–8; Mark xvi. 17, 18; Luke x. 9, 17.) It was the aim of the Essenes to live such a life of purity and holiness, and so to devote themselves to the

study of the sacred Scriptures, as to become the temples of the Holy Spirit, and to be able to prophesy; and Josephus assures us that they hardly ever failed in their predictions. (Josephus, *War*, II. viii. 12.) And this eye-witness describes several of their prophets, and the fulfilment of their predictions. (*War*, I. iii. 5; II. viii. 3; *Antiq.* XII. ii. 11; XV. x. 5.) St. Paul urges the Corinthians to desire, of all spiritual gifts, the gift to prophesy. (1 Cor. xiv. 1, 39.) Though all the Essenes as a body waited for the kingdom of heaven, and aimed to live a life of more immediate communion with the Deity, which involved abstention from conjugal intercourse, yet it was not given to all to attain to the highest state of perpetual sanctification. Only a portion of the brotherhood attained to that elevated spiritual life which enabled them to be celibates, or, as it is called in the language of the New Testament, "eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." (Josephus, *War*, II. viii. 2, 13.) It is the striving after this gift which Christ commends to His disciples. To reach that state of holiness which will enable one to abstain from marriage for the kingdom of heaven's sake, is indeed not within the power of all, for it is a special gift of God; "but he that can receive it, let him receive it." (Matt. xix. 10–12.) Hence the declaration of St. Paul, who had this gift: "I would have all men to be unmarried, as I myself am; but every man hath his proper gift." (1 Cor. vii. 7.) This agreement between Christ and the Essenes on the doctrine of celibacy in connexion with holiness is all the more remarkable, inasmuch as it is at variance with the general Pharisaic opinion. The Talmudic law regards marriage as a Divine command, implied in the words "Be fruitful, and multiply" (Gen. i. 28), which is binding on all. Hence it declares that "a man without a wife is without the law of God, and without a wall of defence against sin;" and, "a man without a wife is without joy, without a blessing, and without happiness." (*Yebamoth*, 62 *b*.)

Ingenuity and special pleading may, indeed, minimise and attenuate the identity of these precepts and practice, but the great aim of Essenism to attain to the highest state of moral purity and excellence cannot be gainsaid. The solemn obligations which every novice had to take upon himself before he was fully admitted into membership, and which have been given above, shew that the vital principle of Essenism was to make its members seek true religion, not in external works and outward observance of rites and ceremonies, but in an inward and sanctified life, in holy thoughts, in a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men, which spontaneously and irrepressibly manifests itself in acts of charity, benevolence, and self-denial. Herein lies the great resemblance between Essenism and Christianity. It was this which called forth the unbounded admiration of even the Greeks and the Romans for the Essenes, and it was this which made Philo and Josephus describe them as the most holy and most virtuous of men. When it is remembered that the whole Jewish community at the advent of Christ was divided into three parties, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, and that every devout Jew belonged to one of these sects, it is natural to suppose that Jesus, who in all things conformed to the Jewish law, belonged to this portion of His religious brethren. He who was holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners, would naturally associate himself with that order of Judaism which was most congenial to his holy nature, and it would be unlike Christ who taught us lessons from the sparrows in the air and the lilies in the field, and who made the whole realm of nature tributary to his teachings, to refuse to avail Himself of moral precepts and divine truths simply because they were more fully developed and more earnestly practised among the Essenes than among the rest of his co-religionists. Christ, however, in His words and in His deeds condemned many of the rigorous observances which developed themselves among the Essenes or were adopted by them, and which necessarily prevented Essenism from ever being more than a limited brotherhood. They were ascetics; he ate and drank the good things of God (Matt. xi. 19), and shewed that "not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man" (Matt. xv. 11). They considered themselves ceremonially defiled by contact with any one who practised a lower degree of holiness than their own, and hence had to be recluses. Christ associated with publicans and sinners to redeem them from their evil ways and make them fit for the kingdom of heaven. The Essenes sacrificed the lusts of their flesh to gain spiritual happiness for themselves. Christ sacrificed Himself for the salvation of others. Essenism by its organization shut out all but a limited community. Christianity, by breaking down the middle wall of partition, admitted all kindreds and nations and tongues.

VI. *Origin and Date of Essenism and its Relation to Pythagorism, &c.*—Essenism, like its less intensified form, Pharisaism, arose out of the rules which were enacted after the return from the Babylonish captivity for the observance of the Mosaic institutions. Besides the feasts and fasts, the national religious party bound themselves by solemn promise (1) to keep the tithal laws, and (2) to observe the laws of Levitical purity. According to the Mosaic law, the neglect of these two enactments was a heinous sin. The non-separation of the tithes rendered the whole produce unlawful, thus affecting every article of food, whilst the non-eschewing of defiling objects hampered every action in public life and every movement in family intercourse. Thus not only are numbers of animals proscribed as food, but contact with their carcases pollutes both man and things (Levit. v. 2; xi. 1–47). A man who has an issue not only defiles everything upon which he lies, or which he touches, but his very spittle is polluting (Levit. xv. 1–13). The same is the case with a man who comes in contact with a corpse (Numb. xix. 14–22), with a woman in menstruum and childbirth (Levit. xii. 1–8; xv. 19–31), and with a husband after conjugal intercourse (Levit. xv. 18). Individuals thus defiled were forbidden to come into the sanctuary (Numb. xix. 20), and were visited with the severe punishment of excision if they ate the flesh of a peace-offering (Levit. vii. 20, 21). The effect of these laws was that thousands upon thousands were daily rendered unclean, that these thousands of unclean men and women legally defiled myriads of people and things by

contact with them either wittingly or unwittingly, and that it therefore became absolutely necessary for those who were conscientiously desirous of discharging their religious duties in a state of legal purity to adopt such precautionary measures as would preclude the possibility of violating those laws. Hence obtained those rules and those four different degrees of purity with the four corresponding classes into which the whole Pharisaic body was divided, already described (sec. iv. 3). Any one who did not belong to the established national religion, that is, to one of the four classes, was termed an *Am Ha-Aretz* (עם הארץ)—*one who lives for earthly things, publican, sinner.* Contact with him was defiling, and no articles of food or raiment would be purchased by the religious from such an one. It was for eating with such persons that Christ was upbraided (Matt. ix. 10–13; Mark ii. 16, 17, etc.), which shews beyond doubt that he belonged to the national religious body, else the rebuke would have no meaning, since all the unattached, that is, *Amme Ha-Aretz* (עמי הארץ), could have intercourse among themselves. Besides, as an unattached or defiling person, Christ could not mix with the national and religious body. Of St. Paul we know, from his own words, that he was not only a Pharisee, but that he belonged to the strictest order, that is, he practised the fourth degree of holiness. (Acts xxvi. 5.)

With such a wide field for difference of opinion before them, with the tendency of some to regard the ritual observances as paramount and the only vehicle of divine grace; with the conviction of others that though necessary they are secondary emblems, and that a holy consistent life is the bond of union and communion with God; and with the feelings of others again that they are altogether useless, and are only to be observed because to disregard them would offend the national conscience and expose the nonconformists to penalties and disabilities, different schools arose among the ranks of the Pharisees, who represented the national religion. It is only by a careful study of the post-biblical Jewish writings, and by thoroughly realising their spirit, that one can appreciate their sentiments and minute shades of differences, and is able to see that the apparent outstanding and malshaped sections are in reality only different but genuine branches of the same parent stem, deriving their sap from the same root. The two somewhat different lists in the two recensions of the Talmud—the Jerusalem and the Babylonian, enumerating the different branches of Pharisaism—shew how fully alive the spiritually-minded Pharisees were to the conscientious extremes and the unconscionable abuses to which these stupendous observances gave rise among the various schools of thought comprised in the national religion. As we have given the Babylon recension elsewhere, we here give the one from the Jerusalem Talmud. "There are seven kinds of Pharisees:—(1) the *Shoulder Pharisee* פרוש שכמי, who carries, as it were, his good works on his shoulder that they may be seen by all, in order that he may be praised of men; (2) the *Time-gaining Pharisee* (פרוש ניקפי), who, when asked for anything, always says, 'Let me go first and perform a divine command'; (3) the *Deducting Pharisee* (פרוש קיזאי), who says, 'My few sins will be deducted from my many virtues'; (4) the *Saving Pharisee* (פרוש מה הנכייה), who says, 'I save from my scanty income in order that I may perform a good deed'; (5) the *Sin-searching Pharisee* (פרוש אדע חובתי ואעשנה), 'who always searches for any sin which he may have committed, in order that he may atone for it by an act of piety'; (6) the *Pharisee from fear* (פרוש יראה), who is one because he dreads Divine punishment; and (7) the *Pharisee from love* (פרוש אהבה), who is one from pure love to God like Abraham" (*Jerusalem Berachoth*, ix. 5, with *Jerusalem Sotah*, v. 5). These seven classes comprise all the different ramifications, all the various tendencies, and all the offshoots. It is the seventh class, the Pharisees from pure love to God and His divine commands, which the Talmud commends, and it is from this class that Essenism proceeded. What those who belonged to this class had to practise, and how identical they are with Essenism, will be seen from the following declaration in the Talmud, which describes the gradual growth in holiness:—(1) "The study of the divine law leads a man to circumspection; having practised circumspection, he is (2) accepted as a novice, and receives the apron, the symbol of purity, whence he attains (3) to the state of outward purity by lustrations. Thence he progresses (4) to that stage which imposes abstention from connubial intercourse. From celibacy he advances (5) to the stage of inward or spiritual purity; thence to (6) the higher stage of holiness; thence (7) to meekness and lowliness; thence (8) to the dread of every sin; thence (9) to the highest degree of holiness; thence (10) to becoming the temple of the Holy Spirit and to prophesy; and thence, finally (11), to the stage which enables him miraculously to heal the sick and raise the dead."[a] With impartial students who have no special theories to advance this will sufficiently shew the origin of Essenism. It will demonstrate that the individuals here described exhibit an ultra type of Pharisaism, and are none other but the Essenes. Bearing in mind that the name *Essene* does not exist in the whole range of Talmudic literature, and that the brotherhood has to be identified from the description of its features, simply because they were a branch of the Pharisees, it will readily be conceded that this is as faithful a picture of the Essenes as can be expected.

We have now to examine several practices which obtained among the Essenes which some maintain are heterodox and of non-Jewish origin, and which we are assured constituted them heretics and separatists. 1. "The most crucial note of heresy which is recorded of the Essenes"

[a] There are no less than five recensions of this *Boraitha*, two in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Sabbath*, ii. 3; *Shekalim*, iii. 3; two in the Babylonian Talmud, *Aboda Sara*, 20 *b*, *Mishna Sota*, ix. 15, and one in the *Midrash Rabbah*, Canticles, 1*a*—2*b*, ed. Stettin, 1863. We have carefully compared all the recensions, and give the one from the Babylonian Talmud, *Aboda Sara*, 20*a*. The erudite Dr. Jellinek, who we believe was the first to call attention to this important *Boraitha* (Ben Chananja, iv. 374) most unhesitatingly declares that it is a description of Essenism. Those who are Talmudic scholars will readily concede that this distinguished Rabbi understands the Talmud, knows what his own Judaism is, and will accept his opinion about the tenets of his brethren.

is that "they declined to take part in the sacrifices." Josephus, who mentions their abstention from offering sacrifices in the temple, distinctly says that it is owing to the different degrees of holiness which they practised. His words are, "Though they send offerings to the temple they do not offer the sacrifices themselves on account of the different rules of purity which they observe, hence, excluding themselves from the common sanctuary, they offer sacrifices in themselves" (ἐφ' αὑτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσι), or, as it may mean, "have the sacrifices offered for them" (*Antiq.* XVIII. i. 5). To understand the meaning of Josephus, we must advert to the sacrificial regulations which obtained during the second temple. Those who had the arrangement of the Temple service aimed at making the people at large realise that they were a nation of kings and priests. Hence they ordained that every individual should personally participate as much as possible in the offering up of the sacrifices. Not only had the offerer, who was present, to lay his hands on the victim, but permanent delegates of the people (אנשי מעמד) represented the entire nation, which could not be personally present at the daily sacrifices. These were divided into twenty-four divisions, answering to the twenty-four divisions of the priesthood. Even the slaughtering of the sacrifices was performed by the laity themselves, and it was the sprinkling of the blood and the actual altar work which were left to the priests. Now the Essenes, who were more rigorous about the laws of defilement than the other Pharisees, were afraid to enter the temple, and thus to participate personally in the sacrifices, lest they had not been properly purified. They therefore sent thither their sacrifices and partook of their sacrificial meal at home. It is therefore evident that they did not break off their connexion with the national sanctuary, for they periodically sent their consecrated gifts, for its maintenance, and for the keeping up of the temple worship, nor did they repudiate sacrifices in themselves. They were simply precluded from being present in the temple to participate in offering by a difference of opinion about the degree of holiness which those practised who officiated in the sanctuary. The specific nature of this difference Josephus was precluded from giving by the plan of his work, which was intended for the cultivated Greeks. The erudite Frankel, however, has rightly pointed it out. The Mosaic law ordained the burning of a red heifer, the ashes of which mixed with water were to be used for the sprinkling of those who were defiled by a corpse (Numb. xix. 1–22). The entrance into the sanctuary was made dependent upon the purification by this "water of separation," and he who entered the tabernacle of the Lord without this process was "cut off from Israel" (Numb. xix. 13, 20). The sacred nature of the ashes and the momentous consequences involved in the use of "the water of separation" required the utmost care and the most minute ceremonial in the preparation thereof, as the efficacy of the water and the validity of the purification depended upon the fulfilment of all the conditions prescribed in connexion with the burning of the heifer. The omission of a single item rendered the ashes inefficacious. In consequence of this the Mosaic law on this subject was minutely explained by the canon law, and a whole treatise in the Talmud is devoted to it. Children were trained from their birth to engage in this ceremonial. "There were special courts in Jerusalem built upon a rock which was hollowed underneath to prevent the penetration of any Levitical pollution. Thither pregnant women were brought to be confined; here they brought up the children" (*Mishna Para*, iii. 2). "An arched bridge was made from the temple mount to the mount of Olives, constructed in such a manner as to preclude defilement from beneath. On this bridge only the priest, and those who assisted him in burning the heifer, and the heifer itself were allowed to cross to the mount of Olives" (*ibid.* iii. 6). But the most extraordinary part connected with this ceremonial was that the Pharisees, contrary to the law laid down in Levit. xxii. 6, 7, commanding the defiled person who had undergone the necessary lustration to be unclean till sunset, "purposely defiled the priest on the very day in which he had to burn the heifer, and made him immerse in the baptistery on the mount of Olives, and immediately after perform the service, because of the Sadducees, who maintained that it must be done after sunset" (*Mishna Para*, iii. 7). As the Essenes regarded this act as illegal, and hence "the water of separation" inefficacious, they had no means of purifying themselves before entering the sanctuary,-as prescribed in the Mosaic law. They demanded another purification than the one practised by the managers of the temple service; their water of purification the Essenes regarded as impure [b] (Frankel, *Monatsschrift*, iii. 64, 65).

To this must be added, that throughout the whole of the prophetical writings and the hagiographa sacrifices are regarded as of very inferior value, and that the greatest importance is attached to inward purity and to holiness of life. Of the numerous passages we can only quote a few:—"Sacrifice and burnt offering thou didst not desire" (Ps. xl. 6); "Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it; thou delightest not in burnt offering; the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit," &c. (Ps. li. 16, 17). I will praise the name of God with a song, and will magnify him with thanksgiving; this shall please the Lord better than an ox or bullock that hath horns and hoofs (Ps. lxix. 30, 31). "I hate, I despise your feast days. . . though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat-offerings, I will not accept them," etc. (Amos v. 21, 22). More remarkable still is the declaration of Jeremiah that sacrifices as a part of worship were no divine ordinance at all. "I spake not

[b] Professor Lightfoot's assertion that "Frankel supposes that their only reason for abstaining from the temple sacrifices was that according to their severe notions the temple itself was profaned, and therefore unfit for sacrificial worship" (*Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, p. 371, 2nd ed. London, 1876), seems due to a mistake. What he says is *ihnen* fehlte also das Mittel sich zu reinigen, *sie* hatten kein Reinigungswasser für den sich an einer Leiche Verunreinigten, *they*, i.e. the Essenes, accordingly had not the means to purify themselves, *they* had no water of purification for one who contracted defilement by a corpse. Professor Lightfoot has therefore mistaken Frankel's meaning; they themselves are not the temple.

unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices" (Jerem. vii. 21, 22). Hence Rashi (1040–1105) who is the highest authority in Talmudic matters, and represents traditionally the doctrines of the Pharisees (*Chullin*, 5 a); Maimonides (1135–1204), who is called the "second Moses," and who for the first time formulated and introduced into the synagogue the Jewish creed which is recited by the orthodox Israelites to this day (*More Nebuchim*, iii. 32, 46), and Kimchi (1163–1235), the celebrated expositor and lexicographer (Levit. i. 1; Jerem. vii. 23), maintain that sacrifices were altogether optional, they were permitted on account of the hardness of heart, and that the Mosaic ordinances aimed to *restrict* them as much as possible. The Essenes could therefore easily be satisfied with sending their gifts to the temple to mark their union with the national sanctuary, and believe that "the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit," which they conscientiously endeavoured to offer. It is for this reason that Josephus, though himself a Pharisee, does not describe them as *cut off* from Judaic orthodoxy in matters of sacrifices, and that he tells us himself of distinguished Essenes frequenting the temple and instructing their disciples there without let or hindrance (*War*, I. iii. 5).

(2) It is maintained that the Essenes offered up prayers to the Sun, and that this practice not only shews a Parsee influence, but cuts them off from the body of orthodox Jews. The ground for this assertion is the statement of Josephus, "their piety towards God is extraordinary, for they never speak about worldly matters before the sun rises, but offer up, with their faces towards it, certain prayers, handed down by their forefathers, as if supplicating it to rise" (War, II. viii. 5). But the most inconceivable part about it is that those who advocate this opinion make Josephus, who was a Pharisee (1) describe *their extraordinary piety towards the God of Abraham* to consist in offering up prayer to the sun, i.e. in an idolatrous practice expressly forbidden in the very law of Moses (Deut. iv. 10), which the Essenes reverenced in the highest degree, and that (2) for this idolatrous worship they used the national orthodox prayers transmitted by their forefathers, thus insulting the national conscience by this degradation of the prayers of the faithful. The prayer here spoken of is the well-known national morning hymn of praise (המאיר לארץ) for the return of the light of day, which forms a part of the Jewish service to the present day, and which according to an ancient canon had to be offered up at sun-rise (*Mishna Berachoth*, i. 4). The orthodox or Pharisaic Jews to this day offer up the following prayer, every month, on beholding the new moon, "A good sign, good fortune be to all Israel! (to be repeated three times) Blessed be thy (the moon's) Creator! Blessed be thy possessor! Blessed be thy Maker (repeated three times)! As I leap towards thee (*i.e.* the moon) but cannot touch thee, so may my enemies not be able to injure me (said three times, leaping)," &c. (*Sopherim*, xx. 2). It would be fairer almost to charge the Pharisees with moon-worship, than to conclude from the remark of Josephus that the Essenes were cut off from the Pharisees by sun-worship.

(3) On the subject of marriage again, we are told the antagonism between the Essenes and the Pharisees is a vital matter. The following are Josephus's remarks. "They disregard marriage, but they do not repudiate marriage and its consequent succession of the race in themselves, but they are afraid of women, and are persuaded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man" (*War*. II. viii. 2). "There is another order of Essenes who in their way of living, customs, and laws exactly agree with the others, excepting that they differ from them about marriage, for they believe that those who do not marry cut off the principal part of human life" (*ibid.* II. viii. 13). The reason which Josephus here assigns for the celibacy of some of the Essenes, like that of Philo, is simply shaped to suit the taste of those cultivated Greek readers whose maxim was "a handsome wife would be common, one deformed a punishment, therefore we should have none" (Whitby's *Commentary*, 1 Cor. vii. 3). He tells his Greek readers that in Exod. xxii. 27 Moses forbids the Jews to revile the heathen gods (*Antiq.* IV. viii. 10; *Contr. Apion.* ii 37). That the law prohibits to spoil our enemies (*Contr. Apion.* 26), that the law of Moses commands the Jews to kill themselves rather than go into slavery among heathen (War, III. viii. 9; VII. viii. 7; with I. xiii. 10), etc., and in order to expose the Egyptian custom of married men being subordinate to their wives he positively declares "the Scripture says a woman is inferior to her husband in all things" (*Contr. Apion.* ii. 25). Because the Greeks and Romans ridiculed the Jewish rite of circumcision, he actually suppresses the fact that the sons of Jacob imposed it on the Shechemites, and says that the brothers fell upon them at night whilst they were revelling and feasting (*Antiq.* I. xxi. 1). For the same reason he alters the text of the Bible, which says that Saul demanded of David a hundred foreskins of the Philistines as a dowry for his daughter, into six hundred heads of the Philistines (*Antiq.* VI. ix. 2). The reason, therefore, which he assigns for the celibacy of some of the Essenes belongs to the same category. The very nature of Essenism supplies the cause of it. The foundation of their arrangements is based upon the avoidance of every kind of defilement. According to the law connubial intercourse was defiling, and required sanctification (Levit. xv. 18), and Josephus himself says "the law enjoins that after the man and wife have lain together, in a regular way, they shall bathe themselves, for there is a defilement contracted thereby both in soul and body" (*Contr. Apion.* ii. 25). Even Bathsheba underwent this lustration after violating her conjugal fidelity (2 Sam. xi. 4). Keeping from women was, therefore, considered indispensable to a holy life (Exod. xix. 15; 1 Sam. xxi. 5, 6; 2 Sam. xi. 4; Enoch, lxxxiii. 2; lxxxv. 3). Even Ben-Azai, who agreed with the theory that men should marry to propagate the race in accordance with Gen. i. 28, was himself a celibate, and when asked for the reason replied, "What can I do? my soul is wedded to the Divine Law, and the world can be propagated by others" (*Yebamoth*, 63 *b*). The Essenes, therefore, who felt themselves constrained to be celibates, because they were devoted to a holy

life, were quite as orthodox as the Pharisee Ben Azai. It must, however, be added that Josephus most explicitly states that the Essenes do not repudiate marriage in itself, that celibacy was quite optional, since it was an open question, and that a portion of them were married, and still were faithful members of the brotherhood. How such statements can be made, that "marriage was to him [*i.e.* the Essene] an abomination" (Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians*, etc. p. 85), and that "R. Chaninah's wife is a prominent person in the legends of his miracles reported in *Taanith*, 24 *b*, and thus we need hardly stop to discuss the possible meaning of אנישי מעשה, since his claims to being considered an Essene are barred at the outset by this fact" (*ibid.* p. 363) is surpassing strange.

(4) The Essenes did not believe in the resurrection of the body, which the Pharisees held as a cardinal doctrine. What Josephus says on this subject is as follows: "They firmly believe that the bodies perish, and that their substance is not enduring, but that the souls are immortal" (*War*, II. viii. 11). Any impartial student who will carefully read the whole of this section will at once perceive that Josephus's aim here is to shew that the Essenes, to use his own words, "agree with the opinion of the Greeks, they say that for the good souls there is a life beyond the ocean, and a region which is never molested either with showers or snow or intense heat, is always refreshed with the gentle gales of wind constantly breathing from the ocean." To take this piece of Paganism as a sober description of an article of creed believed by a Jewish brotherhood whose distinguishing features were an excessive veneration and a more rigorous observance of the Mosaic teachings than the rest of their co-religionists is betraying a want of appreciation of evidence. Speaking of the Pharisaic doctrine on this subject, Josephus says, "the soul by being united to the body is subject to miseries, and is not freed therefrom again but by death" (*contr. Apion.* ii. 25). Here Josephus represents the Pharisees as maintaining that "the soul was confined in the flesh as in a prison-house. Only when disengaged from these fetters would it be truly free. Then it would soar aloft, rejoicing in its newly-attained liberty." Fortunately, however, the stupendous Jewish literature which has come down from ancient times enables us to correct this anti-Jewish view contained in a piece of special pleading whilst in the case of the Essenes we are obliged to Hippolytus (*Haer.* ix. 27), who distinctly declares that they did believe in the resurrection of the body (comp. also Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, xiv. 49). The Messianic doctrine was, to say the least, as firmly believed by the Pharisees as the doctrine of the resurrection. The orthodox Jews expected the Messiah to be not only of Jewish descent but the son of David. Yet Josephus declares that "the oracle found in the sacred Scriptures certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea" (*War*, VI. v. 4).

(5) Again, great stress is laid on the Essene abstention from the use of ointments. Josephus says "they regard ointment as defiling, and if one of them happens to be anointed against his will he immediately wipes it off his body" (*War*, II. viii. 3). This is not only declared to be a point of divergence between them and the Pharisees, but a distinct proof of Buddhist influence. But as Geiger has pointed it out, the question about the use of ointment constituted one of the differences of opinion between the older conservative Pharisaic school represented by the followers of Shammai, and the younger progressive Pharisees represented by the followers of Hillel. The latter, who opposed vehemently the arrogance of the Romans, regarded this custom, though practised among the Jews from time immemorial, as an aristocratic luxury. Hence they laid it down as a principle that "*it is not seemly for a learned disciple-Pharisee to walk about anointed*" (לפי ישאין שבח לתלמיד חכם שיצא מבושם) *Tosephta Berachoth*, v. p. 13, ed. Zuckermandel, 1877; *Babylon Berachoth*, 43 *b*). The Essenes, therefore, in this respect, as on all other points, simply followed the practices of the more rigorous portion of the Pharisees (Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, vi. 105–121; vii. 174; ix. 32).

VII. *The Name and its Signification.*—It has already been said that the name Essene does not occur in the whole range of Talmudic and Midrashic literature. Not even of the gate of the Essenes, which Josephus assures us was at Jerusalem (*War*, V. iv. 3), is a trace to be found in the description of the temple and of the holy city given in the Mishna and Talmud. This is all the more remarkable when notice is taken of all other sects and offshoots of Judaism. We have the Samaritans, the Sadducees, with the Boëthusians, their offshoot; the Zealots, the Chassidim, both earlier and later; the Daily Baptists, and all shades of Pharisees. It is this which makes it so difficult to ascertain its etymology and signification. It is still disputed whether it is Greek, Hebrew, or Aramaic; whether it is to be derived from a proper name, of a person, or of a place. Some idea of the difficulty may be obtained from the following enumeration, which we arrange according to the sequence of the letters in the alphabet. It is derived from āsā (אסא), *to heal*, whence *asya* (אסיא), *a physician*, because they paid great attention to the healing of diseases; from *āsar* (אסר), *to bind*, *to associate*, whence *assarim* (אסרים), *associates*, because they united together to keep the law; from *chāzā* (חזא), *to see*, whence *chazyā* (חזיא), *a seer*, because they possessed prophetic powers; from *chazzan* (חזן), *watcher*, *guardian*, whence *chazzanim* (חזנים), *watchers*, *servants of God*, because this was the whole aim of their life; from the Hebrew *chăsid* (חסיד), *to be loving*, *good*, *pious*, whence *chasidim* (חסידים), *the pious*, because of their extraordinary piety; from the Syriac *chăsi* (חסי), *pious*, or *chasyo* (חסיא), *pious* for the same reason; from *chasin*: (חסין), *powerful*, *strong*, because they were morally strong to subdue their passions; from *chōtzin* (חצן), *a fold of a garment*, *an apron*, because every neophyte obtained this symbol of purity: from chāshā (חשא), *to be silent*, whence *chashaim* (חשאים), *the silent ones*, because they meditated on mysteries; from *choshen* (חשן), *endowed with the gift of prophecy*; from *Isai* (ישי), the disciple of R. Joshua b. Perachia; from sĕchā (סחא), *to bathe*, which with *Aleph*

prefixed yields *asechai* (אסחאי), *bathers*, because of their daily lustrations; from *āsāh* (עשה), *to do, to work*, whence *the doers of good deeds*, or *the workers of miracles*; from *ashin* (עשין), *strong*, because of their strength of character; *tzĕnua* (צנוע), *retired, modest*, or from the Greek ὅσιος, *holy*, or from the Greek ἴσος, *companion, associate*, whence the associates because they united together into a brotherhood. So the Greek and the Hebrew, the Chaldee and the Syriac, names of persons and names of places have thus in vain been tortured to yield up the secret connected with this appellation, and a scholar must indeed be bold to dogmatise upon the subject. If the name has not been coined by Philo and Josephus to suit the Greek readers, which we strongly suspect, āsāh (עשה), whence *Osin* (עשין), and *Anshē maasē* (אנשי מעשה) on *chasyo* (חסיא), *pious = chassideim* (חסידים) may be its etymology.

VIII. *The Literature on the Essenes.*—The oldest accounts of this brotherhood are by Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. viii. 2–15; *Antiq.* xiii. v. 9; xv. x. 4, 5; xviii. i. 2 ff.; Philo, *quod omnis probus liber*, sec. xii. ff.; Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* v. 16, 17. Moderns of value are Bellermann, *Geschichtliche Nachrichten aus dem Alterthume über Essäer und Therapeuten*, Berlin, 1821; Gfrörer, *Philo und die jüdisch-alexandrinische Theosophie*, Stuttgart, 1835; Frankel, *Zeitschrift für die religiösen Interessen des Judenthums*, 1846, 471 ff.; *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, ii. 30 ff.; 61 ff. Leipzig, 1853; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 99 ff. 657 ff. 3d ed. Leipzig, 1878; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, i. 207 ff. Leipzig, 1857; Ewald, *History of Israel*, v. 370, ff. London, 1874; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, x. 97 ff.; xi. 343 ff.; xiv. 30 ff.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 368 ff.; 388 ff.; 509 ff. 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1863; Ginsburg, *The Essenes, their History and Doctrines*, London, 1864; Derenbourg, *L'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine*, 166 ff.; 460 ff. Paris, 1867; Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, vii. 172; ix. 30 ff.; 49 ff.; xi. 197; Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 83 ff.; 349 ff. 2nd ed. 1876. [C. D. G.]

ESTERUIN, abbat of Wearmouth. [EASTERWINI.]

ESTHA, according to the account given by Africanus to reconcile the two genealogies of our Lord, the name of the wife of Matthan, who afterwards married Melchi. (*Ep. ad Aristid.* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* i. 7.) [G. S.]

ESTHENI, given by Procopius of Gaza on (2 Kings xviii. 4) as another name for OPHITES. He came by this name from a corrupt reading in his copy of Theodoret's Commentary on the same passage, where the title Naassenes is connected with the word Νεεσθάν (see Cotelier, *Mon. Ecc. Gr.* i. 769). [G. S.]

ESUS (ESI), an abbat from whom Bede obtained his few details respecting the foundation of the East Anglian Church. (*H. E.* praef.) [S.]

ESYCHIA (ESICIA), a lady to whom, along with two others, Dominica and Eudochia, pope Gregory the Great sends greetings through Narses Patricius. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. i. ind. ix. ep. 6. Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 450.) In a subsequent letter (ep. 30) Gregory has been informed by Narses of her decease, and rejoices that that good spirit has reached its own country, having had a toilsome existence in a foreign one. The mention of Eudochia and Dominica again in the second letter shews the identity of this lady, whose name is spelt differently each time. [C. H.]

ESYCHIUS, a "vir illustris," who carried a letter from Julian, bishop of Cos, to pope Leo I. in A.D. 453. (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 118, 1210, Migne.) [C. G.]

ETAOIN (EDANA, EDAENA), virgin, commemorated July 5. According to O'Clery, she was of the race of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin, and lived in Magh Luirg, on the banks of the Buill (Boyle). She is the same as Edana or Edaena, who was the patron saint of what Butler calls the parish of new Tuamia in the diocese of Elphin, and of another in that of Tuam. She is also identified with St. Moduena or Moninne of Sliabh Cuillinn, and with the "Sancta Moduenna, virgo in Laudonia et Galovida, scotiae provinciis celebris" at July 5 in Camerarius' *Kalendar*, yet not without some doubt. The ancient Magh Luirg is a plain in the barony of Boyle, co. Roscommon. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 187; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, vii. 70; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 238, 333; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 38, n.) [J. G.]

ETBALT (*Brut y Tywysog.* text, in *M. H. B.* 842, and note), king of the Saxons. [ETHELBALD (1).] [C. H.]

ETBIN, confessor. [ETHBIN.]

ETCHAENIUS. [ETCHEN.]

ETCHEN (ECHEN, ECHEUS, ETCHAENIUS, ETIAN), bishop of Cluain-foda in Fir-Bile, in Meath (*Mart. Doneg.*), commemorated Feb. 11. Of this saint the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Feb. 11, tom. ii. 551–2) and Colgan (*Acta SS.* 305–6) present short memoirs, mostly taken from the Lives of St. Brigida and St. Columba. Near the close of the 5th century, when Ireland was glittering with saints, numerous as the stars of heaven, St. Etchen, Etian, or Echen, was born of an illustrious family of Leinster, ennobled by both his parents. His father was Maine Eiges (or the Sage), son of Fergus Lamderg, of the race of Laeghaire Lorc, through Mesincorb, the Milesian ancestor of the Dal Mesincorb, and the kings of Leinster (see his genealogy traced through twenty-four generations in Todd, *St. Patrick* 253). His mother was Briga, daughter of Cobthach, descended by a collateral line from the same Mesincorb, and his birth is said to have been through the special blessing of St. Brigida. He had three uterine brothers, bishop Aidan of Kilmore, abbat Segene, and Aedh, son of Ainmire, who was slain by Bran Dubh, son of Eochaidh, in the battle of Dun-bolg, in Leinster, in the year 598. He is represented by Colgan as a great physician, who was consulted by St. Brigida for the cure of her ailments, and Colgan quotes a long passage from the *Life of St. Brigida*, by Laurence of Durham, in which a bishop Echeus is mentioned

as contemporary with her and St. Mel (Feb. 6) of Ardagh, but as St. Mel died A.D. 488, St. Etchen, who was probably born about A.D. 490, could not have been a bishop in his day, and the whole story is extremely doubtful. That, however, for which he is most famous, and of which there appears to be no reason for doubt, was the ordination of St. Columba, though the form of the legend may be largely fictitious. The point of it is the showing how by mistake on the part of the consecrating bishop, that is, of St. Etchen, the presbyterate only was conferred on the candidate for episcopal orders. It is preserved in a note on the *Felire of Aengus*, and is given in the original Irish with an English translation by Dr. Todd (*Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin*, Introd. liii.–iv.), by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 306 n.[17]), and in an English translation by Dr. Todd (*St. Patrick*, 71). O'Donell also (*Vit. S. Columb.* i. c. 47) gives his own version of the same story, and this version is what Colgan gives in his memoir of the saint. [COLUMBA (1).] (See O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 472–75, on the legend, its origin, and general teaching.) St. Etchen also ordained St. Berach (Feb. 15) of Cluain-Cairpthe, now Kilbarry, in Roscommon, St. Coemgen (June 3) having brought him to bishop Etchen from Glendalough for the purpose (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 306, c. 10). St. Etchen seems first to have lived on the borders of Ossory, then at Clonfad in Westmeath; and at last, after many illustrious works, he exchanged the earthly life for the heavenly in the year 578 (*Ann. Tig.*); his festival is Feb. 11. He is commemorated in all the Irish kalendars or martyrologies, and in the Scotch kalendar of the Drummond missal. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 11, § 9; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 70 sq. 253, and *Book of Hymns*, Fasc. i. 171 n.; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* ii. 153, iv. 28; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 5; Reeves, *Adamnan*, lxxii. 22, 349, 371; Archdall, *Monast. Hib.* 708; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* 73; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 45.) [J. G.]

ETECUSA, also called Numeria, a Carthaginian woman, who, with her sister Candida, lapsed at Rome under the Decian persecution. Fell causes the confusion which he complains of when he makes three sisters. Their brother CELERINUS (q. v.) writes to an intimate friend (Cyp. *Ep.* xxi.) that she had bribed officers in order to be exempted from sacrificing, and he begs that the first martyr selected for death among those in prison at Carthage may "istis sororibus nostris *Numeriae* et Candidae tale peccatum remittant. Nam hanc ipsam *Etecusam* semper appellavi . . . *quia* pro se dona *numeravit* ne sacrificaret." As translated, "our sisters Numeria and Candida, for this latter I have always called Etecusa . . . because she gave gifts"; the passage is, as Dr. Wallis himself says, "altogether unintelligible." Hence the conjectures *et aëcusam*, for *ἀξκουσαν*, *ἀτυχοῦσαν* (Dodwell, *Diss. ad loc.*), and even Hartell's *excusatam*. There is no various reading, except *ettecusam* and *et recusam*, which confirm the usual one.

We must observe, however, that *Numeria* is not a real praenomen (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* ix. 55); that the whole letter is incorrect in taste and in grammar; that *hanc ipsam* may perfectly well be predicative; and that *hanc* need not refer to the *last-named*, who in this Latin would be more commonly *istam*. Hence we may understand that *Numeria* is the sobriquet which Celerinus says he has affixed to his sister, because she paid (*numeravit*) for immunity. Translate thus, "Beg remission for these sisters of mine, Numeria and Candida; for so, indeed (hanc ipsam), have I ever called Etecusa, because she paid down bribes to be excused from sacrificing."

As to the name itself I do not know if it occurs elsewhere. *Tecusa* occurs in an inscription at Ainbon-Tellis (*Soc. Archéol. de Constantine*, 1863, p. 81); in the Passion of Theodotus of Ancyra, A.D. 503 (Ruinart); and in De Rossi, vol. ii. p. lvii. we have it in conjunction with the name *Laurentius*, which was the name of a martyr under Decius in the same family of Celerinus. Neither Tecusa nor Etecusa occurs in the inscriptions of Gruter or Muratori.

[E. W. B.]

ETELATUS, bishop. [HADULAC.]

ETELIG is witness, as a cleric, to two grants of land made to the see of Llandaff, in the time of bishop Berthgwyn, in the end of the 5th or early in the 6th century (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 428, 442). [J. G.]

ETERNITY, from a patristic point of view solely, which, however, was not original, but culled from Greek and other philosophies in agreement with Scripture. Αἰών, the Greek equivalent, may, according to Aristotle (*de Cael.* i. 9), have several meanings, but all deducible from, and subordinate to, the idea it was intended to express when the word was formed —*duration without beginning or end: ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀεὶ εἶναι εἰληφὼς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.* In this sense it cannot, of course, be predicated of anything short of God. Of His existence alone could this and nothing short of this, be truly said—as Tertullian puts it, writing against Hermogenes, who asserted that matter was co-eternal with God — "Quis enim alius Dei census, quàm aeternitas: quis alius aeternitatis status, quàm semper fuisse, et futurum esse, ex praerogativâ nullius initii et nullius finis . . . . *Adaequabitur Deo materia*, cùm *aeterna censetur*" (*adv. Hermog.* c. 4). Which last is a pregnant remark. This deification of matter, he tells us in an earlier chapter (c. 1), Hermogenes borrowed from the Stoics. He refutes it himself at great length, and with much point. "Veritas autem," he maintains, "*sic* unum Deum exigit, defendendo ut solius sit, quicquid Ipsius est" (c. 5). Origen (*de Princ.* iii. 3) was of opinion that as this world was not the first that God created, so neither would it be the last. Others, on the contrary, saw no reason why the world should not have been eternal, had God so willed it (Estius, *Diss. in II. Sent.* dist. i. § 11); orthodoxy, they thought indeed, would not allow them to follow Aristotle in *asserting* it *was* this *in fact*. Origen expressed what strict orthodoxy required in terse terms, as follows:—"Species eorum, quae per praedicationem Apostolicam manifestè traduntur, istae sunt. Primò, quòd unus Deus est, Qui omnia creavit atque composuit: Quique, cùm nihil esset, esse fecit universa." (*Ib.* i. 4). This position was accepted, *uno ore*, by all; and it was within its enclosures solely that they considered themselves free to speculate. "Eloquar quemadmodum sentio," says Minucius

Felix (Oct. § 18): "magnitudinem Dei qui se putat nosse, minuit: qui non vult minuere non novit . . . Cùm palam sit parentem omnium Deum nec principium habere nec terminum; Qui nativitatem omnibus praestet, Sibi perpetuitatem; *Qui, ante mundum, fuerit Sibi Ipse pro mundo?*" Eternity was from their point of view the negation of time, and infinity the negation of place; yet it was from time and place that they obtained their notions of both, as St. Thomas says: "Sicut enim ratio temporis consistit in numeratione prioris et posterioris in motu; ita in apprehensione uniformitatis ejus, quod est omninò extra motum consistit ratio aeternitatis . . . . Sic ergò ex duobus notificatur aeternitas; primò ex hoc, quòd id quod est in aeternitate est interminabile: id est, principio et fine carens, ut terminus ad utrumque referatur; secundò per hoc, quod ipsa aeternitas successione caret, ita nec principium aut finem habere potest." (*S. Theol. P.* i. q. x. art. 1.) This was analogous to getting at a conception of God from His works, and rising from finite causes to the first cause of all. As St. Augustine says (on Ps. cix. 3), "Quod est ante luciferum, hoc est ante sidera: et quod est ante sidera, hoc est ante tempora: si ergò ante tempora, ab aeternitate. Noli quaerere quandò: aeternitas non habet quando; Quandò, et aliquandò, sunt verba temporum . . . ." And again (on Ps. ci. 25), "Non enim aliud anni Dei, et aliud Ipse; sed anni Dei aeternitas Dei est: aeternitas, ipsa Dei substantia, quae nihil habet mutabile. Ibi nihil praeteritum, quasi jam non sit, nihil est futurum, quasi nondum sit: non est ibi, nisi est. Non est ibi, fuit et erit: quia et quod fuit, jam non est: et quod erit, nondum est, sed quidquid ibi est, nonnisi est." . . . . Conversely, when other things were measured by the standard of His immutability, there were some that might deserve to be called eternal from their approaches to it. Though there could be no duration without beginning—retrospective eternity—but His; there might be, and there was actually, duration without end—prospective eternity—by His gift: "Solus Deus est omninò immutabilis," . . . continues St. Thomas: "secundum tamen quod aliqua ab Ipso immutabilitatem percipiunt secundum hoc aliqua ejus aeternitatem participant. Quaedam ergò quantum ad hoc immutabilitatem sortiuntur a Deo, quod nunquam esse desinunt . . . Et sic aeternitas angelis attribui potest." (*Ib.* art. 3.) Such, he adds, will be the portion of those who inherit eternal life.

Creations in time, whether everlasting or not, are thus harmonised by St. Augustine with eternal purpose.

"Novimus, Domine, novimus quoniam in quantum quidquid non est quod erat, et est quod erat, in tantum moritur et oritur. Non ergò quidquid Verbi tui cedit atque succedit; quoniam verè immortale atque aeternum est. Et ideò Verbo tibi coaeterno simul et sempiternè dicis omnia quae dicis, et fit quidquid dicis ut fiat; nec aliter quam dicendo facis: nec tamen et simul et sempiternè fiunt omnia quae dicendo facis. Cur quaeso, Domine, Deus meus? Utcumque video: sed quomodo id eloquar nescio; nisi quia omne quod esse incipit et esse desinit, tunc esse incipit et tunc esse desinit, quando debuisse incipere vel desinere in aeternâ Ratione cognoscitur, ubi nec incipit aliquid nec desinit." (Conf. xi. 7, 8.) Whether all things, once created, are to last for ever, is a further point.

Scripture says of the earth itself, that it "abideth for ever" (Eccl. i. 4); besides speaking of the everlasting hills (Gen. xlix. 26). Here, no doubt, the general view taken by the Fathers is, that by the phrase "for ever" is expressed "a relative eternity, an unbroken perpetuity for a given time, holding on through a period or system of things" (Davison, *On Proph.* p. 205), and ending only when that system ends. At the same time we nowhere find them affirming categorically, that anything, once summoned by God into being out of nothing, would return to nothing again. Porphyry, says St. Augustine, "Christianos ob hoc arguet maximè stultitiae etiam ex oraculis Deorum suorum, quòd istum mundum dicunt esse periturum" (*de Civ. D.* xx. 24). This he shews was an unfounded charge. "Peracto quippe judicio, tunc esse desinet hoc caelum et haec terra, quando incipiet esse caelum novum et terra nova. Mutatione namque rerum, non omni modo interitu, transibit hic mundus. Unde et Apostolus ait: 'Praeterit enim figura hujus mundi'; volo vos sine sollicitudine esse. Figura ergò praeterit, *non natura.*" (*Ib.* c. 14.) When they talked of the world perishing by fire, they meant no more than St. Peter, who talked of its having already perished by water. "Indicatis quippe his, qui scripti non sunt in libro vitae, et in aeternum ignem missis (qui ignis, cujusmodi et in quâ mundi vel rerum parte futurus sit, hominem scire arbitror neminem, nisi forte cui Spiritus Divinus ostendit) tunc figura hujus mundi mundanorum ignium conflagratione praeteribit, sicut factum est mundanarum aquarum inundatione diluvium. Illâ itaque, ut dixi, conflagratione mundanâ elementorum corruptibilium qualitates, quae corporibus nostris corruptibilibus congruebant, ardendo penitus interibunt: atque ipsa substantia eas qualitates habebit, quae corporibus immortalibus mirabili mutatione conveniant; ut scilicet mundus in melius immutatus aptè accommodetur hominibus etiam carne in melius innovatis" (*ib.* c. 16). From that new state of things, however, they were unanimous in holding that there was to be no further change. "Quod igitur de sempiterno supplicio damnatorum per suum prophetam Deus dixit, fiet—omninò fiet—'Vermis eorum non morietur, et ignis eorum non extinguetur' . . . (*Ib.* xxi. 9.) Neque enim tot sancti et sacris veteribus ac novis literis eruditi mundationem et regni caelorum beatitudinem post qualiacunque et quantacunque supplicia qualibuscunque et quantiscunque angelis inviderunt: sed potiùs viderunt Divinam vacuari vel infirmari non posse sententiam, quam se Dominus praenuntiavit in judicio prolaturum atque dicturum: 'Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus'—sic quippe ostendit aeterno igne diabolum et angelos ejus arsuros—et quòd scriptum est Apocalypsi: 'Diabolus, qui seducebat eos, missus est in stagnum ignis et sulphuris, quo et bestia et pseudopropheta: et cruciabuntur die et nocte in saecula saeculorum.' Quod ibi dictum est *aeternum*, hic dictum est *in saecula saeculorum*, quibus verbis nihil Scriptura Divina significare consuevit, nisi quod finem non habet temporis." (*Ib.* c. 23.) Origen, says St. Augustine, was more merciful in

pleading for the ultimate release of the devil and his angels from their abyss of woe, than some of his own contemporaries, who were for assigning a limit to the torments of the better class of the wicked amongst men. "Sed illum," he adds, "et propter hoc, et propter alia nonnulla, et maximè propter alternantes sine cessatione beatitudines et miserias, et, statutis saeculorum intervallis, ab istis ad illas atque ab illis ad istas itus ac reditus interminabiles, non immerito reprobavit ecclesia: quia et hoc, quod misericors videbatur, amisit, faciendo sanctis veras miserias quibus poenas luerent, et falsas beatitudines in quibus verum ac securum, hoc est sine timore certum, sempiterni boni gaudium non haberent. Longè autem aliter istorum misericordia humano errat affectu, qui hominum illo judicio damnatorum miserias temporales, omnium verò qui vel citius vel tardius liberantur, aeternam felicitatem putant. Quae sententia, si propterea bona et vera, quia misericors est, tantò erit melior et verior quantò misericordior. Extendatur ergò ac profundatur fons hujus misericordiae usque ad damnatos angelos, saltem post multa atque prolixa quantumlibet saecula liberandos. Cur usque ad universam naturam manat humanam, et cùm ad angelicam ventum fuerit, mox arescit? Non audent tamen se ulterius miserando porrigere, et ad liberationem ipsius quoque diaboli pervenire. Verùm si aliquis audeat, vincit nempè istos: et tamen tanto invenitur errare deformius, et contra recta Dei verba perversius, quantò sibi videtur sentire clementius." . . . (*Ib.* c. 17; comp. St. Hil. *in Matt.* v. 12; Tertull. *Apol.* c. 45.)

These passages may suffice to illustrate the teaching of the Fathers on the points to which they relate; but the fundamental principle which underlies them all, is what Butler calls "the probability that all things will continue as we experience they are, in all respects, except those in which we have some reason to think they will be altered." (*Anal.* c. 1.) And the Fathers found no change propounded or foreshadowed in Scripture which implied annihilation even where inanimate matter alone was concerned; nor, again, any probability suggested, that wills which had deliberately resisted Divine grace in this life would ever be persuaded or coerced into receiving and being influenced by it in the next.

Other secondary senses of the Greek *αἰών*, and the Latin *aevum*, are noticed by the Fathers as being current, in explaining their own views. "Aetas," says St. Isidore, "plerumque dicitur pro uno anno, ut in annalibus, et pro septem, ut hominis: et pro centum, et pro quovis tempore. Unde et aetas, tempus quod de multis saeculis instruitur: et dicta aetas, quasi aevitas, id est similitudo aevi. Nam aevum est aetas perpetua, cujus neque initium neque extremum noscitur, quod Graeci *αἰῶνας* vocant, quod aliquando apud eos pro saeculo, aliquando pro aeterno ponitur. Unde et apud Latinos est derivatum." (*Etym.* v. 38.) On the other hand, St. John Damascene says, even of the Greek *αἰών*, that it means occasionally no more than the life of a man, or present life in the abstract. He notices other meanings, of course, which are wider. A period of 1000 years, for instance, and life beyond the grave that has no end. According to the first of these meanings, he adds, there are commonly said to be seven aeons, or ages, of this world, from its creation to its consummation, that is. But, with the eighth, *αἰών* resumes its proper and primary sense. "Ὅπερ γὰρ τοῖς ὑπὸ χρόνον ὁ χρόνος, τοῦτο τοῖς ἀϊδίοις ἐστὶν αἰών (*De Fide O.* ii. 1). And the same view had been expressed, centuries before, by the author of the treatise *de Div. Nom.*, ascribed to Dionysius (c. x. 2). Διὸ καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἐνθάδε κατὰ χρόνον ὁριζομένους, αἰῶνος μεθέξειν ἡ θεολογία φησὶν, ἡνίκα τοῦ ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος αἰῶνος ἐφικώμεθα. Eternity, without beginning or end, was the primary meaning according to both, which *αἰών* bore. Its other meanings were derived from, and dependent on, this one: and so far they were both in accord with Aristotle and with Scripture.

See Suicer, s. v. Αἰών; Petavius, *Theol. Dogm.* iii. 3–6; Estius (and the older commentators) in Sent. i. *Dist.* 8 and iv. *Dist.* 47, § 14–16; Cajetanus in S. Thom. *Sum. Theol.* i. 9, 10; D. Scoti, *Quaest. Quodlib.* vi. 13; Pearson on the *Creed*, Arts. i. and xii.; King, *On the Origin of Evil*, c. 1, § 3, with the remarks on note 18; Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, § 106; Marechal's *Concord. Pat.* continued in Schramm's *Analysis*; Fessler, *Inst. Patrol.* [E. S. Ff.]

ETERNITY OF PUNISHMENTS. [Eschatology.]

ETESIUS (Aedesius), bishop of Claudiopolis in Isauria, on the river Calycadnus. He was present at the first general council at Nicaea, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 695; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1027.) [J. de S.]

ETFRID, presbyter of Leominster, Herefordshire, whose legend is recorded in a manuscript (Harl. 2253, ff. 132, 133) described by Hardy. On his journey from some northern locality to convert Merewald, a pagan king, he has a vision of a lion. Merewald is converted and founds a monastery (A.D. 660), which, in consequence of the vision, is named Leominster. (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 257.) [C. H.]

ETGAL, abbat of a monastery on one of the Skellig islands, off the coast of Kerry, was taken by the Northmen, whom the Irish Annals represent as exceedingly active at the time in their attacks upon the Irish coasts, and was starved to death A.D. 824 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 823; *Ann. Inisf.* A.D. 811). [J. G.]

ETGFIRD (Nennius, *Hist. Angl.* in *M. H. B.* 75 B), king of Northumbria, son of Oswy. [Egfrid.] [C. H.]

ETGUIN (*Annal. Cambr.* ann. clxxxii. *i.e.* A.D. 626, in *M. H. B.* 832 A), king of Northumbria. [Edwin.] [C. H.]

ETHA (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 767, in *M. H. B.* 663 D), anchoret at Cric. [Eata.] [C. H.]

ETHAN (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1456, in *M. H. B.* 782), bishop of Lindisfarne. [Eata.] [C. H.]

ETHBALDE (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 39, ed. Hardy), king of Mercia. [Ethelbald.] [C. H.]

ETHBIN (Egbin, Etbin), commemorated Oct. 19, Dec. 30. Of this saint a life is given by the

Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Oct. 19, viii. 474, and by Capgrave (*Nov. Leg. Angl.* 122; and see Surius, *De Prob. SS. Hist.* Oct. 19, iv. 307). He was a Briton, and said to have belonged to a noble family. At the time of the great emigration to Armorica, he too passed over to France and was a disciple of St. Samson of Dôle, and of St. Winwaloe; he retired to the abbey of Taurac, and lived there till the community was dispersed by an attack of the Franks in A.D. 560. He went thence to Ireland, and remained there "Nectensis abbas" till death, which took place about the close of the 6th century; he is said to have attained the age of 83 years, and to have died on Oct. 19, the day on which his name stands in the *Roman Martyrology*, but the Scotch kalendars commemorate him on Dec. 30. Yet even his existence at all is not without suspicion, as its evidence is entirely legendary, and his time is placed by some in the 6th and by others in the 7th century. (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c. i. 160, ii. pt. i. 89; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Oct. 19, vol. ix. 539–40; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 204; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 259; Pitseus, *de Ill. Angl. Scrip.* 834 App.; Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. 385–6, 777, 781; Tanner, *Bibl.* 267; Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* ix. 10.) Pitseus calls him a "scriptor egregius," whose writings are lost even to the titles, but Dempster does not scruple to supply the missing names. (*Acta Sansonis Magistri*, lib. i., *Meditationes et Preces*, lib. i. He is placed among the holy confessors and monks in the *Dunkeld Litany*. Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, pp. lx, 333.)

[J. G.]

ETHELA. [ATTILA.]

ETHELARD (Dugd. *Monast.* i. 255), abbat of Malmesbury. [ETHELHARD (2, 3).] [C. H.]

ETHELARDE (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 39, ed. Hardy), king of Wessex. [ETHELHARD (1).]

[C. H.]

ETHELARDUS (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. §§ 89, 94, ed. Hardy), archbishop of Canterbury. [ETHELHARD (3).] [C. H.]

ETHELBALD (1), king of Mercia, 716–757. He was the son of Alwih or Alweo, son of Eawa, the brother of Penda (*Chr. S.* A.D. 716). He succeeded Ceolred, the son of Ethelred, who died in 716, and who seems to have been the last descendant of Penda. According to the life of St. Guthlac, the anchoret of Crowland (*AA. SS. O.S.B.* saec. iii. pt. 1, pp. 267–271), Ethelbald had been in exile during the reign of Ceolred, and had been accustomed to visit the anchoret in his retirement; on these occasions he and his attendants, Wilfrid, Egiga, and Obba, seem to have witnessed some of the miraculous acts of Guthlac. Ethelbald also received from Guthlac a prophecy of his future exaltation; he had come, after exhausting all means of human help, to seek divine assistance; Guthlac encouraged him, and told him that he knew the misery in which all his life hitherto had been spent; he had prayed for him, and God would shortly deliver him. He would obtain his kingdom "non in praeda nec in rapina," but from God's hand. His enemy would be crushed without his agency. The prediction was fulfilled, and Ethelbald succeeded quietly on the death of Ceolred. After the death of Guthlac, Ethelbald honoured his burial-place with special buildings and gifts, and frequently visited Crowland; but unfortunately the history of the monastery there is so obscured by forgery that nothing can be certainly stated as to his share in the foundation. (*V. Guthl.* ut supra, pp. 273, 275.)

Ethelbald's career as a warrior and as the great creator of the Mercian power, which reached its climax under Offa, seems to have begun soon after he obtained the crown. Bede, who only once mentions him in his history, describes him as supreme in 731 over all the south of England from the Humber to the sea (*H. E.* v. 23). How this supremacy was attained we are not told; but, in point of fact, Wessex was the only competing power, and Wessex, which had been disturbed by intestine war during the latter years of Ini, was, at the moment when Bede wrote, under the rule of Ethelheard, who had not yet made any struggle for independence. It was on the side of Somersetshire that the struggle was renewed. In 733 Ethelbald conquered Somerton, and so probably completed the humiliation of Ethelheard. Ethelheard died in 739 or 741, and Cuthred, his successor made a bold struggle for the independence of the West Saxons.

This part of Ethelbald's reign has some illustration on the ecclesiastical side. Almost immediately on his accession he is introduced as patronising and furthering the work of Ecgwin at Evesham (*Chr. Evesham*, ed. Macray, pp. 72, 73; Kemble, *C. D.* no. 65, 68, 75). Under Ecgwin's influence he also granted a charter to the church of Worcester (Kemble, *C. D.* 67), which was followed by other donations under bishop Wilfrith (Kemble, *C. D.* 69, 70, 79, 80, 83). Many of these, however, were grants to smaller monastic establishments which afterwards were absorbed by the cathedral church. Other charters of this period testify to the fact that Ethelbald's influence extended far beyond Mercia. He appears as a benefactor to Glastonbury (Kemble, *C. D.* 71; *Mon. Angl.* i. 49), to Rochester in 734 (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 78; *Mon. Angl.* i. 184), and to Abingdon (Kemble, *C. D.* 81; *Chr. Abend.* i. 38). In a Worcestershire charter of the date of 736, he entitles himself as "rex non solum Marcensium, sed et omnium provinciarum quae generali nomine Sutengli dicuntur" (Kemble, *C. D.* 80; *Mon. Angl.* i. 585; see also Kemble, *C. D.* 83). It was also possibly by Ethelbald's influence that three archbishops of Mercian connexion were successively chosen to the see of Canterbury—Tatwin, Nothelm, and Cuthbert; the last of whom was translated from Hereford. Ethelbald was during the episcopate of Cuthbert regarded as the leading king in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. In a council held at Clovesho in 742 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 340, 341), in which the privilege of king Wihtred was confirmed, Ethelbald is said to have presided. Soon afterwards St. Boniface and five other German prelates addressed to him a letter of exhortation and remonstrance, from which it appears that Ethelbald had never married a lawful wife, but was accused of adultery and fornication, especially with virgins dedicated to God. They likewise tell him that infanticide prevails in the monasteries, that he has himself been accused of seizing ecclesiastical property and subjecting the clergy to undue imposts;

and they especially warn him of the fate of his predecessor Ceolred, who had died suddenly at a feast (*Mon. Mogunt.* No. 59; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 351–357). Notwithstanding this plain speaking, Boniface was on friendly terms with Ethelbald; made him presents of a hawk and two falcons, two shields, and two dishes (*ib.* p. 357); and wrote also to Herefrith, a Mercian priest, on whose influence with Ethelbald he seems to have relied, asking him to urge the king to comply with the advice given him (*ib.* 357). A similar letter was addressed to the archbishop of York (*ib.* 358–360). In consequence of this urgency a great church council, the decrees of which are extant, was held in September, 747, at Clovesho (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 360–376). It is clear from these facts that the character of Ethelbald had not improved as his power increased, that the religious state of his dominions was very bad, and that his conduct instead of emulating that of his pious predecessors, resembled that of the Frank and other German princes after the first decline from the Christianity of the conversion.

The temporal supremacy of Ethelbald was not as yet endangered by the hostility of Cuthred and the West Saxons. In 740 he took up arms against Eadbert, king of Northumbria, and devastated the border, but was repelled (Cont. Bed. *M. H. B.* 288). In 743 (*Chr. S. M. H. B.* 329) Ethelbald and Cuthred appear united in war against the Welsh. Ethelbald's liberality to the monasteries continued, Worcester especially owning him as a patron (K. *C. D.* 88, 89, 90, 91, 95). In 744 Ethelbald and Cuthred appear conjointly in a grant to Glastonbury (K. *C. D.* 92; *Mon. Angl.* i. 47). The grants to Minster in Thanet, dated 747 and 748 (K. *C. D.* 97, 98), are probably spurious. In 749 Ethelbald seems to have completed his series of benefactions by a general grant, dated at Godmundsleah, in which he releases the clergy from all ordinary taxation except the building of bridges and the national defence (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 386, 387). Ethelbald's benefactions to the churches of his kingdom after the year 749, noted above, were much fewer than before; a grant to abbat Eanberht, who possibly was abbat of Malmesbury, is given in Kemble, *C. D.* 100; attested also by Cynewulf of Wessex, who began to reign in 755 or 756. The long supremacy of Ethelbald, however, was now contested. In 750 a struggle between Cuthred and Ethelhun the proud ealdorman, probably a potentate who had prevented him from acquiring supreme control in Wessex, is recorded; and in 752 the West Saxon king, in a battle at Beorgford or Burford, put the great Mercian ruler to flight. Cuthred died in 755, and Wessex after his death was disturbed by intestine division. Ethelbald, however, did not recover his power.

In 757, at Seccandune, or Segeswald, perhaps Seckington in Warwickshire, Ethelbald was killed. Henry of Huntingdon affirms that he fell in battle, but the older authorities say that he was killed in the night by his guards (Cont. Bed. *M. H. B.* 289; Sim. Dun. ib. p. 662). His ill success or growing infirmities had probably wearied out his servants and his people as well. Beornred, who is called a "tyrannus" or usurper, may not improbably have put himself at the head of a conspiracy among the "comites" or "gesiths" of Ethelbald, who thus perished in the same way as many of the Northumbrian kings. The date for his death, 757, as given by the continuator of Bede and Simeon of Durham, is preferable to that given by the Chronicle, 755, which, like many of the dates between 731 and 849 requires to be adjusted by the addition of two years (*Annio Sax. Chron. S.*; Sim. Dun. *M. H. B.* 289, 662) He was buried at Repton. In a vision recorded in one of the letters preserved among the memorials of St. Boniface, Ethelbald's soul was seen in torments (*Monument. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, pp. 375, 376). His character seems to have combined the lust, violence, and pride, which are specially noted by historians, with an amount of official liberality to the churches and a great neglect of the duty of spiritual supervision. But it is not impossible that it underwent a change during his long reign, and that the earlier uneventful years were not devoid of promise. His position as a great consolidator of the Mercian power, and as a king recognised on the continent as a great sovereign, is less questionable. He was no doubt the most powerful king since Ethelbert of Kent, not excepting the Northumbrian rulers.

A letter to St. Aldhelm, when abbat, accompanied by a long poem, written by a certain Aedilwald (*Mon. Mog.* ed. Jaffé, pp. 35 sq.), are ascribed by Jaffé to Ethelbald, afterwards king of Mercia. The writer refers to the troubles of his country, and compares himself to Rehoboam; but the few allusions in the poem are to Devonshire and Cornwall. There is no doubt about the reading "Aedilwald," and it is most probable that it is the work of a West Saxon pupil of Aldhelm. [S.]

ETHELBALD (2) (AETHELBALD, EADBALD), abbat of Wearmouth and Jarrow (see references under EADBALD (4)). He does not appear in Dugdale (i. 502), nor is he included in Birch's *Fasti Monastici* (p. 63). His existence is known from a letter addressed to him by Alcuin, an extract of which was given by Reyner, and afterwards copied by Alford, before the letter was printed in full by Jaffé (*Mon. Alcuin.* 839). [C. H.]

ETHELBERHT (1), (Flor. Wig. *Geneal. Reg.* in *M. H. B.* 633), **ETHELBERT** (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. §§ 72, 93, ed. Hardy), king of Northumbria. [ETHELRED (4).] [C. H.]

ETHELBERHT (2), called king of Wessex and Kent in a spurious or doubtful charter of 781, bearing the signatures of archbishop Jaenbert and Diora bishop of Rochester (Kemble, *C. D.* 144). No king of the name in Wessex is known from any other source, and no king of Kent after the death of Ethelbert II. cir. 762 until the reign of Ethelbert, son of Ethelwulf, in the following century. [C. H.]

ETHELBERHT (3) (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 790, in *M. H. B.* 667 c), bishop of Candida Casa. [ETHELBERT (7).] [C. H.]

ETHELBERT (1) I. (properly AETHELBERHT or AETHELBRIHT; Bede, AEDILBERCT), king of Kent. He was the son of Irminric, and great-grandson of Oeric, surnamed Oisc, the son of Hengist, and succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentishmen as the heir of the "Aescingas," in 560 (the date 565, given in the Chronicle, is

inconsistent with Bede's reckoning given below). Some years after his accession, he provoked a conflict with Ceawlin, the West-Saxon king, and Cutha, his brother, was defeated at Wimbledon with the loss of two of the ealdormen, and driven back into Kent (*Sax. Chron.* a. 658). He had already married Bertha or Berhte, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, on the understanding that she should be free to practise "the rites of her own Christian religion," under a bishop named Liudhard, whom her parents had appointed the guardian of her faith (Bede, i. 25). Ethelbert faithfully observed this compact, but shewed no curiosity to hear more about his wife's creed. She and her episcopal chaplain worshipped undisturbed in the old Roman-British church of St. Martin, on a hill to the east of Ethelbert's city of Canterbury (Bede, i. 26). Ethelbert succeeded on the death of his old enemy Ceawlin in 593, to that pre-eminence among the Saxon and Anglican kings which is usually described as the Bretwaldadom (see Freeman, *Norm. Conq.* i. 542). And four years later, in the spring of 597, he was brought face to face with a band of Christian missionaries, headed by Augustine, whom pope Gregory the Great had sent to "bring him the best of all messages, which would ensure to all who received it eternal life and an endless kingdom with the true and living God" (Bede, i. 29). Ethelbert had sent word to the foreigners to remain in the Isle of Thanet, where they had landed, and "supplied them with all necessaries until he should see what to do with them." He soon came into the isle, and sitting down with his "gesiths" or attendant thanes in the open air, (for he feared the effect of spells under a roof), listened attentively to the speech of Augustine [AUGUSTINUS]. Then he spoke in some such words as Bede has rendered immortal. "Your words and your promises are fair; but seeing they are new and uncertain, I cannot give in to them, and leave the rites which I, with the whole race of the Angles, have so long observed. But since you are strangers who have come from afar, and, as I think I have observed, have desired to make us share in what you believe to be true and thoroughly good, we do not mean to hurt you, but rather shall take care to receive you with kindly hospitality, and to afford you what you need for your support; nor do we forbid you to win over to your faith, by preaching, as many as you can." He gave them also a dwelling in Canterbury, somewhat to the north-west of the present cathedral precinct. They took possession of their new home, and began to make converts, as Bede tells us, through the charm of their preaching, and the still more powerful influence of lives consistent with what they taught. In a short time afterwards Ethelbert himself expressed his belief in the truth of those promises which he has described as unheard of; he believed and was baptized; the time, according to Canterbury tradition, was the Whitsun-eve of 597, which fell on the 1st of June; the place, undoubtedly, was St. Martin's. The king thenceforward proved himself to be one of the truest and noblest of royal converts. He even removed from Canterbury to Regulbium or Reculver, where he built a new palace, abandoning his old abode to Augustine, now consecrated as archbishop, and adding to it the gift of various "needful possessions" (Bede, i. 26). He assisted Augustine in the work of converting an old Roman-built church into "the cathedral church of the Holy Saviour," and also built "after exhortation," a monastery outside the eastern wall of the city, dedicated in the names of SS. Peter and Paul, but afterwards known as "St. Augustine's." He received by the hands of Mellitus, who, with others, joined the mission in 601, a letter of congratulation and exhortation from pope Gregory; and he lent his aid as Bretwalda to the arrangements for a conference, near the Bristol channel, between his archbishop and some bishops of the ancient British church. Among the many "good services which he rendered to his people," Bede reckons those "dooms" or decrees which, "after the example of the Romans, he framed with the consent of his wise men" . . . and among which he first of all set down what satisfaction (bôt) was to be made by any one who robbed the church, the bishop, or the clergy. For he was "minded to afford his protection to those whose doctrine he had received" (Bede, ii. 5). For these dooms, extant in the "Textus Roffensis," see Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 1. They are 90 in number; the first, just as Bede says, establishes a scale of penalties for wrong done to the property of the church, of the bishop, of a priest, of a deacon, of a cleric. Ethelbert's nephew Sabert, the son of his sister Ricula, held the dependent kingship of the East Saxons, and embraced the faith under the persuasion of his uncle and overlord, who built a church of St. Paul in London for Mellitus as bishop of that kingdom. He also built at "Hrof's Castle," *i.e.* at Rochester, a church of St. Andrew for a bishop named Justus; "gave many gifts to both prelates, and added lands and possessions for the use of those who were with them." It was, we may be sure, in Ethelbert's reign and under his influence that Redwald, king of the East Angles, while visiting Kent, was prevailed on to receive baptism, although, as his after conduct shewed, his convictions were not deep (Bede, ii. 19). After Bertha's death, Ethelbert married a young wife whose name is unknown. His last days must have been saddened by anxiety as to the future reign of his son Eadbald, who refused to receive the faith of Christ." Ethelbert died, after what Bede describes as a most glorious reign of 56 years, on the 24th of February, A.D. 616, and was buried beside his first wife in the "porticus" or transept of St. Martin, within the church of SS. Peter and Paul, leaving behind him a memory long held in grateful reverence as that of the first English Christian king. (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 176, 214–216, 259.) [W. B.]

ETHELBERT (2) II., king of Kent. He was a son of Wihtred, probably the eldest, and left on his father's death in 725, coheir with Eadbert and Alric. [EADBERHT, ALRIC.] If the act of the council of Beccanceld, in which the privilegium of Wihtred was granted be received as genuine, Ethelbert, who attested it on behalf of his brother Eadbert and himself, must have been of age to be admitted to a share in the proceedings; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 240. Although, however, there is a presumption that Ethelbert was the eldest son,

the chroniclers give more prominence to Eadbert, who is said to have reigned from 725 to 748, leaving Ethelbert as his successor in the latter year. From charters the inference may be drawn that the brothers reigned contemporaneously or conjointly; but if Eadbert really died in 748, Ethelbert must have then assumed the position of chief king; sole king he could hardly be, as Eardulf appears in 747 as king, and other competitors appear before Ethelbert's death, of whom it is uncertain whether they were partners or mere pretenders to the crown. The joint acts of Eadbert and Ethelbert have been noted under the article EADBERT (2). Ethelbert reigned after Eadbert's death, or at least after the year 748, for about fourteen years, dying in 762 or thereabouts. Ethelbert is best known as the writer of a letter to St. Boniface, written before the year 755, in which he reminds him of a promise made some years before to the abbess Bugga, that he would pray for him. He also sends presents, through his messenger Ethelhun, a silver "caucus" or goblet weighing three pounds and a half, and two "reptae;" and ask Boniface to procure him two falcons, such birds being scarce in Kent. He also begs to have an answer in writing. (Bonif. *Ep.* ed. Würdtwein, *Ep.* 84; *Mon. Moguntina*, pp. 254–256.)

The only charter of Ethelbert after the death of Eadbert is a grant to St. Augustine's of a mill at Chart, attached to the royal township of Wyth, on the condition that the tenant should have the pannage of a herd of swine in the wood of Andred. (Elmham, ed. Hardwick, p. 325; Kemble, *C. D.* no. 108.) The charter is dated 762, and the same year appears in the same cartulary of St. Augustine's, a grant by Dunwald, a thegn of Ethelbert, of a property in Queen-Gate, Canterbury, in memory of Ethelbert, for whose soul also he was going to carry money to Rome. (Elmham, p. 326; K. *C. D.* 109.) It appears from this charter that Ethelbert was buried at St. Augustine's.

There is a coin of a Kentish king Ethelbert which is of course attributed to this king rather than to Ethelbert I.; and it is not of unquestioned authenticity. It is a sceatta, bearing the head of Ethilberht, on one side, with the Runic name of Lul, the moneyer; on the other side Rex, with the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. It is in the character of the head not unlike the coins of Offa, and Lul was a moneyer under Offa. Another candidate for the coin is St. Ethelbert of East Anglia. (Hawkins, *English Silver Coins*, ed. Kenyon, pp. 30, 31.) [S.]

ETHELBERT (3), ST., king of the East Angles. He is known to history as one of the victims of the aggressive policy of king Offa of Mercia. In the year 792 (rather 794) Offa ordered him to be beheaded. Such is the brief statement of the Chronicle, which Florence of Worcester expands by the statement that the most glorious and most holy king of the East Angles, "Aegelbrihtus," a prince acceptable to Christ by the merit of his virtues, and affable to all, was by the detestable command of Offa, at the instigation of his wife Cynethritha, deprived of his life and kingdom, and, as a king and martyr, entered the court of blessed spirits. (*M. H. B.* 546.) The same writer (*M. H. B.* 636) says that he was the son of Ethelred, king of the East Angles, and his wife Leofruna. William of Malmesbury says that Ethelbert was treacherously allured by Offa, and killed within the precincts of the palace (*G. R.* § 86), having been enticed thither in hope of becoming Offa's son-in-law. (*Ibid.* § 210; *Gesta Pontificum*, § 170.) He also mentions that St. Dunstan regarded Ethelbert as a martyr. It is obvious that the fame of Ethelbert gained ground as years went on, and we have the complete form of his legendary history in the Life of Ethelbert, incorporated by Richard of Cirencester in the *Speculum Historiale*, and existing in more or less complete form in Capgrave, in the so-called Chronicle of John Brompton, and in several MSS. According to this legend Ethelbert was the son of Ethelred and Leovorona, a Mercian lady of royal descent, piously educated, and raised to the throne on his father's death by the lords of the kingdom. After winning the good will of all by wisdom and piety, he was urged by his "optimates," or "witan," to take a wife, and an ealdorman named Gwero specially recommended Soledria (or Seledritha) the daughter of a ruler named Egeo, who had succeeded to her father's kingdom. Ethelbert declined this proposal because Egeo had been a traitor to his father Ethelred, and by the advice of another ealdorman, Oswald, determined to apply for a daughter of Offa. After prayer and other preparation Ethelbert set out for Offa's court, although strongly pressed by his mother not to proceed; he left his city Baderogi (Bedrichesworth = St. Edmunds), and in spite of an earthquake and eclipse of the sun, which was ended at Ethelbert's prayer, he sent on presents to Offa as he approached "Villa Australis," where the king was encamped. He had next a vision which Oswald unfortunately misinterpreted, but which was sadly explained by subsequent events. On his arrival he found acceptance in the eyes of Alfrida [ELFTHRITHA (2)], Offa's daughter, who expressed her admiration in language so strong as to provoke her mother to special hatred of Ethelbert. Cynethritha warned Offa that Ethelbert would supplant him, and Offa determined to sacrifice him. A courtier named Gwinbert offered to contrive the murder, and induced Ethelbert to visit Offa in his chamber, where he was seized, bound, and beheaded, by Gwinbert himself. His body was ignominiously buried, but, being discovered, owing to the heavenly light which marked the spot, was translated to Hereford, and there buried in the cathedral, where many miracles attested Ethelbert's sanctity. His head was preserved in a magnificent shrine at Westminster. (Ric. Cirenc. *Spec. Hist.* i. 262–295.) Some additional particulars are supplied by Brompton: (Twysden, cc. 748 sq.) Alfrida became an anchoret at Crowland: Ethelbert was buried in the first instance on the bank of the Lugg; three nights after he appeared to a man named Brithfrith, and bade him remove his body to "stratus Waye," or some place on the banks of the Wye. Brithfrith obeyed, and with the help of Egmund removed the body, with the head, which by the way fell off the waggon and restored to sight the blind man who picked it up; they then buried it at Fernlega, which was afterwards called Hereford. In after times a king of the Mercians

named Milfrith exalted Hereford, in honour of St. Ethelbert, into a cathedral city. (See also Capgrave, ff. 137–139.)

However the legend grew, it is certain that Ethelbert soon became the patron saint of Hereford. The story of Milfrith is of course apocryphal (*Mon. Angl.* vi. 1210), but bishop Ethelstan, 1012 to 1056, built a church and monastery in his honour; and although this was burned by the Welsh in 1055, it was rebuilt soon after the Conquest by bishop Robert of Lorraine. The services of St. Ethelbert occupy an important place in the Missal, Breviary, and Hymnal of the use of Hereford. The 20th of May is observed in his honour, and to him are dedicated, besides the cathedral, the churches of Marden in Herefordshire and Little Dean in Gloucestershire, besides six churches in Norfolk, three in Suffolk, and one in Suffolk and one in Essex in honour of St. Mary and St. Ethelbert. The author of the life of St. Ethelbert is said to have been Osbert of Clare, a monk of Westminster in the reigns of Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II. (See Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 495, 496.)

(*AA. SS.* Boll. May 20, tom. v. pp. 241*–246*; MSS. C. C. C. Cant. 308; Coll. Univ. Oxford, No. 135; Cotton, Nero E. i.; Parker, *Anglican Kalendar*, p. 232.)

Matthew Paris, or the author of the life of Offa ascribed to him, tells the story of Ethelbert's martyrdom more favourably to his hero, throwing all the blame upon Cynethritha, and making Offa ignorant of the plot until after the murder was committed. He also called Offa's daughter Aelfleda, ed. Wats, p. 24. [S.]

ETHELBERT (4), king of the South Saxons. He is known only from the Selsey charters, in which he appears as a contemporary of Offa, and possibly he is to be identified with one of the claimants of the Kentish throne during the latter half of the 8th century (Kemble, *C. D.* 1010, 1011.) More probably the charters are fabricated without any regard for dates. [S.]

ETHELBERT (5), ST., martyr with his brother St. Ethelred at the court of their cousin Egbert king of Kent. Their father Eormenred was a brother of Earcombert the predecessor of Egbert, and their murderer was one of the royal household named Thunor. Neither the princes nor their father are mentioned in Bede, and the Saxon Chronicle cursorily relates (sub ann. 640) only that Ermenred's two sons (unnamed) were afterwards martyred by Thunor. A detailed legendary account of the murder (for it was no true martyrdom) occurs at the commencement of the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of Simeon of Durham in all the editions of that author until Mr. Hinde's, in which it is made a separate piece. In Simeon's story Eormenred was an elder son (which the Saxon Chronicle also implies, naming him before his brother Earcombert), Thunor proposed the murder to Egbert for the security of the succession, and the king connived. The crime was committed at a royal residence in the village of Eastrige, which must be Eastry, a short distance south of Sandwich, and the bodies when discovered were solemnly interred at the "famosissimum monasterium Wacrinense." Eormenburga or Domneva, a sister of the martyrs, received from the conscience-stricken king a grant of land in Thanet, where she founded a memorial monastery and made her daughter Mildred abbess of it. A council that was held to investigate the murder was presided over by archbishop Deusdedit, who also consecrated the nuns of the new foundation; but as, according to Bede, Deusdedit and Earcombert died the same day, Deusdedit's appearance in the story is an impossibility. The account in Goscelin makes the archbishop to have been Theodore, and so defines the period as that between 669, when Theodore arrived in England, and 673, when Egbert died. Simeon's narrative does not name the spot in Thanet where Eormenburga's monastery was built, but Thorn in a later century gives it as Minster, a place to which he himself belonged. In Dugdale's list the monastery occurs as that of St. Mildred in Thanet (*Monast. Anglic.* i. 447). As the tradition of this martyrdom involves the question whether there ever existed, besides that monastery at Minster, a second one at Eastry and another at Wakering, it becomes necessary to follow up the story in other early writers.

Goscelin, about A.D. 1090, a few years before Simeon, introduces the tragedy of St. Ethelbert and St. Ethelred at the commencement of his life of St. Mildred (MS. Harl. num. 105, ff. 137–139, see Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 376), but makes no mention there of the burial-place or of the subsequent translation, passing on, after describing the fate of Thunor, to the main subject of his saint. Thorn, three centuries afterwards, in his life of St. Mildred closely follows Goscelin (Twysd. *Scriptt.* col. 1905). Goscelin, in another of his lives, briefly introduces the martyrdom of the princes, but there again he is silent both as to sepulture and translation (*Vit. S. Wereburg.* cap. 1, § 1, in Boll. *Acta SS.* 3 Feb. i. 386 E). A few years later (cir. A.D. 1124), and about the time of Simeon, the story is related by William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* iv. § 181, pp. 318, 319, ed. Hamilton), who states that the martyrs were buried at a place in East Anglia "cujus nomen excidit"; but according to Savile's reading (*Scriptt. post Bed.* p. 292, 7), which is adopted by the Bollandists, it is "cujus nomen Estreia," which means either that the burial-place was at an Estreia in East Anglia, or that the burial-place was in East Anglia a province also called Estreia. Malmesbury evidently had not identified Simeon's "Wacrinense." He goes on to say that Ethelwin the earl of East Anglia conveyed the relics of the martyrs "celebri pompa" from the "obscure church" of their sepulture to the abbey of Ramsey, and this is the first intimation we have met of the connexion of St. Ethelbert and St. Ethelred with that house, of which Ethelwin was himself a founder (cir. 974 or 991), dying in 992. (*A. S. C.* ann. 992; Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 991, 992, in *M.H.B.* 580 D, 581 A; H. Hunt. *Hist.* v. in *M. H. B.* 747 E; cf. Tanner, *Notitia*, Huntingdonshire, v.) Here it may be mentioned that the *Historia Ramesiensis* (Gale, *Scriptt.* iii. 405) makes the martyrs to have been buried in a villa of the earl Wachringe, who caused them to be translated to Ramsey; clearly shewing that the Ramsey monks of that period were ignorant of the place meant by Wacrinense. John of Tinmouth (cir. 1347) devoted a separate title to our two martyrs in his *Sanctilogium* (MS. see Tanner, *Biblioth.* p. 439), a list of the lives of which work is given by Dr. Thomas Smith

(*Catalogus Librorum MSS. Biblioth. Cotton.* 1696, p. 28), and Tinmouth's legend of St. Ethelbert and St. Ethelred (num. 121 in Smith) was one of those transferred to Capgrave's collection (see *Nov. Leg. Angl.* ff. 143). Here it is stated that the martyrs were buried at "Wakering" and afterwards translated to Ramsey. Thorn, whose chronicle is later than Tinmouth, repeats Gosselin, as already stated, and adds the information that Eormenburga's monastery was at Minster. (Thorn has also a brief mention of the martyrs sub ann. 686, col. 1770). From Tinmouth and Capgrave then "Wakering" has been adopted as representing Simeon's "Wacrinense" (*M. H. B.* praef. p. 89; Stevenson's Eng. transl. of Simeon, p. 430). The only Wakering known is that in Essex, near Shoeburyness. It is a very ancient manor, the history of which is detailed in Wright's *History of Essex* (vol. ii. p. 614), but without a hint of a monastery having ever existed there; as to which matter Camden also is equally silent. Nor do either Tanner or Dugdale speak of a Wakering monastery. The absence of all local trace and all literary record is noticed by the Bollandists (*Acta. SS.* 17 Oct. viii. 94 F) as an objection to the proposed identification, and the editors of the *M. H. B.* in the body of their work (p. 648 note) are doubtful as to "Wakering Essexiae."

In regard to a monastery at Eastry arising out of our story, it is to be noted, in the first place, that the spot is exterior to Thanet, within the limits of which it was that Eormenburga received her grant. In recent times Harpsfield (*Hist. Eccles. Angl.* 1622, saec. vii. cap. 10), calling the princes Ethelbert and Ethelbritt, makes their martyrdom give birth to two monasteries, one at Eastry and the other at Minster, intending probably to combine the statements of Matthew Paris (with whom agrees Matthew of Westminster, cir. 1326) and Thorn, the first two writers placing Eormenburga's monastery at Eastry and saying nothing as to Minster. Cressy (*Ch. Hist. Britt.* 1668, lib. xvii. cap. 4, § 6) puts "a church" at Eastry, perhaps to place himself in conformity with Malmesbury. On the joint authority of Harpsfield and Cressy, Tanner (*Notit.* Kent, xxii.) inserts an Eastry monastery, but without vouching for it, and the *Monasticon* (vi. 1620) simply copies Tanner's paragraph without observation.

As for the legend itself in its present form, perhaps a clue to its origin may have been furnished by a remark of the editors of the *Monumenta* (praef. 89) that Simeon's silence about the translation to Ramsey implies a date for the story prior to that event (*i.e.* prior to 991) and a composer for it earlier than Simeon. If this idea is admissible, the year 978, when the youthful king Edward the Martyr perished, may be suggested. That unexplained event, which was then the common talk, would secure a wide popularity for a tale like that of the Kentish princes propagated from the various monasteries, and a translation of the relics, or supposed relics, from some "obscure church" of East Anglia would have been a natural sequel. It is to be noted also that Ethelwin the promoter of that translation was the prominent nobleman in East Anglia (see Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 975, in *M. H. B.* 578 D, 479 A; Hen. Hunt. lib. iv. *ibid.* 747 E). He was an active patron of the monastic and anti-clerk movement represented by Dunstan and his friends, who on the accession of Ethelred were in opposition to the queen-mother and the court. When these relics were translated by Ethelwin, the East Anglian monasteries, of which his own was one of the noblest, were in the glory of their recent revival, and must have decidedly influenced the politics of the day. Under all the circumstances Malmesbury's language "celebri pompa" suggests a great deal. The grand ceremonial publication of the ancient Kentish "martyrdoms" as the relics traversed the country must have been intended to accuse the court of Winchester and bring it into odium. It is certain that East Anglia did not effectively support the unfortunate Ethelred in his subsequent war with the Danes. It is significant that the day of St. Ethelbert and St. Ethelred (Oct. 17) commemorated, not their martyrdom, but that translation, and whether the story found in Simeon was written by Simeon or not, it probably represents one that was originated about the period when the relics were carried to Ramsey. The Bollandists' account will be found in *Acta SS.* 17 Oct. viii. 94. [C. H.]

ETHELBERT (6) (Adalberht, Aelberht, Alberht, alias Caena, Aldberht, Aluberht, Eadberht, Elchbert, but generally called Albert), archbishop of York, a pupil in the school of York, and a kinsman and favourite scholar of archbishop Egbert. He was a person of so much ability that he was soon marked out for eminence and distinction. Egbert ordained him priest, and associated him with himself in his teaching, making him master of the schools. Albert also held another office, that of defensor cleri, which probably involved diocesan work, perhaps that of an archdeacon or of the vice-domnus or abbas within the walls of the minster. (Alcuin, *de SS. Eccl. Ebor.*)

Albert's most noted pupil was Alcuin, and to him we are indebted for a description of Albert (magister meus he affectionately calls him), which is the main charm of his poem on the saints of the church of York. The scholar dwells not more on the genius of his teacher than on his tact, his energy, his loving-kindness. The range of Albert's learning was very considerable — grammar, rhetoric, law, poetry, astronomy, natural philosophy, formed the subject-matter of his instruction to his pupils. When he became the assistant of Egbert, the archbishop reserved to himself the lectures on the New Testament, but those on the Old fell to the share of Albert. He possessed also the happy power not only of teaching and drawing out the latent powers of his pupils, but also of winning their affections.

Albert was called by dean Gale, and with justice, the fourth founder of the church of York, because, in addition to his restoration of the minster, he was the chief collector of its once famous library. It was begun, indeed, by Egbert, but Albert was practically its author. He sought for MSS. everywhere. More than once did he go abroad, with Alcuin as his companion, not only to gain hints for his educational work, but to acquire books for his collection at home. Alcuin speaks of Albert's visit to Rome and of his honourable reception by kings and great men, who tempted him in vain to take up his abode with them. The same writer in a

well-known passage enumerates many of the works which the library contained. He mentions forty-one authors, a few out of many, whose works were in the collection at York. Among these are some of the fathers, Christian poets, and grammarians. The classical writers are only Cicero, Pompeius, Pliny, Virgil, Statius, Lucan, and Boetius, in Latin, and Aristotle in Greek. Alcuin speaks of treatises in Greek and Hebrew without telling us what they are. In the western world there was probably no library out of Rome itself so large and important as this. Certainly there was nothing to be compared with it in France, which was just beginning to awake to the long dormant claims of learning.

In A.D. 766 archbishop Egbert died, and Albert, by the popular voice, was appointed his successor. He was consecrated on 24th April, A.D. 767, and in A.D. 773, pope Adrian sent him the pall (*Saxon Chron.*; Symeon, ed. Surtees Soc. 22, 24). Albert made an excellent archbishop. He was a strict disciplinarian, but was considerate and genial at the same time. His exaltation made no difference in his personal habits. He was as frugal and simple as before.

Albert, however, was by no means sparing in what he did for God's house. In A.D. 741 the minster of York had been burnt (Symeon, *Chron.* p. 18). What mischief the fire actually did we do not know. It is probable that the building, which was of stone, would be temporarily patched up for the celebration of divine service. Albert, however, took in hand the erection of what must have been a new building. The old minster contained as its most precious feature the chapel or oratory in which king Eadwine had been baptized in A.D. 627. Here Albert set up an altar dedicated to St. Paul, which he decorated with silver, jewels and gold. Above it hung a large candelabrum with three branches. A tall crucifix or rood was set up at the altar, also made of precious metals. Albert built another altar dedicated to the Martyrs and the Holy Cross. This, too, was covered with silver and precious stones, and he prepared a flagon of pure gold to contain the wine which was to be poured into the chalice.

The new basilica, or cathedral church—minster it has always been called in York, although it has never been tenanted by monks—was built under the superintendence of Eanbald and Alcuin, and it is to the pen of the latter that we owe the only description of it which we possess. Alcuin speaks of a lofty temple uplifted by pillars, which stand in their turn over crypts below. He says that it is bright with ceilings and windows, which were probably coloured. Around it were a number of porches, or apsidal chapels, and the whole building contained as many as thirty altars. Some remains of this structure may still, I think, be discerned in the crypt beneath the present fabric.

About two years before his decease, Albert retired from the cares of office to end the remnant of his days in solitary devotion. In preparation for this he made Eanbald his coadjutor in the see, consecrating him bishop; the charge of his school and books he gave to the faithful Alcuin. Ten days before his decease he emerged from his cell to dedicate the minster which it had been his privilege to begin and complete. This was a last effort. Alcuin saw his old master die, and among the last wishes of Albert was the desire that Alcuin should visit France and Rome. He died at York on the 8th of November, A.D. 781 or 782, at the sixth hour of the day (Fl. Wigorn. i. 59), and was laid to rest in his cathedral, a large procession of ecclesiastics and laymen accompanying him to his grave. Albert's death has been placed by the *Saxon Chron.* and Symeon in A.D. 780. They have, I think, mistaken the time of his retirement for that of his decease. Eanbald probably became coadjutor bishop in A.D. 780.

Albert was undoubtedly one of the most able men in Europe in the 8th century. His learning, his educational powers, his widespread sympathies and acquaintance with the scholars and great men of other countries gave him a position and a power for good which no one perhaps possessed to a greater degree. Under him the city of York became the centre of a great educational system which developed in every direction. It was famous at the same time for missionary exertion as well, or rather, it kept up its missionary fame, for Northumbria was the country of Wilfrid and Willibrord. Boniface had kind friends in Egbert and Pecthelm (*Epp.* ed. Giles, i. 87–9, 113). Albert, under the name of Coena, seems to have been also a correspondent of Lullus, archbishop of Mainz, and a letter is preserved from Alcred, king of Northumbria and his queen, addressed to the same dignitary, asking for and promising prayers (Bonifacii *Epp.* ed. Giles, §§ 83, 211, 242, 247; Haddan and Stubbs, iii.). About the same time a council was held in Northumbria to send Willehad as a missionary to the Frisians and Saxons (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 433). To his efforts and those of Alubert and Liudger, who were connected with the school of York in its brightest days, the church of North Germany is under inestimable obligations (Maclear's *Christian Missions*, 222–7).

The principal authorities for the life of Albert are Alcuin's poem *De Sanctis et Pontificibus Eccl. Ebor.*, his *Letters*, and the *Life* appended to them in the editions of Froben and Jaffé. [J. R.]

ETHELBERT (7) (Aedelberht, Aedilberchus) was consecrated bishop of Whithern, in Galloway, at York, on June 10, A.D. 777. (*Saxon Chron.*; Flor. Wigorn. i. 59.) In A.D. 789, on the death of Tilbert, he left Whithern for Hexham. (Symeon, *Chron.*, ed. Surtees Soc. p. 30.) In A.D. 791 he was one of the consecrators of Badulf, bishop of Whithern, and of archbishop Eanbald II. in A.D. 796 (Symeon, pp. 30, 34), also of Eardulf, king of Northumbria, in the same year. He died on Oct. 16 in the following year at a place called Barton, probably on the Tees. His body was brought to Hexham, and was interred by the brethren in the church. (*Id.* 34; Ric. of Hexham, p. 34.)

Ethelbert, as bishop of Whithern, signs the decrees of the Northumbrian legatine synod in A.D. 787. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 460.) There is a letter to him and his congregation at Hexham from Alcuin, speaking of their old friendship, and asking for his prayers. The great scholar advises Ethelbert to collect books and to organise a school at Hexham. (*Epp.* ed. Jaffé, 374–5.)

Dempster states that Ethelbert wrote a

treatise against Elipandus of Toledo, one of the opponents of Alcuin, but this is more than doubtful. (Wright, *Biogr. Lit.* i. 369.) [J. R.]

ETHELBIRHT (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 9, title § 10, ed. Hardy), **ETHELBIRT** (*ibid.* § 9) **ETHELBIRTH** (*ibid.* § 17), king of Kent [ETHELBERT (1).] [C. H.]

ETHELBRICT (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 264), martyr. [ETHELBERT (5).] [C. H.]

ETHELBRIHT (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 86, ed. Hardy), king of East Anglia. [ETHELBERT (3).] [C. H.]

ETHELBURGA (1) (TATAE), daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent and his queen Bertha. She was bestowed in marriage by her brother Eadbald king of Kent on Edwin king of Northumbria, after the latter had promised to do nothing hostile to the spread of Christianity, but to secure her and her attendants in freedom of worship; whilst he himself would receive the faith if on examination it should be found more holy and worthy of God than the religion he professed. Ethelburga accordingly was sent to Northumbria, accompanied by Paulinus, and the conversion of the king and his people followed very shortly. Bede has preserved a letter from pope Boniface to Ethelburga, encouraging her to attempt the conversion of Edwin (*H. E.* ii. 11); the king himself was moved to the change on the occasion of the birth of his daughter Eanfled, and was baptized April 12, 627, less than two years after his marriage. [EDWIN.] After Edwin had fallen before the arms of Penda in 633, Ethelburga, accompanied by Paulinus, her daughter Eanfled, her son Vuscfrea and Uffi, son of Osfrith and grandson of Edwin, returned to Kent, bringing with her many of Edwin's treasures, especially a golden cup and cross, which were preserved at Canterbury in Bede's time. (*H. E.* ii. 20.) The royal boys were sent for education to France, where king Dagobert took charge of them. In this Ethelburga shewed some mistrust of Eadbald, who was now in alliance with Oswald, the head of the rival dynasty in Northumbria. Dagobert died in 638, and the two boys also died in infancy, and were buried in France with royal honours. Ethelburga had by Edwin two sons, Ethelhun and Wuscfrea, the former of whom died soon after baptism; and two daughters Eanfled and Ethelthritha; Ethelthritha died in infancy and was buried, as was Ethelhun, at York. (*H. E.* ii. 14.) Eanfled became the wife of king Oswy (Oswiu) of Northumbria. Bede gives no account of Ethelburga's life during her widowhood, but we learn from the Canterbury traditions, and on the testimony of Florence of Worcester that she founded a monastery at Liming in Kent (*M. H. B.* 635; Elmham, ed. Hardwick, p. 176; Dugd. i. 452), where she was buried. (Elmham, p. 177.) [S.]

ETHELBURGA (2), daughter of Anna king of the East Angles, sister of Sexburga the wife of Earcombert king of Kent, and sister of Etheldreda abbess of Ely; she, with her half-sister Saethryd, took the veil in the monastery of Farmoutier in Brie, where Ethelburga became abbess. (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 8, Flor Wig. *M. H. B.* 636; *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Stewart, p. 15; Hardy, *Cat.* i. 265.) [S.]

ETHELBURGA (3), sister of Erkenwald bishop of London, and first abbess of Barking. [ERKENWALD.] Bede gives (lib. iv. cc. 7, 8, 9, 10) an account of several miraculous events which happened during her period of rule, and which he extracted from a book which had already been written on the history of the monastery. One of these is a vision which Tortgyth, one of the nuns, had of the death of Ethelburga, a few days before it occurred, and a vision of Ethelburga herself a few days after her death (c. 9). What little is known of the foundation of Barking will be found under ERKENWALD. Capgrave (*N. L. A.*) gives a life of St. Ethelburga, according to which she was born, like Erkenwald, at Stallington, in Lindsey, was daughter of Offa, who was subsequently converted by her agency; in order to avoid marriage she fled from her father's house; Earconwald built her a monastery out of his patrimony and invited Hildelitha [HILDILID] from France to teach her monastic customs. This writer also expands the miraculous stories given by Bede. (*Nov. Leg. Angl.* ed. 1516, fol. 139, 140.) The biography of course proceeded from the same mint as that of Erkenwald. The date of Ethelburga's death, given by Florence of Worcester under 676, is very doubtful; and even the dedication of the church in Bishopsgate, London, can only hesitatingly be ascribed to her. Oct. 11 is the day of her commemoration. (*AA. SS.* Boll. Oct. 11, tom. v. 649–652.) There is some confusion between Ethelburga and the abbess Eadburga [BUGGA] of Minster, which appears in the life of St. Werburga (*Mon. Angl.* i. 452), but is corrected by Elmham, p. 224. (See also Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 385.) [S.]

ETHELBURGA (4), abbess of Repton, daughter of Ealdwulf king of the East Angles [ALDULF], more properly called Eadburga. (J. Wallingford, ap. Gale, p. 528.) [EADBURGA (4).] [S.]

ETHELBURGA (5), the wife of Ine king of the West Saxons. She is described by William of Malmesbury (*G. R.* lib. i. § 35; ed. Hardy, p. 49) as a woman of royal race and mind, and this is borne out by the testimony of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which represents her as capturing and destroying Taunton in 722, during the struggle in which Ine was engaged with the Etheling Ealdbriht. (*Chr. S.* 327; H. Hunt. *M. H. B.* 724.) William of Malmesbury tells the story of the way in which she impressed upon Ine the corruptible nature of all worldly things. Having held high festival at one of his palaces, which is described as exceptionally sumptuous, the king and queen set out for another place. After going a little way she prevailed on him to return, and shewed him his palace filled with filth and rubbish, in accordance with a command which she had secretly given to the steward. The lesson was obvious. Ine determined to renounce his crown; he resigned the kingdom to Ethelhard (who appears in a spurious charter, Kemble, *C. D.* no. 73, as Ethelburga's brother), and, accompanied by his wife, went to Rome, where they lived, employed in works of humble

charity among the poor, and died in the odour of sanctity. According to another tradition which is less plausible and less probable, Ethelburga retired to Barking, where her sister is said to have been abbess, and died there; but this story is of later date, and probably originates in a confusion between the two Ethelburgas. The name of Ethelburga is appended as a consenting party to the great charter of Ine to Glastonbury (Kemble, *C. D.* 73; *Mon. Angl.* i. 25); and occurs in the body of another charter to the same monastery. (K. *C. D.* 74; *Mon. Angl.* i. 49; Elmham, pp. 267, 268; W. Malmesb. *G. R.* i. § 35–37; ed. Hardy, pp. 49–55; Higden, *Polychr.* ed. Gale, p. 258; *Mon. Angl.* i. 436 sq.) [S.]

ETHELBURGA (6), daughter of Alfred; a Mercian abbess of some importance in the Worcester cartulary. Her father was a kinsman of the ealdormen of the Hwiccii, who were hereditary friends and patrons of the cathedral monastery at Worcester. In 774 she had, by the gift of bishop Milred, a grant of the monastery founded by Dunna at Withington, for her life (K. *C. D.* 124; *Mon. Angl.* i. 586), and a few years afterwards (778–781) a similar gift from Aldred, the ealdorman, of the monastery of Fladbury, also for life. (K. *C. D.* 146.) The reversion in each case was secured to the cathedral monastery. The idea that Ethelburga was the first abbess of a monastery of St. Mary at Worcester (*Mon. Angl.* i. 567), which was afterwards transferred to monks, is without any historical or even legendary foundation. [S.]

ETHELBURGA (7), wife of Wihtred king of Kent (Kemble, *C. D.* 41, 42, &c). Possibly Wihtred was more than once married; for a spurious charter (Kemble, *C. D.* no. 37) gives him a wife Kynygytha; and in the *Privilegium* (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 240) his queen calls herself Werburga; cf. note, *ib.* p. 242. [S.]

ETHELBURGA (8), daughter of Offa king of Mercia, and abbess. She is mentioned by Offa, together with her mother Cynethritha and her sisters Ethelfleda, Eadburga, and Ethelswitha, in the grant of Offa to Chertsey (K. *C. D.* 151) and attests the same charter. She is not, however, noticed in the Mercian genealogy given by Florence of Worcester. (*M. H. B.* 630, 638.) To her, without the title of abbess, Alcuin addressed one letter by name (*Ep.* 59), probably another without name (*Ep.* 60), and possibly two others under the name of Eugenia. (*Epp.* 229, 279.) In the first of these he reminds her of the instructions which she has received from him, sends consolations to her sister Ethelfleda [ELFLEDA], the widowed queen of Northumbria, and presents from Luidgarda, the wife of Charles the Great. The second is of similar purport, and the other two mere consolations and good advice. (*Mon. Mogunt.* pp. 293, 295, 737, 857.) These are referred by Jaffé erroneously to the abbess of Fladbury. [S.]

ETHELBYRHT (1) (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 616, in *M. H. B.* 645 B, C, D, 646 A, 647 A) king of Kent. [ETHELBERT (1).] [C. H.]

ETHELBYRHT (2) (Ethelwerd, *Chron.* iii. init. in *M. H. B.* 509 D), king of East Anglia. [ETHELBERT (3).] [C. H.]

ETHELBYRHT (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* in *M. H. B.* 646 A, 647 A), young prince of Kent, martyred. [ETHELBERT (5).] [C. H.]

ETHELBYRHT (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 777, in *M. H. B.* 664 E), bishop. [ETHELBERT (7).] [C. H.]

ETHELDRED (1) (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 264), young prince of Kent, martyred. [ETHELBERT (5).] [C. H.]

ETHELDRED (2) (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 798, 799, in *M. H. B.* 669 E, 671 B), king of Northumbria, son of Moll. [ETHELRED (4).] [C. H.]

ETHELDREDA (1) (AEDILTHRYD), a daughter of Edwin king of Northumbria and Ethelburga his second wife. She was baptized at York in A.D. 627, and died in her infancy (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 14). [J. R.]

ETHELDREDA (2) (AEDILTHRYD, AETHELDRYTH, AUDRY, ETHILDRITA), queen of Northumbria and abbess of Ely; a daughter of Anna king of East Anglia. Anna had four daughters, Sexburga, Ethelburga, Etheldreda, and Withburga, all of whom were great in the mediaeval calendar. Of these daughters Etheldreda seems to have been the third. The Ely historian (ed. Stewart, p. 15), who confounds the family of Anna with that of his brother Ethelhere, makes Hereswitha the wife of Anna and mother of these daughters.

According to Thomas of Ely, Etheldreda was born at Exning or Ixning in Suffolk. When she grew up she was married to Tondbert, an East-Anglian prince, who bestowed on her the isle of Elge, or Ely, as a dowry. The marriage was sorely against the lady's will, as she had practically devoted herself already to a conventual life, but her husband seems to have allowed the union to remain nominal. This so-called marriage is said to have taken place two years before Anna's death, which occurred in A.D. 654.

Tondbert died soon after his marriage, and his widow retired to Ely, where it seems to have been her intention amid the general wreck of her family, to devote herself solely to a religious life. But in A.D. 660 a second and an illustrious alliance was in store for her. She became the wife of prince Egfrid, son of Oswy king of Northumbria, her own kinsman, and a husband whom her own family would think it by no means prudent to refuse. The union lasted for eleven or twelve years, and was of the same nature as that with Tondbert. No entreaties or threats could induce Etheldreda to break her resolution of perpetual virginity. Egfrid ascended the Northumbrian throne in A.D. 670, and was then more free to act with decision in the matter of his marriage. To bring Etheldreda over to his views he sought the help of Wilfrid, who had very great influence with husband and wife. He promised him a great reward if he could succeed; but the monk of Ely does not hesitate to say that the influence of Wilfrid was secretly exerted to confirm the resolution of the queen, and that it was through his means that a divorce was suggested and carried out, after great opposition from Egfrid. The desires of Etheldreda, it is plain, were directed only towards an ascetic life, and she was at all times a kind

patron of religious work and men. It seems pretty evident, from a passage in Eddi (cap. 22), that Hexham was at one time her property, before it was passed over to Wilfrid, who erected there a church of stone, without a peer in his day on this side of the Alps. For Cuthbert, Etheldreda wrought with her own hands a stole and maniple, rich with gold and precious stones, which, as the monk of Ely says, were preserved in his day in the great shrine at Durham.

In A.D. 671, the ill-sorted couple separated—Egfrid to seek a second consort, Etheldreda to take the veil at the hands of Wilfrid. She was placed as a nun in the house of Coldingham, in Berwickshire, which was then presided over by Ebba, king Egfrid's aunt. She continued there for a year. The monk of Ely says that Egfrid tried in vain to carry her off, but Bede does not mention this attempt, and it may therefore be discredited; still it is easy to understand how Etheldreda's stay at Coldingham might be unpleasant after her old husband had taken to himself a second wife. She would be happier in her old home, and among her own people. Etheldreda therefore made her way to Ely. Thomas of Ely mentions some incidents in the journey. Etheldreda was attended by two companions, called Sewenna and Seware. She crossed the Humber at Wintringham, and built a church at Altham, where the party made a short halt. Her priest was a person of the name of Huna, who afterwards died in the odour of sanctity. The isle of Ely at that time was a waste of rushes and waters, out of which arose here and there little eyes or eyots, bright with green pasture land, on the highest parts of which the scanty farmsteads were built. It was necessary to take a boat to travel from village to village, There was but one church in the district, at Ely itself, built originally by Augustine, and recently destroyed by king Penda. This Etheldreda restored, with the help of king Aldulf, her brother, and endowed with the island, of which it became the gem and grace. She established there a religious house, which Bede calls a nunnery, whilst the monk of Ely speaks of it as a twin monastery, like Coldingham, with the working of which Etheldreda would be perfectly acquainted. Over this house Wilfrid made her the abbess, and when he visited Rome next he made it his business to secure for Ely and his old friend a grant of privileges from the pope. Bede gives a short account of Etheldreda's ascetic life, which shews that it was of the severest kind. She was thoroughly in earnest, and made Ely a devotional centre for the whole of the eastern counties. Her life, however, was only a short one. She was attacked by the plague, and died on the third day of her illness, on the 23rd of June, A.D. 679. Her physician, Cynifrid, mentioned to Bede one or two circumstances in connexion with her complaint.

The remains of Etheldreda were deposited in a coffin of wood, and interred at Ely. Her elder sister, Sexburga, succeeded her as abbess. In A.D. 695 Sexburga resolved to translate Etheldreda's body. Where could she find a fitting tomb? There was no stone in the neighbourhood of Ely, and so the abbess sent off several of the brethren of the house in a boat, to find elsewhere, if possible, what was unattainable at home. They made their way to Grantchester, the site of the modern Cambridge, where, near the walls of the Roman town, they found a white marble cist or coffin, rifled probably of the remains of its former tenant, which was the very thing they required. They brought it back with them to Ely, and therein Etheldreda's body was deposited. Like that of Cuthbert, it is said to have been undecayed, and to have been the means of effecting a number of miraculous cures. The authorities for this account of Etheldreda are, the notices of her in Bede and the Life by Thomas, a monk of Ely.

The present "stately fane" of Ely owes its existence to the fame of Etheldreda, who was regarded as one of the greatest of the mediaeval saints. The church which she constructed herself perished in the Danish inroad of A.D. 866–7, but the marauders did no harm to the coffin of the saint. The building was restored about a century afterwards, by king Edgar, under whose auspices it became a house of Benedictine monks, and acquired by degrees great estates and influence. In A.D. 1107 the see of Ely was founded, and the series of abbats came to an end, the monks thenceforward being ruled by a prior. One of the last official acts of Richard, the last abbat, was a solemn translation of Etheldreda's remains, necessitated by the progress of the new Norman fabric. The monk of Ely describes the ceremony, which was of a most interesting nature. The old marble coffin was taken into the new church and laid near the high altar (cf. Malmes. *Gest. Pontiff.* 322–3). Over this arose a portable shrine of wood-work, richly ornamented, which was borne about on festival days. In A.D. 1144 the monks stripped the shrine of much of its silver work, to meet the pecuniary necessities of bishop Nigel, who acknowledged their kindness by giving the manor of Hadstock to the convent, for the special purpose of decorating and repairing the shrine. It was afterwards richly ornamented by bishops Ridel and de Burgh. In A.D. 1235 bishop Northwold commenced the fabric of the present magnificent choir, and constructed a new shrine for Etheldreda and the saints of the house in the centre of the presbytery. Of this a sketch has been preserved. The shrine perished at the Reformation (Bentham's *Ely*, var. loc.). The life and merits of Etheldreda were a fertile theme for the mediaeval writers, of whom the following are the most conspicuous.

The earliest notice of the saint is that by Bede, which is really the kernel of every subsequent biography. Appended to this notice is a poem by the same author, in elegiac verse (*H. E.* iv. 19, 20).

Next in order comes the Life contained in the first of the three books of the *Liber Eliensis*, written by Thomas, a monk of Ely. Thomas, who seems to have lived in the reign of Henry II., has availed himself of the work of a brother of the same house of the name of Richard, which is now lost, and he is also much indebted to Bede. His narrative is exceedingly diffuse. This Life is printed in the *Anglia Sacra*, i. 591 et seqq.; *Acta SS.* 23 Jun. iv. 489; and in Mabillon's *Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben.* ii. 707, et seqq. The best edition is that printed in 8vo. in 1848, for the Anglia Christiana Society, and edited by the Rev. D. J. Stewart. Unfortunately it carries the *Liber Eliensis* only to the end of the second book.

The next in importance, although earlier in

date, is the Life, written in hexameters, in the time of Henry I., by Gregory, another monk of Ely, to commemorate the foundation of the bishopric. It is unpublished, and contains some curious passages describing the church and neighbourhood of Ely (cf. Hardy's *Catalogue*, i. pt. 1, 780–1). In MSS. Cotton, Faustina B. iii. is another Life in English verse, unfortunately imperfect, but running to the length of 1200 lines (*id.*).

There is a Life in Capgrave, a compilation (ff. 141–2), and several others, very brief and of little importance, all of which are described in Hardy's *Catalogue*, i. 278–284. [J. R.]

ETHELDREDA (3) (ADILTHERYDE, EDILTHRUDA, ETHELDRYTHA) became the wife of Ethelwald Moll, king of Northumbria, Nov. 1, 762, at Catterick (Symeon, *Chron.* 21). Ethelwold lost his kingdom in A.D. 765. Their son Ethelred afterwards became king, and was slain in A.D. 796. After the death of her husband, Etheldreda took the veil, and became the abbess of some religious house. There is a long letter to her from Alcuin in that capacity, between A.D. 793 and 796 (*Epp.* ed. Jaffé, 274 et seqq.). He also wrote to her in A.D. 796, consoling her on the death of her son (*id.* 297). [J. R.]

She is identified with the Aedilthyda "famula Dei olim reginae" to whom Alcuin addressed a letter of thanks for presents, and some exhortations (*Mon. Alcuin.* Ep. 50, p. 274). [S.]

ETHELFLEDA (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 50, ed. Hardy), daughter of Oswy king of Northumbria, abbess of Whitby. [ÆLFLEDA (1).] [C. H.]

ETHELFRID (ETHELFRITH, ETHELFRYTH, AEDILFRID, EADFERED FLESAURS, ETALFRAICH), king of Northumbria. He was the son of Ethelric, and grandson of Ida. Ethelric was king of Bernicia, and on the death of Ella seized the kingdom of Deira, to the injury of Edwin, Ella's youthful son. Ethelfrid, who afterwards married Acha, Edwin's sister, did not scruple to continue his father's usurpation of Deira.

Ethelfrid became king in A.D. 593. Pagan although he was, Bede speaks of him in terms of the highest eulogy, comparing him with Saul, king of Israel, for his military genius, and proud of the boldness and persistency with which he subjugated or exterminated the Britons. The Britons, in Bede's view, were irreclaimable heretics. One famous onslaught was made upon Ethelfrid in A.D. 603 by Aedan, king of Dalriada, which ended in his utter defeat. In this fight Theodbald, brother of Ethelfrid, fell with all the army that he led. It seems probable from this that Theodbald had been fighting against his brother on the side of the invading Scots. In one of the versions of the Saxon Chronicle we are told that Hering, son of Hussa, led the hostile army. In the annals of Tighernac (ed. Skene, p. 68), Ethelfrid's brother is called Eanfraich. The scene of the battle is said to be Degsastan, *i.e.* Degsa lapis (Bed. *H. E.* i. 34), probably Dawston. But in several versions of the Saxon Chronicle it is called Egesan stane. It has been conjectured that this may be Eggleston, near Barnard Castle. An invading force from Scotland might well descend the Tees to strike a deadly blow at Northumbria, on the very boundary line of Bernicia and Deira. (*Arch. Aeliana, n. s.* pt. 22, p. 109.) The defeat of Aedan was so decisive, that up to the time of Bede's History no Scottish monarch had ever entered the field again against an English kingdom. (Bed. *H. E.* i. 35.)

In A.D. 607, according to the Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 613, *Annals of Ulster* and *Cambrian Annals*), Ethelfrid struck another very terrible blow at the British race and church. He was carrying his victorious arms beyond the Dee. He nears the city of Chester, then in British hands, called by its inmates Caerlegion, and by the English Legacaestir. When the battle was about to begin, Ethelfrid's attention was attracted by a crowd of men remaining aloof from the combatants. They were monks from Bangor and other places in the neighbourhood, who had come to assist their compatriots with their prayers. Ethelfrid ordered his men to attack them first, alleging that they were really enemies, inasmuch as they were fighting against him with their prayers. His wish was carried out so terribly that only fifty monks escaped, whilst two thousand were slain. A chief of the name of Brocmail had been charged with their defence, but fled on the first onset, leaving the poor helpless creatures to destruction. This was followed by the overthrow of the whole British army, but not without great loss to the victor. And thus, says Bede, somewhat triumphantly, the prediction of Augustine came fearfully to pass upon those who had spurned his warnings and advice (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 2; Malmsb. *G. R.* i. 65, 66).

We are told in the Nennian Genealogies (53) that Ethelfrid gave to his wife Bebba a place called Dinguoaroy, which was re-named Bebbanburch after the lady (cf. Bed. *H. E.* iii. 6, 16). Bebba was Ethelfrid's first wife. About A.D. 603 he re-married Acha or Acca, the daughter of Ella, and sister of Edwin, who was the mother of St. Oswald and St. Ebba. Ethelfrid had seven sons—Eanfrid, Oslaf, Oslac, Oswald, Osric, Offa, and Oswuda; but it is not known for certain which of his two queens was their mother. It seems probable that Eanfrid was the first born.

The reign of Ethelfrid, prosperous although it seemed to be, was by no means free from anxiety and care. He was sitting unjustly on his brother-in-law Edwin's throne, and the thought of some possible retribution made him very jealous of his kinsman as he grew up to man's estate. Edwin also was afraid and left Ethelfrid's court, hiding himself where he could, until at length he found shelter with Redwald king of East Anglia. Ethelfrid discovered his retreat; and by promises, gifts, and threats, endeavoured to make Redwald violate the ties of hospitality. So urgent was his importunity, that Redwald began to waver through fear; and it was only in consequence of Edwin's appeals, and the earnest intervention of his own queen, that at last he became firm. Firmness in such a case meant war; and Redwald was so active in his preparations and onset that he overthrew Ethelfrid's army, and slew its leader, in a battle on the bank of the river Idle, in Nottinghamshire, in A.D. 616. Among the

numerous results of this victory, one was the restoration of Edwin. [J. R.]

ETHELFRITH (ETHELFRID, AETHELFERTH), the fourth bishop of Elmham (*M. H. B.*. 618). He was consecrated by archbishop Nothelm, who received his pall in 736 (Sim. Dun. *M. H. B.* 659). His successor was Eanfrith, who was bishop in 758. As no bishop of Elmham attended the synod of Clovesho in 747, the see may have been vacant in that year. [S.]

ETHELGITHA (AETHELGITHA, EDILGYTH,) a Northumbrian abbess, probably of Coldingham, whose relics were brought to Durham by Elfred the sacrist in the 11th century, and deposited in St. Cuthbert's shrine (Symeon, *H. E. D.* iii. c. vii.). Her name is in the *Liber Vitæ* of the church of Durham (p. 3). [J. R.]

ETHELHARD (1) (AETHELHEARD, AETHELHARD, ADELHARD, EDELHEARD), king of the West Saxons, 725–739 (Cont. Bed. *M. H. B.* 288; 728–741, *Chr. S.*). He succeeded to the West Saxon throne on the departure of Ine for Rome. Ine was childless, and Ethelhard, although he is described as kinsman to Ine (*Chr. S. M. H. B.* 327) was not a near relation, and is not definitely fixed in the genealogy of the West Saxon kings (*M. H. B.* 632), but generally assigned to the house of Cerdic (*ib.* 641). The charter of Glastonbury (Kemble, *C. D.* no. 73), in which Ethelhard is described as brother of queen Ethelburga, is not genuine. It is probable that Ine left the succession unsettled among the junior members of the house (juvenioribus), or else that his settlement was disputed by the family, for Ethelhard in the first year of his reign had a struggle with the etheling Oswald, who was descended in another line from Cuthwin, the son of Ceaulin. As Ethelhard retained his throne, we may infer that Oswald was forced to submit. The Chronicle mentions only two events in the reign of Ethelhard, the conquest of Somerton (probably representing Somersetshire) by Ethelbald of Mercia in 733, and the departure of queen Frithogith for Rome in 736 or 737. Of these the former indicates one phase of the ever-pressing struggle between Mercia and Wessex on the side of the Hwiccii, and the enormous preponderance acquired by Ethelbald, which is attested by Bede who, at the close of his work, describes the Mercian king as supreme over the southern provinces. It is probable that the weakening of the West-Saxon power on the western border was followed by the loss of territory on the Welsh and Cornish border, and some uncertain victories are claimed by the later Welsh writers over the king Adelrad. (Thorpe's Lappenberg, i. 267.) All that can be argued from this, however, is that Ethelhard failed to recover the territory or restore the peace which had been lost in the later years of Ine. The documentary history of the reign is very slightly illustrated. Neither Ethelhard nor Frithogitha is mentioned in the letters of Boniface. In charters the name of Ethelhard occurs in the year 729 as granting land of sixty manentes at Poholt to Glastonbury, in a witenagemot held at Pencrik (Kemble, *C. D.* 76); and in an Abingdon charter undated, Ethelhard appears as confirming a grant made by Ethelbald of Mercia. (K. *C. D.* 81.) Neither of these documents is of good authority, and additional doubt is thrown on the latter by the circumstantial character of the attestation which purports to have been granted "in expeditione ultra fluvium Sabrina adversus Britonum gentem"; it is, however, the form rather than the substance of this statement that excites suspicion.

There is likewise a grant made by Ethelhard, at the request of Frithogitha, of land at Taunton to the cathedral of Winchester, which, if genuine, belongs to the year 737 (K. *C. D.* 1002).

Cuthred, the successor of Ethlhard, is called by Simeon of Durham (*M. H. B.* 659), his brother; by other writers his kinsman. According to Rudburne (*Ang. Sac.* i. 194) Ethelhard was the brother of Frydewyth, mother of St. Frideswide of Oxford, and both he and his sister were buried at Winchester. The mother, however, of Frideswide is called in the legend Safrida, although it is given as Fridewisda in the life printed by Mabillon. See also W. Malmesb. *G. R.* i. § 38; H. Hunt. *M. H. B.* 725, 726, 727. [S.]

ETHELHARD (2), the ninth bishop of Winchester. (*M. H. B.* 619.) As his name occurs between that of Cynehard, who was bishop in 754, and that of Egbald, who was bishop in 778, he cannot be identified with Ethelhard, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 793. William of Malmesbury held the bishop of Winchester, the archbishop, and an abbat Ethelhard, abbat of Malmesbury, to have been the same person, but this is impossible. [S.]

ETHELHARD (3) (ETHELHERD), fourteenth archbishop of Canterbury (*M. H. B.* 616). His appointment is noted by Simeon (*M. H. B.* 667), on the authority no doubt of the ancient *Gesta Regum Northanimbrorum*, under the year 791: "Abbas vero Ethelherdus Hludensis monasterii ad eandem sedem est electus et ordinatus episcopus." The more precise date given by Florence of Worcester, July 21, 793, probably marks the day of consecration. The *Chronicle* places the appointment in 790. As Jaenbert died in the month of August his successor's consecration, if it occurred in July, could not take place earlier than the next year. As July 21 was a Sunday in 793, it may be accepted as the true date; it is not contravened by any evidence in charters, and the apparent delay may easily be accounted for by the circumstances of the Kentish church and kingdom; Offa was attempting to consolidate his rule, and the church of Canterbury was shorn of half its power by the creation of the archbishopric of Lichfield. We are not told by whom the consecration was performed, but it is not impossible that it was by archbishop Higbert of Lichfield himself. Ethelhard before his election to Canterbury was, according to Simeon, abbat of a monastery called "Hlud," which may either have been some obscure place, as *e.g.* Lydd in Kent, or a more important one, such as Louth in Lincolnshire; but there is no record of the existence of any monastic foundation at this early period in either of those places. It may be argued in favour of Louth that Ethelhard must almost of necessity have been a Mercian abbat, as it would be impossible for Offa, in the existing state of affairs, to have allowed the appointment of a West

Saxon or Kentishman; and the later attitude of the Kentish men towards Ethelhard shews that he did not belong to the patriotic party. William of Malmesbury, finding the name of Ethelhard in the lists of the bishops of Winchester, and either finding it or placing it in that of the abbats of Malmesbury, has not scrupled to identify the archbishop with both these Ethelhards. (*G. P.* ed. Hamilton, pp. 160, 389.) As for the bishop of Winchester, his date is irreconcileable with any such theory; and of the abbat nothing is known except from William of Malmesbury himself; that supposition may then be set aside.

Ethelhard, as has been said, found the church of Canterbury at its lowest ebb, and so long as Offa lived he could make no attempt at its emancipation. In a council held at Clovesho in 794, he was obliged to sign the documents there issued after the rival archbishop (Kemble, *C. D.* 167; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 484, 485). During these years he stood it would seem high in Offa's favour, for Charles the Great addressed a letter to him, asking him to intercede with the Mercian king for certain English exiles. (*Monument. Carolina*, p. 352.) Early in his episcopate Alcuin had written him a letter full of ptous advice (*Mon. Alc. Ep.* 28; p. 202; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 474), and one of his first acts may have been a participation in the measures taken for declaring the mind of the English prelates at the council of Frankfort in 794; but of this there is no evidence.

Before the death of Offa the troubles of Ethelhard had begun; early in 796 Eadbert Praen had raised the standard of revolt, and met with such support among the Kentish nobles that Ethelhard was compelled or induced to fly from his post. Alcuin wrote to Offa (*Mon. Alc. Ep.* 44; p. 266; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 496) urging him to support the archbishop; he wrote to Ethelhard himself entreating him not to desert his flock (*Mon. Alc. Ep.* 44; p. 265; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 495), and to the Kentish men urging them to recall their archbishop (*Mon. Alc. Ep.* 86; p. 369; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 509).

The death of Offa, the short reign of Egfrid, and the initial difficulties of the reign of Kenulf, left Eadbert Praen in a strong position for three years, during which Ethelhard applied to the pope Leo III. to take his part against Eadbert, who was an apostate clerk, and began the series of measures by which he hoped to reinstate the church of Canterbury in its pristine honours. The archbishopric of Lichfield, although an important part of the imperial policy of Offa, was not such a great object of desire with Kenulf, who no doubt thought that the archbishop was much more valuable as an ally than as a subject, and who intended to rule Kent as a subordinate kingdom through his dependent Cuthred. If, as seems likely, Ethelhard, on leaving Canterbury, sought an asylum at the Mercian court, he would take the opportunity of impressing on Kenulf the injury done to Christianity in England by the degradation of the mother church. However this may have been, the extant professions of obedience made to Ethelhard by the Mercian as well as other bishops, all which contain a distinct recognition of the authority of Canterbury, seem to shew that Higbert, after the death of Offa, could have retained but little more than the title and precedence which Adrian I. had accorded to him by bestowing the pall. Of these professions that of Eadulf of Lindsey, Tidferth of Dunwich and Deneberht of Worcester, seem certainly to belong to this period. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 506, 511, 525.)

As soon as Eadbert Praen fell into the hands of Kenulf (798) Ethelhard returned to his see, Alcuin wrote to advise him to do penance for having deserted it (*Mon. Alc. Ep.* 85; p. 366; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 518), and the proceedings of the synod at Clovesho held the same year shew that both the archbishop's authority and the Mercian power had been re-established. In that synod Ethelhard exchanged lands at Cookham in Mercia for an estate in Kent, with the abbess Cynethritha [CYNETHRITHA], and Kenulf betowed an estate at "Hrempinguic" on the monastery of Liminge. In the charter by which this gift was conferred, the attestation of Ethelhard takes precedence of that of Higbert, but the latter is still called archbishop. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1019, 175; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 512–515.) It scarcely needed the pressing advice of Alcuin, who urged Ethelhard to attempt the restoration of church unity, to induce the archbishop to reopen the question of the Lichfield archbishopric. (*Mon. Alc.* p. 369; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 520.) Alcuin in particular recommended him to take the advice of the archbishop of York on the subject. Accordingly the discussion recommenced by a letter of Kenulf to pope Leo III., in which he put before the pope the scheme of St. Gregory for the provincial arrangement of Britain, told the story of Offa's quarrel with Jaenbert and the men of Kent, and mentioned likewise a full statement of the case which had been exhibited by Ethelhard before all the bishops of the province (probably at the council of Clovesho), and had then been sent on to the pope for his decision. (W. Malmesb. *G. R.* lib. i. § 88; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 521–523.) Although Ethelhard's letter has not been preserved, the pope's answer to Kenulf is extant. (*Mon. Alc. Ep.* 84; p. 363; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 523.) In it he explains that pope Adrian's division of the archbishopric was the result of a petition from the English bishops, which Offa had represented as unanimous; he refers to the conduct of Eadbert Praen, who had been still in arms when Ethelhard wrote, and pronounced him anathema; he declared that the primacy belonged not to London, as Kenulf had hinted, under St. Gregory's direction, but to Canterbury; and further reminded the king of the annual payment which Offa had promised to the apostolic see at the time of the legation of George and Theophylact. He did not, however, decide or hold out any promise of a decision on the all important question.

In 799 there was a synod at Clovesho, and likewise a great witenagemot at Tamworth; in the latter assembly Higbert took precedence of Ethelhard, and certain lands in Kent were restored to Canterbury (K. *C. D.* 1020). The state of affairs continued for two years longer. In 801, after a synod held at Cealchyth (K. *C. D.* 1023), and an interview with archbishop Eanbald II. of York, in which he took the opinion of that prelate as Alcuin had advised him (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 532), Ethelhard set out for Rome. He was met by Alcuin's servant at St. Judoc's (Saint-Josse-sur-Mer). Alcuin sent his own horse, saddle and servant to meet him, and wrote him

a letter of encouragement, inviting him to visit Tours on his way home, and also wrote to the emperor to help him on his journey. He was accompanied by Ceolmund, a thegn of Offa, Torhtmund, the friend of the late king Ethelred of Northumbria, bishop Kinbert of Winchester, and another bishop whose name does not appear. (*Mon. Alc. Epp.* 172, 173; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 533.)

Ethelhard's mission was attended with complete success. He reached Rome, found favour with Leo III., and on Jan. 18, 802, received from the pope a letter, in which, without even mentioning the hostile archbishopric, he declared the ancient rights of Canterbury to be unimpaired, denouncing deprivation against any archbishop or bishop, and excommunication against any layman, who might infringe them. (W. Malmesb. *G. P.* lib. i. § 38, ed. Hamilton, pp. 57–59; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 536, 537.) At the same time he wrote to Kenulf acknowledging the receipt of letters and money, mentioning the visit of Ethelhard, and announcing his decision that both the episcopal sees subtracted from the province and the monasteries withdrawn from the church of Canterbury should be restored, and the primatial see replaced in the dignity defined by the letters of St. Gregory to Augustine (W. Malmesb. *G. R.* i. § 89; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 538, 539). It appears from this letter that Ethelhard's appeal touched not only the integrity of the province but the property of the see, and this explains in some measure the long-continued litigation for the recovery of the Canterbury estates which marks the next thirty years, and was the subject of discussion in many councils.

Alcuin, on hearing of the success of Ethelhard, wrote to congratulate him, and advised him to use his victory with firmness and discretion. The long struggle came to an end at the council of Clovesho, Oct. 12, 803. In that assembly, which was attended by all the bishops and a large body of clergy from each diocese of the province, the right of the see of Augustine was solemnly recognised according to the tenour of the pope's letter, and to this act Kenulf and his witan gave their full adhesion: "Coenwlfus Merciorum Rex ita complevit cum senatoribus suis"; the archbishopric of Lichfield was abolished, and the letters of pope Adrian I. under the authority of Leo III. declared null (Kemble, *C. D.* 185; *Mon. Angl.* i. 107; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 542–544). The same day, by a synodal act, Ethelhard and the clergy assembled in obedience to the papal orders, forbade the election of laymen as lords of the monasteries (K. *C. D.* 1624; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 445–547). This latter act is attested by the whole body of the synod; among the signatures Aldulf appears as bishop of Lichfield, Higbert the deposed archbishop signing as "Higberht Abbas" first among the clergy of that diocese. Alcuin in his letter of 798 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 620) had urged that the pious archbishop should not, so long as he lived, be stripped of his pall, but the recommendation was not adopted, or the necessity for degradation was avoided by resignation on Higbert's part.

In the year 804 there was a synod at Acle, at which Ethelhard was present with the Mercian bishops (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 548); and in 805 he secured the restoration of an estate given by Aldhun to Christchurch, but alienated by royal tyranny, and now recovered by synodal decree.

This is the last recorded act of Ethelhard, who died on May 12 in the same year, 805. Alcuin had died a year before him. Besides the letters cited above, some other epistles of Alcuin to Ethelhard are extant; the whole may be found in Jaffé's *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, pp. 202, 366, 616, 619, 620, 669, 719, 794. See also, in Alcuin's letters to Charles and others, mention of Ethelhard, pp. 288, 290, 365, 371, 618. In one of these letters, printed for the first time by Dr. Jaffé, Ethelhard is exhorted to put down the custom of carrying "ligatures" or charms containing relics, and phylacteries (*Mon. Alc.* p. 719); and also to prevent the conventicles or meetings on the hills, at which the people instead of praying indulged in drunkenness.

In the chronology of Ethelhard's Life, as given above, the computation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester has been altered by two years in order to harmonise it with the undisputed dates of documents and other certain authorities.

The correspondence of Alcuin with Ethelhard, together with the general history of his episcopate, exhibits him to us as a man of high reputation for devotion, and of no small power in the conduct of affairs. The fact of his using the power which he had received as a dependant of Offa, to circumvent and overthrow the design which was so important a part of Offa's policy, is scarcely to be regarded as a blemish, if the character of the age and the changed circumstances of the Mercian kingdom be taken into account. The appeal to Rome is one link of the scanty chain which bound England to the apostolic see in this obscure age; and the whole episode, falling in one of the darkest periods of the early middle age, but singularly well illustrated by documentary evidence, is perhaps the most important piece of English church history between the death of Bede and the age of Dunstan. [S.]

ETHELHERD (1) (ETHELHEARD), a Northumbrian "dux" who adopted the religious habit, and died at York, August 1, A.D. 794 (Symeon, *Chron.* ed. Surtees Soc. 33). [J. R.]

ETHELHERD (2) (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 791, in *M. H. B.* 667 c), archbishop of Canterbury [ETHELHARD.] [C. H.]

ETHELHERE (AEDILHERE), son of Eni, the brother of Redwald, succeeded his brother Anna as king of the East Angles in 654. As his brother had been defeated and slain by Penda, it is probable that he obtained the succession by Penda's influence. The next year, 655, he fell fighting on Penda's side, at the battle of Winwaedfeld; and Bede charges him with having been the 'auctor belli' on that occasion. His wife Hereswitha was the sister of St. Hilda, a great-niece therefore of Edwin of Northumbria. As the connexion between Edwin and Redwald had been very close, and the family of Edwin had fallen before the rising fortunes of Oswy, the quarrel of Ethelhere with Oswy may have been a result of the old rivalry between the descendants of Ella and Ida. By Hereswitha Ethelhere was the father of Aldulf and Aifwold. Whether

Jurwinus or Jurminus was the son of Ethelhere or of Anna, our authorities are not sufficiently in accord to prove. Ethelhere was succeeded by his brother Ethelwald. (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 24; *Hist. Eliens.* ed. Stewart, pp. 14, 15, 23; Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 636.) [S.]

ETHELHILD, a sister of Ethelwin bishop of Lindsey, and Aldwin abbat of Partney. She was abbess of a monastery near Partney, and survived until the time of Bede, who reports a miracle which was wrought in her monastery by a relic of St. Oswald. She had also seen a pillar of light reaching from heaven to the place where his relics were laid. (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 11.) [S.]

ETHELHUN (1) (AEDILHUN), a son of Edwin king of Northumbria and his second wife Ethelburga of Kent. He was baptized by Paulinus soon after his father in A.D. 627, and died shortly afterwards, whilst still wearing his white baptismal robes. He was buried in York minster (Bed. *H. E.* ii. 14). [J. R.]

ETHELHUN (2) (OEDILHUN), a brother of Ethelwin bishop of Lindsey, who went with the famous Egbert to study in Ireland. They were together in the monastery of Rathmelsigi (Melfont) in 664, the year of the great plague. The two friends were attacked by the disease; Egbert vowed that if his life were spared he would lead the life of a pilgrim and ascetic. [EGBERT (5).] Ethelhun, in his sleep, had miraculous information of this vow, and said to Egbert, "O brother Egbert, what hast thou done? I hoped that we might enter eternal life together; yet know that what thou hast asked thou shalt receive." Egbert recovered, and Ethelhun died the next night. (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 27.) [S.]

ETHELHUN (3), a monk who carried letters and presents from Ethelbert II. king of Kent to St. Boniface (*Mon. Mogunt.* p. 255). [S.]

ETHELINGA, third prioress of Minster in Thanet, according to Weever (*Fun. Monum.* p. 262) as noticed by Dugdale (i. 448, note *a*), but without reference to authority. [BUGGA (2).] [C. H.]

ETHELMOD (AETHELMOD, OETHELMOD, ADALMUNDUS), fourth bishop of Sherborn (*M. H. B.* 620). His name occurs in the charters first in the year 778 (Kemble, *C. D.* 132); his predecessor, Herewald, appears for the last time in 766. A MS. of Florence of Worcester (*H. M. B.* 545) places Ethelmod's succession in 782, but the notice is a mere interpolation; for Ethelmod not only attested the dated charter of king Cynewulf in 778, but took part in the synod of Brentford in 781 (K. *C. D.* No. 143; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 439). He was present also at the legatine council of 787 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 461), and attested a grant of Offa to Canterbury, at a council at Celchyth in 788 (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 153, Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 464), and a synodical act of a council at the same place in 789 (K. *C. D.* No. 156, cf. 157). Denefrith, his successor, is first heard of in 794. See also Will. Malmesb. *G. P.* ed. Hamilton, p. 175. [S.]

ETHELNOTH (1), the twelfth abbat of St. Augustine's, according to Elmham. He succeeded Jaenbert, who became archbishop in 766, and was blessed by him after he had received his pall; probably in 767. Elmham, however, gives the dates 762 and 764 for the two events (p. 331). The same authority gives 787 as the date at which his abbacy ended. There is a grant made by Offa to Ethelnoth of land at Bewesfield, dated in the fifth year of Offa. (Kemble, *C. D.* No. 119; Elmham, 331; Thorn, ap. Twysden, c. 1775.) [S.]

ETHELNOTH (2), the fifteenth bishop of London (*M. H. B.* 617). He succeeded bishop Osmund between 805 and 811, and subscribed charters from 811 to 816 (Kemble, *C. D.* 197, 207, 210). His profession of obedience made to archbishop Wulfred on the occasion of his consecration is preserved. Besides the printed charters already mentioned, he attested an unpublished grant of king Kenulf (MS. Lambeth, 1212, p. 391). He was present as 'Lundoniae civitatis episcopo' in the council held at Cealchyth in July 816. How much longer he lived is uncertain; his successor, bishop Ceolbert, appearing first in 824. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 568, 569, 579.) [S.]

ETHELRED (1), ST., young prince of Kent, martyred with his brother Ethelbert. [ETHELBERT (5).] [C. H.]

ETHELRED (2), king of Mercia. He was the son of Penda and brother of Wulfhere, whom he succeeded in 675 (Bede, *H. E.* v. 24), his nephew Coenred, the son of Wulfhere, being too young to govern. In 676 he was at war with Kent and destroyed Rochester. (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 12.) This expedition was probably connected with the internal divisions in the Kentish kingdom itself, where the Mercian influence seems to have alternated with the West Saxon. Before his accession, or shortly after it, Ethelred married Osthritha, daughter of Oswy, and sister of Egfrid of Northumbria. This near affinity did not secure peace between the two kingdoms; Egfrid had a few years before wrested the province of Lindsey from Wulfhere, and had regarded it as so safe a conquest that in 678 he obtained from Theodore the consecration of a bishop for it. In 679 Ethelred and Egfrid were at war; in a battle near the Trent Elfwin, the brother of the one and brother-in-law of the other, was slain, and it was only at the strong entreaty of archbishop Theodore that a wergild or money compensation for the life of Elfwin was accepted by the Northumbrian king. The balance of advantage remained, however, with Ethelred, who recovered Lindsey for Mercia. The peace between Egfrid and Ethelred was permanent, and the latter king seems not to have engaged in external warfare during the remainder of his reign. He devoted himself to the care of his people and the consolidation of the Mercian church. One immediate result of the peace was the division of Mercia into five dioceses; a measure which was probably effected by Theodore in the council of Hatfield, or about the year 680 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 141 sq.), although the decree of Theodore which directs it is apparently spurious. This must have been done with the co-operation of Ethelred, and is indeed said by Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B.* 622)

to have been done at his instigation, and that of Oshere, the king of the Hwiccii. For several years after this Ethelred is heard of only in connexion with the history of Wilfrid. Under the influence of Egfrid he refused to allow Wilfrid to settle in Mercia during his exile after his imprisonment in 681 (Edd. *V. Wilfr.* c. 39) when he had been entertained by Beorhtwald, the nephew of Ethelred. When, however, Wilfrid had been reconciled with Theodore, the latter prelate strongly recommended him to Ethelred's good offices, and from that time (about 686) onwards he continued to be a most faithful friend (ib. c. 42). He received Wilfrid in his second exile in 691, and not only gave him considerable estates, but settled him in the episcopal see of Leicester. Canterbury being vacant in 692, on the death of Theodore, Wilfrid, at Ethelred's command, consecrated Oftfor to the see of Worcester. Wilfrid made his home in Mercia until his restoration to the see of Hexham in the year 705.

During this period two important events took place in Ethelred's life; in 697 his wife Osthritha was put to death by the "primates" or nobles of Mercia (Bede, *H. E.* v. 286) or Southumbria; after which, apparently, Ethelred made over Southumbria to his nephew Coenred. [COENRED.] (*Chr. S.* in *M. H. B.* 325). In 704 the king himself determined to resign his crown to his nephew Coenred, and retired to Bardney, where he became abbat. Bardney had been endowed by Ethelred and Osthritha, who had translated thither the remains of St. Oswald king of Northumbria. (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 11.) Ethelred now found a home there, and one of his first visitors was Wilfrid, who, having in the same year obtained letters from pope John VI. to Ethelred and Aldfrith, was making his last effort to recover his Northumbrian see. Ethelred took pains to place Wilfrid on good terms with Coenred, and did his best to reconcile him with Aldfrith (Edd. c. 55), and in the following year, after Aldfrith's death, Wilfrid was restored to Hexham. Ethelred survived his resignation for several years, died in 716, and was buried at Bardney. By Osthritha Ethelred had one son, Ceolred, who succeeded to the Mercian kingdom in 709, and died the same year as his father. Ethelred had the reputation of a great ecclesiastical benefactor; to him no doubt Wilfrid owed his monastery at Oundle; his name is conspicuous in the very questionable documents which profess to record the foundation of Medeshamstede, and in the better accredited charters of Worcester. In 675 he attested a grant of Oshere to the abbess Bertana (K. *C. D.* 12; *Mon. Angl.* ii. 264), in 676 he appears as consenting to a grant of Swebheard of Kent to abbess Aebba (K. *C. D.* 14; Elmham, p. 232); in 680 his name occurs in another grant of Oshere to Frithowald (K. *C. D.* 17) and a grant of Caedwalla to Wilfrid (ib. 18), both spurious, or at least questionable; and 681 he subscribes a charter of Ethelmod (ib. 21). As a benefactor of Aldhelm he grants charters in 681 (Kemble, *C. D.* 22, 23; *Mon. Angl.* i. 258). All these are very doubtful. A grant, however, made by Ethelred himself to Worcester (K. *C. D.* 32; *Mon. Angl.* i. 384), attested by bishops Hedda and Oftfor, is probably authentic. See also Kemble, *C. D.* 33, 34, 40, 52, 990, 991.

The last document in which his name appears as king is a grant of Swaebraed of Essex to bishop Waldhere of London, dated June 13, 704. This is confirmed by his successor Coenred. (Kemble, *C. D.* 52.) This date may furnish the exact time of the resignation; see Lappenberg (ed. Thorpe), i. 223.

Although so little that is definite is known about Ethelred, it is clear that he was one of the typical princes of Anglo-Saxon hagiography; that under him the organisation of the Mercian church was perfected, the monastic life devoutly cultivated, and peace fairly well preserved. He was the close friend both of Theodore and Wilfrid, the patron of Medeshamstede, Worcester, Ely, Malmesbury, and other obscurer monasteries; and he died in the odour of sanctity. Possibly the years of peace which Mercia enjoyed under his rule enabled her to take the place among the English kingdoms which she attained under Ethelbald and Offa.

[S.]

ETHELRED (3), king of the East Angles. He succeeded Beorn, and by his wife Leofruna was father of St. Ethelbert, the king of the East Angles who was one of the victims of the policy of Offa (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 636). The succession of the East Anglian kings is very obscure. According to Simeon of Durham, Elfwald, the correspondent of St. Boniface [ELFWALD], died in 749; and after him Hunbeanna and Alberht divided the kingdom. According to Florence (*M. H. B.* 636), Beorn reigned in the time of Offa, and, more definitely, under the date 758 (*M. H. B.* 544). Thorpe, in his edition of Lappenberg, supposes Hunbeanna to be a corrupt reading for Beorna. Nothing more is heard of either Beorn or Alberht, and Ethelred is only known as father of St. Ethelbert. [ETHELBERT (3).]

[S.]

ETHELRED (4), (EGELRED, EDELRED, EDDRET, EDELRETH, called also by Florence *M. H. B.* 633, ETHELBERT), king of Northumbria. He was the son of Moll Ethelwald, who had occupied the Northumbrian throne from 759 to 765, and succeeded Alhred, the king in whose favour Moll Ethelwald had been set aside, in the year 774. If he were a son of Moll Ethelwald by his wife Etheldritha, whom he married in 762, he must have been a child at the time. He was apparently promoted by a triumphant faction, as Alhred had been, and was obliged, in order to maintain his position, to authorise some cruel acts; for in 778 he ordered two of his ealdormen, Ethelbald and Heardberht, to put to death three of the Northumberland "duces," Aldwulf, Cynwulf, and Ecga. In consequence, probably, of this, he was deposed and driven into exile the next year, Alfwold the son of Oswulf being substituted for him. Ethelred's exile lasted until Alfwold, in 788, was murdered, and Osred, son of Alcred, who succeeded, was deposed within a year. In 790 Ethelred recovered his throne. The cruelties which had disgraced his first reign were repeated in his second. In 791 he seized the ealdorman Eardulf, and ordered him to be executed at Ripon, where having been left for dead, he was rescued by the monks; the same year, apparently, the sons of king Alfwold, Oelf and Oelfwine, were put to death at Windermere; and in 792 Osred, who had returned from

banishment, was put to death. The same year, 792, Ethelred, in order to strengthen himself by an alliance with Offa, married Elfleda, daughter of that king on Sept. 29, at Catterick. The rest of Ethelred's reign was a period of domestic disquiet and barbarian invasion. In 793 and 794 the coasts were devastated by the Norsemen, who destroyed the monasteries at the mouth of the Tyne. In 796 Ethelred was killed at Cobre (Corbridge?) on April 18, the result of another of the faction quarrels which had placed him on the throne. (Sim. Dun. in *M. H. B.* 665–668; *Chr. Sax. ib.* pp. 337, 338, 339.) As Alcuin was in close correspondence with York and the Northumbrian church during Ethelred's second reign, the name of the king frequently occurs in his letters; in 790, writing to his steward Joseph, he mentions that Ethelred had been just transferred from a prison to a throne, and that he himself was detained in England in consequence of the change of sovereign (*Mon. Alcuin.* ed. Jaffé, p. 170). In 793 he wrote to console Ethelred on the devastation of Lindisfarne, and declared the calamity to be a divine judgment called down by the sins which had been practised since king Alfwold's death (*ib.* pp. 180, 181); another letter to the same effect was addressed about the same time to Ethelred and his great men, one of whom, Osbald, afterwards became king (*ib.* pp. 184–90); and there is another short letter of good advice (*ib.* p. 264). From a letter of Charles to Offa, we learn that after pope Adrian's death (Dec. 27, 795), the emperor had sent presents to the several sees of Ethelred's kingdom in memory of the pope (*ib.* p. 288), whilst from a letter of Alcuin to Offa it appears that the presents had not arrived until after Ethelred's death (*ib.* p. 290). Charles was greatly distressed on account of the king's murder (*ib.*). Lastly, in a letter written in 801 to the emperor, Alcuin states that Torhtmund, one of Ethelred's servants, had valiantly avenged his master's death (*ib.* 619). (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 488, 492, 496, 498, 533.) [S.]

ETHELSWITHA, a daughter of Offa, mentioned in the Chertsey charter of 787. (Kemble, *C. D.* 151.) [S.]

ETHELWALCH (AEDILWALCH), the first Christian king of the South Saxons. He was baptized in Mercia at the suggestion of king Wulfhere, who was his godfather, about 661. His wife Eaba, daughter of Eanfrith, ealdorman or under king of the Hwiccii, had been baptized in her own country previous to her marriage with Ethelwalch. Of the ancestry of Ethelwalch we have no account, but he was probably the hereditary ruler of the South Saxons, and patronised by Wulfhere as a thorn in the side of the West-Saxon kingdom. When Wulfhere in 661 had ravaged the Isle of Wight and the province of the Meanwaras (the district of Meon in Hampshire) he bestowed them on Ethelwalch. The conversion of the South Saxons did not follow the baptism of Ethelwalch for many years. The Scottish missionary Dicul had his small monastery at Bosham, but little success in his labours. And this state of things continued until Wilfrid in 681, having failed to recover his see in Northumbria, undertook the conversion of the nation. In this work he was very successful. Ethelwalch gave him land of eighty-seven families or hides at Selsey, and there was founded a monastic mission, which in 709 became the head of a new diocese. In the year 686 (Flor. Wig. 537) Ethelwalch was killed by Caedwalla, the young aspirant to the West-Saxon throne, who had been driven into exile among the South Saxons. Caedwalla was still a heathen or unbaptized; Centwine, against whom he was in rebellion, was a devout prince, but, owing to his connexion with the Northumbrian kings, disinclined to receive Wilfrid, who at this time had no friends in Mercia. It is, however, difficult to unravel the string of the obscure quarrels, in which Sussex was involved as an outpost of Mercia and a debateable land between Kent and Wessex. After the death of Ethelwalch, the country was governed by two ealdormen, Berchthun and Andhun. In the two following years it was devastated by Caedwalla, and afterwards remained subject to Ine king of Wessex. The Selsey charters furnish the names of South Saxon kings during the next century, but always dependent on Wessex.

William of Malmesbury (ed. Hardy, *G. R.* p. 46) gives Ethelwalch a successor named Eadric, who was killed by Caedwalla, but this was no doubt the Kentish king of the name whose strength lay in Sussex. [EADRIC.] [S.]

ETHELWALD (1) (OIDILVALD), a son of Oswald king of Deira, and nephew of Oswy. He ruled some portion of Northumbria under Oswy after Oswin's death, and on one occasion took up arms against him (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 14). His importance in ecclesiastical history is owing to his friendship with Cedda, to whom he gave land for the foundation of the monastery of Lastingham. Caelin, the brother of Cedda, was minister in Ethelwald's household. Notwithstanding his piety and his relationship to Oswy, Ethelwald joined Penda in the attack upon his uncle in 655; but he withdrew from the battle in which Penda fell at Winwaed. It is uncertain at what period of his reign he founded Lastingham, but it was after Cedda had become a bishop, and therefore later than 654. Nothing seems to be known as to the date of Ethelwald's death; but Alchfrith, the son of Oswy, is called by Florence of Worcester his successor. [S.]

ETHELWALD (2) (AEDILVALD), king of the East Angles. He was brother of Anna, and son of Eni. He succeeded his brother Ethelhere, who fell in the battle of Winwaed in 655, and reigned until 664, when he was succeeded by Aldulf, the son of Ethelhere. (Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 533, 636.) Bede mentions him as godfather to Suidhelm, son of Sexbald, king of the East Saxons, who was baptized by St. Cedda at Rendlesham (*H. E.* iii. 22). [S.]

ETHELWALD (3) (AEDILUUALD, OIDILUALD), the successor of Cuthbert, A.D. 687, in his oratory or hermitage on Farne island. Much of his early life had been spent in the monastery of Ripon, where Cuthbert, no doubt, had been for a while his companion. Bede describes a miracle which Ethelwald wrought in rescuing three of the brethren of Lindisfarne from a storm. In his Life of Cuthbert the same writer tells us the condition of the oratory on Farne. It was made of wooden planks, which were in great decay.

Cuthbert had stopped up the cracks and holes with hay and clay. When Ethelwald came he begged a calf's skin of the brethren who visited him, and nailed it up in the corner where he and Cuthbert used to pray, to keep the wind and rain out. After a twelve years' sojourn at Farne Ethelwald died, and was buried at Lindisfarne about A.D. 699. Bishop Eadfrid then reconstructed the oratory for the use of Feldgeld, the new anchoret. Feldgeld made a relic of the calf's skin and believed it, from his own experience, to be gifted with miraculous powers. (Bed. *H. E.* v. 1; *Vita S. Cuth.* cap. xlvi.)

There is a notice of Ethelwald in the *Acta SS.* for March, iii. 463. His day was March 23. His name occurs the first on the list of anchorets in the *Liber Vitae* of the church of Durham (ed. Surtees Soc. p. 6). [J. R.]

ETHELWALD (4), an obscure writer, who addressed a letter and a small collection of poems to St. Aldhelm whilst the latter was abbat of Malmesbury. These compositions, which have been, with very little show of probability, attributed to Ethelbald king of Mercia, are printed among the works of St. Boniface. (Ed. Würdtwein, Epp. 149, 81 b; *Mon. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, epp. 5, 6, pp. 35–48.) The writer of the letter describes himself as having been a pupil of Aldhelm during a summer fatally marked by civil wars, and as having been fostered by him from his infancy; he also compares himself to Rehoboam, Aldhelm apparently being the Solomon from whose teaching he had degenerated, and asks him to continue his instructions. He describes the poems which he sends; one is in dactylic metre in seventy verses; the second and third are in octosyllabics, and the second is sent by their common client, Wynfrith. Of the poems subjoined the first mentions the travels of the writer in Domnonia and Cornubia; this makes it possible that he was the bearer of Aldhelm's letter to Gerontius. [ALDHELM.] All five poems are in octosyllabics; and although the name of Ethelwald occurs in one of them, it is questionable whether any of them exactly answers to the description in the letter. In Serarius's edition of Boniface, the poems are appended to another letter, addressed by an anonymous person, to a sister, after Boniface had been made a bishop; with this letter the poems can have no connexion. Dr. Giles, however, followed Serarius. [S.]

ETHELWALD (5) (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 732, 740, in *M. H. B.* 657 A, 659 B), abbat of Melrose, and bishop of Lindisfarne. [ETHELWOLD (2).] [C. H.]

ETHELWALD (6) MOLL, king of Northumbria, succeeded after the murder of Oswulf, July 24, 759. The accession of Ethelwald is dated Aug. 5, which seems to imply that a short interregnum must have occurred. (Sim. Dun. *M. H. B.* 663.) He may possibly be identified with the patricius or ealdorman, Moll, brother of abbat Forthred, who is mentioned in the letter of pope Paul I. to archbishop Egbert in 757 or 758 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 395). His surname may be a contraction for Mucil, *i.e.* Great; but this is very uncertain. In 761, he had to resist the attack of a competitor, Oswin, who fell in a great battle at Eldunum (Eildon Hills, near Melrose), or Edwinscliffe (*Chr. S.* p. 333), on Aug. 6. The next year Ethelwald married at Catterick a lady named Etheldritha. In 765, Ethelwald was deprived of his kingdom, apparently in a national assembly at Winchenheale (Sim. Dun. p. 663), and was succeeded by Alhred. Nothing seems to be known of his lineage, or his ultimate fate. He was father of Ethelred, who succeeded Alhred in 774. (See Lappenberg, ed. Thorpe, i. 214, 215.) There are coins attributed to Ethelwald Moll, which bear on the obverse the head of archbishop Egbert, but the ascription is very uncertain. (Hawkins, *English Silver Coins*, ed. Kenyon, pp. 67, 68.) [S.]

ETHELWALKIUS (Malm. *G. R. A.* i. § 76, ed. Hardy), king of the South Saxons. [ETHELWALCH.] [C. H.]

ETHELWIN (OEDILWINI). **(1)** A prefectus or reeve of Oswy king of Bernicia, who at his master's command put to death Oswin of Deira in 651 (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 14). [S.]

ETHELWIN (2) Second bishop of Lindsey (*M. H. B.* 624). He was an Englishman of noble race, brother of Ethelhun the companion of the presbyter Egbert and of Aldewin abbat of Partney, and of the abbess Ethelhild (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 11). Like his brother Ethelhun he studied in Ireland (*H. E.* iii. 27), and after his return, when in the year 679 the province of Lindsey had been reconquered by Mercia, he was appointed bishop in succession to Eadhed, who retired to Ripon (*H. E.* iv. 12). As this was the first formal division of Mercia into dioceses, Ethelwin is by Florence of Worcester counted as properly the first bishop of Lindsey (*M. H. B.* 622; cf. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 128–130). Of the duration of Ethelwin's episcopate we have no evidence. He was succeeded by bishop Eadgar before the year 716. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 716.) [S.]

ETHELWOLD (1), second abbat of Evesham. (*Chr. Evesham*, ed. Macray, p. 76.) He is said to have succeeded St. Egwin, but nothing is known about him. (*Mon. Angl.* ii. 1.) [S.]

ETHELWOLD (2) (AEDILUUALDUS), bishop of Lindisfarne, A.D. 724–740. There is some doubt as to the duration of his episcopate. The best authorities (Chronol. apud Bedam; Symeon, *Chron.* ed. Surtees Soc. p. 13) place his death in A.D. 740, and Symeon (*Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* i. 12) says that he was bishop sixteen years, which fixes his consecration in A.D. 724, the date generally received. But if this is correct, the see of Lindisfarne must have been vacant for three years after the death of Eadfrith, a fact which it is not easy to account for.

Ethelwold was an officer or servant under Cuthbert, and was afterwards abbat of Melrose, a house which was most intimately connected with Lindisfarne. He ruled there when king Aldfrith visited the monastery to hear the visions of Drythelm (Bede, *H. E.* v. 12). The anonymous biographer of Cuthbert, who wrote between A.D. 698 and 705, mentions Ethelwold as abbat, and records a miracle wrought upon a cousin of his which he had no doubt described to the narrator. (Bed. *Opp. Hist. Min.* ii. 107, 108; *Vita S. Cuth.* cap. xxx.)

Before Ethelwold became abbat, he caused to be made a beautiful cross of polished stone, which was probably designed by himself. His own name was carved on it, but he no doubt intended it to be a memorial of Cuthbert. The cross was one of the ornaments of Lindisfarne until the Danish invasion in A.D. 793, when the marauders broke off the head. This was afterwards fastened to the body with lead, and thenceforward, wherever the Cuthbertines wandered the cross accompanied them, an object of great veneration to the Northumbrians, who were reminded by it of Cuthbert and Ethelwold. In the 12th century Symeon speaks of it as standing erect in the cemetery of the church of Durham. (*Hist. Eccl. Dun.* i. 12.) The cross was probably ornamented with that delicate interlacing work which was then at its highest point of excellence.

The taste of Ethelwold gave a cover to the famous Lindisfarne Gospels which were written by his predecessor Eadfrid. [EADFRID (2).] This was decorated with gold, silver, and jewels, and was wrought by Bilfrid the anchoret, who was a cunning goldsmith. (Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dun.* ii. cap. xii.; *Lindisfarne Gospels*, ed. Surtees Soc., ad finem.) An attempt has been recently made by the authorities of the British Museum to restore it. There seems to be no authority for crediting Ethelwold with the beautiful illuminations with which the MS. is adorned. The honour of these must belong to Eadfrid the scribe.

Among Aldhelm's letters there is one addressed to him by Ethelwold, but it is doubtful whether it can justly be ascribed to the bishop. (Ed. Giles, 100–2.) Dempster, in his *History of Scotland* (255), ascribes to Ethelwold a life of Cuthbert and a chronicle of the abbats of Melrose, but his statement is unsupported.

Ethelwold's remains accompanied the monks of Lindisfarne in their wanderings with those of Cuthbert, Eadfrid, &c., until they found a resting-place in Durham, when they were deposited in the shrine. (Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* ii. 6, &c.) A place was made for Ethelwold in the calendar, and his day is Feb. 12. There is an account of him in the *Acta SS.* for that month (ii. 604–6 and 897). [J. R.]

Ethelwold's episcopate fell in the early part of the Northumbrian troubles, which began after the death of king Aldfrith; he witnessed the great Northumbrian struggle in 731, which probably shook the fabric of church and kingdom, when Ceolwulf was deposed and restored, and Acca had to fly from his see at Hexham. He lived through the first seven or eight years of the archiepiscopate of Egbert, under whom the pall was restored to York, and the Northumbrian schools began their career of brilliance and usefulness. [S.]

ETHELWULF (1) (AETHELULF), the sixth bishop of Elmham. (*M. H. B.* 618.) He was present at the council of Brentford in 781 (Kemble, *C. D.* 143; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 439), in which year possibly he had succeeded Eanferth. No more is heard of him. His successor Alheard had come in before the legatine synods of 787. [S.]

ETHELWULF (2), the author of a poetical history dedicated to Egbert bishop of Lindisfarne (803–821), which is printed by Mabillon in the *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. iv. part 2, pp. 317–335, MSS. of which are found in the Bodleian, Cottonian, and Cambridge libraries. (Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 509–511.) The poem contains the history of a monastery and the lives of its abbats. A certain ealdorman named Eanmund takes refuge from the persecution of Osred, king of Northumbria (705–716) in a monastery dedicated to St. Peter. From a bishop, Egfrid (Eadfrith of Lindisfarne, 689–721), he obtains instruction, and a learned priest to instruct his little company, and from Egbert, a bishop of the Scots, he receives rules of monastic life. Among others whose holy lives have shed honour on the place is Ultan a Scottish priest, Fridegils, and Cuicuin the smith. Eanmund on his death is succeeded by Eorpwin, and Eorpwin by his brother Aldwin. The fourth abbat is Sigbald, who greatly increased the beauty of the monastery, and who at his death is succeeded by his brother Sigwin. During Sigwin's time the reader Iglac or Higlac flourished. Sigwin's successor was Wulfsig, under whom the writer was brought up. Of all these the only persons otherwise known are Sigebald, who is probably identical with the abbat Sibbald, whose death is noticed by Simeon of Durham under the year 771, and Higlac the reader. It is very difficult to understand how these facts can be reconciled with the history of any monastery at Lindisfarne, to which they are, according to the MSS., applied. Mabillon points out that the history of the foundation, the date and institution of the monastic rule, the differences in the list of abbats, the fact that the monastery of the poem was situated in a town, and the account of the situation of the church are quite inconsistent with such a theory. Yet the connexion with Lindisfarne and the memory of St. Cuthbert was very close. Mabillon conjectures that Eanmund had founded a monastery on the mainland, to which he may have given the name of Lindisfarne, as the new Corby was called after the old Corvei. No explanation seems to have been attempted since the days of Mabillon. The names of Sigwin, Utta, Eanmund, and Wulfsig are in the *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis.* [S.]

ETHELWULF (3) (AETHELULPH), the tenth bishop of Selsey. (*M. H. B.* 618.) He first appears as taking part with archbishop Wulfred and bishop Deneberht of Worcester in a council at London, in which king Kenulf sold certain lands to the archbishop, Aug. 1, 811. (Kemble, *C. D.* 196; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 571.) His name is also attached, with the interpolated description "East Anglorum" episcopus, to the Winchelcomb charter of the same year. (Kemble, *C. D.* 197; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 574.) As 'Aethelwulfus Selesegae episcopus' he attended the Council of Clovesho in 816 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 579); after which no more is heard of him; but his successor Cenred was bishop in 824. [S.]

ETHEMBRIA. [CETHUBERIS.]

ETHERIANUS. [FIDELIS.]

ETHERIUS (1), (EUTHERIUS, EUCHERIUS), fourth bishop of Antibes, following Agraecius, and

succeeded by Eusebius. He was present at the second council of Orange in A.D. 529, and at the fourth council of Orleans in 541, subscribing his name Eucherius at one and Euterius at the other. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 390) give from old MSS. a narrative of the acts of the Spanish martyrs Vincentius, Orontius, and Victor, the writer of which (c. 4) speaks of himself as the successor of "Aetherius, Antinciae Ecclesiae Antistes." This Antinciae has been supposed to be Antibes, and the writer to have been Eusebius the successor of Etherius. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 1148; Ceillier, *Hist. des Aut. Sacr.* xi. 306; Labbe, *Conc.* v. 814, 1371.) [S. A. B.]

ETHERIUS (2) (AETHERIUS, EUTHERIUS, HETHERIUS), sixteenth bishop of Chartres, succeeding St. Aventinus, and followed by St. Leobinus, was one of the subscribers of the second, third, and fourth councils of Orleans, held in A.D. 533, 538, and 541 respectively. His name occurs several times in the life of his successor by Venantius Fortunatus, but in no important connexion. He is said to have built a church about three miles from Chartres, and dedicated it to St. Priscus, whose relics he placed there. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1095; Venant. Fort. *Vita S. Leobini*, 8, 13, 14 in Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 553, 554; Labbe, *Conc.* v. 929, 1282, 1371.) [S. A. B.]

ETHERIUS (3) (AETHERIUS), ST., seventeenth bishop of Auxerre, following St. Romanus, and succeeded by St. Aunacharius. He is said to have held the see nine years and six months, and to have been buried in the church of St. Germanus. He flourished probably about A.D. 577. Usuard, in his *Martyrologium*, under the 27th July, has "Autisiodoro, depositio Etherii episcopi." (Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 301; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 267; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vi. 446.) [S. A. B.]

ETHERIUS (4) (AETHERIUS), thirty-first occupant of the see of Lyons, following St. Priscus. In a Life of St. Austregisilus (given in Boll. *Acta SS.* 20 Mai, v. 230* c. and there stated to be by a contemporary author) it is said that at the court of King Guntram, distinguished among the other senators was one Aetherius, a man of the highest wisdom and endowed with unusual caution, to whom the king confided beyond any other the secrets of his policy. He was worthy at that time of a bishopric, and afterwards was made bishop of Lyons, the most famous state of Gaul. St. Austregisilus, whom he loved exceedingly, was ordained by him priest and abbat. In or about 589 Etherius, with other bishops, subscribed the rescript to the letter of Gundegesilus on the subject of the excommunication of the authors of the disturbances at Poitiers. [CHRODIELDIS.] In 584, he was summoned by Guntram to Nanterre to be present at the baptism of that king's nephew Clotaire II. He died in A.D. 602, and was succeeded by Secundinus. Gregory of Tours relates of him that he made for St. Nicetius a little bed, which after the saint's death worked many miracles in the cure of diseases.

Three letters to him from Gregory the Great are extant; the first addressed to him jointly with several other Gallic bishops, being directed against simoniacal practices, the ordination of laymen to high places in the church, some of whom, Gregory states, did not adopt the tonsure till a see was vacant, against the practice of women other than those permitted by the canons dwelling with the clergy, and the neglect of the yearly synods; the second being addressed to Etherius alone, again insisting on the holding of synods, and commending to his care the monks whom he was sending to St. Augustine in Britain; the third as to the measures to be taken upon the incapacitation of a bishop for his duties by disease or failing faculties. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* lib. ix. c. 41, lib. x. c. 28; Fredegar, *Chron.* c. 22, Greg. Tur. *Vit. Pat.* viii. 5, 8; Greg. Mag. *Epist.* lib. ix., ep. 106, lib. xi. ep. 56, lib. xiii. ep. 5 in Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 1028, 1173, 1258; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 38.) [S. A. B.]

ETHERIUS (5), according to Bede (*H. E.* i. 24, 28), bishop of Arles, who consecrated Augustine bishop of Canterbury. But the Etherius of that date was bishop of Lyons (see the preceding article), and the bishop of Arles was Virgilius. [C. H.]

ETHERIUS (6) I., bishop of Basti (Baza), one of the fifteen suffragan bishops of the province of Cartagena, summoned to the synod at Toledo, A.D. 610. [GUNTHIMAR.] He signs eleventh on the list (Mansi, x. 507 b; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 86; Aguirre, iii. 322). [EUTYCHIANUS (4).] [M. A. W.]

ETHERIUS (7) II., bishop of Basti, signs the acts of the eleventh council of Toledo (A.D. 675), at which only bishops of the province of Cartagena were present (Mansi, xi. 147 a; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 88; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 247). [EUTYCHIANUS (4).] [M. A. W.]

ETHERIUS (8), bishop of Eliberi from about A.D. 630 to about 646. His signature appears among those of C. Tol. iv. 633, and his vicar signs for him in the seventh council, 646. Loaysa and Aguirre are wrong on this point (*Esp. Sagr.* xii. 156; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385, 423) [FLAVIANUS (1).] [M. A. W.]

ETHERIUS (9), titular bishop of Osma towards the end of the 8th century. He is known as having, together with Beatus, published a defence of orthodoxy against the Adoptianist heresy of Elipandus and Felix. [ADOPTIANISTS.] Osma was at the time under Saracen rule, and as we find Etherius writing, jointly with Beatus, from Asturias, and speaking of himself as "Oxomiae sedis indignus nominatus episcopus," or, according to another reading, *nuncupatus*, the inference seems to be that he was titular bishop only. To him were dedicated the commentaries on the Apocalypse ascribed to Beatus. The friendship between Beatus and Etherius seems to have been a very close one. Elipandus speaks scoffingly of it, as well as of the youth of Etherius, in his letter to the abbat Fidelis A.D. 785. [ELIPANDUS.] The dates of his birth, consecration, and death are alike unfixed, but we may put his consecration probably about A.D. 780, and his death in the early years of the 9th century (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 292, v. 256; Nic. Antonio, *Biblioth. Vet.* vi. 2, 35; Migne, Patr. Lat. xcviii.). [M. A. W.]

ETHERIUS (10), according to Anastasius (*Lib. Pontif.* pp. 318, 319), chaplain and notary of Charlemagne at Rome in 774, drew up the

confirmation to pope Hadrian of Pippin's gifts of temporal power. (Quoted by Baronius, s. a. § 6; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* s. a.) [T. R. B.]

ETHERNAN (1) (Eddran, Iphernan), bishop and confessor, commemorated Dec. 2. This holy bishop lived in the 6th century, and is often confounded with the Ernans, uncle and nephew of St. Columba, as the names may be used interchangeably, but he is different from both. From his legend as given in the *Brev. Aberd.* (Prop. SS. p. hyem. ff. vi. vii.), we learn that, born of noble parents, and early devoted to religion, he went to Ireland in pursuit of learning, and was made a bishop. When he returned to Scotland he brought with him some learned men, presbyters and clerics, with whom he traversed the country, labouring indefatigably for the salvation of souls, teaching, baptizing, confirming, visiting the sick, and consecrating churches. His cell was in the parish of Rathen, Aberdeenshire, where the church was dedicated to his memory, and the den where his cell is supposed to have been is still called "Eddran's slack." He had also a dedication in the priory of the Isle of May, and the church of Madderty, Perthshire, was St. Iphernan's or Ethernan's. His feast in the Aberdeen kalendar is Dec. 2, but King, Camerarius, and Dempster place him on Dec. 21 or 22, mistaking him for others. Various attempts at identification have been made, but there appears no distinct record of him in the Irish Annals, unless he be the Starnan or Tarnan (read by Skene Itharnan), in *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 668, and *Ann. Tig.* 669, who died among the Picts. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 333–4; *View Dioc. Aberd.* 133–34; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scott.* i. 251; Camerarius, *De Scot. Fort.* 203; *Old Stat. Acc. Scot.* vi. 15; *Rec. Pr. Isle of May*, pp. xv.–xvi. 19; Ogilvie, *Christ. in Buchan*, 15, 17, 34–5; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 168.) [J. G.]

ETHERNAN (2). Dempster has a St. Ethernanus, nephew of St. Columba, and "monasterii Divini Ruris, ut vocant, praepositus," who wrote *Gesta Columbae avunculi*, lib. i., and flourished A.D. 606, his feast being Jan. 24; on that day in *Men. Scot.* Dempster calls him abbat and bishop in Iona. Evidently he is the same person as Ernan, son of Eoghan, nephew of St. Columba. [Ernan (2).] (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 251; Tanner, *Bibl.* 270; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 191.) [J. G.]

ETHERNASC (Ethernaiss, Iotharnaisc, Itharnaise), confessor, commemorated Dec. 22. Ethernas is not to be confounded with Ethernan of Rathen; there seems little doubt but he is identical with Itharnaisc, venerated on Dec. 22 at Clane, co. Kildare. He is associated in the kalendars with St. Ultan Tua, and the two are said to have been brothers of St. Maighnend (Dec. 18), of Kilmainham, and thus belonged to the Oriels on the side of their father Aedh, and to the Dalcormacs on the side of their mother Sinell. St. Ethernasc must have flourished in the beginning of the 7th century; Skene (*Celt. Scot.* ii. 311) suggests the end of the ninth. In the *Breviary* and *Martyrology of Aberdeen* he is called a bishop; his dedication in Scotland was at Lathrisk, now Kettle, Fifeshire, which probably had its name of Lanthress, or Lathrisk, corrupted from Llan-Ethernaisc. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 334 et al.; *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. Ir.* 4 ser. iii. 281–2; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 199, 431.) [J. G.]

ETHI (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 8), followers of Aetius. [Aetius, Vol. I. 51.] [T. W. D.]

ETHICOPROSCOPTAE (Ἠθικοπροσκόπται), literally "offenders (προσκόπτοντες) in matters of ethics," is the title under which St. John of Damascus (*De Haeresibus Liber*, § 96) describes the holders of certain erroneous opinions, who had come into notice before the age of Heraclius (610–642). They are spoken of as "erring in *ethical*, that is to say, in *practical* virtue; gainsaying some precepts of it which are praiseworthy, and following as good other precepts which are to be blamed." The expression, ἐν τῇ ἠθικῇ ἤγουν πρακτικῇ, is somewhat difficult, since Damascenus elsewhere makes ἡ πρακτική not an explanatory equivalent of ἡ ἠθική, as he appears to do here, but as the whole, of which the *ethical* is one of three parts, the *economical* and *political* being the other two (*Dialectica*, c. iii.). In any case it is plain that the reference in the name Ethicoproscoptae is not to any erroneous tenets of theology, but to unsound morality in the conduct of life, and the description given is too vague and general to admit of our applying it to any particular sect or persons. [J. H. L.]

ETHILAUS, bishop of Edessa. [Euthalius (2).]

ETHILBALD (Sim. Dun. *G. R. A.* ann. 732 *M. H. B.* 657 D, 658 C; ann. 750, *ib.* 662 B), king of Mercia. [Ethelbald (1).] [C. H.]

ETHILIUS, sixth bishop of Vaison, succeeding Fonteius and followed by Gemellus, is said to have sat at a synod at Orange in 501, not to be found, however, in Labbe. One of the subscribers of the first council of Orleans in A.D. 511 was "Sextilius episcopus ecclesiae Vasaticae," whom some have thought without sufficient reason to be identical with Ethilius of Vaison. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 922; Labbe, *Conc.* v. 548.) [S. A. B.]

ETHIMOTHEUS, sixth bishop of Syracuse, early in the 2nd century. His predecessor was Espius, his successor Venatius. (Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, i. 600.) [R. S. G.]

ETHIOPIAN CHURCH. The designation "Ethiopia" (*Aethiopia*, ἡ Αἰθιοπία of Herod. iii. 114, and also of Strabo and Pliny; the LXX translation of the Cush of the Hebrews, Ezek. xxxix. 10; Amos ix. 7; Ps. lxviii. 31) is a geographical expression of great indefiniteness, and must be distinguished from the civilised "Aethiopia" limited to the province or kingdom of the island of Meroë (ἡ Αἰθιοπία ὑπὲρ Αἰγυπτου of Herod. ii. 146), of which we find memorials in the Greek travellers and historians, and also in the monumental records of Egypt. According to Pliny, ἡ Αἰθιοπία consisted of forty-five kingdoms, of which Meroë was the chief. The term is used very vaguely to denote the whole of Africa south of Libya (Herod. iv. 197), and also

is confounded with India, and appears to denote occasionally large portions of Arabia. Jerome regards Arabia Felix as the home of the Ethiopian chamberlain (*Cat. Script. Ecc.* i. 265); and the account of the foundation of the church in Ethiopia is undoubtedly described in Socrates (i. 15) and Sozomen (ii. 24) as the conversion of the Indians. Thus Hen. Valesius, commenting on Sozomen, ii. 24, says: "Pantaenum ante Frumentium *Indis* istis verbum Dei praedicavisse, sed nullos ibi reliquisse episcopos." Baronius supposes that there were two Frumentii; one for the Indies, and one for Ethiopia.

It is not necessary here to attempt to penetrate the ancient history of Ethiopia, even where it crosses the Biblical history. The Shishak of Scripture and of the monuments conquered Ethiopia—*i.e.* the seat of Ethiopian power in Meroë; but his successor was killed by the Ethiopians. Shortly afterwards Zerah not only subdued Egypt, but menaced Asa, king of Judah (2 Chron. xiv. 9), who nevertheless overthrew and scattered his vast host (B.C. 941). There is grave difficulty in identifying this prince with any known sovereign either of Ethiopia or Egypt, though attempts have been made to identify him with Osorkon I., the son and successor of Shishak. The Ebed-melech mentioned by Jeremiah (xxxviii. xxxix.) was in ready sympathy with the prophet and his career. This fact indicates the presence of a certain amount of proselytism to the Jewish faith among those who bore the designation of Cush. "The boundaries of the African Aethiopians are necessarily indefinite. If they were, as seems probable, the ancestors of the Shangallas, Bisháries, and Nubians, their positions may be loosely stated as having to the south the Abyssinian highlands; to the west, the Libyan desert; to the north, Egypt and Marmarica; and to the east, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea" (*Dict. Geog.* art. "Aethiopia"). But Habesh itself is the principal portion of those lands which went under the name of Ethiopia, and may, according to Hofmann (Herzog's *Encyc.* art. "Abess. Kirche"), be divided into three parts: (1) the north-east highlands, including *Auxume*, and the whole district of the Tigré; (2) the south-west highlands, Amhara, Shoa, and Gondar, including the capital city; (3) the surrounding lowlands. The aim of the present article is to deal with the religious condition and ecclesiastical relations of that portion of the Ethiopian peoples which, after the decline of the kingdom of Meroë, recognised the supremacy and submitted to the authority of the emperor of Abyssinia. The extraordinary development of the power of Habesh or Abyssinia is rather the transference of the hegemony or supremacy to what was once a dependent province. Even after the transfer, Nubia must not be altogether shut out from the political and ecclesiastical relations of Ethiopia. The chief seat of the empire was at *Auxume* (cf. *Dict. Geog.* Αὐξούμις, Αὐξούμη, Ptol. iv. 7), the modern *Axum*. This city was extensive, and its power and wealth considerable, in the commencement of the second century of our era.

The identity of the Ethiopic or Geez language with the Amharic, or the Homerite, makes it probable that we have here an ancient branch of the Arabic race. Here Gesenius (*Ersch und Grüber*, art. "Abessinische Kirche") and Adelung are opposed; but Ludolf strongly emphasises the dialectical and tribal identification of the Habessini and Homeritae, thus lending emphasis to the speculation that the city Auxume and Tigré generally were colonised from Arabia, and even leading to the belief that Egyptian civilisation descended in early times from the sources of the Nile. It should be observed that, while one-third of the roots of the Ethiopic tongue are found in the Arabic, and there are numerous Syro-Arabian peculiarities and many Greek roots, no trace of Coptic can be found. The ancient Ethiopic language has now passed away from living use, and the Amharic variety has taken its place (Gesenius).

There is a valueless tradition that the Abyssinian Ethiopians became proselytes to Judaism under the influence of the queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon, and on her return to her own land introduced the rites and customs resembling those of the Hebrews, which no one disputes to have prevailed in the past, and even to prevail at the present day in Abyssinia. The name of the queen is preserved as Maqueda, and her son by Solomon is said to have been called Menilehec and Ebn-el-Haquim. The title here given to the king is Aramaic in form, and may easily be referred to his reputed royal birth, "Son of the wise man, or Solomon." Such a prince may have lived, but his prominence in the midst of legendary names is itself confused. The catalogues of kings are reckoned differently, some giving twenty and some twenty-four names between Menilehec and Bazenus, in the eighth year of whose reign we are told in Ethiopian history that our Lord was born. Customs analogous to the Hebrew rites did prevail, and were still capable of recognition, in the 16th and 17th centuries, as may be seen at large in the *Historia Ethiopica*, by Tellesius (Father Tellez), and *Hist. Ethiopica* of Job Ludolf (lib. ii. c. 4 and lib. iii. c. 1). Among these customs were circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, the distinction of clean and unclean food, the levirate law. There are many ways of accounting for the prevalence of these customs without resorting to the mythical proselytism of an Ethiopian queen. The Egyptians practised circumcision. Phoenicians, Colchians, and other nations borrowed it from them. The Arabians practise it still, but do not profess to have derived it from the Jews. It is not a religious rite with the Mussulman, nor is it referred to in the Koran. The *confessio fidei* of king Claudius, who reigned in Abyssinia 1541–1559 (Ludolf, *ib.* ii. 6, 18, and *Commentarium*, xxvii. xxviii.), is a rather late authority, but it counts for something. He said: "We do not circumcise as the Jews (giving Christian reasons and quotations from St. Paul on the subject), but like as incisions on the face are made in Ethiopia and Nubia, perforations of the ear in India, so that which we do is not in observance of the laws of Moses, but is a human and national custom." The same argument was used by him with reference to abstinence from swine-flesh and other unclean meats. Doubtless abstinence from blood and things strangled obtained far beyond the limits of Judaism. The observation of the Sabbath may be accounted for on other grounds than on that of the general prevalence of Jewish ceremonial before the introduction of Christianity. The form of Christianity which

prevailed was of the primitive and ante-Nicene type. There is no doubt that in the earliest form of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 33 and vii. 24) we find reference to an early Christian observance of the seventh day as well as the first. The Ethiopian king Claudius in his confession of faith discriminated between the two days in a manner which leads us to infer that both days may have been regarded with reverence by the first preachers of the gospel to this people, and that the Sabbath observance was due to Christian rather than Jewish influences. The custom has prevailed in the Ethiopian church to the present day. We have not only the effort made in the 15th and 16th centuries to disprove the Jesuit charge of Judaism, but the repeated testimony of modern travellers and missionaries (Isemberg and Krapf, *Journals*; Major Harris, *Highlands of Ethiopia*, ii. 177, iii. 144).

Hofmann (Herzog's *Encyc.*) appears to reckon the peculiarity as akin to the extraordinary love shewn by the Ethiopian church to the observance of special days. There prevails among them another custom, which has been held to prove a wide diffusion of Jewish ideas, viz. the marriage of the childless widow of a deceased brother under what has been termed the levirate law. Alvarez used this as an argument. Ludolf urged that the Ethiopians did not borrow the levirate law from the Jews, more certainly or clearly than other nations derived from the same source their polygamy or freedom of divorce. But the marriage of a brother's widow by his surviving brother is a very different arrangement from polygamy or freedom of divorce, and the prevalence of this unusual and self-denying ordinance among Ethiopians and Jews shews some tribal or religious associations which cannot be disposed of with a sneer. It would be more to the purpose to observe that some law of the like import prevailed in many oriental nations, as, *e.g.*, the Moabites (Ruth i. 11–13), the Persians (Zendav. iii. 226, quoted by Lehrer, art. "Leviratsehe," Herzog's *Encyc.*); and certain Arabian tribes will endure great sacrifices with a view of preserving in this way the name of a family. Hence the custom prevalent among the Ethiopians which resembled the Mosaic law (Deut. xxv. 5–10; *vide* treatise of the Mishna called *Jebamoth*) may simply indicate a common parentage of the custom among both peoples without giving a warrant to the charges brought by the Jesuits.

The interesting narrative in Acts viii. 24 of the conversion by Philip the Evangelist of an Ethiopian, alike a Jewish proselyte, and a chamberlain of Candace, queen of Ethiopia, is naturally the starting-place of Ethiopian legend as to the origin of Christianity, and is a still further confirmation of the suspicion that Jewish ideas, Scriptures, and observances were already familiarly known to some branch or division of this great family. The *Codex Auxumensis* to which Ludolf continually refers contains the simple narrative of the conversion, but adds no further details. Zagazaabus in his "Confession of faith," as given by Ludolf, states the bare fact and knows nothing more of the subsequent history of Christianity. It should, moreover, be observed that in the lists of Abyssinian princes, from the time of Bazenus to the date of the undoubted introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia, there is no mention of any queen Candace or of any female ruler at all. On the other hand, Candace was the royal title of the queens who ruled for some centuries over the kingdom of Meroë. From the days of Alexander to the Roman general Petronius, and from Petronius to the time of Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 1), the name, title, and honour had prevailed. Pliny (lib. vi. 29) said: "Regnasse quondam foeminam Candacen atque id nomen multis jam annis ad reginas transiisse" (cf. Strabo, xvii. p. 820). Eusebius does not hesitate to say that this Ethiopian convert was the first preacher of the gospel to his own people, and gives him the name of Indich. It is doubtful whether the Ethiopia referred to was on the eastern or western side of the Red Sea, but most probably on the latter, and thus in the earliest times of Christianity it is not impossible that the island of Meroë at least may have received the tidings of the way of life, that other Jewish proselytes may have prepared the way for Christ and been as willing to receive the Christian interpretation of the ancient oracles as was the Ethiopian eunuch. Ecclesiastical writers referred the first offer of the Gospel to the apostles themselves; thus Jerome (*Cat. Script.* i. 262) made St. Andrew; Rufinus (*Hist. Eccl.* x. 9) and Socrates (i. 19) made St. Matthew; Chrysostom regarded (*Hom.* 31) St. Thomas as the first preacher of the Gospel to the Ethiopians. This great diversity is probably due to the cause already adverted to, viz. the extreme indefiniteness of the term Ethiopia, and the confusion of India and Arabia with it.

Whether the gospel had been introduced by apostolic or sub-apostolic hands among any of the subordinate kingdoms of (Abyssinia) Ethiopia or not, it is tolerably clear that no authentic proof of the existence of any Christian ideas, worship, or organisation can be traced to an earlier period than to the visit of the Tyrian youths Frumentius and Aedesius, about the year A.D. 330. The basis of this intelligence is a narrative which Rufinus has preserved (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 9), having personally gathered the facts from one of the two brothers. The narrative is repeated by Socrates (i. 15), Sozom. (ii. 24), Theodoret (i. 22), cf. Baronius, *Ann.* 327–8, and Ludolf, *H. Eth.*, and is to the following purport. Between India *citerior* and Parthia lies India *ulterior*, inhabited by numerous and various tribes and nations untouched by any apostolic influence or preaching. This India is thus discriminated from Ethiopia, which Rufinus says had been entrusted by lot to St. Matthew. A philosopher, Metrodorus by name, of whom some mention is made in the *Chronicon* of Jerome, penetrated "ulterior India," being smitten by the love of travel. Meropius (says Rufinus), a Tyrian philosopher (or merchant), imitated his example, and sought to enter India, taking with him two youths, his relatives (according to some accounts these youths were his sons), whom he instructed in the liberal arts. The name of the younger was Aedesius, and that of the elder Frumentius. The vessel in which Meropius and the lads were travelling touched at a port to obtain food or water. The barbarians, who had just thrown off their alliance with the Romans, were ready to put to the sword all and sundry who claimed affinity with

them, if they fell into their power. It was the case on this occasion: the whole ship's crew, with the philosopher, were murdered, but the barbarians took compassion on the youths, who were found meditating and reading under the shadow of a tree. They were brought to the king of the barbarians, and secured at once his interest, confidence, and love. This king, if we identify the narrative with the Ethiopian version of the story, must have been the father of the Abreha and Atzbeha of the Ethiopian annals. He made Aedesius his cupbearer and Frumentius the keeper of his rolls (scrinia) and his finances or business affairs (rationes suas). Sozomen describes him as his treasurer. Rufinus says that on his approaching death he left his wife regent, and gave full liberty to the Tyrian youths to take their own course. The widowed queen besought the youths to remain at her court until her infant son (? sons) should become of age. She earnestly entreated them, especially Frumentius, whose mental faculties and knowledge of affairs were the more conspicuous, to assist her in the management of the kingdom. They consented to remain, and Frumentius was led by some divine impulse (Deo mentem et animos ejus instigante) to make diligent inquiry whether there were any Christians among the Roman merchants who visited or resided in the land, and to give them authority and advice to erect houses of prayer, and to adopt all necessary and opportune methods, so that there the Christian seed might spring up among them. When the royal youth reached man's estate, Frumentius and Aedesius, notwithstanding many entreaties on the part of the queen and her son to remain, returned to their own country. Aedesius proceeded to Tyre to revisit his friends and relatives. He was shortly afterwards made a presbyter of the church in Tyre, and from his lips, not from common report, Rufinus tells us that he received the above narrative. Meanwhile Frumentius, thinking it was not just to conceal the work of the Lord, went straight to Alexandria and laid the whole matter before the bishop Athanasius, who had recently been appointed, urging him to send a bishop to the Christians who had been gathered together, and the churches that had been formed in that barbarous locality. Athanasius having given much consideration to the recital of Frumentius, said in a council (concilio sacerdotum), "What other man shall we find such as thou art, in whom is the spirit of God, as He is in thee, who will be able to discharge these duties?" He was at once ordained and ordered to return to the place from which he had come. "When he returned as a bishop to India, apostolic signs accompanied his ministry, and an infinite number of the barbarians were converted to the faith."

Frumentius, or Fremonatos, received the title of Abbuna, or Abba Salama, father of peace, and by that name he is chiefly known in the Ethiopic annals. The bishopric of Auxume assumed a metropolitan character, and was always renewed at the instigation of the king, by the patriarch of the Coptic church. The title of "Abba Salama" is borne by this dignitary to the present day.

The Ethiopic annals, the Ethiopic liturgy, and the Ethiopic poetry from which Ludolf perpetually quotes, confirm this narrative of Rufinus, and slightly increase our knowledge. We learn, *e.g.*, that there were thirteen kings between Bazenus and the two kings under whose reign Fremonatos (Frumentius) and Sidracus (Aedesius), or Abba Salama, as the former was afterwards called, diffused the knowledge of the gospel. The names of these two kings were Abreha and Atzbeha. The Ethiopic poet praises these kings "for their brotherly love, and because they obeyed the laws of Moses, diffused the gospel of Christ, and built a house to his praise" (Ludolf, *l. c.* ii. c. 4). In the Ethiopic liturgy Ludolf found the following encomium on the same kings: "With joyful voice I hail them, extolling and exalting Salama, door of pity and mercy, who caused the glory of Christ to shine in Ethiopia, where before all was dark, murky night." Elsewhere, Abba Salama is described under the image of the "Light-bringer." This appears somewhat inconsistent with the statement of the *Codex Auxumensis*, to the effect that the Tyrian youths wondered at the people who signed themselves with the sign of the cross, when they had never received the gospel from an apostle. Ludolf advances a number of subjective reasons and *argumenta e silentio* which appear to him conclusive that Christianity could never have been diffused prior to Frumentius. The silence of the Ethiopian records as to the prevalence of bishops, presbyters, or baptism, and of the church historians of earlier times as to the diffusion of the gospel in this remote neighbourhood, weigh strongly with him; also the absence of any record of conflict, persecution, or martyrdom. These considerations deserve weight, but they are not conclusive. Many inchoate and half-developed forms of Christianity diffused themselves widely in the East, without leading to conversion, to the formation of churches or the creation of literature. And, moreover, the representation which Frumentius gave of the success of his own labours implies that there were Christians, houses of prayer, and churches in existence before he was entrusted with the episcopate. It is not impossible that Christian merchants, that Ethiopian proselytes, that wandering Jews converted to the faith of Christ had prepared the way for Frumentius.

A discussion was raised by Hen. Valesius. Commenting on Socrates (*H. E.* i. 15), he disputed the consecration of Frumentius to the episcopate of Auxume by Athanasius, on the ground that Athanasius was made archbishop of Alexandria, A.D. 326. Further, that Meropius is said to have imitated the example of Metrodorus in his Oriental travel. Now Metrodorus did not return from his travel till 325, when he brought Indian trophies to Constantine. This, says he, could not have occurred until Constantine had been victorious over Licinius. If the journey of Meropius had not commenced until that year, then it is in the highest degree improbable that Frumentius could have passed through the several stages of his career, or become in age or character fitted for the office until 340, or still later. There are many ways of avoiding this apparent conclusion. Metrodorus may have paid two visits to the East. Meropius need not have waited for his return before being smitten with the love of travel, or again Metrodorus may have returned from his wanderings long before

he presented his trophies to Constantine. The explicit statement of Rufinus that Athanasius had been recently (nuper) appointed to his high office, or νεώστι, as Socrates phrases it, is rather too strong to be overthrown on a conjectural argument. Besides, the authentic proof that Constantius wrote to the prince of Ethiopia to ask him to replace Frumentius by Theophilus, a bishop in communion with George, the Arian patriarch of Alexandria, shews that the appointment of Frumentius must have taken place before 337, when Constantius came to the throne of the East. This letter, which is preserved in "Apology of Athanasius, addressed to the emperor Constantius" (Athanasius, *Historic Tracts, with notes by I. H. N.* pp. 182, 183; Athan. *Opp.* ed. Ben. I. i. p. 153), assured the princes, "Aezanes and Sazanes" (either the Grecized form of Abreha and Atzbeha or else the Christian names adopted by the sons of the late king) that Athanasius was "guilty of ten thousand crimes," that the canonical appointment of Frumentius was very doubtful, that he must be examined on these matters and instructed by the "most venerable George." Constantius confessed, moreover, his alarm lest Athanasius might himself find his way to Auxume and corrupt the people with his accursed and impious doctrines. The advice and threats of Constantius appear to have produced no effect at Auxume, and Arianism made no entrance among them (cf. Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 644).

This bright flash of light reveals the presence of churches, Christians, dogmatic beliefs, and the commencement of hierarchical order; moreover, it confirms the truth of the traditionary and vague utterances of the Ethiopic annals and poets. But the darkness settles over the history, and we are led to grope our way onward by the register of a few names and facts, by the occurrence of certain peculiarities in the subsequent constitution of the church, by the deference paid in the Ethiopic church to extra-canonical Scriptures and antique canons of church order, by some confusing traditions with reference to a later introduction of Christianity into the land, and by the unquestionable adhesion of the Ethiopian church of later days to the Monophysite (Jacobite) church of Alexandria and Egypt. Each of these sources of information may be briefly touched upon.

The names of the following bishops of Auxume are gathered from the Ethiopic calendar[a] by Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, viz.: Frumentius, Theophilus (Arian Missionary to the Homerites), Alexander, Bartholomaeus, Joannes, Jacobus (cf. Le Quien, 642–660).

The two great names of Abreha and Atzbeha are praised by the Ethiopic poet (*Enc.* 4, Ludolf, l. c. ii. c. 4) for their brotherly love. They are commended for obeying the laws of Moses, as well as diffusing the gospel of Christ and building a house to his praise. The annals of the Ethiopic poet mention as reigning subsequently to these brothers three contemporaneous kings, whose names were Atzfa, Atzfed, and Amey, who are said to have ruled by turns most happily, but in what way we can only conjecture. To them succeeded Arad, Aladoba, Alamid, the latter called elsewhere Amiamid, son of Salodoba (cf. Ludolf, c. ii. and c. iv.). In the reign of Amiamid or Alamid, we are told that many monks came from Rome and filled the kingdom with the renown of their virtues. Mendezius says this event must have occurred between 460 and 480. If so, it must have been coincident with another event of immense importance in the history of Oriental Christianity, the schism in the church of Egypt, which followed upon the council of Chalcedon. In the first ardours of that conflict these monks arrived. They were probably called "Roman," in the sense in which all Greeks were called Roman at that time from being submitted to the Eastern Roman empire ruling from the throne of Constantinople. Several of these great saints are enumerated—(1) Aragawi, (2) Pantaleon, (3) Gavima, (4) Alef, (5) Saham, (6) Afe, (7) Likanos, (8) Adimata. With the exception of Pantaleon, all these names are Ethiopian, and are the translation of the Greek appellatives of these worthies. Thus Aragawi is equivalent to Michael. It may be borne in mind that the archangel Michael is the patron of the Ethiopian church and kingdom, and to him is consecrated the twelfth day of every month in the calendar (Ludolf, Comm.; cf. Harris, *l. c.*). The poet sings about him that his life was wisdom, and his death prudence; that the Trinity was with him, that by prayer he destroyed the kingdom of the serpent (arwe), probably some form of heathen serpent worship, which prevailed up to his date. The poet tells us that temples were erected, and churches dedicated to the memory of Pantaleon. This great saint is credited with raising the dead and causing the widow and orphan to sing for joy. In the song of the Ethiopic poet concerning Likanos, all the nine saints are mentioned as making a crown for his brow. When Likanos prayed, the fingers of his upturned hands burned like lamps of fire, and when he held a staff, his hands were seen to be perforated. Is this an anticipation of the legend of the stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi? The Greek *Menolog.* mentions other doctors, saints and martyrs of the Ethiopian church, who wrought astounding miracles—walked on the sea, moved mountains, drew water from the rock, and raised the dead. Latatzaanus lived on leaves and herbs, and that so sparingly that his body became light as air (*Enc.* xvii). Gabra-Menfes clothed himself in the leaves of trees, and the Ethiopian poets record the fabulous history of twenty or thirty workers of the most astounding miracles, who not only raised men but even animals from death; and of one saint who restored the same person three times from death to this miserable life. Special ascriptions of praise are made to Eustathius, Jacobus, Horus, Martianus, Bessarion, and Aubaca. The Jesuits who subsequently sought to convert the Ethiopian church to the communion of Rome, made no account of the astounding miracles wrought or the extreme asceticism practised by the Ethiopian monks. They did not repudiate the flimsy evidence on which they are based, but discounted their value as being any proof of the Divine approval of their communion because they were separated from the true church Nevertheless, the eremitic life is traced back to the great Anthony, who in time of persecution

[a] Ludolf gives the calendar at great length; Harris (*Highlands*, vol. iii. App.) has translated and abridged it.

devoted himself to the life of abstinence and prayer. [ANTHONY.] The well-known Macarius carried on the tradition of self-mortification. Pachomius was his successor, and Aragawi, one of the nine saints, the destroyer of the serpents, kept the succession alive, and was regarded as the first "general" of the whole monastic order of Ethiopia. His place was subsequently filled by Christus-Bezana, by Meskel-Moa, by Johann, who left his robe (askema) to Tecla-haimonot, the Benedict of Abyssinia, who in the 15th century founded the great monastery of Debra-Libanos. The part played by this great ascetic leader of the regular clergy appertains to a later period of the history than that contemplated in this work. The successors of Tecla, the president, antistes, and visitor of all the monks, acquired a position equal to that of the occupants of the see of Axum (Auxume), who successively derived their orders and consecration as their prototype Frumentius had done, from the patriarch of Alexandria. In Ethiopia, as in other parts of Christendom, the contest was often sharp and prolonged between the chief of the monastic order and the Abbuna.

Another story of the introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia is told by Nicephorus Callistus in his annals, and it has the support of Scaliger (*de Emendatione Temp.*). Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* tom. i. pp. 358 ff.) gives the Syriac authorities for a narrative which represents Adad or Aidog, emperor of Axumites, vowing vengeance on the Homerite King, a Jewish usurper, who had cruelly murdered "Roman" merchants, on the ground of their Christian activity in his dominions, as well as numerous Homerites. Assemani's authority is a history written by "John, bishop of Asia," and preserved in the *Chronicon* of Dionysius), and it is followed up by the Syriac letter of Simeon, bishop of Beth Arsamen, whose statements coincide with those of Simeon Metaphrastes (in Surius, i. p. 943), Theophanes, Cedrenus, and of the Portuguese historians of later times, with reference to the martyrdom of these Homerites. The story of Nicephorus, however, is that Aidog or Adad (or, as Greek and Roman writers call him, ELESBAAN), emperor of Ethiopia, uttered a vow that if he conquered the Homerites of the Red Sea coast he would embrace Christianity; further, that he was successful, fulfilled his vow, and appealed to Justinian, who sent bishops to effect the conversion of the Ethiopians, that a Christian-Ethiopian kingdom was thenceforward extended to the Homerites. There are many improbabilities in the latter portions of this statement. Not the least of the difficulties is that if Justinian had sent bishops to Ethiopia, he would not have sent Jacobite, but Melchite or Catholic bishops, and there can be little question that the church of Ethiopia in its inception and a hundred years before the reign of Justinian had accepted the Jacobite patriarchy, and repudiated, as it has done to the present day, the orthodox Alexandrian church. Ludolf makes a strange blunder in appealing to the spurious Nicene canons in proof of the existence, presence, and position of the Ethiopian patriarch at the date of the council of Nicaea in 325! In his commentary (p. 282) he admits the anachronism involved in a statement which would utterly overthrow all his Ethiopic authority, for the conversion of Ethiopia by Frumentius, and the consecration of the latter by Athanasius before the accession of Constantius. Strangely enough Selden led Ludolf into this blunder, which was pointed out by Fabricius, and corrected by himself.

It is not impossible to see through the apparently conflicting accounts. The Greek and Latin authorities, the Syrian and Ethiopian annals and writers all combine to throw some light on the curious vow, from which, as reported by John, "bishop of Asia," who flourished in the reign of Justinian, it has been supposed by no less an authority than Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* i. 359), that Ethiopian kings and princes had given up their faith in Christ until it was renewed in the time of Justinian. All authorities combine to include among the Homerite sufferers one Aretas and his wife, and a number of his companions, variously estimated as 280 and 340. The Syrian writer, John, speaks of 280 *priests*, involving a wide diffusion of Christianity in the region. Aretas had been a distinguished man at Auxume, and there built himself a palace. He was appointed governor of Nagran by the emperor of Ethiopia, whose dominions must have included a nominal suzerainty over portions at least of Arabia Felix. The Homerites or Sabaeans occupied the coast on both sides of the Red Sea, but their principal seat must have been in Arabia. They appear to have received an Arian form of Christianity during the reign of Constantius, under the teaching of Theophilus Indicus (Philos. *Frag.* lib. iii.). However that may be, they suffered cruelly at the hands of Dunaan, a Jewish sectary who had usurped the authority, besieged Najran,[b] and punished the Christian with various forms of refined cruelty. The date of the persecution in which Aretas and his wife and companions fell is differently given. Theophanes, quoted by Asseman (i. 358), gives the year A.D. 535, and Nicephorus assigns it to 541. Baronius places it under the year 522.

The authorities quoted at length by Baronius (*Ann.* 522), viz. Nicephorus, Zonaras, and Cedrenus describe the courage of the martyrs, the bold answers made by Aretas to his tormentors, his refusal to submit to the rites of Judaism, and his unflinching confession of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and his cruel death. The Arabian authorities, Abjaunatius, and Ahmed Ebn Jusef, confirm the story of the cruel death of those who would not conform to the Jewish faith. Philostorgius (iii. c. 4) refers to the fact, and in *Sura* LXXXV. of the Alcoran, Mohammed is supposed by his commentators to have condemned the cruel act in these words: "Cursed were the contrivers of the pit of fire supplied with fuel, when they sat round the same, and were witnesses of what they did against true believers, and they afflicted them for no other reason, but because they believed in the mighty glorious God, unto Whom belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth, and God is witness of all things" (Sale's translation). The speculation, based by some on this passage, that the Christian Homerites, or Christian Ethiopians,

[b] Modern geographers (see *Ancient Atlas*, Smith) place Negran or Najran in long. 44° lat. 17°.

relapsed into Mohammedanism, is contradicted by the testimony of Mohammed himself, who treated the Christianity of these people as the true religion at that period. (Sale here refers to Ecchallens' *Hist. Arab.* i. c. 10; Prideaux, *Mahomet*, 61; Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* art. Abou Nawas.)

The Ethiopic poet thus sings the glory of the martyrs of Nagran. "All hail the beauty of the stars of Nagran, gems of light which illumine the world! May your beauty be my reconciliation and pacification. Should my sin stand before God the Judge, shew Him the blood which you have shed in bearing your testimony to Him." (Ludolf, *H. E.* c. 4.)

This atrocity of Dunaan was revenged by the emperor of Auxume. The name of this emperor is differently stated. The Syrian authorities call him Aidog or Adad, or David. The Ethiopian poet calls him Caleb; the Greek and Latin writers call him Elesbaan, and under that name he is honoured in the Roman Calendar on 27th October.[c] The Greeks do not place him among their saints, although they call him Χριστιανικότατος, and the martyrologists differ as to the origin of his resolve to undertake reprisals upon Dunawas or Dunaan. Mendez says it was Timotheus the Monophysite patriarch, while Simeon Metaphrastes represents Asterius the Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, as the adviser of the step, but all the authorities concur in the statement that the Alexandrian patriarch advised Elesbaan to carry his arms against the Homerites. He is described as raising an army of 120,000 men, and crossing the Red Sea in twenty-three ships, as conquering Dunaan, as restoring Nagran to the Christians, and placing over them a son of the martyr Aretas as king, and thus forming an Ethiopian Christian dynasty which ruled over the Homerites for several generations. The Persian power subsequently prevailing in the peninsula, at length assumed the right to choose and appoint kings over the Sabaeans or Homerites; their last king, Bazenus by name, became a Mohammedan. The annalists differ as to what became of Elesbaan after his victory. Some say that he became a monk, having resigned the crown to his successors, and Hofmann (Herzog) admits the tradition that Elesbaan went into a cloister. Others aver that for many years he lived in great splendour at Auxume. The Ethiopian annals and poets identify the conqueror of the Homerites with Caleb, the grandson of Tacena, the great-grandson of Alamid, in whose reign the monks arrived. This would make the reign of Caleb fairly synchronize with the career attributed to Elesbaan, and the Ethiopic poet unquestionably identifies the two names. Thus, in *Encom.* xx. (Ludolf, *H. E.* ii. c. 4):

"Salutem Calebo! (qui) signum reliquit opum suarum
Dum misit coronam suam Hierosolymam (ut) suspenderent eam.
Hic Heros vanâ gloriâ usus non est ob fortitudinem suam
Cum, per manus ejus, exercitus Sabaeorum deletus fuisset
Ita ut non superesset quisquam ex illo."

To Caleb succeeded, according to the poet, Gebra-Meskel, "the servant of the cross," whose days were "days of peace." A few other names of princes occur down to the rise of the Zagaean family in the 10th century.

During the whole of this period one important fact must be borne in mind. The Ethiopian church derived its orders from the patriarch of Alexandria, but shared throughout the fanatical rejection of the decisions of the council of Chalcedon which was displayed by the Coptic church; it regarded Dioscurus as the pillar of orthodoxy, and took sides throughout the long and weary strife with the Jacobite schism. [COPTIC CHURCH; DIOSCURUS.] Ludolf endeavours to minimise the monophysitism not only of Armenian and Ethiopian churches, but of Eutyches himself, and excites indignant condemnation of himself and his "miserable Ethiopic poet" on the part of Renaudot in his *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*. It is, however, remarkable that though the Ethiopian church was cut off for ages from all intercommunion with the rest of Christendom in consequence of the utter destruction of the Nubian church by the Mohammedans, yet that it retained so many Christian ideas unimpaired. The Jewish element prevailed from the first, and in fasting, circumcision, sabbath observance, and in their reverence for the Temple at Jerusalem, and their confident belief that they possessed the ark of the covenant which had been miraculously transported to them, the Ethiopians present a curious and almost unique amalgam of religious sentiments. Notwithstanding the vehement repudiation of Chalcedonian formulae, the very phrases of Chalcedon orthodoxy are actually inwoven into their liturgy. Ludolf quotes the following (*Comm.* lib. iii. c. 8):—Corpus et sanguis Domini . . . . quod sumpsit ex Maria . . . et fecit illud *unam* cum divinitate sua, *sine mixtura, neque promistione, sine separatione, neque distinctione Divinitatis*. If the whole question had been merely one of words, and if they did hold the whole thing, and the same thing with the Catholic church, the age-long controversy in the East is one of the most melancholy facts in the history of Christianity.[d] It is unnecessary to repeat the story of the strife. The Ethiopian church, believing itself pre-eminently orthodox, accepted the Jacobite patriarch as the supreme fountain of its hierarchy. The name Jacobite seems lost in obscurity, though variously explained. Thus Nicephorus (lib. xviii. 52) says that Jacobus was a Syrian of the name of Tzanzalus, that he was a disciple of Severus, *i. e.* the monk who harmonised the conflicting Monophysite sects, in the days of Justin (cf. Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1346). Eutychius (*Alex. Ann.* ii. 147) calls his name Baradaeus, and states that he diffused his opinions, those of an extreme Monophysite, throughout Armenia, Meso-

[c] See art. ELESBAAN, where confusion of names and other difficulties are explained by supposing that two series of somewhat similar facts have been blended by the early historians.

[d] Even F. Tellez admits that there is much sound doctrine in their books. The Jesuits boasted that they convinced the Ethiopians that they were doctrinally wrong from their own literature. But how could they understand one another? The words οὐσία, ὑπόστασις, πρόσωπον, φύσις are all by turns translated by one Ethiopic word. It is clear that the fierceness of the controversy turned on the personal treatment of individuals, rather than on the logical holding of an explicit monophysitism, which would have destroyed both the manhood and the Divinity of the Christ.

potamia, and Egypt. Renaudot (l. c. p. 119) says that great difference as to the origin of the term prevails among the ten sects into which Anastasius shews that the Jacobites were divided. Some of the Jacobite patriarchs, such as Chail, before their Mohammedan judges, claimed James, the brother of the Lord, as their founder and father, and others have gone back to the patriarch Jacob for the origin of the name. Renaudot prefers the supposition that some unknown "Jacobus" gave his name to the movement by the diligence with which he propagated his opinions. Some have postponed the origin of the name to the 6th century, and have identified him with Jacobus of Edessa, by reason of a hymn attributed to this James in the Syrian liturgy (Cave, *Script. Eccl. Hist.* app. p. 480), and Ludolf (*Comm.* lib. iii. c. 4. xxxi.) enumerates among the Ethiopic liturgies an oratio eucharistica S. Jacobi Serugensis. The Syrian form of this liturgy has been found in the monasteries of Mount Lebanon, and gives to James of Sarug the honour of being the father of the schism. The question is difficult to settle, but there is no dispute as to the fact that the Catholic church in Egypt accepted the cognomen of *Melchite*, given to them first in scorn, from the circumstance of their bishops being royal nominees, and that the Monophysite, or Dioscuran, or Timothean section of the church accepted the title of *Jacobite*, first hurled at them in reproach, as the name of some obscure defender of heterodox opinions. Ludolf (*Comm.* lib. iii. 8, lxxxix.) favours the idea that Jacobus was the disciple of Severus, patriarch of Antioch, and he quotes from the Arabic history of Abulfaragius to shew that the views of Severus were not monophysite in the sense in which such opinions were condemned; but that Jacobus Syrus, if a follower of Severus, and also all the Ethiopian sectaries, repudiated the *mixture* or *confusion* of the two natures in Christ. Efforts were always being made to bring about a union between these contending factions in the Coptic church, until the Mohammedans in the 7th century took possession of Egypt, and favoured the Jacobite party. For eighty years there was no Catholic or Melchite patriarch of Alexandria.[e]

No reference is made in this article to the subsequent attempts of the church of Rome in the 15th and 16th centuries, through her Portuguese Jesuits, to establish a Roman patriarchate in Ethiopia. The terrible story in its treachery, cruelty, and failure is told in the article on COPTIC CHURCH (see also Ludolf and Tellez, Harris, *High Lands of Ethiopia*, vol. iii.)

The Literature and Customs of Ethiopia, so far as they reflect the early activities of the missionary church, may fairly come here under review.

The sacred books of all sections of the Abyssinian and Ethiopic church are written in the old Ethiopic language; and were used long after the language ceased to exist as living speech. The Coptic Christians use the Coptic Bible in their churches and monasteries without comprehending a word of its meaning, and the Ethiopians have followed the same unedifying example. The origin of the translation (Dillmann, art. Herzog, *Enc.*) is lost in obscurity. The tradition of the Ethiopic poet to the effect that either Frumentius, in the 4th century, or that the nine saints in the 5th century translated the Bible from *Arabic* into Ethiopic, does much to refute itself. Doubtless the books of which the poet speaks (*Encom.* xxix.) were in the main the Old Testament and New Testament, but it is certain that the Ethiopic text was made from the Alexandrine text of the Old Testament, as it follows the LXX where they differ in arrangement from the early Arabic version, *e.g.* in Exodus xxxvi. and Numb. xxvi. The names of animals retain their Greek names; and very frequent conformity with the Alexandrine text renders the speculation of Renaudot that it was made from the Coptic quite superfluous. Moreover, Frumentius and his companions could not have made use of the Arabic, since it seems proved (Bryan Walton in his prolegomena to the Polyglott), that the Arabic version was made between the years A.D. 340 and 350. It is equally unsatisfactory to contend, as some Romish writers have done, that it was made from the Latin Vulgate. The only evidence for this is its correspondence with the Vulgate in some places where our codices of the LXX reveal lacunae. The simple supposition that the Ethiopian scholars had more ancient codices than those we possess is sufficient to account for these facts. Chrysostom (*Hom. in Joan.* ii. § 2, tom. viii.) recognised a translation of the Bible into Ethiopic. Bruce and Cajetan averred that fragments of both the Old and New Testaments existed in the Ethiopic language before the time of Frumentius; Dillmann repudiates the opinion as a mere guess. According to this great authority, the historical books of the Old Testament reveal manifest study of the Greek text, but no deep knowledge of the Greek language. Many changes have occurred in the text to accommodate it to the changes in the Ethiopic language. The names of the books have been ignorantly Arabized. Thus, Πραξεις comes to be *Abraxis*, and Apocalypsis, *Abukalampsis*. The earliest codices contain no division into chapters and verses. The canon contains the Apocryphal books, and also other pseudepigraphical works, and these are not discriminated from the canon. There are 81 books, 46 of the Old Testament and 35 of the New Testament. The Old Testament is divided into four parts.

(1) The Law, including Joshua, Judges and Ruth: 8 books in all;
(2) The Kings, including Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, 2 books each; Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job and Psalms, 13 in all;
(3) Solomon: Prov. Eccl. Cant. Wisd. and Sirach; 5 books;
(4) Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah with Lam., Ezekiel, the minor prophets (12) and 2 Macc.: 18 books;
Sometimes Henoch, and 4th Ezra are reckoned as in the canon of Old Testament.

The New Testament is divided into 4 parts,

[e] Le Quien (*Oriens Christianus*, ii. 1346 ff., *Dioicesis Jacobitica*) makes it probable that Severus appointed a Jacobus as bishop of Edessa. Severus died in Alexandria, 539, having nominated Sergius as his successor, who took the title of patriarch of Antioch. From him the Jacobite series of patriarchs has proceeded unto this day. The Severian Monophysites of Syria and Theodotian Monophysites of Egypt, also called Coptitae, were alike called Jacobites.

and often indicates some trace of the Peschito Syriac, and of the Vetus Itala.

(1) The Gospels; (2) Acts; (3) Paul; 14 Epistles, including the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistles to the Hebrews; (4) The General Epistles and Apocalypse.

In close association with the New Testament are the collection of *canons*, headed by a very peculiar form of the apostolic canons, which appears first of all to have been translated into Arabic and thence into Ethiopic. There are three copies of this great Codex, one is still in Abyssinia, two copies are in the Vatican library. Ludolf saw and examined one of these in the year 1649. The Codex enumerates 470 or 480 canons in all, which are thus enumerated: (1) The canons of the 12 Apostles, 127; (2) Canons of Hippolytus, 38; (3) Of the 318 bishops of Nicaea (?). (4) Of Ancyra, 25; (5) Of Neocaesarea, 15; (6) Of Gangra, 20, 21; (7) Of Caesareia, 124 (?). (8) Of St. Basil, 106; (9) Of St. Chrysostom, 17; (10) Of Constantius, 123; making a total of from 470 to 480.

The most important of these are the "canons of the 12 apostles." The ordinary Greek and Latin copies of the apostolic canons in the 8th Book of the Constitutions enumerate 85. Of these there are only 71, inaccurately and inharmoniously arranged in the Greek codex, and another collection of 56, which Ludolf printed from the Ethiopic texts; making in all 127. To these are appended in the great codex, the *statutes* or precepts, or the διατάξεις of the apostles. The list of the apostles by which they are introduced is very strange, *e.g.*, John, Matthew, Peter, Philip, Simon the Canaanite, James Alphaeus, Nathanael, Thomas, Cephas, Andrew, Bartholomew, Judas the Brother of James, and James the Brother of the Lord. The 38 canons of Hippolytus (of Abulides) are given by Ludolf from a French translation of them by Wannsleb, and they differ from 38 canons called διδασκαλία of the apostles, and of which mention is made by the Ethiopic king Claudius in his *Confession of Faith* as of paramount authority. These canons, identical with the Coptic form of the apostolic canons, were edited (at least 21 of them) in Ethiopic, with an English translation by Thomas Pell Platt, London, 1834. It is admitted that this διδασκαλία is more ancient than the Nicene canon. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25), Irenaeus (in the *Fragmenta Pfaffii*), Athanasius (*Epist. Fest.* 39), Epiphanius (*Haer.* xlv. 5, lxx. 10) all refer to these canons. The pastoral epistles are the framework on which they are obviously raised, and very varied opinions have been entertained about their genuineness. Dr. de Pressensé has recently argued (*Christian Life and Practice in the Early Church*, p. 4 ff.) that the Coptic form of these canons (edited by Tattam), and with which these Ethiopic texts agree, indicates a more ancient Greek text than that which is current in the Greek form, and that the original Greek has been interpolated by the same or a very similar hand as that which interpolated the letters of Ignatius; and also that in every instance the interpolations are in the direction of sacerdotalism and the hierarchy. There is truth in this, but as in the case of the Ignatian letters, the shortest Syriac recension contains the germs of the full-grown episcopal order which is so prominent in the larger Greek form. The Ethiopic form of the canons and of the διδασκαλία was free of all admixture of elements introduced into this multitudinous literature after the council of Chalcedon. Their authority in their Ethiopic dress led to the most thorough-going rejection by the Ethiopians of the 16th century of the supremacy of the Roman see.

The Liturgy of the Ethiopic Church (LITURGIES, *Dict. Ant.*) is too large a subject to be discussed here. There are many forms of Ethiopic liturgy referred to by Ludolf. One, he edits in full, under the title of *Oratio Eucharistica Domini et Salvatoris nostri J. C.* (Comm. iii. c. 4, xxxi.). It contains many noble sentiments. There is, however, an invocation of apostles, of the mother of God, of the patriarchs, martyrs, &c., in "the prayer of the deacon;" and in the prayer *after* the words of institution there is a petition that the bread and cup may become the body and blood of the Lord. There is no passage resembling this in the liturgy of St. Mark or St. James, or in the four liturgies edited in parallel columns by Dr. Neale.

The so-called Book of Henoch [ENOCH, BOOK OF], which was said to have been found in Abyssinia in the 17th century, was proved to be a forgery of the Abba Babaila Michaelis, and rejected by scholars. Two hundred years afterwards three copies of an Ethiopic translation of that remarkable work were actually found by the traveller Bruce, and entrusted by him to European scholarship. Archbishop Laurence, Moses Stuart, Ewald, Dillmann, have annotated, edited or translated it, and thus restored it to the students of early literature. The contents of this book do not concern us here. It is not Ethiopic in its origin, but one can judge a little by the prolongation and preservation of its life in Ethiopia, when all other traces of it had perished, what was the daily bread of the Ethiopian church during the silent years.

Some further idea may be gained of the primitive condition of this church, by enumerating some of the ideas, customs, and tendencies, which have survived the contest with Rome, and come under the observation of European travellers.

There has been no common name or term for "sacraments." The word "mystery" was applied to baptism and the eucharist; but the church knew nothing of episcopal confirmation or extreme unction. Transubstantiation was not consciously held. The Ethiopians maintained a vigorous traducian doctrine of the origin of human souls. They prayed for and invoked the dead, but they had no doctrine of purgatory. They have had many objects of worship, but have laid the greatest stress on the unity of the Trinity. Special homage has been paid to the Virgin Mary as the Queen of heaven. There are still thirty-two annual feasts in her honour. This is a natural consequence of the violent antagonism to Nestorianism which characterised their history. In their baptismal rites, agapes, fasts, feasts, and sabbaths there is still a visible reflection of the early Jewish influence upon their life. The isolation of the Ethiopian church has tended to the preservation of many ancient rites and ceremonies; and has unquestionably conserved the strong Jewish element which is more conspicuous in the remains of the Ethiopian church than in any other Christian community. The

idea of a "sacred place" is ingrained into their system, and their κυριακά and εὐκτήρια or μαρτύρια as they were and are called, included the old-world idea of (1) τέμενος, (2) ναός, and (3) ἄδυτον. First, the large sacred enclosure, with its PRONAOS, and its stations, for catechumens and penitents, then the NAOS, where the *bema* and *chorus*, and the *ambo* reveal the closest resemblance to the oldest Jewish synagogues; and, lastly, the ADYTUM, into which ecclesiastics alone were allowed to enter, where was the "*table*" of communion, not "altar" of sacrifice, and the *throne* of the bishop. All images were abominated. The crucifix was repudiated, though a naked cross was carried in the hands of the priests. The baptism of adults included the immersion of the body three times. Women attended upon women. After the celebration of the rite, the baptized persons were clothed in red robes and fed with milk and honey. Infants also were baptized, males on or before the fortieth day, females on or before the eightieth day. Sponsors received them from the priests. The ordinance was administered to infants by aspersion, and the communion of the Lord's Supper was administered to the infants immediately afterwards. The supposed baptism with *fire* was only an application of cautery used as a sanitary precaution against catarrh.

The mode of celebrating Epiphany led the Portuguese travellers to accuse the Ethiopian Christians of indecent practices, and of an heretical annual repetition of baptism. Major Harris describes scenes of extraordinary character, where, by way of celebrating the solemnity of our Lord's baptism, the entire population of a district, men, women, and children, plunge in a state of perfect nudity into the same font, by torchlight. It would seem that the ceremony is not a repetition of their own baptism, but a commemoration of the Lord's, and at all events a barbaric and grossly indecent ceremony. In the celebration of the Eucharist, leavened bread signed with the cross is generally used except on the fifth day of Passion week, when unleavened bread is used. The wine used is mixed with water. The Eucharist is administered in both kinds to the people, but never in a private house, not even to a king or to the metropolitan himself. The Jesuits accused the Ethiopians of celebrating the Eucharist in *neither* kind, because that which they used was not wine but water, it being merely the unfermented juice of the grape.

The fasts practised were unusually severe and frequent. The great fast of 40 days, in imitation of our Lord's fast, followed immediately on the wild nocturnal baptism of Epiphany. Demetrius, the twelfth patriarch, thought it better to associate this fast with that of Passion week, and he is credited with the cruel commendation of fasting from water as well as from food. Their feasts were in honour of the conception, nativity, circumcision, baptism, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, and of the return of Christ at Pentecost, and in the midst of Pentecost a feast called *Rakeb*, in which bishops held "synods" of their clergy for the settlement of doctrinal difficulty or ecclesiastical dispute (*cf. Apost. Const.* 38). The calendar is of great length and complexity, many saints are commemorated, none are canonized.

The marriage rites were very repulsive. Polygamy is not condemned by civil, but only by ecclesiastical law. Kings and magistrates have many wives; bishops and clergy are limited to one. The levirate marriage was legitimate by civil law, and second marriages of the clergy repudiated. Some funeral rites which are seen throughout the Mohammedan world astonished the early travellers, such as running with the dead body to the tomb, and clapping hands and shouting hallelujah over the grave. "Dancing still forms part of their ritual, as it did in the Jewish temple" (Dean Stanley, *Eastern Church*). The supreme hierarch of the Ethiopian church is the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, the metropolitan or abbuna, or Abba Salama, bishop of Auxume, but since the fall of Axum taking his residence with the dominant court. The abbuna is not an Ethiopian, but chosen by the Coptic patriarch as Frumentius was in the first instance, and sent into Ethiopia at request of the monarch. The statement of Tzaazabus, that he is elected by the monks of Jerusalem has no truth in it. The condition of the patriarchate was for many ages so deplorable that humble Egyptian Fellahin, ignorant Turkish slaves have been invested with the authority and glory of the Abba Salama. At the time of the visit of the Portuguese Jesuits the metropolitan was compelled by his poverty to earn his daily bread by manual labour, and the depressed condition of this great ecclesiastic facilitated the demands of the Roman emissaries. By some the Abbuna has been called a "patriarch," reckoning the Ethiopian as one of the five oecumenical patriarchates. But Claudius the king, whose confession of faith has been referred to, spoke of the Ethiopian church as under the *see* of Alexandria, and thus a part of one of the *four* oecumenical patriarchates. This was the arrangement before the council of Chalcedon of hated memory. It was not until after that time that the patriarchate of Jerusalem was established. Under the abbuna there were numerous officers—*e.g.* that of *Komos*, director general of the powerful churches; *Nebrat*, the dean of the clerics generally, presbyters, subpresbyters, deacons, subdeacons, and deaconesses. No special costume was worn by the clergy, even the cross carried in the hand was not peculiar to them. The honest nuptials of the priest were greatly preferred to faithless celibacy, but second marriages were and are still condemned and even looked down upon by the laity.

We see in the present condition of the church the extreme outcome of the Judaic element left as a pungent, even poisonous, leaven in the meal. But considering the fact that Abyssinia has been broken to pieces by great outlying powers of the world, weakened by heretical doctrine, assailed by the sword of Islam and the hammer of Rome, and is a very *sentina barbarorum* in her natural condition, that "the escaped of the nations" only have found their way into her strongholds, it is remarkable that she has preserved as much of truth and lofty ideal as she may unquestionably claim. Extravagant ritualism, excessive dogmatism, ferocity, vanity, meekness, and devotion have been blended in order to produce and prolong during 1500 years this primitive and semi-Judaic form of Christianity.

[H. R. R.]

ETHNE, ETHNEA. [EITHNE.]

ETHNOPHRONES (Ἐθνόφρονες), a name given to certain heretics by St. John of Damascus (*De Haeresibus Liber*, § 94). They are placed among the sects which came into prominence between the times of Marcianus and Heraclius, that is, between A.D. 450 and 610. We are prepared therefore to expect no mention of them in Epiphanius; but beyond this their name does not occur in Timotheus Presbyter, or in Sophronius of Jerusalem, or indeed, so far as the writer can discover, in any other ancient author down to Nicetas Choniates (c. 1200), who repeats the account of Damascenus with some trifling variations (*Thesaurus Orthod. Fidei*, lib. iv. c. xlii.). They are described as "following the usages of the heathen, though in other respects Christians, introducing the casting of nativities, fortune-telling, and destiny; accepting the whole system of astronomy and astrology, with all manner of soothsaying and augury." They "give heed to omens, expiations, prophetic sounds, observation of portents, incantations, and such like fables of the profane, as well as to the rest of the pagan customs." Further, they "hold in honour certain Gentile festivals, and *observe days, and months, and times, and years.*"

It will be apparent from this that those whom St. John of Damascus had in view, under the name of Ethnophronians, or "Gentile-minded," were not so much the members of any particular sect, as the class of people, doubtless a numerous one in that age, who sought to combine, in varying proportions, the old pagan superstitions with the profession of Christianity. An interesting light is thrown on their practices by the 61st and 62nd canons of the second Trullan council (691–2), which denounce, in language very similar to that of Damascenus, the having recourse to τύχην καὶ εἱμαρμένην καὶ γενεαλογίαν, κ.τ.λ. (*Concil. Gener.* Romae, 1628, iii. p. 323). The reference to "Gentile festivals" ἑορτάς τινας Ἑλληνικὰς) is illustrated by the prohibition in the 62nd canon of "*Calendae*, as they are called, and *Vota* and *Brumalia*, and the assembly held on the 1st of March." It would thus appear that the old Matronalia and Bacchic festivals (Brumalia), and others, were still lingering on in the Eastern church, as the Lupercalia had done till the time of pope Gelasius in the Western. The *Vota*, hardly recognisable under its Greek form βοτά, were votive offerings for the welfare of the emperors at the beginning of the year (Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v. βοτά; Gibbon, c. xxxvi.). It is not improbable moreover that the return of Damascius from the court of Persia, about 533, may have had some influence in stimulating the efforts of a paganism not yet extinct. There is no evidence to shew that he returned to the city from which he, as well as St. John of Damascus, took his name; but his presence would be sure to be felt in whatever part of the Byzantine territories he was settled. The extraordinary portents related by him in connexion with his Life of his tutor, Isidorus of Gaza, if we may trust the confused abstract of it preserved in Photius (*Biblioth.* cod. ccxlii.), will quite explain the severe language of the Trullan canons, and justify the name of *hiantes Mammacuthi*, which Nicetas borrows from the *Ranae* to apply to such Ethnophrones as believed in them. [J. H. L.]

ETHO (Eto, Etto, Heddus, Heddo, Adda), twenty-second bishop of Straburg, is said to have been the son of Hugh, whose sister was St. Odile, the abbess of Hohenburg, and popular saint of Alsace. Little is known of the details of his life, though the outline and dates are determined by letters and other documents. He ruled the monastery of Augia Dives (Reichenau in Baden) for seven years before he was made bishop by Charles Martel upon the death of his predecessor, Wiggernus, A.D. 734. Soon after his consecration he built the monastery named after him, Ethenheim or Etinheim, and it must have been about the same time that he, with other bishops, received a letter from pope Gregory III. (d. 741), commending bishop Boniface to his care (Patr. Lat. lxxxiv. 580). The next occasion on which we hear of him is a German council summoned by Boniface in A.D. 743 at Ratisbon or Augsburg, of which he was a subscriber (Labbe, *Conc.* viii. 273). Under the name of Heddus he is addressed, together with a number of bishops of France and Germany, in a letter of pope Zachary, which has been assigned to both A.D. 744 and 748 (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxx. 1165). About the latter date he subscribed a charter confirming old and granting new privileges to the monastery of Schwarzachum (Arnulfi-Auga) in Lower Alsace (Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1314). In A.D. 762 he published his will, making large gifts of land to his monastery (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* ann. 762, n. i. tom. v. 643), and three years later his signature appears with those of twenty-six other bishops to the *placitum Attiniacense*, which regulated for the subscribers the service to be said for the dead (see it in Le Cointe, tom. v. 669). He died about A.D. 778, and was buried at Etinheim. His successor in the see was Remigius. (Hermannus Contractus, *Chron.* Codex Angiensis in Patr. Lat. cxliii. 157; *Gall. Christ.* v. 784; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* tom. v.) [S. A. B.]

ETHOLIUS (Aitalleahas), ordained bishop of Edessa, the metropolis of Osrhoëna, A.D. 324, and present at the council of Nicaea, 325. He constructed the cemetery and the south wall of the church at Edessa. (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* 394, *e Chron. Edess.*; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* 956; Mansi, ii. 694.) [L. D.]

ETIANUS. [Etchen.]

ETIRSCEL (Edirscel, Eitirscel), son of Ceallach, bishop and abbat of Glendaloch, co. Wicklow, died A.D. 814 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 813; *Four Mast.* A.D. 808). [J. G.]

ETO, bishop of Strasburg. [Etho.]

ETTA (Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 404), bishop of Dunwich. [Etti.] [C. H.]

ETTI (Ecca, Aecca, Aecci, Heca, W. Malmesb.), the first bishop of Dunwich after the division of the East Anglian see in 673; he was consecrated by Theodore (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 5), but nothing more is known of him, except that in the life of St. Osyth he is said to have joined with Bedwin bishop of Elmham in bestowing on her the veil in the year 675. (Surius, *Acta SS.* Oct. tom. v. fol. 222.) [S.]

ETTO (1) (Hetto, Otto, Ze), bishop, confessor, commem. July 10. Of this bishop and confessor the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Jul. 10, tom. iii. 47–60) give a Life "ex pervetusto MS. monasterii Marchianensis." He was a disciple of St. Fursey at Lagny, and contemporary with Emilian, Eloquius, Amandus, Humbert, Mimbolus, Fredegandus, &c. He had accompanied St. Fursey into Gaul; in the course of time he visited Rome, and at last, after much labour and spiritual increase, died in the monastery he had founded at Fisciacum, which became afterwards a priory, dependent on the abbey of Laetia (Liesse), near Avenne, in the French department of Nord, on the borders of Belgium. Molanus (*Nat. Sanct. Belgii* at July 10) mentions Etto being called "Hiberniensis Episcopus," and speaks of a church under his name at Buym on the confines of Arras. He flourished about A.D. 650 or 670 (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 16, § 10; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 251, ii. 340; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* iv. 186 n.; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 51 n. [1], 96, c. 6, 436, col. 2; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 227, 264). His relics were, translated to Mons, and then on July 25, 1555, to the abbey of Liesse; he is the same as the French St. Ze, and is the special patron of cowherds, to one of whom, the legend says, he gave speech. (Bollandists, *Acta SS.* Jan. 7, tom. i. 447; Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, July 10, pt. i. 261.) [J. G.]

ETTO (2) (*Gall. Christ.* v. 785), bishop of Strasburg. [Etho.] [C. H.]

EUAGEES (Εὐαγέης), nephew of Hilderic king of the Vandals and brother of Hoamer the Achilles of the Vandals. On the dethronement of Hilderic by Gelimer, A.D. 530, Euagees shared his uncle's captivity, and in 533 was by Gelimer's orders put to death at Carthage with other friends of Hilderic (Procop. *de Bell. Vandal.* i. 9, 17, pp. 200, 218, ed. Dindorf, pp. 351 b, 383 c). Euagees and Hoamer are by some understood to have been the brothers instead of the nephews of Hilderic (Vid. *L'Art de Vérif.* iv. 363). [C. H.]

EUAGRIUS (1), martyr at Tomi with Benignus, commemorated Ap. 3. (*Mart.* Hier., Wand., Us.) [T. S. B.]

EUAGRIUS (2), martyr at Tomi with Priscus; commemorated Oct. 1. (*Mart.* Flori, Us.) [T. S. B.]

EUANTHAS, a name suggested by Irenaeus (v. 30) as a possible solution of the number of the beast (Rev. xiii. 18), the numerical value of its letters being 666. [G. S.]

EUARESTUS (1), the writer of the martyrdom of Polycarp. [G. S.]

EUARESTUS (2), bishop of Rome. [Evaristus.]

EUARISTUS (Εὐάρεστος), Cyp. Ep. 50, 52, I., an Italian bishop, probably one of the three who consecrated Novatian (Euseb. vi. 43), of whom one repented, two were deposed. Cornelius, who must have been well informed, regarded him as the prime mover of the Novatianist schism, cf. Pacian, Ep. ad Symphon, "quid Evaristus tumuerit" (Routh, iii. p. 35), but possibly this is a reference to Cyprian. He was deposed and succeeded by Zetus. He accompanied Novatus on his return to Carthage. [Nicostratus.] [E. W. B.]

EUBERTUS, bishop and martyr in Flanders; said to have fled from Rome in the persecution of Diocletian; to have preached in Gaul in company with Quintinus, Lucius, Crispinus, Crispinianus, and Piatus the apostle of Tournay; to have been bishop of Insulae (Lille) and of Seclinium (Seclin, about seven miles south of Lille); and to have been buried in the church of St. Peter at Lille, in which town, as well as in Seclin, he was commemorated on Feb. 1 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 47, 48). He may possibly be the same person as Eugenius, who also is said to have been bishop of Lille, and martyr. (See Molanus in the auctaria to Usuard's *Martyrology*, Feb. 1. Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 722 c.) [T. W. D.]

EUBODIUS (1), the first known bishop of Tifernum (Città di Castello). He was present at the council of Rome, A.D. 465. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 227*; Cappelletti, *Chiese d'Italia*, iv. 584.) [R. S. G.]

EUBODIUS (2), bishop of Mididi, in the province of Byzacia. He was one of the Catholic bishops summoned to the conference with the Arians at Carthage by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484, and subsequently banished (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 227; *Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 57 in Patrol. Lat. lviii.). [L. D.]

EUBOLUS, bishop. [Ebulus.]

EUBULE, in the time of the emperor Maximian, mother of the Greek martyr Panteleemon, the physician. Her husband was a pagan of Nicomedia, but she was a Christian, argued with her husband, and brought up her son in the faith. She is commemorated in some of the Greek menologies on March 30 (Basil. Porph. *Menolog.* July 27, Patr. Graec. 117, p. 561, § 183; Bolland. *AA. SS.* Mart. iii. 830). [W. M. S.]

EUBULUS (1), bishop of Avignon. [Ebulus (2).]

EUBULUS (2) came, with Arianus, from Manganaea to visit the sufferers for the faith at Caesarea, during the Diocletian persecution. They were arrested at the gate of the city and brought before Firmilian, who caused them both to be tortured and put to death. Eubulus, who was killed on March 7, was the last of the martyrs at Caesarea. He is commemorated Feb. 3. (Eus. *Mart. P.* xi.) [T. S. B.]

EUBULUS (3), martyr, together with Julianus, both disciples of Arcadius bishop of Cyprus. They were beheaded during the reign of Julian, and were commemorated March 7. (*Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

EUBULUS (4), sent with Priscus, by Theophilus of Alexandria, to expel the Nitrian monks from Palestine, where they had taken refuge on their flight from Egypt. (Hieron. *Ep.* 70, 86, Vallarsi.) [E. V.]

EUBULUS (5), bishop of Lystra in Lycaonia,

cir. A.D. 621. Le Quien (*Or. Christ.* i. 1076) mentions having seen a fragment of his in reply to a profession of faith submitted to the emperor Heraclius by Athanasius, a Severian bishop. The fragment formed a part of a MS. *Panoplia Graeca* in a Paris library, and appears to have been the same manuscript as that which Cave found quoted in the conspectus of Labbe's proposed edition of Joannes Damascenus (Cave, *Lit. Hist.* i. 582). Le Quien refers to this conspectus in sec. 10 of his general preface to the works of that father (see Patr. Gr. xciv. 74). Theophanes, however, who relates the conversation of Athanasius and Heraclius at some length, makes no mention of Eubulus (*Chronogr.* ann. 621, p. 274 in Patr. Gr. cviii. 678). The bishop is called by Cave EUBULUS LYGRENSIS, and his episcopal city Lygra, which Cave believed to be in Syria. [T. W. D.]

EUCADDIRES, a burlesque name for pagan priests, suggested by St. Augustine (*Ep.* 17). [H. W. P.]

EUCARPIUS, a monk of the 5th century, a friend of St. Nilus, who terms him *γνήσιος φίλος μακαριώτατος*. St. Nilus's correspondent Pionius was his son. (Nil. *Epp.* iii. 31 in Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxix. 386 d.) The fact of his having been a monk is known from Anastasius Sinaita, who quotes one of St. Nilus's writings to that effect, addressed to Eucarpius. (Anast. Sin. *Quaest.* iii. p. 189 in Patr. Gr. lxxxix. 358.) [T. W. D.]

EUCARPUS, A.D. 347, subscribed the council of Sardica (Athan. *Opp.* i. 132; Mansi, iii. 46 b). [W. M. S.]

EUCARPUS, EUCARPIUS, bishop of Messana, present at the 6th Roman synod of Symmachus, A.D. 501 (Mansi, viii. 315 d). There is a letter addressed by pope Pelagius, "Eucarpo episcopo Messanensi," who is charged to see to the election of a fit person to the vacant bishopric of Catania (Mansi, ix. 907; Patr. Lat. lxxii. 747). The letter also appears in Gratian (*Dist.* lxi. cap. 17). Mansi (*ut sup.*), Baluze (*Miscell.* iii. 3) and others ascribe the letter to Pelagius II. (578–596), and if they are correct the Eucarpus of Pelagius must be different from the Eucarpus of the council. But that the writer of the letter was Pelagius I. (555–560) is clearly shewn by Jaffé. (*Regest. Pont.* 85; see also Berard on Gratian, *Canon.* tom. ii. pt. 2, p. 475, ed. 1783; Bueus, *Comment. Praev. de S. Placidio*, sec. viii. § 124 in Boll. *Acta SS.* 5 Oct. iii. 94; Samperi, *Iconolog. della Glor. Virg. Protettrice di Messina*, 161, 163.) [T. W. D.]

EUCHADIUS (EOGHODIUS, EOGLODACH, EOGLODIUS), commemorated Jan. 25, Oct. 13. The identity of this saint is obscured by the later Scotch annalists changing his name into Eoglodius; this is done by Hector Boece (*Scot. Hist.* lib. ix. f. 116), and adopted from him by Lesley, Dempster, and Camerarius; Fordun (*Chron. Gen. Scot.* iii. c. 26) has Eoghodius. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Jan. 25, tom. ii. 610 c.) follow the Scotch tradition in noticing "Eoglodius Pictorum Apostolus," but shew their hesitancy by inserting his name among their praetermissi of that day. The true form of the name is Echoid, Eochoid, Eochaidh, or Euchadius. He was one of the twelve who are said to have accompanied St. Columba from Ireland to Iona (Adamnan, *St. Columb.* append. to Book iii. Codex B). Colgan (*Acta SS.* 163) gives a short account of him from the Annalists already named, where he is called Apostle of the Picts and Scots. In his *Kalendar* at Jan. 25, Camerarius has "S. Eoglodius, monachus et confessor apud Galouidianos [people in Galloway] sanctitate vitae et miraculorum gloria celebris. Fuit magni illius Columbae socius, et Pictorum alter Apostolus." He is by some supposed to have died A.D. 587, but Colgan thinks it more probable that he survived his master, who died A.D. 597. Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 265) places his death in the year 606, and says he wrote *Columbae magistri vitam*, lib. i.; *Epistolam ad Hibernos*, lib. i., but builds his assertion on a wrong identification. Euchadius's feast is variously given as January 25 and October 13, and his name occurs in the Dunkeld Litany among the monks and confessors as Eoglodach. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 334, et al.; Tanner, *Bibl.* 262; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* 61; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 468, 470, 489 n. [47]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 356; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 431–33.) Colgan (*Acta SS.* 163 n. [1], 164 n. [5]) cites several who are called Eochodius, in order to find a higher place for this Euchadius, and suggests that he may be Eochodius Dallan (January 29), who wrote a life of St. Columba, but Colgan is evidently at fault in his suggestion, and probably refers to Eochaidh, son of Coila, better known as Dallan Forgaill, who wrote the *Amhra Coluimcille*. [DALLAN FORGAILL.] [J. G.]

EUCHAITAE (Baron. *Annal.* ann. 328, xxxiii.), heretics. [EUCHITES.] But it may not be amiss to add the caution that Euchaitae is also a geographical word, concerning which see Bolland. *AA. SS.* Jun. i. p. 595, reprinted in Migne, *P. G.* cxx. 1039; Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* viii. 627; Labbe, *Sac. Conc.* ii. 55.) [G. S.]

EUCHARIST, the sacrament of the Christian Church, commonly so designated in the writings of the Fathers, and here considered solely with reference to their teaching on it. For the term itself, see DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES (i. 624, 625); of its application in primitive times to this sacrament Casaubon is probably right on both points when he says, "Non extat in Scripturis haec dictio pro sacramenti hujus nomine: quam tamen apostolorum tempore natam non dubitamus" (*Exerc. ad Baron.* xvi. 40.) Certainly, the well-known words of St. Justin, *ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν Εὐχαριστία* (*Apol.* i. 66), and Tertullian's "Eucharistiae sacramentum" (*De Cor. In.* c. 3), go far to establish the last; and as regards the first, it cannot be doubted that "breaking of bread" (St. Luke xxiv. 35; Acts ii. 42 and 46 and xx. 7) and the "Lord's Supper" (1 Cor. xi. 7) must have been more familiar equivalents for it to the contemporaries of St. Paul and St. Luke; the former of whom, again, in enumerating its component parts, calls one "the cup of blessing," *not* thanksgiving (1 Cor. x. 16). There is just one passage where the term *εὐχαριστία* might be supposed to bear the meaning in St. Paul which it has in the Fathers: viz., 1 Cor. xiv. 16 (see Palmer's *Orig. Lit.* ii. 14); but, on the other hand, such is not

the interpretation put upon it by the Fathers themselves—St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Primasius, *e.g.*, in commenting on this passage. Besides, even in their day, the term "Eucharist" had other well-known meanings, as well as the sacrament other well-known names. (See particularly Dionys. *Areop. de Eccl. Hierarch.* c. iii.; comp. Casaubon, *Exerc. ad Bar.* xvi. 30, et seq.). Their gradual preference for this term arose probably from tacit agreement, that in so solemn a commemoration of the death of Christ by man, the act of thanksgiving absorbed all others. There is one "locus classicus" in St. Chrysostom at least to this effect (*Hom.* xxv. *in St. Matth.*).

However, the term "Eucharist" has long since passed out of popular use, and is now only retained by the learned. Latin theologians still speak of the "Sacrament of the Eucharist;" but it is called "the sacrament of communion" by the Greeks. And as the majority frequenting each celebration of it in both churches have long been non-communicants, it is really the service, not the sacrament, which is the prominent idea with the many. This, in primitive times, was called everywhere "the liturgy;" and the Greeks speak of "attending the liturgy" still. But the popular term for it everywhere with the Latins has long been "the Mass;" and it is at this that everybody with them talks of assisting. Now in neither is the distinctive character of this sacrament recognised, except by the faintest implication. In this respect it stands out in marked contrast to baptism.

Baptism was best known to the Fathers, and is still popularly best known everywhere by its scriptural name, both as a sacrament and as a service. There are two points of ritualistic and dogmatic import, on the contrary, where the accord of one sacrament with the other is no less striking. 1. Both alike had their *formal* counterparts in the legal ordinances of circumcision and of the passover; yet their *material* parts, in each case, were taken, rather from what had become custom in "the middle ages" of the synagogue than from anything actually prescribed in the law. 2. Both alike seem *not* to have been administered in the church, though they had been instituted by Christ, *previously* to the descent of the Holy Ghost.

Each of these remarks will assist us in estimating the teaching of the Fathers on the sacrament in question.

The passages in the New Testament we find interpreted by them in connexion with it, and on which they ground their teaching, are: I. The fourfold account of its institution by St. Matth. xxvi. 26–30; St. Mark xiv. 22–26; St. Luke xxii. 17–20; and St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 23–29. II. The sermon in anticipation of it, recorded by St. John alone (vi. 26–63), whose gospel alone contains no account of its institution. III. Two more passages in the epistles of St. Paul, where it is contrasted, first with idolatrous altars and sacrifices, and then with Jewish (1 Cor. x. 15–21, and Heb. xiii. 10). IV. All the passages above quoted from the Gospel of St. Luke, the Acts, and St. Paul, where the Scriptural names for it occur. V. Possible references to it should be, perhaps, added. Of these, 1 Cor. xiv. 16 has been anticipated; and the remark there made holds equally good of 1 Cor. ii. 9, where, because that quotation occurs word for word in the liturgy of St. James, some contend it may have been taken from thence (Neale's *Prim. Liturg.* p. 79); and again of 1 Pet. ii. 5, though the transition, so far as words are concerned, from this passage to the Primitive Liturgies is direct enough.

And, as it is in the Primitive Liturgies that we shall find the best clue to the collective teaching of the Fathers from the first, it is to these that we shall most conveniently turn next.

At first it would seem that liturgies were not written, as Renaudot says (*Diss.* c. 1), but oral, like the creed—Bunsen, in arguing against Renaudot (*Hippol.* iv. 143), has overlooked Le Brun (*Expl. de la Messe*, vol. iii. p. 4 sqq.)—and like the creed everywhere substantially the same. We must appeal in the first place, therefore, to accounts given of them before they were written; and referring to them solely for dogma, we must be brief in our references. Of these St. Justin's is the earliest.

"Him who has been baptized . . . we conduct to where the brethren are assembled . . . then bread and wine, mixed in a cup with water, are brought to their president, which he receiving offers up praise and glory to God the Father of all, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, together with prayers and thanksgivings at great length, for having vouchsafed us these things: to which, when he has finished, the people respond, Amen. . . . For it is not as ordinary bread, or ordinary drink, that we receive these things: but as Jesus Christ our Saviour was incarnate by the Word (*i.e.* the Spirit: comp. c. 33, where St. Luke, i. 35, is quoted) of God, so we have been taught that the food from which our flesh and blood derive nourishment by assimilation, having been blessed by invocation of the Word that is from Him (viz. the Holy Ghost, once more) is both the flesh and the blood of that same Jesus who was made flesh. For so the apostles, in the books of remembrance by them which are called the Gospels, have handed down that Jesus commanded them: that having taken bread, and given thanks, He said, Do this in remembrance of Me: This is My body. And, in like manner, having taken the cup, and given thanks, He said, This is My blood: and gave to them alone" (*Apol.* i. 65, 66). Elsewhere, contrasting Malachi i. 10 and 12, he says: "With regard to those sacrifices which are offered to Him everywhere by us Gentiles, that is, of the eucharistic bread and of the eucharistic cup equally, He there foretells that we should glorify, but that you should profane, His name" (*c. Tryph.* c. 41). And again, "God testifies by anticipation of all the sacrifices made by Christians in all the earth through this name, which Jesus, Who is the Christ, ordained to be made, viz. in the eucharist of the bread and cup—that they are well-pleasing to Him" (*ib.* c. 117).

St. Cyril of Jerusalem agrees with St. Justin in the main, but writing to instruct his flock is naturally plainer spoken. He begins his twenty-second lecture by referring to 1 Cor. xi. 23, &c., on which he says, "This teaching of the blessed Paul alone should suffice to satisfy you thoroughly respecting these holy mysteries, by admission to which you have been made one body and blood with Christ . . . His body is

given you in the shape of bread, and His blood in the shape of wine . . . For thus we become possessed of Christ by having His body and blood distributed throughout our members; and thus, as St. Peter says, are we made partakers of the Divine nature . . . (*ib.* § 3). Fully persuaded, then, that what appears bread is not bread, although cognizable by the taste, but the body of Christ, and that what appears wine is not wine, though the taste pronounces it to be so, but the blood of Christ . . . stablish your heart by partaking of Him as spiritually present, and gladden the face of your soul" (*ib.* § 9). In the next lecture, which treats of the liturgy then in use, he explains how it becomes what he says it is: "After we have sanctified ourselves by these spiritual hymns"—the prelude to which consists in the well-known words, Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ, by the priest—"we invoke the God of mercy to send the Holy Ghost on the offering exposed to view, that He may make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine His blood. For every thing which that Holy Spirit touches is hallowed and transformed" (§ 7); or, as he says further on: Ἅγια τὰ προκείμενα, ἐπιφοίτησιν δεξάμενα Ἁγίου Πνεύματος (§ 19). Then he proceeds: "After that the spiritual sacrifice, the bloodless service, has been consummated, we supplicate God, in presence of that sacrifice of propitiation, for the common peace of the churches, for the weal of the world, for kings, for soldiers and allies, for the sick and afflicted; in a word, we all pray and offer this sacrifice for all who need help. Then we commemorate those who have fallen asleep in time past: first, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God by their prayers and good offices would accept our petitions. Then, also, for the holy fathers and bishops, and for all among us in general, who have fallen asleep similarly, believing it will be of the greatest advantage to those souls for whom prayer is offered up, with that holy and awe-inspiring sacrifice lying exposed to view" (*ib.* §§ 8, 9). We must not expect, of course, to be able to discover many passages of this kind and date. Origen speaks for the bulk of his contemporaries, when he says, in reference to St. Matt. xxvi. 28, "He that has been initiated in our mysteries knows both the flesh and blood of the Word of God. Let us not dwell, then, on what is already known to the faithful, and must not be divulged to the unlearned" (in Levit. ix. 10). Incidental allusions, indeed, are not wanting in parts. Firmilian, in his well-known letter to St. Cyprian, for instance (*Ep.* lxxv. 10), speaks of a possessed woman who went about Cappadocia, where his see lay, "pretending, by *a no means despicable invocation*, to consecrate bread, and celebrate the Eucharist" . . . besides administering baptism in such form "as to seem to adhere to the ritual of the church throughout." But the written liturgies of the East, to which we must shortly refer, all witness to the account just given of them in their unwritten state, besides shewing how they were added to, or departed from, in later times. Africa, rather than Rome, being the Latin-speaking church of those days, and the liturgy of Africa seeming to have come to an end, before it had been put into writing at all, there is the more probability that what members of the African church tell us of it at any time, may be so much testimony to it in its original form. Tertullian is explicit enough, as far as he goes, though his references are incidental. "Many think," he says, "that on station days they ought not to attend the prayers *at the sacrifices;* because the station would be broken by receiving the Lord's body. What! the Eucharist break a service devoted to God? Does it not bind us to God all the more? Will not your station be all the more solemn, if it include standing at the *altar of God?* Then by receiving and reserving the Lord's body, both the participating in the sacrifice, and the performing of the service, are secured equally" (*De Orat.* c. 14). This shews what the character of the liturgy then in use must have been, so far as it goes. Elsewhere we find him speaking of the Eucharist as a "sacrament," the "banquet of the Lord," or "of God," the "sacrament of the bread and cup" (Kaye's *E. H.* p. 447). St. Cyprian attests another point, where he is blaming those presbyters, who, without waiting till the lapsed had performed their penance, "dared to offer for them and give them the Eucharist; in other words, to profane the Lord's body, as it is written, 'Whosoever shall eat the bread, or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord'" (*Ep.* x.). And another as follows: "When water is mingled in the chalice with wine, Christians are joined with Christ, and the multitude of believers knit and united to Him on whom they believe . . . but if wine be offered alone, it begins to be the blood of Christ without us; or if water, it begins to be the multitude of believers without Christ" (*Ep.* lxiii.). St. Fulgentius is no less explicit on a third point, where he speaks "of the descent of the Holy Ghost being asked to sanctify the sacrifice of the whole church" (*ad Monim.* ii. 9), and "of the church asking for the descent of the Holy Ghost to consecrate the sacrifice of the body of Christ" (*ib.* c. 10); having explained just before how it is that "the sacrifice should be offered to the whole Trinity, and yet prayer be made to the Father for the descent of the Holy Ghost alone" (*ib.* c. 6, 7). St. Optatus attests the same, though his allusion to it is incidental, 150 years earlier. "What can be more sacrilegious," he asks the Donatists, "than to break, raze, and remove the altars of God, where you yourselves offered formerly, where the prayers of the people, and members of Christ, are deposited, whither Almighty God is invoked, and whither the Holy Ghost having been asked for descends? . . ." (*c. Parm.* vi. 1). St. Augustine is habitually reserved, even when addressing children; but there is one passage (*Serm.* ccxxvii. Ed. Ben.) where he says: "You ought to know what you have received, and what you are going to receive, and what you ought to receive daily. The bread which you behold on the altar, sanctified by the word of God, is the body of Christ. That chalice, or rather what it contains, sanctified by the word of God, is the blood of Christ." Here the context shews, that by "the word of God," he means the Holy Ghost; and in addition to the context, the fact that he is here virtually repeating St. Irenaeus (*Haer.* iv. 18, 5; and v. 2, 3), and he St. Justin, in the first passage quoted and explained above from the latter. Theophilus, in conclusion, whose nephew and

successor St. Cyril was, may answer for Egypt, in an encyclic which St. Jerome thought so orthodox as to deserve translation. Accusing Origen of having denied that the Holy Ghost ever acts on irrational or inanimate natures, he remarks, that in asserting this, "Origen could not have reflected, that the mystic waters in baptism are consecrated by the advent of the Holy Ghost; or that the Lord's bread, for exhibiting the body of the Saviour, which we break for our sanctification, with the holy chalice which we set on the table of the church, being both inanimate, are both sanctified by the invocation and advent of the Holy Ghost" (St. Hier. *Ep.* xcviii. § 13).

We have thus before us in a few words the teaching exhibited by the liturgies in their unwritten state. Ordinary bread and wine mingled with water having been placed on the altar, an act of thanks and praise followed, after which God was invoked to send His Holy Spirit to make the bread Christ's body, and the wine Christ's blood; yet without either the bread ceasing to be bread, or the wine wine. Both served a double purpose, viz. as symbols to indicate, and as veils to hide, what was never intended to meet the eye. Then, over this spiritual and bloodless sacrifice, as it was then called and considered, and in union with it, prayer was offered for all sorts and conditions of men in the church militant, and commemoration of all the faithful departed in the church triumphant; everybody present joining in both by responding "Amen" at their close. Lastly, the words "Corpus Christi," "Sanguis Christi," were pronounced in administering communion to each person; and each person in communicating replied "Amen" (St. Cyril, *Cat.* xxiii. 21, 22, with Touttée's *Adm.* § 6, and St. Aug. *Serm.* cclxxii. Ed. Ben.). It was thus a service, from beginning to end, in which all joined, and to which all subscribed, and of which in conclusion, the only recorded acts were, first and foremost, one of praise, followed by two of prayer.

Here we have several points requiring explanation: 1. The absence of any mention of the act of blessing, used by St. Paul as well as our Lord; or of the breaking the bread either, which according to Paul was also symbolical; and 2, the prominence given to the invocation of the Holy Ghost, which, so far as appears, was neither used nor enjoined by our Lord, nor by St. Paul. Certainly there must have been a very strong tradition for both one and the other, or both are inexplicable. When our Lord instituted the Eucharist, no mention was made by Him of the Holy Ghost, as though according to the remarkable words of St. John, "the Holy Ghost was not as yet" (vii. 30, "given," in the A. V., is a gloss). Yet He had "descended and remained" on Jesus at His baptism, and co-operated with Him throughout His ministry, as the following passages prove (St. John i. 22, et seq.; St. Luke iv. 1, 2, and 18; St. Matt. xii. 28; with St. Mark iii. 29–30; Heb. ix. 14; 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20); and of Him our Lord had Himself said emphatically, though to those who then heard Him obscurely, with special reference to this sacrament: Τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ζωοποιοῦν. St. Paul too, as we have seen, in contradistinguishing between the ordinances of the law and the Gospel, had expressly laid down that the reality characterising the latter was due to His action, and to that alone. How was His action to be secured then, except by prayer? As it was said even of our Lord: "It came to pass, that Jesus being baptized *and praying*, the heaven was opened, and the Holy Ghost descended . . . on Him" (St. Luke iii. 22). Man's act in blessing and breaking was of ineffably small account, in comparison with the part performed by the Spirit of God in ministering to this sacrament its hidden gift. His descent was required in each case to make the Eucharist all it was designed to be. Naturally, therefore, what we find preoccupied the mind of the church most in celebrating it, is the prayer for His descent. Indeed, it is as though less heed had been taken of what Christ had said and done, than of what He had taught. The importance that has for so long been attached to the recital of His "ipsissima verba" is far from resting on any command of His. For His command was *not* "say," but "*do*." Further, the command "do this" is so general, that neither posture nor gesture, nor the quantity nor the kind of bread, nor the mixing of the wine with water, nor the employment of any prayer whatever, can be deduced from it. But His teaching on it fills a whole chapter, and it is to this that the Fathers are certainly most alive. St. Cyprian, to be sure, writes to Caecilius: "Et quia passionis Ejus mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus . . . nihil aliud quam quod Ille fecit, facere debemus" (*Ep.* lxiii. 17). But this is indefinite. Whether His words were recited in early times, whether His actions were copied minutely, we are nowhere told—just possibly they were—but the key-note to the unwritten liturgy beyond dispute consists in what the Holy Ghost is asked in it to do for man. As St. Ambrose says in a parallel case: "They ask, Divinity grants; they officiate, Heaven confers the gifts" (*De Sp. S.* iii. 18). And St. Jerome more distinctly: "What can a server of tables and widows (a deacon) mean by placing himself above those (priests and bishops) at *whose prayers* (*not* acts or words, gestures or bidding, the consecration of the body and blood of Christ takes place?" . . . (*Ep.* cxlvi. *ad Ev.* § 1). Further, "Which of the saints left us this prayer in writing"? asks St. Basil (*De Sp. S.* § 66). Lastly, the principle of this prayer was maintained long after it had been shaken virtually by the additions that, in process of time, found their way into the Western liturgies, and from them came to be copied even in the Eastern at last.

This is proved incontestably from the following fact: viz. that all through the period of which we treat, that part of the liturgy where consecration takes place was called in the West "preces" or "oratio," and not "canon," as now. Thus Tertullian in a passage before quoted speaks of those "who thought that on station-days they should absent themselves from the *prayers* at the sacrifices." And St. Cyprian, in the singular number, opposes the "*prayer*" at the sacrifices to the "private prayers" that were said at home (*Ep.* xv.). Elsewhere he speaks with reprobation of those schismatics "who dared to erect another altar, and frame with unlawful expressions another prayer . . ." (*De Unit. Eccl.* c. 17), that prayer, for which the priest, after a

suitable preface, prepared the minds of the brethren by exclaiming "Lift up your hearts" (*De Orat. Dom.* c. 31). And St. Augustine no less explicitly: "We call that the body of Christ which taken from the fruits of the earth, and duly consecrated by the '*mystical prayer*,' we receive for our spiritual health, in remembrance of His dying for us; and which invested with its visible form by the hand of man, is not sanctified to be so great a sacrament, but by the unseen action of the Holy Ghost" (*De Trin.* iii. 4 ad fin.). Upon another occasion, indeed, he tells us that he preferred making a distinction, in common with nearly the whole church: "Ut *precationes* accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensâ, incipiat benedici: *orationes*, cùm benedicitur, et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur: *quam totam petitionem* ferè omnis ecclesia Dominicâ oratione concludit" (*Ep.* cxlix. 16). Notwithstanding, in the next century, pope Vigilius, after distinguishing between the variable part of the liturgy and this which never changed, adds: "Quapropter et ipsius *canonicae precis* textum direximus subter adjectum, quem Deo propitio ex apostolicâ traditione accepimus" . . . (*Ep.* ii. *ad Profut.* § 5). Similarly, pope Gregory, who perhaps was the first to apply the term "canon" to this prayer in one place (*Ep.* lib. xiv. 2 *ad fin.*), says in another (*Ib.* ix. ind. 2, *Ep.* 12): "Orationem Dominicam idcircò mox *post precem* dicimus, quia mos Apostolorum fuit, ut ad istam solummodò orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent." On the other hand another contemporary, St. Isidore, following St. Augustine, throws additional light on his distinction thus: "Sexta exhinc (oratio) succedit conformatio sacramenti: ut oblatio, quae Deo offertur, sanctificata per Spiritum Sanctum, Christi corpori et sanguini conformetur" (*De Eccl. Off.* i. 15). Even Amalarius had not forgotten this term in the 9th century, commenting on the ritual then in use: "Perseverant retrò stantes inclinati, usque dum finiatur *omnis praesens oratio:* id est, usque dum dicatur post orationem Dominicam: 'Sed libera nos a malo'" (*De Eccl. Off.* iv. 23). Nor had another commentator of the Roman school forgotten its intention: "Quam consecrationem corporis et sanguinis Dominici ideò semper in silentio arbitror celebrari, quia Sanctus in iis manens Spiritus eundem sacramentorum latentèr operatur effectum: unde et Graecè mysterium dicitur, quod secretam et reconditam habeat dispositionem" (Martene, *de Ant. Rit.* i. 4, 11). But in the 11th, Berno, while letting pope Gregory speak in his own words, as before quoted, resumes the general subject as follows: "Haec de canone, qui et actio dicitur, dicta sunt." The old terminology, vigorous as was its protest to the last, had at length crumbled away before new dogma. This is all the more noteworthy, as the Greek equivalent, εὐχὴ μυστική, was of much later date. Suicer (s. v. Σύναξις, II. B.) volunteers an assertion respecting this prayer, unsupported, as was natural, by any proof, because totally groundless. We consider that it has been shewn on the clearest evidence that all the liturgies without exception, including the Roman, in their unwritten state, made consecration, or sanctification, of the elements consist in this prayer.

Of written liturgies, probably, but one remains in the original form in which it was penned, in whatever age it was penned, viz. that of the eighth book of the so-called 'Apostolical Constitutions.' St. Epiphanius may be supposed to refer to it, with some probability, when designating the apostles μυστηρίων ἀρχηγέτας (*Haer.* lxxix. 3, quoted by Le Brun, *Explic.* iii. 5). It was never altered, simply because it was never used in any church, as Mr. Palmer says (*Orig. Lit.* i. 38). Who composed it is a question variously answered by conjecture, but never solved (*v.* Cotel. i. 195). It affects to have been the joint work of the apostles, like the creed called after them: but, unlike the creed, it belonged to no church. It is thus a pseudonymous composition that acquired prestige solely from the honoured name—St. Clement of Rome—that was made to vouch for it. Its consecration prayer (c. 12) is called the Constitution of St. James the Great, and that part of it which alone concerns us here, translated in the main by Bingham (xv. 3, 11), runs thus:—

"We therefore in commemoration of these things which Christ suffered for us give thanks to Thee, Almighty God, not as Thou deservest, and as we ought, but as we are able, so fulfilling His command. For He in the same night that He was betrayed, took bread in His holy and immaculate hands, and looking up to Thee His God and Father, He brake it and gave to His disciples saying: This is the mystery of the New Testament: take of it and eat it: this is My body, which is broken for many, for the remission of sins. This do in remembrance of Me. Likewise the cup mingled of wine and water, after He had sanctified it, He gave them saying: Drink ye all of it: for this is My blood which is shed for many, for the remission of sins. Do this in remembrance of Me. For as oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew forth My death till I come.

"We therefore being mindful of His passion, and death, and resurrection from the dead, and His return into heaven, and also of His second coming, when He shall return with power and glory to render to every man according to his works, do offer unto Thee, our King and God, this bread and this cup according to Thy appointment: giving thanks to Thee by Him, for that Thou dost vouchsafe to let us stand before Thee and minister unto Thee, and we beseech Thee to look propitiously upon these gifts here set before Thee, and to accept them favourably to the honour of Thy Christ, and to send Thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice—the Spirit that is witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus—that He may (ἀποφήνῃ) declare this bread the body of Thy Christ, and this cup the blood of thy Christ: that all who partake thereof may be confirmed in godliness and obtain remission of sins: may be delivered from the devil and his errors: may be filled with the Holy Ghost, and being made worthy of Christ and reconciled to Thee, O Lord Almighty, may obtain eternal life."

Strange as it may seem, the portion of this most familiar to English ears—"for he in the same night . . . till I come"—was to primitive ears almost certainly new: almost certainly, or we should have found some reference to it in the earlier Fathers, had it entered into the unwritten

liturgies. It is scarcely credible, for instance, that had it stood in the liturgy commented on by St. Cyril, he should have passed it over without a word. Now what was the liturgy commented on by St. Cyril, if not that of Jerusalem? But in that same liturgy, *as it stands now*, we have this very passage reproduced nearly word for word, or in some cases amplified. There can be no question, therefore, which borrowed from the other. It is reproduced in the Alexandrian, in St. Basil's, St. Chrysostom's, and in all the other written liturgies extant similarly, not excepting the Roman, with this difference: that in the Eastern, the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost which follows it is uniformly retained: in the Roman, and those which copied subsequently from the Roman, this prayer is as uniformly discarded: "itaque memores passionis Ejus" being there made to take a new turn just at that point: and the prayer preceding the words of institution being so framed as if to compensate for its omission in some degree, without impairing the effect of what followed.

For in the West this picture of the Last Supper, apocryphal though it was in part, as it professed to come direct from St. Clement, became the parent of a modification of dogma, though this also was of spurious birth. It is not St. Ambrose, but a deceiver in his name, who says for the first time: "Quomodo potest qui panis est, corpus esse Christi? Consecratione. Consecratio autem quibus verbis est, et cujus sermonibus? Domini Jesu . . . Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum." (*De Sacram.* iv. 4.) And: "Antequam consecretur panis est: ubi autem verba Christi accesserint corpus est Christi . . . et ante verba Christi calix est vini et aquae plenus: ubi verba Christi operata fuerint, ibi sanguis Christi efficitur . . . Ergo videte quantis generibus potens est sermo Christi universa convertere" (*ib.* 5), thus making their being pronounced by the priest or by Christ all one; and attributing to their bare recital the exact efficacy which St. Cyril had attributed to the Holy Ghost (*Cat.* xxiii. 7). It may be urged that St. Ambrose, in a work generally thought to be his, had expressed the same view (*De Myst.* § 52–4); but it is expressed just in three sections, which are consecutive, and too unlike the rest to be genuine. Besides, at the end of this treatise we have the following: "In illo sacramento Christus est, quia corpus est Christi. Non ergo corporalis esca, sed spiritalis est . . . corpus enim Dei corpus est spiritale: corpus Christi corpus est divini Spiritûs, quia Spiritus Christus" (§ 58; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 45). This passage is studiously kept out of sight in *De Sacram.* v. i. 3. Again, in another work, St. Ambrose says of the Holy Ghost: 'Qui in oblationibus invocatur' (*De Sp. S.* § 112): and of the effect of His action: "Nos autem quotiescunque sacramenta sumimus, quae per sacrae orationis mysterium in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem, mortem Domini annuntiamus" (*De Fide ad Grat.* § 124). On the other hand, the Pseudo-Cyprian agrees doctrinally with the Pseudo-Ambrose: "Ex quo a Domino dictum est: Hoc facite in Meam commemorationem; haec est caro Mea, et hic est sanguis Meus: quotiescunque his verbis et hâc fide actum est, panis iste supersubstantialis et calix benedictione solenni sacratus, ad totius hominis vitam salutemque proficit" (*De Caen. Dom. ad init.*). Germanus, bishop of Paris, and Caesarius of Arles, in the 6th century, speak both to the same effect (ap. Mart. et Durand. *Thesaur. Anecd.* v. 95, and *Biblioth. Pat.* viii. 825–6), and Amalarius in the 9th "accipiens panem, &c. . . . hic credimus naturam simplicem panis et vini mixti verti in naturam rationabilem: scilicet corporis et sanguinis Christi" (*De Eccl. Off.* iii. 24).

Liturgies were slowly and silently—nobody could say when—altered to suit the new view. Of the Roman no copy containing the canon has yet been found earlier than that of Pope Gregory: for what is called the Gelasian betrays his additions. A letter of his (*Ep.* lib. ix. 12) tells us that it was he who introduced saying the Lord's Prayer at the end of the canon, as it is still said in the Roman church, and when he characterises the canon itself in the same breath as "a scholastic composition" (quem scholasticus composuerat), he is only confirming the account given of it in the 11th century by Berno: "Ipsum canonem non unus solus totum, sed pro tempore aliud alius interposuit vel adjecit, sicut de hoc sanctissimo papâ legimus" (*De Off. Miss.* c. 1; Strabo, *de Reb. Eccl.* c. 22, is more diffuse). Bede vouches for this addition to it by Gregory. The words "sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam," have been set down to St. Leo (Murat. *de Reb. Lit.* c. 3). But we find hints dropped of changes of greater importance. In the Leonine Sacramentary, for instance, there is the remnant of a prayer in the office for Christmas Day to this effect: "Munus populi tui, Domine, placatus intende: quo non altaribus tuis agnus alienus, nec irrationabilium cruor effunditur: sed, Sancti Spiritûs operante virtute, sacrificium jam nostrum corpus et sanguis est ipsius Sacerdotis" (Murat. *Lit. Rom.* i. 469). This is wanting in the Gelasian and Gregorian alike (*ib.* 495–7, and ii. 7–11). A tract, or the remains of a tract, by pope Gelasius contains the following: "Sicut in hanc, scilicet in divinam transeant (elementa), Sancto *Spiritu perficiente*, substantiam," &c. (*Bibl. Pat.* viii. 703). Moderns have, therefore, disputed its authorship. Amalarius, again, says of the prayer called throughout the Gelasian Sacramentary "secreta," but in the Gregorian "oratio super oblata," testifying to its original intention, "notum est ideò secretam orationem facere super oblationem, ut possit ex eâ fieri corpus Christi" (*Eccl. de Off. M. ad l.*). But we see clearly from the earlier fragments of the Gothic, Gallican, and Mozarabic liturgies, printed by Mabillon, that formerly by "secreta" was meant the recital of the words of institution, also called "mysterium," which was then *followed*, not as now *preceded*, by a prayer of this kind—in substance as follows: "Descendat, Domine, in his sacrificiis tuae benedictionis coaeternus et cooperator Paraclitus Spiritus: ut oblationem, quam tibi de tuâ terrâ fructificante porregimus, coelesti permutatione, Te sanctificante, sumamus: ut translatâ fruge in corpore, calice in cruore, proficiat meritis, quod obtulimus pro delictis." (*De Lit. Gallic.* p. 214; comp. pp. 202, 228, 284, 298–300, 331, 335, and 457. Compare the palimpsestic fragments in Bunsen's *Hippol.* iv. 471, 478, 486, extracted from Mone's *Lat. und Griech. Messen.*) And to this immediately succeeded the Lord's Prayer. Mabillon (*ib.* p. 48)

strangely fails to recognise, and by his instance would prevent others from recognising what this prayer was. It was no prayer peculiar to these liturgies by any means. It was the old prayer common to all liturgies in primitive times, which the Roman church had by then not only transposed, but transformed. Its substitution of the terms "canon" or "action," for the term "prayer," to designate this part of the liturgy, was conceived in the same spirit. Other Western churches, by adopting the Roman canon, gradually lost sight of their ancient doctrine. In the East, where this prayer was and is still maintained in every liturgy, whatever else may have been changed, the teaching of the Fathers on the Eucharist was never departed from—either among the sects, or by the orthodox—in the period of which we treat. Two passages may serve for its commencement and close. "These coals," says St. Ephrem, on Ezek. x. 2, "and the man clothed in fine linen, that bringeth and casteth them upon the people, are a type of the priest, by whose mediatorship the living coals of the life-producing body of our Lord are given away. But see, there is another cherub that reacheth them forth, and placeth them in his fists; this is a type to shew that it is not the priest who is able to make the body of the bread, but another: to wit, the Holy Ghost" (Oxford Tr. p. 146, note d). And St. John Damascene: "God said, This is my body . . . do this in remembrance of Me: and by His Almighty command it is done till He come. Till He come, for thus He said: and being invoked, the rain descends on this new corn-land, to wit, the power of the Holy Ghost overshadowing it . . . Do you ask now, how the bread becomes the body of Christ, and the wine and water His blood: I reply, the Holy Ghost comes upon them, and works what is alike beyond thought and word" (*De Fid. orthod.* iv. 13). "Sexcenta sunt testimonia veterum quibus idem astruitur," says Le Quien (ad l. Comp. Pfaff's *Diss. de Consec. ad S. Iren. Fragm.* vol. ii.). And it is equally true that none can be produced where this is denied. Controversialists have made the most of a passage from St. Chrysostom, viz. in his sermon on the betrayal of Judas (tom. ii. 384, ed. Montf.), which runs thus: "The same Christ who prepared that table, prepares ours now. For it is not man who makes the elements become the body and blood of Christ, but Christ Himself, who was crucified for us. The priest in the discharge of his office pronounces those words: but it is the power and grace of God. 'This,' he says, 'is My body.' This word transforms them. This word, once spoken, effects the sacrifice prepared in the churches on every table from then till now, and till His coming." St. Chrysostom, it is quite possible, may have been engaged just then in accommodating the form of consecration in the Clementine liturgy to that of his own church, which it, at any rate, bears now. Yet the point of his teaching, after all, consists in this: that he asserts consecration distinctly *not* to be the act of the priest, but of God; so that the question is merely, to which of the three persons in the Trinity should his phrase "the power and grace of God" apply? Now, in his first sermon on the Feast of Pentecost: "when your bishop," he says, "stands at this holy table, about to offer that tremendous sacrifice—the initiated know what I mean—and when, before touching the gifts thereon, he prays that the grace of the Lord may be with you, and you answer, and with thy spirit: you remind yourselves by the very words you use, that he who stands there is not the agent, neither is it human nature that operates on those gifts in any way; but it is the grace of the Holy Ghost descending on them, and present in every case that consummates that mystic sacrifice" (*ib.* ii. 463). Thus, when he expands his meaning, it amounts to this: that consecration is due to Christ in one sense, as is shewn by using His words; in another to the Holy Ghost, as is shewn by invoking Him; but in no sense to man. Man, therefore, cannot obtain it, without distinctly praying for it, under any circumstances. Such, again, is the doctrine, not of St. Chrysostom merely, but of all the Fathers (v. Touttée, *Diss.* iii. § 96, *de Doct. S. Cyr.*).

One more set of passages, and we shall be able to exhibit their meaning in the clearest light. St. Irenaeus (*Haer.* iv. 33; and v. 2) and Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 40; and v. 8) both appealed to the Eucharist as proving it was a real body which our Lord assumed. How, asked Tertullian, can there be a figure of a nonentity? What he meant by this was, not that the Eucharist was no more than a figure, but that its outward and visible part was a figure of what was hidden under it that was truly real, and to which it pointed. "Proinde panis et calicis sacramento . . . probavimus corporis et sanguinis Dominici veritatem adversus phantasma Marcionis," as he says. In later times, when Eutyches asserted of our Lord that His human nature was absorbed in His divine, the Eucharist was brought forward again in disproof of this, and in a way that explained all the previous teaching of the Fathers thereon to a nicety, beyond cavil.

Nowhere could this be found expressed more lucidly than by Pearson on the Creed (Art. iii. 202 et seq. with the notes). His authorities are St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, Ephremius, and the tract of Pope Gelasius already cited. It is true, though not surprising, that strong objections have been taken in modern times to this tract as a work of Gelasius: but the fact of its being quoted as such on dogma, within about thirty years of its being written, by two such authorities as St. Fulgentius (*Ep.* xiv. 19) and Pope John II. (*Ep.* iii. *ad fin.*) alone disposes of them. "That then which he disputes against," says Pearson, "is the transubstantiation of the human nature into the divine." The argument which he employs against it is drawn from the Eucharist: "Certè sacramenta quae sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinae efficimur consortes naturae: et *tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini.* Et certè imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergò nobis evidentèr ostenditur, hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum quod in Ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus, et sumimus." . . . We curtail this passage, to give what follows from Theodoret entire (*Dial.* ii. p. 122):—

"You have digressed on the divine mysteries, most opportunely," says the heretic Eranistes: "for I will thence shew you that the body of our Lord is changed into another nature. Please,

then, answer my questions." Says the Orthodox, "I will."—E. "What then do you call the gift which is offered, before the invocation of the priest?" O. "I must not speak too plainly, lest there be some present who are not initiated."—E. "Answer then enigmatically." O. "Food of such and such grains."—E. "And the other symbol, how do you call that?" O. "This too has a common name, signifying a kind of drink."—E. "But, after consecration, how do you call them?" O. "The body and blood of Christ."—E. "And is it your belief that you receive the body and blood of Christ?" O. "Yes."—E. "As, then, the symbols of the body and blood of our Lord are one thing before the invocation by the priest, and after that are changed, and become another, so the body of our Lord after His ascension was changed into the Divine substance?" O. "You are taken in the net you have just woven. For neither are the mystical symbols after consecration robbed of their own nature; but, on the contrary, they remain in their former substance, form, and shape; and may be seen and touched just as before. That which they have become is indeed an object of thought and faith; and is adored as being what it is believed to be. Compare, then, the image with the archetype, and you will see their resemblance. For the type must needs correspond with the truth. That body has its original shape, form, and figure; in a word, its bodily substance, though It has become immortal since the resurrection, and superior to decay; and having been placed in a seat on the right hand, is adored by every creature, being styled the body of the Lord of all."—E. "But the mystical symbol changes its former appellation—for it is no longer called by its former name—but it is called the body. The truth, then, should be called God, and not the body." O. "You betray your ignorance, as it seems to me. It is called not only body, but the bread of life. It was so designated by the Lord Himself. And of the body itself we say that It is divine, life-giving, our Master's and our Lord's: teaching that It is common to no man, but belongs to our Lord Jesus Christ, who is both God and Man." . . . Passing by the passage from St. Chrysostom, as only known as yet through a translation, though Montfaucon admits its full force (*Op.* iii. 742), we cannot refrain from adding the following terse sentence from Ephraim, at the close of a singularly dogmatic argument, in his own words: Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἑνὸς προσώπου ἑκάτερον, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν δύναιτο νοῦν ἔχων, ὡς ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ψηλαφητοῦ καὶ ἀφηλαφήτου, καὶ ὁρατοῦ καὶ ἀοράτου· οὕτω καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν διαλαμβανόμενον σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αἱσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται, καὶ τῆς νοητῆς ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτος (ap. *Phot. Bibl.* ccxxix. p. 794, ed. Schott). Ephraim was patriarch of Antioch in the 6th century; Theodoret a suffragan of Antioch in the 5th; St. Chrysostom, before becoming patriarch of Constantinople, was ordained priest at Antioch in the 4th; Gelasius, who became pope A.D. 492, was a native of Africa. Thus in these four authorities, besides the weight that belongs to them respectively, we have the dogmatic teaching of the churches of Antioch and Constantinople, Africa and Rome, represented for three centuries, as evoked by heresy. Yet this, after all, is not their chief merit. It is their chief merit, that they prove what the mind of the Fathers was, on all the points to which they relate, besides harmonising all their various modes of expressing it to the minutest details. For they shew that, in the judgment of their predecessors and contemporaries, the Eucharist consisted of two parts, that ever remained, and were to be kept, therefore, distinct: one cognisable by the senses, the other by the mind alone. "Ideò dicuntur sacramenta, quia in iis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur," as St. Fulgentius quotes from St. Augustine (*Ep.* xii. 25). Consequently, the sign and the thing signified belonging to a different order all along—the spiritual and material—the laws regulating the one could not affect the other. Hence, too, there could be neither transubstantiation, nor consubstantiation, nor impanation, in the manner of their connexion: the difference between them being as radical as the difference between soul and body. Yet they were far from being connected in the same way. They never constituted an organic whole. Consecration, as it brought them together for a temporary purpose, so it left them uncombined. The sole change wrought by it consisted in the accession of a new element distinct from, although to be conveyed with, the other. Both passed into the mouth of the receiver simultaneously, yet separated the next moment: one by a process of assimilation to become part of his bodily frame: the other, conversely, to be the means of assimilating his soul to Christ, not Christ to him: or else to be withdrawn instantly, should he have partaken in unbelief or unrepented sin. Thus to confound them—to say that one was merged in the other, or otherwise done away with—was sacramental Eutychianism. The condition of their conjunction was held to be, that the substance, no less than the properties or characteristics of both, was preserved intact: so that the whole might be designated to the last, and without impropriety, by either name: though in practice devout Christians ordinarily preferred one name to the other. Yet, even in what purports to be the Ambrosian Liturgy, the priest is made to say: "Fac nobis hanc oblationem ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem: *quod figura est* corporis et sanguinis D. N. I. Christi" . . . (*Op.* ii. 371). And St. Fulgentius, in his most dogmatic work: "Firmissimè tene, et nullatenus dubites, ipsum unigenitum Deum verbum carnem factum, Se pro nobis obtulisse sacrificium, et hostiam Deo in odorem suavitatis: Cui, cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto . . . *sacrificium panis et vini*, in fide et caritate, sancta catholica ecclesia per universum orbem terrae offerre non cessat . . . in isto autem sacrificio, gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit, et sanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit" . . . (*De Fide*, c. 19). Yet compare this with what he says in the most dogmatic of his epistles, where the ordinances of the Old and New Testament are contrasted: "In ipso *sacrificio corporis Christi* a gratiarum actione incipimus, ut Christum non dandum, sed datum nobis in veritate monstremus: et in eo quod gratias agimus Deo in *oblatione corporis et sanguinis Christi*, cognoscamus non adhuc occidendum Christum pro nostris iniquitatibus sed occisum; nec redimendos nos illo sanguine sed redemptos" . . . (*Ep.* xiv. § 44). Here we have the same father teaching in each

case, and what he had called in one "the sacrifice of bread and wine," he calls in the other indifferently, "the sacrifice," or "oblation, of the body and blood of Christ." Albeit his consistency comes out in a moment, when he is understood to be speaking of the outward part of the sacrament in one place, and of the inward in the other.

Another African bishop, Facundus of Hermione, says: "Sicut sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Ejus, quod est in pane et poculo consecrato, corpus Ejus et sanguinem dicimus, non quòd propriè corpus Ejus sit panis, et poculum sanguis: sed quòd in se mysterium corporis Ejus sanguinisque contineant"—that is, veiled under them (*Def. Trium Corp.* ix. 5).

On the same principle, whether the priest said "the body," as in the Gelasian; or "the figure of the body," as in the Ambrosian Liturgy, when he prayed, made no difference. He meant the same thing. It mattered not that St. Cyril, in c. 20 of his discourse, told the faithful that what he bade them receive were the "antitypes of the body and blood of Christ:" and in putting the same into their hands, said "the body," or "the blood, of Christ," to which he bade them respond "Amen," in c. 21 and 22. Universally, when the Fathers speak of this sacrament as a type or figure, they mean only so far as its outward part is concerned: when they speak of it as a reality, they are just as far from asserting that it had ceased to be, or could be no longer called, a type. True, there was no reference to the type, when it was administered, or after it had been received, for the type went for nothing to the receiver. "Audis, corpus Christi," says St. Augustine, "et respondes, Amen. Esto membrum corporis Christi, ut verum sit Amen." Eating and digesting the outward part could do nobody the least good, unless the inward part was similarly fed upon in the soul.

It should be added that, in this passage, the phrase "corpus Christi" bears two senses, not one. In other words, Christ has two bodies: one with which He was born and rose, the other which is the aggregate of His elect people: or, His mystical body, called the Church. Of these the last owes all its life to the first: yet so, that participation in the life bestowed by the first is limited to those who compose the last. The act of the Holy Ghost at the font engrafts men members of the last: and then, subsequently, the act of the Holy Ghost at the altar supplies them with the first to be their food through life. "For we, being many, are one bread—one body—for we are all partakers of that one bread": as the apostle says. And this, as St. Augustine teaches, is also symbolised in the Eucharist: "Unus panis: quis est iste unus panis? Unum corpus multi. Recolite quia panis non sit de uno grano, sed de multis . . . et sic de vino. Fratres, recolite unde sit vinum. Grana multa pendent ad botrum: sed liquor granorum in unitate confunditur. Ita et Dominus Christus nos significavit, nos ad se pertinere voluit, mysterium pacis et unitatis nostrae in suâ mensâ consecravit." (*Serm.* cclxxii. ed. Ben.)

Thus, as long as the Holy Ghost was invoked, and wherever He is invoked still, to consecrate, there never was any confusion of terms or extravagance of thought, or irreverent reasoning witnessed in discoursing on the Eucharist. God being held to be the actor throughout exclusively, reason was never applied to for explanations; nor was any miracle pre-supposed, beyond that of love. It was the *natural* action of the Infinite upon the finite which the Fathers considered to be sought in that prayer, and the answer to it they held to be that Christ became present on earth being still in heaven; was communicated to thousands, yet received entire by all; multiplied without increasing in bulk, consumed without the withdrawal of a particle from His actual body. Infinite agency being assumed, such results would ensue *naturally*, just as naturally as finite results from a finite cause.

Then, to the same extent that they held Christ to be present in the Eucharist, they held the Eucharist to be a sacrifice, though they denied it to be distinct from the sacrifice offered upon the cross. Hence the same varieties of expression occur that were noticed before. If St. Chrysostom applies to it the epithets "awful" and "tremendous," he calls it also "spiritual" and "bloodless" with St. Cyril. If St. Cyril speaks of it as a "propitiation," SS. Gaudentius and Augustine speak of it as a "figure" of the Passion. Indeed, the latter goes so far as to say, in one of his most careful works, that morality forbade too literal a construction of St. John vi. 53. "Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura est ergò, praecipiens passioni Dominicae communicandum; et suavitèr atque utilitèr recondendum in memoriâ, quòd pro nobis caro Ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit" (*De Doct. Christ.* iii. 16). "One sacrifice cleansed us," says St. Chrysostom, "there is no other. . . . The apostle, consequently, keeps repeating this at every turn, one priest, one sacrifice, lest the idea that there were many should encourage people to think they might sin with impunity" (in Heb. vii. *Hom.* xiii. 3). "What, then, do we not offer daily? Of course we do, but in remembrance of His death; and this is one, and not many. How one, and not many? As having been once offered, like what was offered in the holy of holies, which prefigured it. For our offering is always the same; not one lamb to-day and another to-morrow, but always the same; so that it is one sacrifice. Or else, from being offered in many places, must it not follow that there are many Christs? Certainly not. Christ is one everywhere, and entire everywhere—one body. He, then, who is offered in many places being one, not many bodies, so the sacrifice is also one, our High Priest being the offerer of the sacrifice that cleanses us. And this, which both was offered then, and is inexhaustible, we still offer; and offer in remembrance of what then took place in obedience to His command. Unlike the high priest under the law, who offered a different sacrifice from day to day, what we offer is always the same; or rather, what is done by us is the commemoration of a sacrifice" (Ib. c. x. *Hom.* xvii. 3). "Far from offering," says Theodoret, "another sacrifice, we perpetuate the memorial of that saving one" (*ad Heb.* ix. 4, 5). Thus it was a sacrifice of remembrance, from their point of view; and whatever efficacy they ascribed to it in this sense was relative, not absolute.

Still, as St. Paul taught that Christ had an "unchangeable," that is, an "abiding" priesthood, and "ever liveth to make intercession for us" (Heb. vii. 24; comp. 3 and 25), it could not

be but that He had an abiding sacrifice, "somewhat also to offer," in the words of the same teacher (ib. viii. 3). And what could that be but His own human nature that was crucified once for all? He was "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" in the words of another apostle (Rev. xiii. 8), "that taketh," *not* tooketh, "away the sin of the world"; in the words of the Baptist (St. John i. 29). He had described His body as being given, and His blood as being shed, Himself before the actual event occurred, to signify that the offering of both on His part was continual. His humanity was thus a ceaseless and abiding sacrifice wherever it was. It was being offered whole and entire by Himself in heaven. It was being offered whole and entire by His Spirit on earth. Hence, whenever Fathers term the Eucharist a "*spiritual* sacrifice" from this point of view, they mean not only that it was immaterial and impalpable, but that it became this strictly, by the action of the Holy *Spirit* in making Christ crucified present, and *thus* representing His Passion. It had *thus*, as a sacrifice, no less than as a sacrament, its real as well as its figurative side. For though the sacrifice of the cross was not renewed, the Eucharist was identified with it in each case through Christ, who was present; and therefore, so far, each celebration of the Eucharist might be called, and was, propitiatory. Read by this light, what can be more natural than the heart-stirring prayer for the whole church which, in all the primitive liturgies without exception, immediately follows consecration, while Christ was present objectively through the action of the Holy Ghost previously to His being received. Surely this was to address God "in a time when He might be found," as the Psalmist says (xxx. 6); and, as in words already quoted from St. Cyril, was believed then.

Lastly, this description of sacrifice both originated and receives illustration from another, on which St. Paul elsewhere dwells (Rom. xii. 1): namely, that of our own bodies, which is subjective and immediately due to their having been made temples of the Holy Ghost: and ultimately, to the redemption wrought by Christ for man. Further, it is a sacrifice which is at once real and spiritual. Our bodies are there, but they are to be mortified, not slaughtered, as Theodoret says (ad l.). There is to be no more repetition even of the crucifixion in their case than in Christ's. What is required is, that they should be presented to God in the full spirit of that sacrifice, whole and entire, their acceptableness with him depending upon it alone. As Origen says: "Paulus obsecrat credentes in Christo, ut corpora sua exhibeant, hostiam viventem, sanctam, placentem Deo. Viventem dicit hostiam, quae vitam, hoc est, Christum in se gerit. . . . sanctam dicit, in quâ Sanctus Spiritus habitat. . . placentem Deo, utpote a peccatis separatam?" (*ad loc.*). St. Chrysostom adds: "By reasonable service, is meant walking after the Spirit; leading the life which Christ led" (ad l.). This offering of our bodies, then, is not unreal, because it is spiritual: nor has the sacrifice upon the cross to be repeated to be thus applied.

It is true that the references in the Fathers to this subjective sacrifice are neither full nor frequent. Johnson only quotes two such in his Appendix: one from St. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* ii. *Apol.* c. 95), the other from Eusebius (*Dem. Evang.* ii. 10, ad fin.) who says: "Accordingly we offer both sacrifice and incense; at one time celebrating the memorial of the great sacrifice, according to the mystic rites delivered to us by Him, and presenting the thanksgiving for our salvation to God in pious hymns and prayers; at another, consecrating ourselves wholly to Him, and to His high-priest, the Word; dedicated to Him in soul and body?

Eusebius makes a distinction here between the objective and subjective offerings: calling the one sacrifice, and the other incense. More than this, from the order in which he has named them, he may be supposed to refer to the consecration and post-communion prayers in his own liturgy. Of these the first is common to all liturgies; the second, which may compare with the second of our own post-communion collects, occupies the same place in that of St. James alone, but the prominence given to the subjective offering in our first post-communion collect is probably without parallel "in this part of the ancient liturgies," as Mr. Palmer says (*Orig. Lit.* c. iv. § 22).

In conclusion, the Fathers often apply the term "sacrifice" to the Eucharist, objectively as well as subjectively, from other points of view besides the above. No celebration of the Eucharist could take place, or be supposed, in which the sacrifice of prayer and praise was not included, and this was of course subjective. No celebration, again, could take place without a solemn oblation of the bread and wine. This was objective, but it was also material; and hence was bloodless, without being spiritual. Thus there was a material oblation of the outward part of the sacrament as well as a spiritual of the inward to be taken into account. Now, as the Fathers frequently pass from one point of view to another in their fervid descriptions, all the more care should be taken to discriminate between their different meanings, and to render to each its due. Perhaps, too, their silence on some points is as deserving of notice as their "consensus" on others.

1. Their "consensus" is very marked in interpreting the following passages of the Eucharist:—Gen. xiv. 18–20; Malachi i. 11; St. John vi. 51–63; and Heb. xiii. 10—for which moderns have tried to find other meanings. It is unnecessary to do more than refer to the passages quoted in Johnson's Appendix, supplemented or elucidated by Wilberforce (*Euch.* chaps. vii. xi.) on this head. But two inferences were drawn by them from these texts, one which has been abandoned long since, the other which regulates practice still. From the verse "Except ye eat," &c., they inferred that it was indispensable for every baptized person to communicate. Accordingly for eight centuries, according to Bingham (xiii. i. 2, and xv. 4, 1), communion was administered regularly to infants as well as adults—as soon as they had been baptized and confirmed—and in both kinds of course. From regarding the Eucharist as a sacrifice, they were led to infer it could not be celebrated by any below a priest. Now the words, "Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them," &c., were spoken as exclusively to the apostles as the words, "Do this in remembrance of me." Why, then, should either command have been relaxed at all, or if at all, why not

both in the same degree? Besides, in the New Testament, we read of the apostles ordaining deacons, presbyters, and bishops, but never priests. However, the Fathers are both unanimous in considering the offices of presbyter and bishop identic, and in denying that the Eucharist could be celebrated by any who were not priests, while conceding that, in emergencies, even a layman might baptize (art. BAPTISM). Nor was unworthiness in the minister held to invalidate this sacrament any more than the other. Further, they were no less unanimous in looking upon it as prefigured in the passover, the manna, the shew-bread, the offering of fine flour, &c., and here, too, there were several maxims current among them in consequence. "Una est domus Ecclesiae," says the Pseudo-Cyprian, epitomising them (*App. ad Op. S. Cypr.* p. cxv. ed. Ben.), "in quâ agnus editur: nullus ei communicat, quem Israelitici nominis generositas non commendat;" excommunication, as well as the exclusion of the unbaptized, may be traced to this. "Hujus panis figura fuit manna, quod in deserto pluit: sic ubi ad verum panem in terrâ promissionis ventum est, cibus iste defecit. . . . Panis iste Angelorum omne delectamentum habens virtute mirificâ, omnibus qui dignè et devotè sumunt, secundum desiderium suum sapit, et amplius quàm manna illud eremi implet et satiat edentium appetitus" (*ib.*); spiritual communions may be traced to this.

2. Contrariwise, such passages as St. Luke xxiv. 36–39; St. John xx. 19, 20, and 26, 27; and 1 Cor. xv. 42–50, are passed over, comparatively, by the Fathers untouched: as though they shrank from measuring the facts recorded in the two first by the dogmatic teaching of the third. "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body . . . And so it is written: the first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening spirit . . . *For* this I say, brethren, that *flesh and blood cannot inherit* the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." And certainly Christ, in shewing Himself to His disciples after His resurrection, said: "Flesh and bones"—*not* flesh and blood—"as ye see Me have:" whatever this distinction may imply. Notwithstanding, we talk of His "*natural* body" to this day, as though St. Paul had never spoken: as though its properties and composition had undergone no change, when it was "raised in glory:" as though it was still held in subjection to all the laws, physical and material, under which He was graciously pleased it should be born.

Assuredly the Fathers never asserted this, or anything like this, in maintaining its identity. What dispensed them from speculating on its glorified attributes in this case was, that they looked to nothing short of omnipotence to effect its presence: and affirmed, "*uno ore*," consecration to be the act of the Third Person in the Godhead.

It only remains to be shewn that, in the opinion of the Fathers, to receive the Eucharist without proper dispositions, was to receive the sign without the thing signified: and to risk damnation in so receiving. [Art. EXCOMMUNICATION.] There was no place for the "opus operatum," as it is called, in their system. The words of two writers of the 7th and 8th centuries respectively—whose works consist of passages from the Fathers dovetailed—are sufficient to attest this. St. Hildefonsus says: "Post regenerationem nativitatis spiritalis, post gratiam coelestis unctionis . . . convenit jam pervenire ad participationem coelestis refectionis. Eorum enim est dicere, Pater noster, Qui es in coelis, qui jam Patre tali regenerati sunt ex aquâ et spiritu, ut confidentèr petant dicentes, Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Hic ergò quia panis vivus Christus est, Qui de coelo descendit, et vitam dat mundo, bene in hâc oratione Dominicâ panem nostrum hunc ipsum Christum dari nobis quotidie petimus, ut qui in Christo manemus et vivimus, a sanctificatione et corpore Ejus non recedamus . . . Hoc enim est manducare illam escam, et illum bibere potum, in Christo manere, et Illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc, qui non manet in Christo et in quo non manet Christus, procul dubio nec manducat Ejus carnem, nec bibit Ejus sanguinem: etiamsi tantae rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducet et bibat" (*De Cogn. Bapt.* c. 136). And Leidrad, still more explicitly: "Aliud est enim sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti. Salus autem et vita aeterna non est exterius in sacramento: nam hoc etiam infideles sumere possunt: sed interius sumi non potest in virtute sacramenti, quae non sumitur nisi ab his qui veracitèr sunt pii et fideles: et imitatores Dei, sicut filii carissimi, et ambulant in dilectione, sicut et Christus dilexit nos . . . Quod autem interius sit virtus sacramenti, quae invisibilitèr praestat ablutionem, sanctificationem, et vitam — sicut aqua baptismatis, unctio chrismatis, et corpus ac sanguis Domini — nullus utique fidelium ignorat . . . Propter quod nullus esse securus debet de perceptione sacramentorum, nisi virtutem invisibilitèr teneat et custodiat. Haec igitur omnia ideo tali modo dicimus, quia nisi sumus exponere, quomodo plebem doceamus nobis commissam." (*De Sacram. Bapt.* c. 10.) This is as outspoken as it is true.

Works on the Eucharist illustrative of the teaching of this period are not as easily named as might be supposed. Learned, but not always impartial or exact exponents of its dogmas, and what may be called its dogmatic usages, are to be found in Maréchal, *Concord. Patr.*; Kaye, *Tertullian*; Bingham, *Ant.* xiii.–xv.; Assemani, *Diss. ad Cod. Liturg.* vol. iv; Renaudot, *Diss. ad Liturg. Orient.* vol. i.; Le Brun, *Diss. in Explic. de la Messe*, vol. iii.; Mabillon, *de Liturg. Gall.*; Muratori, *Diss. in Liturg. Rom.* vol. i.; Goar, *Euchol. Illustrat.*; Palmer, *Diss. in Orig. Liturg.* vol. i. and vol. ii. c. iv.; and Neale, *Eastern Ch.* Introd. bk. iii. To another class belong the Schoolmen on Bk. iv. Dist. 8–13 of the Sentences, or extracts from the Fathers, of Peter Lombard. Tracts of Bessarion and others at the time of the Council of Florence in Renaudot, *Gennadii et al. Opusc.*; De la Bigne, *Bibl. Pat.* vol. iv., and the *Liturgies of the Holy Fathers*, &c., in Greek and Latin, Paris, 1560. To a 3rd, Albertin, *de Euchar. Sacram.*; Touttée, *Diss. ad S. Cyril.* iii. 9–12; Saussay, *Panopl. Sacerd.* ii. 1; Suicer, *Thesaur.* s. v. "Synaxis," Pfaff, *Diss. ad St. Iren. Fragm.* vol. i. and ii.; Mede, *Christian Sacrifice*; Hickes, *Christian Priesthood*; Waterland, *Review of the Doctrine*, &c.; Wake, *Discourse*, &c.; Lake, *Sermon on St. Matt.* xxvi. 26–8; Johnson, *Unbloody Sacrifice*, and Wilberforce, *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*. [E. S. Ff.]

EUCHARISTUS (EUCHARISTIUS), bishop of Volterra c. A.D. 492. He was deprived by Gelasius I. for maladministration of the revenues of his diocese. Ammirato and Ughelli suppose him to have been deprived by Gelasius II., and consequently to have lived A.D. 1119. Cappelletti gives reasons for considering this an error. (Scipione Ammirato, *Vescovi di Fiesole, Volterra*, &c. p. 91; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 349*; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xviii. 213.) [R. S. G.]

EUCHARIUS (1), brother of Eliphius, and martyred at the same time [ELIPHIUS], is said to have been a bishop, about A.D. 362, and by some is considered founder of the church of Treves. In the legend of Maternus, bishop of Cologne, the see of Treves was founded in the 1st century, and Maternus, Eucharius, and Valerius were the first bishops. (Greg. Tur. *Vit. Pat.* cap. 17, § 4, p. 1237; *Gall. Chr.* xiii. 371; Ozanam, *La Civ. Chrét. chez les Francs*, c. i. 20, 21.) [J. G.]

EUCHARIUS (2), the head of the clerical body at Constantinople after the deposition of Nestorius. He is addressed as "illustrissimus" by the council of Ephesus in 431 on the day when sentence was passed on Nestorius, and enjoined, along with the presbyters, the oeconomi, and the rest of the clergy, to take charge of every thing pertaining to the church of Constantinople, and render an account to whoever should be appointed in the room of Nestorius. (Mansi, *Concil.* iv. 1228.) [C. H.]

EUCHARIUS (3), bishop of Dyrrhachium (Durazzo) in Epirus. Present at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 240; Mansi, iv. 1153.) [J. de S.]

EUCHARIUS (4) I. (EUCHERIUS), 17th bishop of Tongres (aftds. Liége), following Quirillus. The Sammarthani place his accession about A.D. 487, while others say 527 or 535. He is believed to have been the brother of his successor Falco. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 817.) [C. H.]

EUCHARIUS (5) II. appears in the *Gallia Christiana* (iii. 818), 19th bishop of Tongres, succeeding Falco and followed by Domitianus, consecrated in A.D. 512. Though an anonymous catalogue asserts that he was a son of a count of Flanders and a princess of England, and that after an episcopate of three years he died and was buried at Utrecht, such a statement is of course absurd; nothing certain is known of him, and the *Series* of Gams (p. 248) does not recognise his existence. His name, however, is found in Herigerus in the order above given, and Aegidius accompanies some rather vague praise with the statement that he was believed to have died Feb. 27. (See Chapeaville, *Qui Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium, &c.* tom. i. pp. 52–54, Liége, 1612; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 818.) [S. A. B.]

EUCHARIUS (6), fifteenth in the list of the bishops of Châlons-sur-Marne, succeeding Papio and followed by Tattinodus, about the middle of the 6th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 862; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* a. 580 n. iii. tom. ii. 197; Gams, *Series Episc.* 534.) [S. A. B.]

EUCHERIA, wife of Dynamius Patricius, according to an ancient epitaph. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptores*, i. 519.) [C. H.]

EUCHERIUS (1), ST., bishop of Lyons in the 5th century. The date of birth is uncertain, but it most probably falls within the last quarter of the 4th century. He became bishop about A.D. 434, and may perhaps be considered as the most distinguished occupant of the see of Lyons, St. Irenaeus alone excepted. He died in A.D. 449 or 450.

Name.—Eucherius is a Latinized form of the Greek εὐχερής (skilled-of-hand), which, in its earlier shape εὔχειρ, first appears in legendary narratives, as a fitting name for an artist (cf. Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 472, ἀνδρὸς εὐχείρος τέχνη) and was subsequently assigned to real persons. The feminine form, Eucheria, is also found.

Authorities.—Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epist.* Lib. iii. 8. St. Isidorus, *de Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus*, cap. xv. Gennadius, *de Illustribus Ecclesiae Scriptoribus*, cap. lxiii. Cassianus, some of whose *Collationes* (xi.–xvii.) are addressed to Eucherius and Honoratus. [CASSIANUS.] Also notices in the works of Mamertus Claudianus, St. Paulinus of Nola, and others; the acknowledged writings of Eucherius (see below) and the acts of the first council of Orange (*Concil. Arausicanum*) in A.D. 441. (Labbe, *Concil.* tom. i. p. 1783, ed. Parisiis, 1715.) Alone, among the fourteen prelates signing the acts of this council, Eucherius adds, after the word *subscripsi*, "sanctorum sacerdotum comprovincialium meorum super his exspectaturus assensum;" thus apparently claiming the rights of a metropolitan, inasmuch as the term *sacerdotes* here seems from the context to mean *bishops*.

Life.—Eucherius was born in a high social position, and it seems probable that either his father, Valerianus, or else a cousin of the same name, was nearly connected with Avitus, who in A.D. 455 exchanged the comparatively safe position of a noble among the Arverni (Auvergne) for the more precarious one of an emperor of the West, at Rome, from which he was deposed in the following year. Eucherius married a lady of his own station, named Galla. The issue of this marriage was a family of four children; two daughters, Consortia and Tullia,[a] and two sons, Salonius and Veranius. The sons received an ecclesiastical education in the monastery of Lerinum under St. Honoratus and Salvianus; and both appear, from the title of the commentary on the Books of Kings falsely ascribed to Eucherius, to have been raised, during the lifetime of their father, to the episcopal dignity.

The civic duties of Eucherius (we do not know their exact nature) appear to have been discharged conscientiously and vigorously. Sidonius Apollinaris is loud in the praise of his friend as a layman, and compares him (*Epist.* viii.) to the Bruti and Torquati of old. But the world, certainly at that date in a very turbulent and unsettled condition, palled upon Eucherius, and he became desirous of some tranquil retreat from its cares and temptations. Accordingly, while still in the vigour of life, he retired to the island of Lerinum, the smaller of the two isles now known as the Lérins, off Antibes, in the modern French department of *Var*; and subsequently to the larger one of Lero, now called *Sainte Mar-*

[a] The evidence for the parentage of the daughters is not so clear as that of the sons. Some writers make Consortia and Tullia the offspring of a later Eucherius

guerite. Here he pursued an ascetic life, devoting himself, however, to study as well as to religious services, and also to the education of his children. It was during this part of his career, that he composed the two works of undoubted genuineness which we possess.

His intercourse, both personal and by correspondence, with eminent ecclesiastics of his day tended to make widely known his deserved reputation for sanctity, and for a learning certainly varied and considerable according to the standard of his age and country. It was a natural result of his celebrity, that about A.D. 434, the church of Lyons unanimously elected him to the unsought honour of the episcopate of that important see. He brought to the discharge of his sacred office, the influence and experience acquired in laic government, as well as the spiritual training and erudition won in his retirement. In this post he continued to the end of his life, a period of some sixteen years: and with such acceptance that Claudianus Mamertus [MAMERTUS] speaks of him as "magnorum sui saeculi pontificum longè maximus." The date of 450 marks the latter part of the long reign of Valentinian III. as emperor of the West, and the commencement of the reign of Marcian as emperor of the East. Eucherius was succeeded in the see of Lyons by his son Veranius, while Geneva became the seat of his other son Salonius.

Eucherius is one of a long list of divines and bishops who have occupied positions of distinction as laymen before they became ecclesiastics; a list including such names as Ambrose and Cyprian. But the case of Eucherius is peculiar in this respect, that a considerable interval of time, devoted to retirement and study, separates his laic from his episcopal career. The strongly ascetic tone of his writings, as also of the canons of the council which he subscribed, is probably due, in part at least, to the fact that such retreats as that of *Lerinum* were in his time almost the only places wherein devout studies could be pursued with safety.

Works.—1. *Epistola, seu Libellus, de laude Eremi.* This short treatise is addressed, in terms of admiring homage, to St. Hilary of Arles [HILARIUS], and is assigned, with probability, to A.D. 428. In default of a visit to Egypt, which Eucherius had contemplated, but had not been able to carry out, some of the *collationes* of Cassian, composed at the request of Eucherius, had given so vivid a picture of the monks and hermits of the Thebaid, as to call forth this epistle. The author calls attention to the blessings recorded in Holy Scripture as connected with lonely spots: (*e.g.* the law was given in the wilderness, and there the chosen race was fed with bread from heaven) and to the sanction given to retirement by such examples as those of Moses, of Elijah, of St. JOAN Baptist, and of our Lord Himself. In reference to this last instance he exclaims: "O laus magna deserti, ut diabolus, qui vicerat in paradiso, in Eremo vinceretur;" and notices the withdrawal of Christ to solitude for prayer, and the fact of the Transfiguration taking place on a mountain. Macarius is named with honour, and the enthusiasm of the writer may be gathered even from a brief extract. "O quàm jucundae sunt sitientibus Deum etiam deviae illis saltibus solitudines! quàm amoena sunt quaerentibus Christum illa secreta, quae longè latèque, naturâ excubante, porrecta sunt. Silent omnia. Tunc in Deum suum laeta mens quibusdam silentii stimulis excitatur, tunc ineffabilibus vegetatur excessibus." It seems possible, that some real love of nature is here combined with religious transport.

2. *Epistola Paraenetica ad Valerianum cognatum.* "*De contemptu mundi et saecularis philosophiae.*" The tone of this letter much more resembles that which would be adopted towards a kinsman than a parent. Moreover the parental relationship would have been given in the title. Its date is probably about A.D. 432. Eucherius evidently desires to induce his highly-placed and wealthy kinsman to resign his station and riches, and follow him in retirement from the world. Valerian is reminded of the many saintly doctors of the church who had once occupied an exalted secular position; such as Clement of Rome, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Paulinus of Nola, Ambrose, and many more. The Latin of this epistle is flowing and even elegant. Despite a certain amount of rhetorical redundancy, characteristic of the age, it won the approbation of the slightly fastidious Erasmus, who published an edition of it, accompanied by Scholia, at Basle, A.D. 1520.

3. *Liber formularum spiritalis intelligentiae* [*al. de formâ spiritalis intellectûs*] *ad Veranium filium.* This work has been sometimes mistakenly ascribed to Bede, who frequently quotes it. It is a defence of the lawfulness of the allegorical sense of Scripture, pleading on its behalf the testimony of Scripture itself; as *e.g.* Ps. lxxvii. [lxxviii. A. V.] 2, and the use of such phrases as "the hand of God," "the eyes of the Lord," &c. which cannot be taken *ad literam.* However, the literal sense has its place for history, as well as the moral, and allegorical. This treatise occupies nearly seventeen folio pages. It certainly does display a very extensive acquaintance with the Bible and anticipates many favourite usages of mediaeval mystics and hymn-writers; such as the term *anagoge* (ἀναγωγή) for the application of scripture to the heavenly Jerusalem, identification of the *digitus Dei* with the Holy Spirit (St. Luke xi. 20, with St. Matt. xii. 28) and the like.

4. *Instructionum Libri Duo ad Salonium filium.* Of this treatise, the former book discusses difficulties in the Old and New Testament, the latter of Hebrew names. In lib. i. the author discusses the scriptural evidence for the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; the permission of polygamy to the patriarchs; the existence of evil, which (with many other divines) he makes simply the privation of good, &c. The second book does not seem to display a very profound acquaintance with Hebrew, but it was something to devote any study to a language known to few of the fathers except Origen and Jerome. Eucherius quotes with much respect the version of the O. T. by Aquila.

5. *Homiliae.* These are given at the end of the *Sermones Catechetici* of Theodorus Studita in an edition published by Livineius at Antwerp in A.D. 1602.

6. *Epitome Operum Cassiani.* This is assigned to our author by some; but it is lost, so that we have no internal evidence to guide us. The

respect entertained for Cassian by Eucherius makes such a compilation on the part of the latter by no means improbable.

8. *Historia Passionis S. Mauricii et Sociorum Martyrum Legionis Felicis Thebaeae Agaunensium.* There is no cogent internal evidence in favour of the ascription of this narrative to Eucherius, and hence it is reckoned by some as doubtful. But there does not seem to be sufficient ground for impugning the traditional belief concerning the authorship. For a discussion of its contents see MAURICIUS.

9. *De Statû Animae.* This is assigned to our author by Claudianus Mamertus, bishop of Vienne.

Other treatises and homilies are extant, which must, however, be decidedly abjudged from Eucherius; such are the following.

1. *Commentarius in Genesin.* 2. *Commentariorum in Libros Regum Libri IV.* 3. *Sanctarum Capitula Scripturarum.* These works are all composed in a style very different from that of the bishop of Lyons. That on the books of Kings contains an eulogy (lib. iii. cap. 18) on the senator Cassiodorus, who was not born until some twenty years after the death of Eucherius. Moreover St. Gregory the Great is cited, who was born about 540, nearly a century after the same event. In the same category must be ranked 4. *Epistola ad Faustinum.* 5. *Epistola ad Philonem.* 6. *Regula duplex ad Monachos.* 7. *Homiliarum Collectio*, a set of sermons which is variously ascribed to Eusebius of Emesa, or to Gallicanus.

Editions.—There is no complete edition of the writings of Eucherius. For this article recourse has been had to the *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima* (Lugduni), A.D. 1677 (tom. vi. p. 822), for Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4: with which may be compared the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (Colon. A.D. 1618, tom. v. p. 1); the edition of Brassicanus (Basil. A.D. 1531); the *Chronologia S. Insulae Lerinensis* by Vincentius Barralis (Lugduni, A.D. 1613) and the list of the works of Eucherius given by Schönemann in his *Bibl. Patr. Lat.* tom. ii. cap. v. § 36. The account of St. Maurice (No. 5 in the above list) was edited in an inconsistent and indefensible shape by L. Surius, and in a not much better condition by Mombritius. At length Father Chifflet, S. J., found a copy in a celebrated monastery of the Jura, and his copy has been adopted by Ruinart, who has given it, with copious notes, in his *Acta Martyrum* (2nd ed. Amstelaedami, A.D. 1713).

Some confusion has arisen from the existence of a second Eucherius, who must have flourished a century later. [EUCHERIUS (4).] Some have maintained that Lyons was also the see of this Eucherius. But of this there is no trustworthy evidence. It has been made the subject of a dissertation by Jos. Antelmius *Assertio pro unico S. Eucherio Lugdunensi episcopo* (Paris, 1726).

[J. G. C.]

EUCHERIUS (2), ST., placed first in the series of the bishops of Viviers by Gams, and fourth by the authors of the *Gallia Christiana*, succeeding St. Maspicianus, and followed by St. Firminus, but his position in the list is a matter of conjecture, and his date is unknown. Gams dates the fifth bishop A.D. 432. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 542; Gams, *Series Episc.* 656.) [S. A. B.]

EUCHERIUS (3), bishop of Tongres. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 817.) [EUCHARIUS (5).] [R. T. S.]

EUCHERIUS (4), ninth bishop of Avignon, subscribing the fourth council of Arles, 524, the council of Carpentras, 527, and the second of Orange, 529 (Mansi, viii. 627, 708, 709, 718). The subscriptions being without names of sees, this Eucherius was supposed to have been bishop of Lyons, but in the *Gallia Christiana* (i. 798) evidence is produced that he was really bishop of Avignon. [S. A. B.]

EUCHERIUS (5), bishop of Antibes (a see afterwards removed to Grasse). [ETHERIUS (1).]

EUCHERIUS (6), reputed bishop of Terracina. A bishop Eucherius is found in the ancient lists of the church of Terracina (Ug. *Ital. Sac.* i. 1290; Contator, *Hist. Terracina*, 409), but without date. A letter, probably spurious, of pope Liberius to Vigilius, dated 536, is signed by a bishop unnamed but described as "Terracinensis" (Mansi, *Concil.* ix. 7 a; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 935), and it has been conjectured that the bishop of this letter was the undated Eucherius.

[T. W. D.]

EUCHERIUS (7), ST., the 32nd bishop of Orleans. The authority for his life is an account by an anonymous, but apparently contemporary, author, to be found in Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 217 (cf. *Hist. Lit. de la France*, iv. 78). He was born at Orleans, of noble parents, towards the close of the 7th century, and was baptized by Ansbertus, bishop of Autun. In his studies, which he began at seven years of age, he surpassed all his comrades. Declining the temptations of a civil career, he entered the monastery of Jumiéges (Gemmeticum) in Neustria, and there followed the ordinary routine of a monk's life until, upon the death of his uncle Soavaricus, bishop of Orleans, the people petitioned Charles Martel to appoint him to the see (A.D. 717). Their request was granted, but force was almost necessary to separate the reluctant bishop-elect from the weeping brethren. In his diocese he was remarkable for his activity and self-devotion, while his personal qualities were such as to win unbounded popularity. He was, says his biographer, "mente tranquillus, vultu serenus, aspectu amabilis, corpore decorus et corde strenuus." But his episcopal career was destined to an abrupt close. Envy, we are told, raised him up enemies who poisoned the ear of Charles Martel. Charles, on his return from victory over the Saracens at Tours, ordered the bishop to follow him to Paris, and thence sent him into exile to Cologne in the sixteenth year of his episcopate (A.D. 732). Though his biographer is not explicit, there is little doubt that the real cause of difference was the resistance of the bishop to the appropriation by the mayor of the palace of church revenues and lands to meet the cost of the wars with the Saracens.

At Cologne his popularity soon appeared too great, and he was exiled to Hasbain, in the neighbourhood of Liége. Here or at Sarchinium (Sarcing), near by, he died in the sixth year of his expatriation (A.D. 738 or, according to other accounts, 742 or 743), and was buried in the church of St. Trudo. His remains, together with those of St. Trudo, were about 150 years

later elevated to a position of honour by France, bishop of Liége. He is commemorated Feb. 20. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1417; Baron. *A. E.* an. 741 xvi.; Sigeb. Gemblac. *Chron.*, in Bouquet, iii. 346.) [S. A. B.]

EUCHERIUS (8) (LEONARIUS), twenty-eighth in the very untrustworthy lists of the bishops of Geneva, succeeding Huportunus, and followed by Gubertus, in the last half of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 384; Gams, *Series Episc.* 277.) [S. A. B.]

EUCHERIUS (9), FLAVIUS, consul, with Flavius Evagrius, when Gregory Nazianzen made his will. (Greg. Naz. *Test.*) [E. V.]

EUCHERIUS (10), eldest son of Stilicho by Serena. His birth, which took place at Rome in 389, is celebrated by Claudian (*de Laud. Stil.* iii. 176 foll.). Orosius (*Hist.* vii. 37, 38) and Philostorgius (*Hist.* xii. 2) accuse Stilicho of having designs upon the empire for his son (cf. Soz. *H. E.* ix. 4, § 1). Zosimus (v. 32) represents the charge as a calumny of Olympius. Eucherius, who, according to Orosius (vii. 38), was from his early years an enemy of the Christian faith and bent on persecuting it, in order to please the barbarians restored the heathen temples and destroyed Christian churches. When his father was seized at Ravenna (A.D. 408), Eucherius fled to Rome, and took refuge in a temple. Orders arrived from Honorius to put him to death, and they were executed by the eunuchs Arsacius and Terentius, just before the arrival of Alaric (Philost. xii. 3; Zosim. v. 34). [M. F. A.]

EUCHERIUS (11), addressed by Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epp.* iii. 8), who describes him as exercising the virtues of the old Roman statesman with slight reward from the degenerate times. He was probably the senator whose death by the treachery of duke Victorius, the officer of Euric the Visigoth, is related by Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 20). [R. T. S.]

EUCHINUS is mentioned by Boece (*Scot. Hist.* c. viii. fol. 151 a, ed. 1575), but is omitted in Bellenden's version (vol. ii., p. 58, ed. 1821). Dempster regards him as the author of *Conciones Piae*, lib. i., *Statuta Ecclesiastica*, lib. i., and gives Boece for his authority in entering Euchinus in his Kalendar at August 28, "In Scotia Euchini episcopi cognomento Dei timentis." Lesley associates him with SS. Colman, Priscus, Medan, and Modan, bishops and confessors in Scotland in the time of King Conran (A.D. 501-535). (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 209, 335; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 252; Leslaeus, *de Reb. Gest. Scot.* 137; Bolland. *Acta SS.* August 28, tom. vi. 141 c; Tanner, *Bibl.* 271.) [J. G.]

EUCHITES. *Doctrines and Practices.*—At the beginning of the last quarter of the 4th century or a little earlier, fanatics made their appearance in Syria, whose manner of life was said to have been introduced from Mesopotamia, and who were known by the Syriac name of Messalians or Massalians (מְצַלִּין), praying people. צְלָא *oravit* is found in the Chaldee (Daniel vi. 11, Ezra vi. 10). Epiphanius, whose account of these people is the last article (80) of his work on heresies, translates the name (εὐχ῾μενοι), but in the next generation the Messalians had obtained a technical name in Greek also, and were known as Euchites (εὐχῆται or εὐχῖται). Their chief characteristic was that they professed to give themselves entirely to prayer, refusing to do any work, and living by begging; in this differing from the Christian monks of the time, who supported themselves by the labour of their hands. A further difference was that they were of both sexes, who went about together; nay, in summer weather lying down and sleeping in the streets, men and women promiscuously, as persons who had renounced the world, and had no possession or habitation of their own. Epiphanius is willing to believe that much impurity resulted from this practice, but does not pretend to have any knowledge of this as a fact. Epiphanius dates the commencement of this sect from the reign of Constantius, who died A.D. 361. Theodoret, who speaks of it (*H. E.* iv. 11; *Haer. Fab.* iv. 10; *Rel. Hist.* iii., *Vit. Marcian.* vol. iii. 1146), places its beginning a few years later under Valentinian. There does not seem to be any real foundation for the charge that the Euchites were derived from the Manichees. Epiphanius connects them with the heathen devotees whom he calls Euphemites, and who it seems had also been known as Messalians; and it is very credible that before the Christian Euchites, fakeers had gone about in these regions, unconnected with Christianity, who under pretence of devotion lived an idle life. The Euchites appear never to have made any entrance into the West, but in the East, though probably at no time very numerous, they are heard of for centuries; and when the Bogomiles of the 12th century appeared, the name Messalian still survived, and the new heretics were supposed, and perhaps with truth, to be descendants of the ancient sect.

In the time of Epiphanius the Messalians would seem to be scarcely entitled to be called a sect. He describes them as having no settled system and no recognised leader; and he imputes to them no error of doctrine, but only criticizes their manner of life. He tells, for instance, that they had no regard for the church times of fasting, and no fixed times for eating, but, when after their prayers they were hungry, they ate and drank such food as they could get, no matter what the hour or season might be. Epiphanius states also that one of these people would claim to be any person you might name to him: name our Blessed Lord Himself, or any angel, prophet, or patriarch, and he would say that that was himself.

Two accounts of Euchite doctrine are apparently of greater antiquity than the authors who preserve them. One is given by Timotheus (*de Receptione Haer.* in Cotelier's *Mon. Ecc. Gr.* iii. 400). This writer was a presbyter of the church of Constantinople, and his date cannot be more closely assigned than as of the 6th century. The coincidences of his account with the notices in Theodoret are too numerous to be well explained except on the supposition that both used common sources. These sources probably were the acts of the councils of Antioch and Side, presently to be mentioned, which contained summaries of Messalian doctrine. Theodoret may possibly also

have used a Messalian book called *Asceticus*, the doctrines of which, Photius tells us, had been exposed and anathematised at the council of Ephesus in 431. But in any case, it is likely that the same book furnished the "heads of the impious doctrine of the Messalians taken from their own book," which are given by Joannes Damascenus (*de Haer.* ap. Cotelier, *Mon. Ecc. Gr.* i. 302, and *Opp.* Le Quien, i. 95), but which would seem also (see Wolf, *Hist. Bogomil.* p. 11) to have been separately preserved in two MSS. at Leipsic (*Acta Eruditorum*, 1696, p. 299; 1699, p. 157; and in the Bodleian, *Cod. Barocc.* 185). From these sources we derive either the theory in which the Euchite practices originated, or else one which was soon devised to justify them.

They held then that in consequence of Adam's sin every one had from his birth a demon, substantially united to his soul, which incited him to sin. For the expulsion of this demon baptism was ineffectual. Dealing only with past sin it did but shear off the surface growth, and did not touch the root of the evil. The true remedy was intense, concentrated prayer, continued till it produced a state from which all affections and volitions were banished (ἀπάθεια). In this the soul felt as sensible a consciousness of union with its heavenly bridegroom as an earthly bride in the embraces of her husband. Then the demon went out in the spittle or in the mucus of the nose, or was seen to depart in smoke or in the form of a serpent, and there was in like manner sensible evidence of the entrance of the Holy Spirit. St. Augustine (*Haer.* 57), who here had some source of information independent of Epiphanius, whom in this part of his work he has been abridging, ascribes to them a fancy that the Holy Spirit might be seen to enter in the appearance of innocuous fire, and the demon to pass out of the man's mouth in the form of a sow with her farrow. Possibly language intended by them metaphorically was misunderstood; for they described the soul of him who had not Christ in him as the abode of serpents and venomous beasts. They further thought that he who had arrived at the passionless state could see the Holy Trinity with his bodily eyes; that the three hypostases of the Trinity coalesced into one, which united itself with worthy souls. This doctrine no doubt furnishes the key to the account given by Epiphanius of the effacement of the sense of distinct personality in members of this sect. They held that in the passionless state at which they aimed a man might attain a perfection in which sin was impossible to him; he needed neither instruction for his soul nor fasting to discipline his body, for delicate food and luxurious living, which might be a temptation to others, could stir no evil desire in him. It is probably a misconception of their doctrine to suppose that they held his privileges extended to being guilty of licentious conduct without falling from his perfection. The soul of him who was "spiritual," for such they boasted themselves to be, was changed into the divine nature; he could see things invisible to ordinary men; and so some of them used to dance by way of trampling on the demons which they saw, a practice from which they were called Choreutae. It is not wonderful to read that, absorbed in their mystic contemplation, they used to sleep great part of their time away; but the things they saw in their dreams, they took for realities, and boasted that they then acquired a knowledge of future events, that they could see the condition of departed souls, and that they could read men's hearts. Both sexes might partake of this divine illumination, and they had female teachers, whom they honoured not only more than ordinary laymen, but more than the clergy. The use of the Lord's Supper they looked on as a thing indifferent; it could neither benefit the worthy nor harm the unworthy receiver; but there was no reason for separating from the church by refusing to partake of it. Indeed, so little did they wish to break with the church that they were said to have no scruple about denying and anathematizing their doctrines, a charge which seems to have been founded on the behaviour of the first convicted heretics of this sect, concerning which we shall speak presently. It has been already said that they refused manual labour, and lived by begging; and they disparaged all the ordinary forms of Christian charity in comparison of the merit of bestowing alms on one of their members. They had speculations about our Lord's humanity, of which the most intelligible is that the body which He assumed had been full of demons, which it was necessary for Him to expel.

History.—The first whom we read of as a leader of the sect is Adelphius, and Adelphians was one of the many names by which they were known. He was neither priest nor monk, but an ordinary layman, and was of Mesopotamia. Epiphanius speaks of the Messalians of his time as not having any recognised leader, but he mentions that they came from Mesopotamia. Theodoret tells that Flavian bishop of Antioch, having learned that Messalian doctrines were being propagated at Edessa (probably from the statement of Messalians in his own diocese that they had there been taught), sent a body of monks to bring the false teachers to Antioch. There they denied their doctrines, and charged their accusers with calumny. Flavian then used an artifice afterwards repeated by Alexius Comnenus in the case of the Bogomiles. He affected to take the part of the accused, treated Adelphius, who was an old man, with great respect, and led him to believe that he would find in an aged bishop one able to understand and sympathize with views, which younger men rejected only from want of experience. Adelphius, having been thus enticed into a full disclosure of his sentiments, was rebuked in the words addressed by Daniel to the wicked elder (Susanna, 52) and punished as convicted out of his own mouth. He and his party were beaten, excommunicated and banished, and were not allowed, as they wished, the alternative of recantation, inasmuch as no confidence was felt in their sincerity, especially because they were found communicating by writing in friendly terms with Messalians whom they had anathematized. We consider that it was on this occasion Flavian held a synod against the Messalians (Photius, 52) attended by three other bishops (Bizus of Seleucia, a Mesopotamian bishop, MARUTHAS, described by Photius as bishop of the Supharenians, and Samus), and by about thirty priests and deacons. Besides Adelphius there were condemned on this occasion two persons named

Sabas, one of them a monk and a eunuch, Eustathius of Edessa, Dadoes, Hermas, Symeon, and others. Flavian wrote to the bishops of Edessa and its neighbourhood, acquainting them with what had been done, and received from them an approving reply. The Messalians who had been banished from Syria went to Pamphylia, and there met new antagonists. They were again condemned in a council of twenty-five bishops held at Side and presided over by the celebrated AMPHILOCHIUS of Iconium. The council sent a synodical letter to Flavian, informing him of their proceedings, and in the Acts Amphilochius gave a full statement of the Messalian tenets expressed in their own words. It is possible that the substance of this statement is preserved for us in the work of Timotheus already referred to. Photius represents the synod at Antioch just mentioned as having been called in consequence of the synodical letter from Side, but this is more than doubtful. On comparing Photius with Theodoret, it seems plain that both are speaking of the same thing, and Theodoret mentions only one set of proceedings at Antioch, viz., that which ended in the banishment of the Euchites to Pamphylia. It is unlikely that after their expulsion they would or could have returned to Antioch to receive a new condemnation; and the synodical acts at Antioch contain no letter to Amphilochius, no approval of anything done at Side, but only a letter to Edessa, as might be expected if the occasion of the council was that which we have assigned to it. We regard, therefore, Photius as misled by finding in the volume which he used the acts of the synod at Side coming before those of that at Antioch; and it is remarkable that Theodoret also, in his *Ecc. Hist.*, mentions the proceedings in Pamphylia before mentioning those which resulted in the banishment of the Messalians to Pamphylia. We cannot pretend to fix the year of these proceedings, but a date somewhere about 390 will not be very far wrong.

Measures were taken against the Messalians in Armenia also. Letoius bishop of Melitene by letter asked and obtained information from Flavian as to the proceedings against them in Antioch. Finding some monasteries in his diocese infected by this heresy, he set fire to these dens of robbers, and hunted the wolves from his sheepfold. A less zealous Armenian bishop was rebuked by Flavian for favour shewn to these heretics. In Pamphylia the contest with them lasted for several years. The leaders on the orthodox side were another Amphilochius, bishop of Side, and Verinianus bishop of Perga. They were stimulated to their task by energetic letters from Atticus bishop of Constantinople, and later, in A.D. 426, from the synod held for the consecration of Sisinnius, the successor of Atticus, in which Theodotus of Antioch and another bishop named Neon are mentioned by Photius as having taken active parts. Messalianism had probably at that time given some trouble in Constantinople itself. Nilus (*de Vol. Paup. ad Magnam*, 21) couples with the name of Adelphius of Mesopotamia, Alexander, who polluted Constantinople with like teaching, and against whom he contends that the idleness they inculcated, instead of being an aid to devotion, gave scope to evil thoughts and evil passions, and was inimical to the true spirit of prayer. Tillemont has conjectured that this was the Alexander who about this time founded the order of the ACOEMETAE (see DICT. CHRIST. ANT.), but the identification is far from certain. There is no corroborative evidence that the latter was a heretic save that his name has not been honoured with the prefix of saint; and it is not likely that his institution would have met with the success it did, if it could be represented as a scheme devised by a notorious Messalian to carry out the notions of his sect as to the duty of incessant prayer.

During the interval between the accession of Sisinnius and the council of Ephesus in 431, John of Antioch wrote to Nestorius about the Messalians, and Theodosius legislated against them (xvi. Cod. Theod. *de Haer.*, vol. vi. p. 187). At Ephesus Valerian of Iconium, and Amphilochius of Side, in the name of the bishops of Lycaonia and Pamphylia, obtained from the council a confirmation of the decrees made against the Euchites at Constantinople in 426. They also procured the anathematization of the Messalian book called *Asceticus*, passages from which Valerian laid before the synod. (Mansi, iv. 1477.) Fabricius names Agapius, and Walch Adelphius as the author of this book, but the writer is really unknown. These proceedings at Ephesus were unknown to Gregory the Great (*Ep.* vi. 14, *ad Narsem*, vol. vii. p. 361), but are mentioned by Photius, and the decree was read at the second council of Nicaea. (Mansi, xii. 1025.) The cause of Gregory's oversight may have been that his correspondent cited to him as Ephesine the acts of the council of Antioch, and that Gregory searched the Ephesine acts in vain for the names of Adelphius and Sabas. We learn from the Ephesine decree that Messalianism had also been condemned at Alexandria, and Timotheus mentions Cyril as an antagonist of these heretics. There is a passage (Ep. ad Calosyrium, prefixed to the tract *Adv. Anthropomorph.* vii. 363) in which Cyril rebukes certain monks who refused to work, and made piety a cloak for laziness, but there is no evidence that these monks were Euchites. The articles of the *Asceticus* were the subject of twenty-four anathematisms by ARCHELAUS (who occupied the see of Caesarea in Cappadocia some time between the two Ephesine synods of 431 and 449, there being at the latter date a different bishop in that see) and of two letters by HERACLEIDAS of Nyssa, who also may be placed about 440. The next Euchite leader of whom we read is LAMPETIUS. He was so prominent that his followers were called after him Lampetians, and he is said to have been the first of the sect who attained the dignity of the priesthood. He had been ordained by Alypius, whom we know, from a correspondence with the emperor Leo, to have been bishop of Caesarea (Cappadocia) in 458. He was accused to Alypius by the presbyter Gerontius, superior of the monks at Glitis, on the charge of undue familiarity with women, of unseemly language on the subject, of scoffing at those who took part in the musical services of the church as being still under the law, when they ought to make melody only in their hearts, and of other Euchite doctrines and practices. The examination of the charge was delegated by Alypius to Hormisdas bishop of Comana, and the result was that Lampetius was

condemned and degraded from the priesthood. He wrote a work called the Testament, to which an answer was written by the Monophysite Severus, who afterwards became bishop of Antioch. A fragment of this answer is preserved in a catena belonging to New College, Oxford. (Wolf, *Anecdota Graeca*, iii. 182.) It insists on the duty of praising God, not with the heart only, but with the voice also. The same catena contains an extract from another work of Severus against the Euchites, an epistle to a bishop Solon. This extract accounts for the cessation of miracles in the Christian church. Photius tells that in Rhinocorura two persons named Alpheus, one of them a bishop, defended the orthodoxy of this Lampetius, and were in consequence deposed. He learned this from a letter written by Ptolemy, another bishop of the same district, to Timotheus of Alexandria. There have been at Alexandria several bishops of that name, but it is likely that the Timotheus intended is he who was contemporary with Lampetius, and who sat from 460 to 482.

The next Messalian leader of whom we read (in Timotheus) is a money-changer named MARCIAN, who lived in the middle of the 6th century, and from whom these sectaries came to be called by the somewhat confusing name of Marcianists. The correspondence of Gregory the Great, already referred to, arose out of the condemnation under this name, unknown in the West, in 595, of one John, a presbyter of Chalcedon. He appealed to the pope, who pronounced him orthodox, complaining that he had not even been able to make out from his accusers what the heresy of Marcianism was.

In the 7th century Maximus, in his scholia on the Pseudo Dionysius (II. 88), charges those whom he describes by the various equivalent names of Lampetians, Messalians, Adelphians, and Marcianists, with giving but three years to ascetic life, and abandoning the rest of their life to all manner of debauchery. Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 172), in his account of the schisms of the Syrian Nestorians, gives from Oriental sources several notices, reaching from the year 577 to 694, of the attempts of the Nestorians to put down Messalianism, in which mention is made of the aversion of these heretics to the use of the Lord's Supper, to fasting, and to church psalmody. The article in Photius on anti-Messalian literature, already cited, implies that the sect was, in his time, not yet extinct.

We hear no more of the Messalians till the breaking out of the Bogomile heresy in the 12th century. The history of that controversy lies out of the period embraced by this dictionary. What was asserted by the writers of the period concerning the early history of the sect may be conveniently consulted in Tollius (*Insignia Itin. Ital.*), where is found the work on the Messalians of Euthymius Zigabenus, with extracts relating to these heretics from Constantine Harmenopulus, and Michael Psellus. Euthymius, for instance, ascribes the origin of the sect to a certain Peter, or Wolf-Peter, so called because the spectators, assembled to witness the fulfilment of his promise that after three days he would rise again, saw only the demon in the form of a wolf escaping from the cairn under which he lay; and he speaks of a certain Tychicus, his disciple, who corrupted and misinterpreted the Scriptures, especially the Gospel according to St. Matthew. Harmenopulus complains of their abominating the cross, holding the Virgin and John the Baptist in no honour, breaking marriages, and allowing those who would to mutilate themselves, and he ascribes certain immoral teaching to one Eleutherus, a Paphlagonian. Psellus circumstantially tells of these heretics the old stories of "Oedipodean intercourse and Thyestean banquets." All these things, for which no early authority can be cited, may safely be set aside. A later revival of Messalian ideas took place in the mystics of Mount Athos of the 14th century.

To the various names already mentioned by which the Euchites were known may be added that of "Enthusiasts," given by Theodoret, which is used in some of the decrees against them; and "Eustathians," given by Timotheus. There was a Messalian Eustathius of Edessa, but this name was probably derived from the better known Eustathius of Sebaste. The name Psalliani only originated in a transcriber's error. We have referred in the course of this article to the principal ancient writers who speak of the Messalians. We have only to add references to Ephrem Syrus (*Opp.* Syr.-Lat. ii. 485). A passage quoted from his Testament is proved by the Syriac to have been an interpolation in the Greek text (*Opp.* Gr.-Lat. ii. 242, 403; Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* i. 145). There is a notice also in Jerome (*Prol. Dial. cont. Pelag.* ii. 679, Vallars.). Of modern writers, those who may most usefully be consulted are Tillemont, viii. 530; Walch, *Hist. der Ketz.* iii. 418; and Neander, *Ch. Hist.* iii. 323. [G. S.]

EUCHOLIUS (EUCOLUS, ASCHOLIUS, ACHOLIUS), a man at Constantinople suborned to assassinate the Patriarch Macedonius. The attempt failed, and Macedonius shewed a questionable kindness by ordering gifts to be presented to him. (Theodor. Lect. *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 22. Patrol. Graec. lxxxvi. part i. 576; Theoph. *Chronicon.* 198.) [W. M. S.]

EUCHROCIA (EUCROCIA), wife of the orator and poet Delphidius, described as a noble matron of Bordeaux. After the rescript of Gratian, 381, against the Priscillianists, when Priscillian, accompanied by Instantius and Salvianus, undertook a journey through Gaul to Italy to clear themselves and their party before pope Damasus of the charges against them, after being repelled by the bishop of Bordeaux, Delphinus, they found a refuge on the lands of Euchrocia. There they successfully sowed the seeds of their heresy. They went on thence to Milan and Rome, accompanied by Euchrocia and her daughter Procula. A crowd of others, women especially, accompanied them. Injurious calumnies were vigorously circulated against mother and daughter by their religious opponents. Euchrocia was beheaded at Treves, 386, with Priscillian and his chief associates (Sulp. Sev. ii. 48, 51; L. Pac. Drep. in *Panegyrici Veteres*, xii. 29; Prosperi *Chronicon, s. a.*; Ausonius, *de Profess. Burdegal.* Carm. vi.). [M. B. C.]

EUCOLUS. [EUCHOLIUS.]

EUCRATIUS bishop, who consults Cyprian as to the Christian lawfulness of the calling of a

stage-tutor (Cyp. Ep. 2); probably the same as Eucratius bishop of Thenae, a seaport in the Byzacene province (*Sentt. Epp.* 29 in Concil. Carth. sub Cyp. *de Bapt.* 3. Cf. August. *de Bapt.* vi. 36). [E. W. B.]

EUDAEMON (1), bishop of Smyrna, who was prevailed upon to offer sacrifice during the persecution of Decius, A.D. 250. He was standing by when Pionius the martyr refused to sacrifice. (Euseb. iv. 15; *Act. Sanct.* Feb. 1, 40). [T. W. D.]

EUDAEMON (2) (Εὐδαίμων, EUTHEMON), a Meletian bishop, who with others was sent by his party to the emperor Constantine, with frivolous charges against Athanasius, A.D. 328 (Socrates, *H. E.* i. 27; Athanasius, *Apol.* § 60; Baronius, *s. a.* 329, 1; Pagi, *Crit.* in loc. and *s. a.* 327, v). He was bishop of Tanis in the province of Augustamnica Prima (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 535), and was one of those who withdrew from the council of Sardica, A.D. 347, and met at Philippopolis. He also signed the synodal letter of that assembly (Mansi, iii. 139). In the *Acta* his name appears as Euthemon. [T. W. D.]

EUDAEMON (3), A.D. 389, presbyter at Constantinople, who prevailed on Nectarius the metropolitan to abolish the office of Penitentiary Presbyter, an example followed almost throughout the Eastern church. The office had lasted rather more than 130 years, when about 389 a noble lady who had confessed to the penitentiary and received disciplinary advice came back shortly to confess that she had since committed adultery with a deacon. Great popular excitement arose, and Eudaemon represented to Nectarius that the only way to save the church from obloquy was to abolish the office altogether and leave participation in communion to be decided by the individual conscience. Socrates the historian received this account from Eudaemon himself. Socrates appears to have been conservative in the matter, for he said to Eudaemon, "Whether, O presbyter, your counsel has been profitable to the church or otherwise, God knows; but I see that it takes away the means of rebuking one another's faults, and prevents our acting upon that precept of the apostle, *Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them.*" (Socr. *Eccl. Hist.* v. 19; Sozom. *Eccl. Hist.* vii. 16; Bingham, xviii. 3, vol. vii. p. 138.) [W. M. S.]

EUDAEMON (4) (EUDEMON), bishop of Geras in Egypt. His death is recorded in the Paschal letter of Theophilus bishop of Alexandria in A.D. 404, translated by Jerome. (Jerome, *Ep.* 100. sec. 18. ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

EUDAEMON (5), bishop of Lampsacus, a confessor for images, commemorated by the Greeks on March 14 (Basil. *Menol.*; Baron. ad ann. 735, iii.). Baronius, who places him under Leo the Isaurian, writes the name Eudaemon, but his name appears to be more correctly Euschemon. There is a letter to him (num. 289) among the *Epistolae Ineditae* of Theodorus Studita (Patr. Gr. xcix. 1671). The Basilian Menology places him under the Iconomachi generally. Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* i. 774) under Theophilus. [C. H.]

EUDAS UA DICHOLLA, abbat of Kildare, died A.D. 798 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 797; *Four Mast.* A.D. 793). [J. G.]

EUDEM, clerical witness to the grant of the village of Bertus by King Ithael to the see of Llandaff in the time of bishop Berthgwyn, in the end of the 5th or early in the 6th century (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 440–41). [J. G.]

EUDEMUS I., bishop of Patara in Lycia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 977; Mansi, ii. 695.) [L. D.]

EUDEMUS II., bishop of Patara, one of the Lycian bishops who in A.D. 375 were reported to Basil as holding orthodox views and as desiring to enter communion with him. (Basil, *Epist.* 218 [403].) Eudemus of Patara was present at the council of Constantinople in A.D. 381. [E. V.]

EUDO, duke of Aquitaine at the beginning of the 8th century. Aquitaine, which in 630 had been brought directly under Frankish rule by Dagobert, had in the confusion of the ensuing century become practically, though not technically, independent. The date of Eudo's accession and his origin are unknown. The supposition that he was a Merovingian, and a grandson of Charibert, on whose death in 630 Dagobert had annexed Aquitaine, has been disproved by Rabanis (*Les Mérovingiens d'Aquitaine et la Charte d'Alaon*, 1856, quoted by Richter and Breysig), who has shewn that the document on which the theory rests is spurious.

In 719, Chilperic II. and his mayor Raganfred made an alliance with Eudo against Charles Martel, and one of the conditions of the alliance was the recognition of the independence of Aquitaine ("Regnum et munera tradunt," *Fred. Cont.* 107, ap. Breysig, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs*, 714–741; *Die Zeit Karl Martells*, also *De Continuato Fredeg. Schol. Chronico*, by the same author, p. 30). The intended combined attack on Charles was unsuccessful [CHARLES MARTEL], Eudo apparently retiring without fighting ("Eudo territus quod resistere non valeret aufugit," *Cont. Fred.* 107; cp. Breysig, *Karl. Mart.* p. 31, note 10). Chilperic, after his defeat at Soissons, took refuge with Eudo beyond the Loire (*Gesta Fr.* 53). The next year, 720, Clotaire IV. having died, an arrangement was concluded between Charles and Eudo, by which Chilperic returned to Paris and was recognised by Charles as king of the Franks. What the position of Aquitaine was under this compact is obscure. Fauriel looks upon the treaty as a partition of the Merovingian kingdom between Charles and Eudo (*Histoire de la Gaule méridionale*, iii. p. 105); anyhow Eudo was to all intents and purposes independent. In the year 721, the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees, conquered Narbonne, and laid siege to Toulouse. Eudo attacked and defeated them, slew their leader El Samah, and drove them out of Aquitaine. (*Chron. Moissiac.* s. a.)

There is some obscurity with regard to Eudo's connexion with the great Saracen invasion of Aquitaine ten years later, but the facts, as interpreted by Breysig, pp. 63 sqq., Fauriel, iii. 115 sqq., and Gustav Richter, *Annalen der Deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter* sub annis, appear to be these. In the year 731 Eudo renounced his alliance with Charles, having given his daughter in marriage to Othman (Munuz), a military chief of the Saracens. (Isid. ap. Bouquet, ii. pp. 720, 721.) Charles crossed the Loire twice during

the year, plundering and devastating Aquitaine (*Cont. Fred.* 108). Eudo being unable to offer any effective resistance, determined to summon the aid of Othman. Meanwhile, however, Othman had risen against Abderahman, and had been defeated and slain. In the following year, 732, Abderahman made the grand Saracenic invasion, not in alliance with Eudo. On the contrary, Eudo met the invaders on the Garonne, was defeated and fled to Charles (*Chron. Moissiac.* s. a.) Eudo fought with Charles at the battle of Tours (Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* vi. 45), where Abderahman was shortly after defeated and slain. All the Frankish chronicles, except the *Chron. Moissiac.*, make Eudo the ally of Abderahman (knowing nothing of Othman), and omit all mention of Eudo's resistance to the invaders, or his fighting at Tours on the Frankish side (Breysig, p. 65, note 5). Eudo was reinstated in Aquitaine, but compelled to own allegiance to Charles (*Ann. Mett.* 732, Breysig, 69). In 735 Eudo died, and Charles immediately invaded Aquitaine, and brought it into direct subjection. Eventually he allowed Eudo's son Chunold or Hunold to be duke, on condition of recognising the superiority of the Frankish king. (*Cont. Fred.* 109 and *Ann. Mett.* s. a. 742.) [T. R. B.]

EUDOCETUS (Εὐδοκητός). For the account given by a section of the Valentinians why this name was given to the Saviour see Irenaeus (I. xii. 4, p. 58). [G. S.]

EUDOCHIA, a lady to whom, along with two others, Esychia and Dominica, pope Gregory the Great sends greetings through Narses Patricius, A.D. 590. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. i. ind. ix. ep. 6. Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 450.) In another letter of 597 to Narses, here called "religiosus" (lib. vii. ind. xv. ep. 30), he salutes her again with Dominica, "gloriosas filias meas," Esychia being then dead (Patr. Lat. 886). [C. H.]

EUDOCIA (1), martyr, Mar. 1, born at Samaria during the reign of Trajan. In her early days she lived an immoral life, but upon hearing a sermon on repentance from a monk named Germanus she resolved to live differently, went to Theodotus the bishop, and was baptized by him. Her former admirers giving information against her, she was arrested and brought before the emperor Aurelian (? Aurelius), and as she refused to relinquish her faith she was tortured and put to death. (*Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

EUDOCIA (2), Aug. 4; called in *Rom. Mart.* Ia. She was seized at Bethzabde (Bezabda) with 9000 others in a raid which Sapor II. made into the Roman territory in 360. She was tortured and put to death. (Assem. *Mart. Orient.* i. 133; Bas. *Menol.*; *Rom. Mart.*) [G. T. S.]

EUDOCIA (3) (EUDOXIA), eldest daughter of Valentinian III. and Eudoxia. She was carried off to Africa by Genseric with her mother and sister, and given in marriage to his son Hunneric. (Evag. *H. E.* ii. 7; Priscus, *de Leg. Gent.* ch. xiv.; Niceph. *H. E.* xv. 11.) She lived sixteen years with her husband, and bore him a son, Hilderic, who afterwards succeeded to the throne. At the end of this period, abhorring the society of an Arian consort, she escaped to Jerusalem, where she spent the few remaining years of her life in emulating the piety of her grandmother [EUDOCIA (4)], whose name she bore, and beside whose tomb she was herself laid. (Niceph. *H. E.* xv. 12; Theophanes, *Chronograph*, sub ann. 464; Du Cange, *Fam. August.* p. 60.) [M. F. A.]

EUDOCIA (4), AELIA, empress, wife of Theodosius II. Marcellinus in his chronicle calls her Achiva, and places her marriage in 421. Nicephorus, however, places her birth in 393, and her marriage in 413. Two accounts are given of her parentage. Socrates (*H. E.* vii. 21) says that she was the daughter of Leontius, a sophist of Athens, and that her original name was Athenais. The *Chronicon Paschale* gives a different account. According to that her father's name was Heraclitus, on whose death her brothers Gesius and Valerian refused to her her share of the inheritance. She came to Constantinople to claim justice of Pulcheria, who was so pleased with her that she persuaded Theodosius to make her his wife. (*Chron. Pasch.* sub ann. 420.) Socrates tells us that she had been highly educated by her father, and this is attested by her poetical works. Before her marriage she was baptized by Atticus bishop of Constantinople (Soc.), and received the name of Eudocia. She commemorated the victory of the Romans over the Persians in a poem (Soc.). Besides this she rendered into Greek hexameters the Pentateuch, and the books of Joshua and Judges; she also made a version of the prophet Zechariah and of the book of Daniel, and wrote a poem in three books on St. Cyprian and St. Justina. Of the style and finish of all these works Photius speaks in the highest terms of praise, saying that she conformed to the strictest rules of ancient usage. (Phot. codd. 183, 184.)

Zonaras mentions another work of hers, the completion and arrangement of the *Centones Homerici* of Patricius, together with an introduction in heroic verse. (Zonaras, *Ann.* lib. xiii. p. 45, in Pat. Gr. cxxxiv. 1194 b.) The *Chronicon Paschale* (sub ann. 421) tells us that her brothers, who had treated her so ill, fled to Greece when they heard of her elevation, but that she sent for them, with the consent of her husband, and appointed them to high offices, saying that she was really indebted to them for her good fortune. She had a daughter Eudoxia [EUDOXIA (3)] by Theodosius (*Chr. Pasch.*), who married Valentinian III. Marcellinus notices the death of Flaccilla, daughter of Theodosius, in 431. No other child is mentioned by the historians. Shortly after the marriage of Eudoxia (437), Theodosius despatched his wife on a mission to Jerusalem, in order to offer thanks for all the blessings of his reign, and especially for his daughter's alliance. She made many presents, not only to the church of Jerusalem, but to others which she passed on her way (Soc. vii. 47). Evagrius (*H. E.* i. 20, 22) mentions especially a visit to Antioch, where she made a speech, which was commemorated by a brazen statue. There is some confusion in the chronology of this period, for Evagrius speaks as though she paid only one visit to Jerusalem, where she died; whereas Marcellinus (sub ann. 439) says that she returned with the relics of St. Stephen. It is therefore best to suppose that there were two visits, though we cannot distinguish the events

of each. Evagrius (*H. E.* i. 20, 22) tells us that she restored the walls of the city and many churches, including that of St. Stephen.

Hitherto her life had been happy, but her last years were overclouded by a misunderstanding between herself and her husband, the precise cause for which it is not easy to discover. Socrates is silent. Marcellinus tells us (sub anno 444) that during a second visit of the empress to Jerusalem (cf. Evag. i. 20, ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις δὶς ἀφικνεῖται), Theodosius sent Saturninus with orders to put to death Severus the presbyter and John the deacon, who were in attendance on Eudocia, and that she, in her indignation at this act, had Saturninus also put to death. Marcellinus assigns no cause for this. The *Chron. Pasch.*, Nicephorus, Zonaras, &c., give a different story. They say that the emperor having been presented by a peasant with a remarkably large apple, sent it to the empress. She gave it to Paulinus, the master of the palace, who was laid up with an attack of gout. Paulinus, not knowing its previous history, gave it to the emperor. This roused his suspicions, and he sent for his wife, and asked her what she had done with the apple. She protested that she had eaten it; and the consequence was that Paulinus was put to death and the empress divorced. Since this account is not given by the ancient historians, it seems fair to assume that it has been exaggerated, and we may exonerate the empress, of whom all the old authorities speak so highly, from blame. Still, there was apparently some misunderstanding between her and the emperor, which led to her second visit to Jerusalem. There it was that she died. She was buried in the church of St. Stephen at Jerusalem. (Evag. *H. E.* i. 22.) Evagrius says that there is a doubt whether this was before or after the death of Theodosius, *i.e.* 450, but Nicephorus (*H. E.* xiv. 50) places her death in 460, the fourth year of the emperor Leo, which date is accepted by Gibbon. Nicephorus further tells us that she fell for a time into the Eutychian heresy, but finally returned to the orthodox faith, on the entreaty of Pulcheria, and after consultation with Euthymius (*H. E.* xv. 13). This temporary lapse does not alter the general judgment of the historians, who unite in lauding her piety and manifold benefactions to the church. (See also Du Cange, *Fam. August.* 52, 58.) [M. F. A.]

EUDOCIA (5), FABIA (Flavia, Isid. Pacensis, *Chron.* aer. 649 in Pat. Lat. xcvi. 1253 a), empress, first wife of the emperor Heraclius. She was the daughter of Rogatus, an African noble, and was already betrothed to Heraclius when he revolted against Phocas in 609. At that date she was at Constantinople with Epiphania the mother of Heraclius, and Phocas on hearing of the revolt seized them both and imprisoned them in the monastery of the New Repentance. They seem however to have escaped further violence. On Oct. 3, 610, Heraclius arrived at Constantinople, and on Oct. 6 he and Eudocia were married and crowned. Both ceremonies took place according to Theophanes in the oratory of St. Stephen in the palace, but according to the *Chronicon Paschale* it was at St. Sophia. Sergius the patriarch officiated. Her daughter Epiphania (also called Eudocia) was born July 7, 611, her son Heraclius Junior on May 3, 612. She herself died of epilepsy on Aug. 13, or as others say, Aug. 14, 612, and was buried in the Church of the Apostles. (*Chron. Pasch.* ann. 610, 611, 612, 624, in Migne, Patr. Gr. xcii. 981, 983, 1002; Theoph. *Chronog.* A.M. 6102, 6104, in Migne, cviii. 628, 629; Du Cange, *Fam. Aug. Byzant.* 100, ed. Venice.) [T. W. D.]

EUDOCIA (6), empress, third wife of Constantine Copronymus. She is said (Du Cange, u. inf.) to have been related to the Melissenian family. The date of her marriage with the emperor is not mentioned; but her predecessor Maria died in 750 and Eudocia's third son by Constantinus was born in 764. At her coronation on Saturday, Apr. 1, 769, the emperor declared her Augusta, and on Apr. 2, which was Easter Day, her two elder sons Christophorus and Nicephorus were by the emperor declared Caesars, and Nicetas her youngest son Nobilissimus. All three were invested with the robes and coronets of their respective ranks, and the patriarch said the prayers. On each day the ceremony was performed in the splendid Christmas banqueting hall of the palace known as the Tribunalium or Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches, *i.e.* triclinia (cf. Du Cange, *Gloss.* s.v. accubitor; id. *Constantinopolis Christiana*, lib. ii. sec. 5, p. 107, ed. Venice, 1729; p. 135, ed. Paris). Subsequently to her coronation Eudocia gave birth to a fourth son, Eudoxius or Eudocimus. (Theoph. *Chronog.* A.M. 6260, 6268, in Patr. Gr. cviii. 895, 908; Du Cange, *Fam. August. Byzant.* p. 105, ed. Venice.) [C. H.]

EUDOCIA. See also Eudoxia.

EUDOCIMUS (Theoph. *Chronogr.* 395, Patr. Gr. cviii. 940 a; Zonaras, *Annal.* xv. 12, *ibid.* cxxxiv. 1350 a), son of Constantine Copronymus. [Eudoxius (14).] [T. W. D.]

EUDOCIUS, a youthful member of a monastic community at Caesarea, who, having quarrelled with the superior, Sacerdos, laid complaints against him before Helladius, Basil's successor in the episcopate, which led to Sacerdos being deprived of his office. Gregory Nazianzen wrote three letters to Eudocius on this subject, rebuking him for his ill-feeling towards his superior, and calling upon him to become reconciled to one who still retained his old affection for him. To persevere in a quarrel was to admit the devil into the heart. Gregory expresses a readiness to receive a visit from Eudocius if the winter did not hinder him. (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 224, 235, 236.) [E. V.]

EUDOLIUS, bishop of Toul. [Endulus.]

EUDOXIA (1), martyr at Alexandria with Athanasia her mother, and two sisters, in the reign of Diocletian. Commemorated Jan. 31. (*AA. SS.* Jan. ii. 1081.) [T. S. B.]

EUDOXIA (2), wife of the emperor Arcadius, and mother of Flaccilla, Pulcheria, Arcadia, Theodosius II. and Marina. She was a daughter of Bauto (Βαύδων) the Frankish general of Gratian (Philostorg. xi. 6; Zosim. v. 33), but was brought up in the house of one of the sons of the general Promotus (Zosim. v. 3). Her marriage with the emperor was arranged by the eunuch Eutropius

(Zosim. *ad loc.*). Philostorgius tells us that she inherited the qualities of her nation (*τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ θράσους οὐκ ὀλίγον*). If we may trust George of Alexandria in his *Life of St. Chrysostom*, her parents were Christians, for the bishop is represented as appealing to their well-known piety (*Vit. Chrys.* ch. 41). Philostorgius attributes the degradation and subsequent execution of Eutropius to Eudoxia's enmity against him. Sozomen and Socrates, however, do not assign any particular cause for it. After the death of Eutropius, she succeeded to his influence in the state, and by her overbearing conduct made the lives of all moderate men intolerable (Zosim. v. 24). In the year 400 she received the title of Augusta (*Chron. Pasch.*). During the latter years of her life she comes into notice especially as the enemy and persecutor of St. Chrysostom, and for this period Sozomen is the chief authority. At first indeed we find her supporting him in his efforts to quell the Arian heresy (viii. 8, 4), but a difference soon arose between them in the matter of Severianus (viii. 10, 6). Shortly afterwards, some denunciations of the bishop against women in general were represented as being directed in reality against the empress, and she begged that the council might be summoned (ch. 16), by which he was subsequently deposed. The clamour which arose compelled her to intercede with the emperor for his recall (18, § 5). The next cause of offence was a sermon which the bishop delivered against the honour paid to a silver statue of the empress which she had set up near the great church (Soc. vi. 18, § 1; Soz. viii. 20). She again tried to summon a council, and St. Chrysostom inveighed against her with the words, *πάλιν Ἡρωδιὰς μαίνεται, πάλιν ὀρχεῖται, πάλιν Ἰωάννου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ πίνακος σπουδάζει λαβεῖν.* Her death, which occurred on Oct. 4, 404, soon after the second banishment of the bishop, was regarded by the people as a judgment of heaven (Soc. vi. 19, 6; Soz. viii. 27, 1). Since, therefore, she is clearly represented by these historians as dying before St. Chrysostom, the letter attributed to Innocent I. excommunicating her and her husband after the death of the bishop must be regarded as spurious. (See also Du Cange, *Fam. August.* 56.) [M. F. A.]

EUDOXIA (3), LICINIA, empress, wife of Valentinian III., daughter of the emperor Theodosius II. and Eudocia. She is described by Procopius as exceedingly beautiful. Marcellinus (*Chron.*) places her birth in 422, one year after the marriage of her parents according to his reckoning. She was the only one of their children who lived to mature age. In 424 she was betrothed to Valentinian, upon his assumption of the title of Caesar, she being two years old, and her future husband five. The marriage took place in 437 (Marcell.). The first arrangement was that it should be solemnized at Thessalonica, as midway between the two divisions of the empire, but Valentinian in his gallantry insisted upon coming the whole way to Constantinople (Soc. vii. 44). The day of the marriage in the *Chronicon Paschale* is Oct. 29. Whether she had two or three children is uncertain. The *Chron. Pasch.* in one place (sub ann. 437) gives the names Eudocia and Placidia, and in another (sub ann. 455) Placidia and Honoria. Tillemont supposes that Honoria and Eudocia are different names of the same child. After the death of Valentinian in 455 Maximus espoused her by force, and also married her daughter to his son Palladius. (Idatius, *Chron.*; Prosper. *Chron.*) Preferring any danger to this disgrace, she sent to Genseric, and promised to betray the capital into his hands. The plot succeeded, and Maximus was put to death. Eudoxia and her daughters were carried off to Africa by Genseric, who married the eldest, Eudocia, to his son Hunneric. The other daughter he sent with her mother to the emperor Marcian at Byzantium. (Evag. *H. E.* ii. 7.) This is the account of Evagrius, but the truth seems to be that she remained in Genseric's hands until the reign of Leo, and that the real year of her release was 462, as it is given in Idatius's chronicle. (Cf. Priscus, *Hist. Goth.* c. 7.) Procopius (*de Bell. Vand.* i. 5) leaves the matter doubtful, since he does not give the name of the emperor. This is the last which we hear of Eudoxia, who appears to have passed the rest of her life quietly at court. Her second daughter was married to a senator, Olybrius. (Evag. *ad loc.* &c.; Du Cange, *Fam. August.* 59.) [M. F. A.]

EUDOXIA. See also EUDOCIA.

EUDOXIANI, party of Eudoxius bishop of Constantinople. [EUDOXIUS (2).]

EUDOXIUS (1), bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, mentioned in the menologies (June 23) as baptizing and ordaining St. Eustochius during the reign of the emperor Maximian, c. A.D. 290. (Bas. *Men.* iii. 141; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1035.) [L. D.]

EUDOXIUS (2), eighth bishop of Constantinople (360–370), previously bishop of Germanicia and of Antioch, one of the most influential of all the Arians. In 311 was martyred, at Arabissus in Armenia, Caesarius, a man of self-indulgence, who shewed nobler elements in his death. This was his father. The son is said to have been of a mild and agreeable disposition, talented and clever but extremely timid, and given up to pleasure. Between 324 and 331 St. Eustathius presided over the see of Antioch. Eudoxius came to him seeking holy orders. Eustathius found his doctrine unsound and refused him. But in 331 Eustathius was deposed. The Arians or Eusebians then had everything their own way, and not only admitted Eudoxius to orders, but made him bishop of Germanicia, on the confines of Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. This bishopric he must have held at least seventeen years, the dark period of the principal intrigues against Athanasius, and of the reigns of the sons of Constantine.

In the year 341 was held, at Antioch, the Council of the Dedication or Encaenia, under Placillus. Eudoxius of Germanicia attended. He was an Arian pure and simple, a disciple of Aetius, a friend of Eunomius, and subsequently the leader of the Anomoean party, who held that the Son was necessarily unlike the Father, not only in substance but in will. The council produced four creeds, in which the Eusebian party succeeded in making their doctrine as plausible as might be, and the second of these

became known as the "Creed of the Dedication." Athanasius says that Eudoxius was sent with Martyrius and Macedonius to take the new creed of Antioch to Italy. This new creed may, however, have been the Macrostich, or Long Formula, drawn up a few years later at another Council of Antioch.

In 343 or 347 the rival councils of Sardica and Philippopolis were held. At the latter was drawn up a creed more Arian than those of Antioch, and it was signed by Eudoxius. At the end of 347 Eudoxius was in attendance on the emperor in the West, when news came of the death of Leontius of Antioch. Excusing himself on the plea that the affairs of Germanicia required his presence, he hastened to Antioch, and represented himself as nominated by the emperor to the vacant chair. Regardless of the rights of George of Laodicea, Mark of Antioch, and others who should have taken part in the election, he got himself made bishop. Of course this matter would come to the ears of Constantius, and to preoccupy the ground, Eudoxius immediately sent off a presbyter of Antioch, named Asphalus, to make the best of the case at court. Asphalus obtained a letter from Constantius in favour of Eudoxius, and was thinking of returning to Antioch, when there arrived the deputation of the Council of Ancyra, which had been summoned to condemn the errors of Eudoxius. The emperor, who seems to have been influenced always by the latest occupant of his attention, heartily agreed with the new-comers, recalled the letter which he had entrusted to Asphalus, and wrote as follows to the Church of Antioch: "Eudoxius went to seek you without my sending him. I am very far from wishing to favour persons of that kind. If they continue their impostures in other matters as in this, it is very plain that they are mockers of God. To what restraint will men be amenable, who impudently pass from city to city, seeking with a most unlawful appetite every occasion to enrich themselves?"

Meanwhile the new prelate was preaching open Arianism, and persecuting the orthodox. In the first year of his episcopate at Antioch he held a council, which received the creed of Sirmium. An idea may be formed of his sermons from three different sources. About this time Hilary of Poictiers was in the East. He heard Eudoxius in his cathedral, and wished his ears had been deaf, so horribly blasphemous was the language. Theodoret reports him as boasting, with incredible vanity, that there was nothing about God of which he was ignorant; that he knew the essence of God with perfect accuracy, and had the same knowledge about God as God had about Himself. Epiphanius records to the same effect, that he pronounced himself to know God so well that he did not know himself better than he knew God. His friend Eunomius used similar language.

The Council of Ancyra in 358 having persuaded the emperor to endeavour to settle the question in dispute for ever, a council was held at Seleucia in September 359. Among the hundred and sixty bishops present the semi-Arians largely predominated, the Acacians were much less numerous, the orthodox formed a very small minority. The majority signed the "Creed of the Dedication"; Eudoxius, who was present, was deposed by the less heretical party, and does not appear to have returned to Antioch, but to have sought the shelter of the court at Constantinople. Here by the aid of the Acacians he secured his appointment as patriarch on the deposition of Macedonius, and on the 27th of January, 360, took possession of his throne in the presence of seventy-two bishops.

On the 15th of February was dedicated the great church of Constantinople, St. Sophia, begun in 342 by the emperor Constantius. Eudoxius seized the opportunity for a new specimen of his peculiar taste in sacred rhetoric. Mounting his episcopal throne before the expectant multitude of courtiers, ecclesiastics, and citizens, he began with these prodigious words: "The Father is ἀσεβής, the Son is εὐσεβής." But although for twenty years Constantinople had been accustomed to Eusebius of Nicomedia and Macedonius, it was not prepared for such a wretched travesty of theology. A great tumult of indignation arose on all sides in St. Sophia. The orator was not the least abashed. He obtained silence, and offered this explanation. "The Father is ἀσεβής because He honours nobody; the Son is εὐσεβής because He honours the Father." This was too much even for the resentment of the congregation, and the new cathedral re-echoed with peals of uncontrollable laughter. It is thus, says Socrates (ii. 43), that these heresiarchs tore the church to pieces by their captious subtilties.

The next occupation of Eudoxius must have been highly agreeable to him, the consecration of his friend Eunomius to the see of Cyzicus. Warned by Eudoxius to conceal his opinions before so orthodox a population as that of Cyzicus, Eunomius at first obeyed; but soon such complaints were brought to the emperor that he ordered Eudoxius to depose him. Eudoxius, terrified by menaces, wrote to Eunomius and persuaded him quietly to retire from his see.

In 365 an attack was made on Eudoxius by the Semi-Arians, who had adopted the name of his predecessor (now dead), and were called Macedonians. From Valens they got leave to hold a meeting at Lampsacus. Here they signed the "Creed of the Dedication," cited Eudoxius and his party before them, and as they did not come sentenced them to deprivation; but Valens refused to confirm the proceedings. In 367, Valens, as he was setting out for the Gothic war, was induced by his wife to receive baptism from Eudoxius. In the same year he issued, doubtless under the advice of Eudoxius, an order that such bishops as had been banished by Constantius and had returned under Julian should again be exiled. Athanasius was saved from a fifth exile only by the zealous representations of the people of Alexandria.

The years during which Eudoxius and Valens acted together were troubled by portents, which many attributed to the anger of Heaven at the cruelty of Valens in banishing bishops who would not admit Eudoxius to their communion.

Eudoxius died in 370. He well deserves the character which is given him by Baronius, "the worst of all the Arians." Soz. *H. E.* iv. 26; Socr. *H. E.* ii. 19, 37, 40, 43; Theoph. *Chronogr.* § 38; Niceph. Callist. *H. E.* xi. 4; Theodoret, *H. E.* ii. 25; *Haeret. Fab.* iv. 3; Epiphanius, *de Haeres.* lxxiii. 2; Athanas. *Ad Solit.* in

Patr. Gr. xxvi. 572, 219, 589, 274, 580, 713, 601; Hilarius, *de Synod.* Patr. Lat. x. 471, &c.; *Liber contr. Const. Imp.* §§ 665, 680, 573, &c. This Eudoxius is identified in Kollar's edition of Lambecius, *Comment. de Biblioth. Caes.* (1776, tom. iii. p. 418) with the author of an *Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi*, some excerpts of which Kollar enumerates among the MSS. of the imperial library of Vienna. [W. M. S.]

EUDOXIUS (3), a bishop in the reign of Constantius addressed in a letter by Serapion bishop of Thmuis. The letter is published by Cardinal Mai in his *Classici Auctores* (vol. v. p. 364), and likewise in the *Patrologia Graeca* (vol. xl. p. 923). The Eudoxius of this letter was a confessor who had fallen ill under the hardships he had endured, and Serapion exhorts him not to give way to despondency. (Ceillier, iv. 336.) [T. W. D.]

EUDOXIUS (4), bishop of the Cimmerian Bosporus, present at the synod of Constantinople, A.D. 448 (Mansi, vi. 760); also at the second council of Ephesus, called the Latrocinium, 449 (Mansi, vi. 612). His name is also subscribed to the synodal decree of Gennadius of Constantinople against simoniacal ordinations, 459. (Mansi, vii. 917; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1327.) [L. D.]

EUDOXIUS (5), bishop of Etenna (Trisenna) in Pamphylia, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1004; Mansi, vii. 161.) In the list of bishops said to have been present at the fifth Roman synod under Symmachus, A.D. 503, occurs "Eudoxius Itoanensis," who is said to be the same (Mansi, viii. 301 b and note). [L. D.]

EUDOXIUS (6), bishop of Choma in Lycia; present at the council of Ephesus in A.D. 431 (Mansi, iv. 1123 c), and at Chalcedon in 451 (*ibid.* vii. 162 b). His name appears (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 98, 1105, Migne) among the bishops subscribing the synodical letters of this latter council to Leo I. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 983). His name appears also in the list of bishops signing decrees of the council at Rome in 503 (Mansi, viii. 301 b). But this list certainly belongs to some earlier council. (Baron. ann. 503, ix.) [C. G.]

EUDOXIUS (7), count, who had during the reign of Trajan the command of some soldiers in Gaul. An officer named Romulus suggested to Trajan to send persons to compel the soldiers to offer sacrifice, and when they refused to comply with this command, they were banished to Melitina in Armenia. Romulus himself afterwards became a Christian, and was beheaded. The soldiers at Melitina, including Eudoxius their commander, were shortly after put to death. Commemorated Sept. 6. (*Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

EUDOXIUS (8), martyr with Atticus and Agapius at Sebaste during the time of the emperor Licinius. Commemorated Nov. 2. (*Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

EUDOXIUS (9), a professional rhetorician of Cappadocia, a friend of Gregory Nazianzen, who wrote in his favour to Sophronius the prefect of Constantinople, A.D. 369 (Epist. 188, p. 850), and to Saturninus the consul, A.D. 383 (Epist. 132, p. 862), as well as to Themistius, the sophist (Epist. 139, p. 865). In all, Gregory speaks of Eudoxius in terms of warm affection, and highly commends his "learning and his natural gifts." Eudoxius wishes to gain reputation by his discourses, in order to get his living out of them. We have also a long letter from Gregory to Eudoxius himself (Epist. 63, p. 819), urging him to give up the pursuit of human knowledge and betake himself to the study of divine philosophy; and another (Epist. 39, 297) deploring, as to an intimate friend, the loss of Basil and of Caesarius; his personal trials of old age and sickness; the unfaithfulness of friends, and the storms which threaten to overwhelm the church. [E. V.]

EUDOXIUS (10), the son of the preceding; also a rhetorician by profession, to whom was entrusted the education of Gregory Nazianzen's great-nephews, Nicobulus and his brothers, the sons of Alypiana, Gorgonia's daughter. Gregory manifested the interest he felt in them, especially Nicobulus, by his frequent letters to Eudoxius on the subject of their training, c. A.D. 383. (Epist. 115–117, 119–121, 139.) [E. V.]

EUDOXIUS (11), monk, probably abbat, of a monastery in the island of Capraria (Capraia), to whom St. Augustine wrote in affectionate terms, exhorting the brethren not to make their monastic retirement an excuse for declining active service in the church, but to be strenuous at all times in discharging their conventual duties, and to remember their liability to temptation even within their peaceful abode. Augustine mentions a visit paid to him by two of the brothers, Andreas and Eustathius, during which it seems that the latter had died. (Aug. *Ep.* 48.) [H. W. P.]

EUDOXIUS (12), consul, A.D. 442, with Dioscorus, in the 18th year of Valentinian III. He had been prefect of the praetorians under Theodosius in 427. (S. Prosp. Aquitan. *Chronicon*, 748, Patrol. Lat. li. 599; Baron. ad ann. 442, Pagi, note.) [W. M. S.]

EUDOXIUS (13), a gentleman twice greeted by pope Gregory the Great, who styles him "gloriosus," through Ruspiciana Patricia. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. ii. ind. x. ep. 27, lib. viii. ind. i. ep. 22, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 563, 924.) [C. H.]

EUDOXIUS (14) (EUDOCIMUS), son of the emperor Constantine Copronymus by his third wife Eudocia. He was created "nobilissimus" by his brother Leo IV. On the death of Leo, the empress Irene his widow had Eudoxius seized and tonsured, in order to disqualify him for the succession, and on Christmas Day, 780, he was forced to administer publicly the sacrament of the Eucharist. In August, 787, he and his brothers Christophorus and Nicetas had their tongues cut out by order of Irene's son Constantine on the plea that they were implicated in a conspiracy against him. (Theophanes, *Chronogr.* in Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* cviii. p. 938; Du Cange, *Fam. Aug.* 106.) [T. W. D.]

EUDOXIUS (15), philosopher, frequently cited in the *Catena in Danielem*, edited by Mai in his *Scriptores Veteres* (tom. i. *In Daniel.* pp. 166, 169, 170, 171, 188, 192, 199, 201, 218). Mai

observes (p. xxxiv.) that he is similarly cited in Corderius on the Psalms and in Zephyrus on the Pentateuch. He is to be identified according to Mai (*ibid.*) with Eudoxius the Arian bishop of Constantinople (3). [T. W. D.]

EUDOXIUS (16), physician at Bagauda (St. Maur des Fossez) on the Marne, about seven miles from Paris. In the 25th year of Theodosius II. (*i.e.* A.D. 432) he was implicated in a local sedition, and on being informed against fled to the Huns (Tiron. Prosper. *Chron.* sub ann. xxv. Theodosii). The period was eighteen years before Attila invaded Gaul, and it must have been beyond the Rhine that Eudoxius fled, and there he would doubtless report the disaffected condition of part of Gaul. He is described as "pravi sed exercitati ingenii." [T. W. D.]

EUELPIS, a layman of Laranda in Lycaonia, whose permission to preach to the congregation by Neon, the bishop of that city, is mentioned in the letter of Alexander of Jerusalem and Theoctistus of Caesarea to Demetrius of Alexandria, with reference to the preaching of Origen. (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 19.) [E. V.]

EUELPISTUS, according to the acts of Justin Martyr, one of the emperor's slaves, who suffered martyrdom at the same time with Justin. He is represented as a native of Cappadocia, and as the son of Christian parents. [G. S.]

EUELPISTUS, a chorepiscopus, who subscribed for Florentius of Lesbos (q. v.) at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. [C. G.]

EUEMERUS of Treves. [EVEMERUS.]

EUENTIUS, a presbyter, martyred at Rome with pope Alexander under Hadrian (A.D. 117). He is commemorated May 3. (*Mart.* Hier., Us., Wand.) [T. S. B.]

EUENTIUS, martyr. [SARAGOSSA, MARTYRS OF.]

EUERTIUS. [EVORTIUS.]

EUETHIUS (1), a presbyter of Constantinople, a faithful friend of Chrysostom's, who accompanied him on his banishment to Cucusus. It was he who roused his master on that terrible night when an alarm of the Isaurians compelled him to leave the villa of Seleucia, near Caesarea, and assisted him through the perils of the night journey over the mountains. (Chrysost. *Ep.* 14.) We find him with Chrysostom at Cucusus, A.D. 404. (*Ep.* 114.) He is probably the presbyter despatched by Chrysostom to Constantinople, A.D. 406 (*Ep.* 127), with instructions to proceed farther, even to Rome itself, should it appear necessary for the advocacy of his cause. His health was but feeble for such a lengthened journey. (*Ep.* 166.) [E. V.]

EUETHIUS (2), a gentleman of Caesarea who had shewed much kindness to Chrysostom during his stay at that city on his way to Cucusus. Chrysostom wrote to him on his arrival at his place of exile, A.D. 404, to announce the safe termination of his journey, and his enjoyment of the repose Cucusus offered. He begs Euethius to write to him often. (*Ep.* 173.) [E. V.]

EUETHIUS. See also EVETHIUS.

EUFIMIA, wife of Sergius, archbishop of Ravenna, c. 750. When, having been a layman, he suddenly became archbishop, he consecrated Eufimia as a deaconess. (Agnelli *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Rav.* cap. 154.) [A. H. D. A.]

EUFORUS bishop of Cordova. [EUPHORUS.]

EUFRASIUS (1), said to have been sent, along with six others, by the apostles to preach in Spain, and to have died at Iliturgis (Andujar). He was commemorated May 15. (*Mart.* Usuard.) [CAECILIUS (4).] [T. S. B.]

EUFRASIUS (2), ST., thirteenth or, according to Gregory of Tours, twelfth bishop of Clermont in Auvergne. He was represented at the council of Agde (506) by Paulinus, a priest, and was present in person at the first council of Orleans (511). He entertained St. Quintian, the bishop of Rhodez, who had been forced to fly from his see to save his life from the Goths. Two letters of Ruricius (*Epp.* xxi. and xxviii.; Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 101, 106) are addressed to him, and he may possibly be the recipient of the thirty-eighth letter of Avitus. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lix. 254.) According to Gregory he was bishop twenty-five years, and lived four years after the death of Clovis. This brings his death down to A.D. 515. He is commemorated Jan. 14. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iii. 2; *Vit. Patr.* c. iv. Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 242, 1023; Mansi, viii. 337, 356; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 235.) [S. A. B.]

EUFRASIUS (3) (EUPHRASIUS), presbyter of Auvergne, son of an ex-senator Ennodius, Euvodius, or Evodius. On the death of Cautinus bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, A.D. 572, when many were seeking to obtain the appointment by gifts and promises, Eufrasius sent to the king, by the hand of his kinsman Beregesilus, a large sum of money, which he had procured from the Jews. The attempt failed, and archdeacon Avitus was elected by the clergy and people. Eufrasius is described as elegant in conversation, but more given to feasting barbarians than feeding the poor. (Greg. Tur. *H. F.* iv. 35, p. 176; *Gall. Chr.* ii. 242.) [C. H.]

EUFRASIUS. [EUPHRASIUS.]

EUFRATES, a presbyter to whom, together with Saturninus, St. Augustine wrote to congratulate them on their return from Donatism to Catholic unity, setting forth the universality of the church, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and to discharge zealously their ministerial duties. (Aug. *Ep.* 142.) [H. W. P.]

EUFRIDIUS, deacon of Toledo (Baronius, s. a. 537, xli.; Hildefons. *de Vir. Illustr.* praef. 6). [LEONTIUS, deacon of Toledo.] [T. W. D.]

EUFRONIUS (1), fifth bishop of Nevers, succeeding St. Aregius, and followed by St. Aeoladius, flourished about A.D. 560. He subscribed a charter of St. Germanus of Paris in favour of the church of the Holy Cross and St. Vincent, now

known as St. Germain des Prés, Paris. He was also present at its dedication. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxii. 84; *Vita S. Doctrovei*, Bouquet, iii. 437; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 626.) [S. A. B.]

EUFRONIUS (2), eighteenth bishop of Tours. Upon the death of Guntram, the seventeenth of the series, king Clotaire named as his successor Cato, a priest of Clermont. But Cato's desires were fixed upon the see of his own city, and he declined. After the bishopric had stood vacant ten months, the clergy and people elected Eufronius, a priest of senatorial rank, grandson of St. Gregory of Langres, and, according to Gregory of Tours, "vir egregiae sanctitatis." Clotaire, upon learning the circumstances, confirmed their choice (A.D. 555 or 556). In 557 Eufronius took part in the council of Paris. In the civil wars of this period a great part of Tours, with its churches, was burnt to the ground. Two of these he rebuilt at his own charge. The famous church of St. Martin also owed its reconstruction on a nobler scale to him. The neighbouring district, too, was enriched by him with many new churches, the names of which are given by Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* x. 31). Like his successor, he was the champion of the citizens against the rapacity of the count of Tours, at this time Gaïso, who tried to enforce the taxes which Clotaire had remitted. He successfully resisted the attempt, but not without appealing to king Charibert. In 562 he refused to subscribe the decree of the council of Saintes, which deposed Emerius from that see, foreseeing, no doubt, the scandal which occurred. [EMERIUS (2).] In 567 he presided over the second council of Tours, and in the same year, together with several other bishops, he subscribed a letter to queen Radegundis, who had lately founded and retired to the monastery of the Holy Cross at Poitiers. It was on the subject of those nuns who after entering the monastery desired to quit it again for the world and marriage. Against them and their seducers the strongest anathemas were denounced. This letter (to be found in the *Hist. Franc.* ix. 39) was read by Gregory, by way of admonition, to Chrodieldis, when she, with fifty other nuns, seceded from the same monastery, and arrived on foot at Tours to claim the protection of the bishop, but without effect. [CHRODIELDIS.] About the same time Eufronius joined three bishops of his province in a sort of circular letter addressed to his flock, speaking of a "cladis gravissimae necessitas," which seemed to be overhanging the province, and which he exhorted them to seek to avert by deferring their intending marriages, paying their tithes, and breaking off all incestuous connexions (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. Instrumenta, 3). The impending disaster may possibly have been the civil war between Sigebert and Chilperic (cf. Rivet de la Grange, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, iii. 290). It was at the request of the former prince that he officiated at the solemn reception of the messengers of queen Radegundis on their return from the East with a piece of the true cross and other relics for her monastery of the Holy Cross. From Sigebert too he obtained the restoration of those church lands of which Charibert had deprived the see. In 568 he was present at the dedication of a church at Nantes, as we learn from the verses of his friend and eulogist, Venantius Fortunatus. He died in 572 or 573, in the seventieth year of his age and the eighteenth of his episcopate, and was buried in the church of St. Martin. He was commemorated Aug. 4. His successor was Gregory the historian, and it is noteworthy that, contemporaries though they were, the latter relates his miracles with the same gravity as undoubted historical facts. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ix. 30, 39, 40, x. 31; *de Glor. Confess.* xviii.; *de Mirac. S. Martini*, i. 30; *Vita S. Radegundis*, 19; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedict*, i. 331, ed. Paris, 1668–1701; Venant. Fort. *Misc.* iii. 1, 2, 3, 6; Mansi, ix. 747, 805; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 21.) [S. A. B.]

EUFRONIUS (3) (SOPHRONIUS, SUFFRONIUS), eighteenth bishop of Nantes, succeeding Nunnechius II. and followed by Leobardus. He is said to have received St. Columban at Nantes when ordered by king Theodoric to embark there for Ireland (circ. A.D. 612). (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 800; *Vita S. Columbani*, 47; Mabill. *Acta SS.*; *Ord. S. Bened.* saec. ii. p. 24.) [S. A. B.]

EUFR–; see also EUPHR–.

EUGAIN. [EURGAIN.]

EUGENDUS (1), Carthaginian. [AUGENDUS.]

EUGENDUS (2), ST., abbat of the monasterium Condatiscense or (as written by Gregory of Tours) Condatiscone, subsequently called after him St. Oyan, and finally after St. Claudius of Besançon. It was one of three built by St. Romanus in the Jura. Eugendus was born at Isarnodorum in the same district. At seven years he entered the monastery, which he never afterwards quitted. The abbat Minausius, or Nemansius, named him as his coadjutor during life and successor after death. But the choice was not agreeable to the monastery generally, and the discontent, ascribed by his biographer to envy, advanced even to the extent of a partial secession. During his rule, the monastery, which was of wood, was totally destroyed by fire, and built up again on a grander scale. He was remarkable for the humility of his demeanour, and, as his biographer especially notes, he did not desert the common table. He was severe too in enforcing the community of goods. Feeling the approach of death, he called that one of the brethren on whom he had enjoined the duty of anointing the sick, and bade him touch his breast with oil. This has been cited as an early instance of the rite of extreme unction. He died about the year 510, and was commemorated Jan. 1. The authority for this account is a life by an anonymous disciple and monk, to be found in Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. i. 570, ed. Paris, 1668–1701, and Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 49 (cf. Rivet de la Grange, *Hist. lit. de la France*, iii. 60–2; and Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs sacrés*, x. 610–2). [S. A. B.]

EUGENIA (1), a daughter of Philippus, who was appointed by Commodus governor of Alexandria. There she became acquainted with Christian literature, and chiefly through having read the epistles of St. Paul she was led to embrace Christianity. She disguised

herself in male attire, and went to a monastery; but in course of time she was found out, and sent back to her father. It is said that she induced all her family to become Christians, and that her father was shortly after made a bishop. Eugenia was martyred subsequently, and was commemorated Dec. 24. (*Cal. Byzant., Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

EUGENIA (2), a virgin, martyred at Rome with Agape. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.; Mart.* Hier., Bedae, Us.) Fortunatus (*de Virgin.* lib. viii. cap. 4) celebrates her in the following extraordinary verses, where the strange treatment of the names may probably have arisen from some confusion between accent and quantity.

> "Illic *Euphemia*, pariter quoque plaudit *Agatha*,
> Et Justina simul, consociante Thecla,
> Et Paulina, Agnes, Basilissa, *Eugenia* regnant,
> Et quascumque sacer vexit ad astra pudor."

Baronius describes this Eugenia as a daughter of an imperial prefect in Egypt, and as having suffered under Gallienus. She is commemorated in the Roman Martyrology on Dec. 25, and in the Byzantine Calendar on Dec. 24. [J. G. C.]

EUGENIA (3), martyr. [NICOMEDIA, MARTYRS OF.]

EUGENIA (4), a niece of Gregory Nazianzen, one of the three daughters of his sister Gorgonia. She was brought up most carefully by her grandmother, who had encouraged her to expect a considerable share of her property, but at her death left her only a small legacy, some of which she was in danger of having wrested from her. Her uncle consequently wrote to Theodorus bishop of Tyana to request his aid for her (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 85). Eugenia's conduct proved far from pleasing to Gregory, who mentioned her, together with her sister Nonna, with severe reprehension in his will. (Greg. *Testam.*) [E. V.]

EUGENIA (5), virgin, daughter of Adalbert duke of Alsatia, and niece of St. Odilia. She became abbess of Hohenburg in the diocese of Strasburg, and died in A.D. 735. (*Acta SS.* 16 Sept. v. 332.) [I. G. S.]

EUGENIANUS, a martyr, commemorated Jan. 8 (*Mart.* Usuard., Wandalb.). No other ancient writer seems to be acquainted with a martyr of this name. The Bollandist conjectures that he has been confused with Hegemonius bishop of Autun in the 4th century (*AA. SS.* Jan. i. 473). The Sammarthani (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 334) do not admit that there are any grounds for supposing Eugenianus to have been this bishop. [T. S. B.]

EUGENIUS (1) I., bishop of Rome during the breach between Rome and Constantinople in consequence of the Monothelite controversy; consecrated Aug. 10, 654, buried June 3, 657 (Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* p. 164). The emperor Constans having issued a declaration known as 'the Type,' in which the use of either of the phrases contended for, either the Single or Double Will or Energy in Christ, was forbidden for the future, and pope Martin I. (who had in council denounced this Type, and excommunicated Paul the Eastern patriarch) having been seized in 653 and removed from Rome by the emperor's order, the clergy of Rome were ordered by the latter to elect a new pope. The order was not obeyed till the 8th of September in the following year, when Eugenius, a native of Rome, was chosen and consecrated, Martin (who had protested by letter from Constantinople against a new election) being still alive. This ultimate, though tardy, compliance with the imperial will was probably due to a fear lest the emperor himself should interpose and intrude a heretic into the see. Martin lived in exile until September A.D. 655, and thus during the first year of his pontificate Eugenius was canonically an intruder and antipope, though reckoned a lawful bishop after Martin's death in virtue of his acceptance by the Roman church. After his election he sent messengers to Constantinople to announce it to the emperor. These were induced by Peter, who about this time became patriarch of Constantinople, to assent to a declaration of faith intended to reconcile the disputants, in which the curious compromise was adopted of acknowledging One Will in Christ, and also two (unam super duas); one, which was called the Substantial Will, and two besides, called Natural Wills. Having on such terms of union publicly communicated with the patriarch, they returned to Rome carrying from him to pope Eugenius a confession of faith expressed (according to Anastasius) in very obscure terms. From the circumstance, mentioned also by Anastasius, that, when the patriarch's letter was read at Rome in the church of St. Mary ad Praesepe (now Santa Maria Maggiore), it was the clergy and people that tore up the document, and refused to permit the pope to celebrate mass till he had pledged himself to repudiate it, it would seem that the pastor was less resolute in orthodoxy than his flock, and disposed to accept the compromise. There is in fact no evidence of his having anything of the orthodox zeal or spirit of his predecessor Martin. The latter, during the last year of his life, spent in exile, complained bitterly in still extant letters of being neglected by his former friends, especially by the clergy of Rome, who, though having it in their power to relieve him, had left him destitute of even the necessaries of life. Eugenius, as the head of the Roman clergy, though not named, must be considered as involved in this reproach. Nor is it inconsistent with the apathy and readiness to accept compromise, of which evidence has been given, that he is described kind, gentle, affable, and charitable to the poor. (Anastasius and Platina.) He held the see, from the date of his election, 2 years, 8 months, and 24 days. Notwithstanding the absence of any recorded acts or characteristics to entitle him to the character of a saint, he is commemorated as such in the Roman Church on the 2nd of June. No writings, genuine or spurious, attributed to him, remain. (Anastas. Biblioth. *de Vit. Rom. Pont.* num. lxxvii. § 134 in Pat. Lat. cxxviii. 763; Platina, *de Vit. Pontif.* p. 95.) [J. B—y.]

EUGENIUS (2), bishop of Ammaedara, Admedera (Amadera Morc. hod. Hydra, Playfair's *Travels*, p. 189), a colony between Carthage and Cirta in Proc. Prov. (?), on the borders of Numidia (Cyp. *Sentt. Epp.* 32). [E. W. B.]

EUGENIUS (3), an early bishop of Toledo, said by Spanish antiquaries to have been sent as a missionary by St. Dionysius the Areopagite [DIONYSIUS PSEUDO-AREOPAGITA (1) and DIONYSIUS (2)], and to have suffered as a martyr in one of the persecutions of the early church; the breviary of Toledo names that carried on under Domitian. It is, however, admitted by Florez (*Espana Sagrada, tomo* v.) that by the time of Ildefonsus the memory of this Eugenius had entirely perished. But his tomb is reported to have been found at Paris in 1148 by Raymund archbishop of Toledo, and his remains transferred to Spain by king Philip II. in 1565. Florez appeals to the abbat Ilduinus and to St. Gerard for his existence, and he is commemorated, in some lists, on Nov. 15. Ruinart (*Acta Martyrum*, Amsterdam, 1713) gives, in an appendix, a *Kalendarium Carthaginiense* (the old province of Carthage used to include Toledo and some other sees in Spain) with the entry: "*Nonas Jan. depositio S. Deogratias et Eugenii episcoporum.* [J. G. C.]

EUGENIUS (4), bishop of the Tauric Chersonese, mentioned with Elpidius and other bishops of the see in the *Menology* of Basil, March 8. These bishops lived before the reign of Constantine the Great, 306–337. (Migne, Patrol. Graec. cxvii. 9; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1329.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (5), bishop of Laodicea, the metropolis of the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, c. A.D. 300–324. He was originally in the army, and had married the daughter of a senator, but during the Maximinian persecution was deprived of his military rank owing to the constancy of his faith, and fled to Laodicea, where he became bishop. He entirely built the church and adorned it with vestibules and porticos. An inscription has been found at Laodicea having reference to this bishop. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 794.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (6), bishop of Eucarpia, in the province of Phrygia Salutaris; one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 845; Mansi, ii. 695.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (7). Among the subscriptions to the letter of the Eusebian seceders to Philippopolis from the council of Sardica, A.D. 347, there occurs Eugeus de Lysitia, intended, as Le Quien thinks, for Eugenius bishop of Lysinia in Pamphylia Secunda. In the same list there is another bishop Eugenius, the name of the see being lost. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1029; Mansi, iii. 138, 140.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (8), bishop of Nicaea, one of the thirty bishops who met in synod at Antioch A.D. 355. (Soz. *H. E.* iv. 8; Till. *Mém. Eccl.* vi. 394.) [E. V.]

EUGENIUS (9), bishop of Pappa in Pisidia, present at the oecumenical council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. (Mansi, iii. 570; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1057.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (10), bishop of Heraclea, the metropolis of Thrace. He was originally a presbyter of Constantinople, one of Chrysostom's bitterest enemies, and was deputed, together with Isaac the anchoret, by the Council of the Oak to convey to Chrysostom the summons to appear before them. For his services on this and other occasions Eugenius was rewarded with the see of Heraclea, from which Serapion had been deposed. (Pallad. *Vit. Chrysost.* in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xlvii. 29; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1108.) [E. V.]

EUGENIUS (11), a bishop in Macedonia, addressed with Maximianus and other bishops of the province by Innocent I. (Ep. 17. Patr. Lat. xx. 527). He must be the Eugenius who is named next to Maximianus by Chrysostom (Ep. 163. Patr. Gr. lii. 706), about A.D. 406, when Chrysostom thanks the Macedonian bishops for their support of his cause. [EUMENIUS (5).] [C. H.]

EUGENIUS (12), Phrygian bishop, whose see is not named, one of the four deputed to carry to Rome, A.D. 404, the letter addressed by Chrysostom to pope Innocent, together with those from the bishops who supported his cause, and from the clergy of Constantinople. (Pallad. *Dial.* pp. 10, 11.) Eugenius's fidelity to Chrysostom cost him his see. He was deposed by Atticus and his party, and he lived in concealment in his own country. (*Ibid.* p. 195.) [E. V.]

EUGENIUS (13), bishop of Apollonias (Lopadium), on the lake formed by the Rhyndacus in Bithynia, signed the protest of the sixty-eight bishops against the opening of the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, before the arrival of John of Antioch (Baluze, *Concil.* p. 698, *Synodicon.* c. 7); nevertheless, like many others, he joined the council when it was opened. (Mansi, iv. 1224; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 613.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (14), bishop of Hermopolis Magna, in the Thebais. Gennadius, who precedes him in the list, is dated A.D. 449. He is mentioned by Joannes Moschus (*Pratum Spirituale*, § 182, Patr. Gr. lxxxvii. 3053) as having formerly been the abbat of the monastery of St. Sergius called Xeropotamus near Bethlehem. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 595.) [J. de S.]

EUGENIUS (15), bishop of Baratta, a town in Lycaonia whose position and exact name is uncertain. His name was subscribed in his absence by his metropolitan, Onesiphorus of Iconium, to the definition of the faith that was read before the emperor Marcian at the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 165; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1079.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (16), bishop of Canna in Lycaonia, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1084; Mansi, vii. 157.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (17), bishop of Cotena in Pamphylia, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1010; Mansi, vii. 164.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (18), supposed bishop of Nismes. The name appears among the subscriptions (without sees) to a synodical letter of forty-four bishops of Gaul to pope Leo in 457 (Leo Mag. ep. 99 p. 1111 in Patr. Lat. liv. p. 969 c), and a very suspicious MS. of Savaro calls him bishop of Nismes. The Sammarthani reject him. (*Gall. Christ.* vi. 427.) [C. H.]

EUGENIUS (19), bishop of Euroea in Vetus Epirus, signed the synodical letter of that province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 619 B; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 145.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (20), bishop of Nicopolis, in Vetus Epirus. The emperor Leo I., hearing of the murder of Proterius, bishop of Alexandria A.D. 457, commanded him to assemble a synod of the bishops under his jurisdiction to consider the matter. He obeyed, and the synod wrote a letter to the emperor, which was signed by Eugenius and eight others (Mansi, vii. 619 A; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 134). Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, in his letter of 516 to the synod of Vetus Epirus, greatly praises his conduct on that occasion (Horm. *Ep.* 8 in Migne, Patrol. Gr. lxiii. 391 and in Mansi, viii. 405). [T. W. D.]

EUGENIUS (21), bishop of Siniandus in Pisidia, signed a synodical letter to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 571; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1055.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (22), bishop of Carthage in the 5th century. He was elected to the see A.D. 479 (so Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* iii. 191, but Cave gives the following year), with the approval of the Arian Hunneric, but after five years was exiled to the deserts of Tripoli (Victor Vitensis, *de Persec. Vandal.* ii. 2–13, Patr. Lat. lvii. 203). On the accession of Gundamund, in the following year, he was recalled (Victor Tununens. *Chronic.* Patr. Lat. lxviii. 946). During the reign of this prince the orthodox party was not molested, but upon his death, in the year 496, his successor Thrasimund renewed the earlier persecutions (Procop. *Bell. Vandal.* i. 8). Eugenius was banished to Gaul, and settled near the town of Vienne, where he founded a monastery in honour of St. Amaranthus. He died there in the year 505. Eugenius left a creed, drawn up for presentation to Hunneric, which is printed in the 58th volume of Migne's Patr. Lat. (see also Gennadius, *de Script. Eccles.* cap. 97, *ibid.* p. 1116; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* ii. 3, p. 46). [J. de S.]

EUGENIUS (23), bishop of Tium on the Black Sea in the province of Honorias, present at the council held at Constantinople, A.D. 536. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 575; Mansi, viii. 971.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (24), a Cilician tritheite bishop in the second half of the 6th century, who supported Conon of Tarsus in disseminating that heresy. John of Ephesus, who states that Eugenius was a bishop in Cilicia, assigns him no definite locality in that region, but according to Bar-Hebraeus (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* ii. 325) his see was Seleucia in Isauria, and his period contemporary with the Jacobite patriarch Sergius Telensis (539–541). It was at this early period perhaps that they begun to declare their views in Cilicia, and for this they were admonished and finally deposed by their fellow bishops. Retiring to Constantinople, they found a zealous patron in Athanasius, a grandson of the empress Theodora; and supported by his fortune they established an active propagandism. Three bishops were requisite, according to the canons, for episcopal ordinations, and they found a third to act with them in Theonas, a deposed provincial bishop who had wandered to the capital. By this means they sent out in every direction numerous episcopal emissaries, who gathered congregations in Rome, in Corinth, in Athens, and in Africa. The public disputation held with the tritheites under the patriarch John by direction of the emperor Justin II. is noticed under Conon. The tritheite leaders were condemned and banished to Palestine; but this had no effect on the activity of their agents, who travelling through Syria, Cilicia, Isauria, Cappadocia, ordained priests and deacons in churches and monasteries, cities and villages, bringing over whole districts to their views. Eventually Eugenius and Conon visited Pamphylia, where Eugenius in the earlier days of his orthodoxy had zealously laboured for the conversion of the Acephali, who had colonised that province in large numbers. Here Eugenius died, and Conon once more retired to Constantinople. These particulars are gathered from the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus (lib. i. 31, v. 1–8), which has been translated from the Syriac into English by Dr. Payne Smith, and into German by Dr. Schönfelder, the latter of whom appends a dissertation on the tritheite controversy. [Joannes Philoponus; Tritheism.] Eugenius is by Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 535, lxxvii.) erroneously called Evagrius. [T. W. D.]

EUGENIUS (25), bishop of Egara, subscribing the acts of the fourth council of Toledo, A.D. 633, under Sisenand (*Esp. Sagr.* xlii. 195; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385). [M. A. W.]

EUGENIUS (26) I., bishop of Toledo, in Spain, and metropolitan, between the years 636 and 646 or 647. Date of birth unknown. His life ended with his episcopate.

Name.—A Latin translation of εὐγενής into *Bene-natus* occurs as a proper name in the Gaul of the 6th century (as *e.g.* in Cyprian's life of Caesarius of Arles, where a man so-called is stated to have acted unworthily of his name). Few names have remained more popular in both the masculine and feminine forms in modern Europe than *Eugenio*, *Eugène*, *Eugénie*.

Authorities.—St. Ildefonsus, bishop of Toledo, *De Virorum Illustrium Scriptis* (capp. xii. xiii.). This series of short biographies, apparently suggested by the similar one of St. Jerome, is printed at the end of some editions of the works of St. Isidore of Seville; as for example, in appendix I. to tom. vii. of the edition of Arevalus (Romae A.D. 1803); Acts of the fifth, sixth, and seventh councils of Toledo, held respectively in A.D. 636, 638, 646 (Labbe, tom. iii. pp. 597, 601, 613, ed. Paris, 1714).

Life.—This Eugenius was a fellow-student of Justus, his predecessor in the see of Toledo. He was trained as a monk from infancy. His superior, Helladius, has the merit of bringing forward both him and Justus, when he himself became a bishop. Eugenius was a man of dignified demeanour, and not only well versed in sacred learning, but also, we are assured, so skilled in astronomy as to astonish his auditors, whom he allured, through the influence thus gained, to the reception of religious doctrine. His signature to the fifth council of Toledo stands as follows:—"*Ego Eugenius, Dei misera-*

tione, Toletanae ecclesiae, provinciae Carthaginiensis metropolitanus episcopus, his communibus decretis annuens subscripsi." As regards the precise date of the episcopate of this Eugenius, Florez may be consulted. (*España Sagrada*, tom. v.; Madrid, Marin., A.D. 1750.) Ildefonsus mentions the Gothic kings of Spain, under whom he flourished, namely, Chintila, Tulga, and Chindasuindo. These kings died respectively in A.D. 638, 640, 650. [J. G. C.]

EUGENIUS (27) II., bishop of Toledo between A.D. 646–657. As in the case of his predecessor, we are ignorant of the date of birth, but learn that he died, being still bishop, in A.D. 657, when he was succeeded by St. Ildefonsus.

Authorities.—St. Ildefonsus (*de Vir. Ill. Scr. cap. ultimo*); acts of the eighth, ninth, and tenth councils of Toledo (Labbe, tom. iii. pp. 952, 971, 977).

Life.—This Eugenius was also a monk, and in order to avoid promotion he fled to Saragossa (urbs Caesaraugustana), and there hid himself among the tombs of the martyrs. The prince (seemingly Chindasuindo) employed force, and constrained him to become bishop. He is described as spare of frame and not physically strong, but fervid in spirit, a great student, and specially versed in musical science, by which he corrected the faulty chanting of his time.

Writings.—This Eugenius composed a short treatise on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, which is said to have been lucid and eloquent. Its intended transmission to Africa and the East was hindered by storms. Two other volumes, one in prose and one in verse, spread his reputation beyond the circles where he was personally known. His prose writings are lost; but the poems were collected and edited by Father Sirmond, S.J., in his *Opera Varia*, published at Paris in 1696 (tom. ii. p. 278 *et seq.*), and again at Venice in 1728. They are also given in the *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima* (Lyons, 1677, tom. xii. p. 345). They consist of some thirty-five short compositions in Latin hexameters, elegiacs, sapphics, and iambics on sacred subjects or on topics of the day (*e.g.* No. xxxi. is headed *De morte conjugis Chindasuinthi Regis*). Although disfigured by the occasional introduction of barbarous words, and exhibiting some licence in the quantity of syllables, especially in the case of proper names, the verses of Eugenius display more point and better latinity than we might expect to find in the Spain of the 7th century. Two of his epigrams (on the invention of letters and the names of hybrid animals) have been thought worthy of preservation by Burmann in his *Anthologia Latina* (ii. 264). Two are double acrostics, one of them being an epitaph on himself, of which the initial letters of the lines make the word EUGENIUS, and the concluding ones MISELLUS. The long poem on the Creation appended to these entitled Hexaëmeron, has been sometimes assigned to Eugenius as its original author. This mistake ought not to have been made; inasmuch as Ildefonsus (*l. c.*) states most explicitly the precise relation in regard to it occupied by the bishop of Toledo, who was only in this instance an editor and an enlarger, at the request of the king, of the poem on this theme composed some two centuries earlier by Dracontius. [DRACONTIUS.]

The above councils of Toledo, over which the two prelates Eugenius I. and II. presided, or in which they took a leading part, deserve attention in connexion with—(1) the confessions of faith which they set forth; (2) the relative position of the monarchy; (3) the occasional subscription of laymen; (4) the treatment of the Jews living in Spain. A few words must be said upon each of these points.

1. Some profession of faith appears to be recognized as almost a necessary and normal preface to the canons passed by each successive council. In some cases, however, it amounts to little more than a statement of the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, or to a recital of the Apostles' Creed. But in others it is more ample, especially in the sixth council, summoned in A.D. 638, in the reign of Chintila, and attended by fifty-two bishops, where the articles of the creed drawn up deserve comparison with those proclaimed in the earlier third council of Toledo held in A.D. 586 under the first Catholic sovereign, king Recared or Recaredo. The creed before us, in language of much dignity, and with a terseness of statement which resembles the better features of the scholastic terminology of a later day, proclaims not only the truths insisted on in the Nicene Creed as enlarged at Chalcedon, but is even more distinct on the doctrine of the *μοναρχία* or *Principatus Patris*, and also includes a recognition of the double procession, and of the doctrine of original sin. We subjoin a few sentences by way of evidence, italicizing phrases illustrative of these remarks. "Itaque credimus et profitemur sacratissimam et omnipotentissimam Trinitatem, Patrem et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum, unum Deum, *solum non solitarium;* unius essentiae, virtutis, potestatis, uniusque naturae; discretam inseparabiliter personis; indiscretam essentialiter substantiam deitatis, creatricem omnium creaturarum; Patrem ingenitum, increatum, *fontem et originem totius divinitatis;* Filium à Patre intemporaliter et ante omnem creaturam sine initio genitum non creatum. . . . Spiritum vero sanctum, neque genitum neque creatum, *sed de Patre Filioque procedentem utriusque esse Spiritum.* . . . . Ex his igitur tribus divinitatis personis solum Filium fatemur ad redemptionem humani generis, *propter culparum debita* (*quae per inobedientiam Adae originaliter, et nostro libero arbitrio contraxeramus*) *resolvenda* à secreto Patris arcanoque prodiisse, et hominem sine peccato de sanctâ semper Virgine Mariâ assumpsisse, ut idem Filius Dei Patris esset filius hominis; Deus perfectus et homo perfectus, ut homo Deus esset unus Christus naturis in duabus in personâ unus; ne quaternitas Trinitati accedat, si in Christo persona geminata esset."

2. The king is evidently at this period in close and intimate relation with the Spanish church, sanctioning its councils, giving coactive force to its canons, and even anticipating its desires. The church in turn gives honour and support to the throne. But the notion of an indefeasible hereditary claim to the monarchy is unknown; as in truth it was unknown to the early and even to the later medieval church. It never throve in Spain, though we may find it prevalent in the France of Louis XIV., and the England of the Tudors and the Stuarts. That the crown should rest in certain families, so long as they

flourished, was indeed an admitted principle, but that was all. Thus in the fifth council of Toledo, A.D. 638, the third canon treats: "*De reprobatione personarum, quae prohibentur adipisci regnum,*" and excommunication is threatened against the man, "qui talia meditatus fuerit, *quem nec electio omnium probat, nec Gothicae gentis nobilitas* ad hunc honoris apicem trahit." The combination of *electio* and *nobilitas* is worthy of note. That the monarchy was still in a rather unsettled condition appears from the succeeding canon of the same council directed against those who attempt to find out, by divination, the time when the reigning sovereign will die, with a view to their own acquisition of the throne. With these fourth and fifth canons of the fifth council should be compared the cognate ones (the 16th and 17th, and 18th) of the sixth council of Toledo, to which reference has been made above.

3. The rights of the laity to appoint incumbents to churches which they have built or restored, are guarded with much strictness (council ix. canon 2); but abuses on the part of patrons are censured (council x. canon 3). The canons of the 8th council, held in A.D. 653, are signed by fifty-two bishops, thirteen abbats, ten archdeacons, and sixteen counts. This adhibition of the signatures of laymen had occurred also in the earlier council, the third, held under Recared, where we find not only a royal edict in confirmation of its acts, but likewise the participation of all the senators (five leading names being given) in its *anathemas* against Arianism, and the other heresies condemned by the first four oecumenical councils. The same feature occurs again at a later date, in the twelfth council of Toledo, held in A.D. 681 (Labbe, *ubi supra*, p. 1715), where fifteen counts palatine sign after the bishops, abbats, and archdeacons. Bishop Jeremy Taylor has called attention to this circumstance in one of his controversial works. He calls these councils the fourth, sixth, and eighth of Toledo. Either bishop Taylor numbers the councils in a way differing from that of Labbe, or he has made a mistake, as the fourth has not any laic signature appended, beyond that contained in the sanction given by king Chintila. Compare the case of the second council of Orange held under Caesarius of Arles. [Caesarius (3).]

4. The painful subject of the treatment of the Jews (at that period more eminent in Spain than in any other country for wealth, dignity of position, industry, and numbers) is discussed in connexion with the councils held in the Spanish peninsula and specially at Toledo, by Milman. (*Hist. of Jews*, books xx. and xxii.) As early as A.D. 313 we find the council of Elvira (Illiberis) forbidding meals being taken in company with the Jews, and benedictions of fruits of the earth by Jews, lest they should make void the blessings of the church (canons xlviii., xlix.; Labbe, tom. i. p. 287). The sympathy existing, as at Alexandria and elsewhere, between the Arians and the Jews, and the favour exhibited towards Jews by Arian Gothic kings, must have intensified the animosity displayed by king Recared and his successor, Sisebut. The fourth council of Toledo, over which Isidore of Seville presided [Isidorus], though insisting that even those who had become Christians by compulsion should remain such, forbids the further employment of force to make converts. But the councils, in which the earlier and later Eugenius are prominent, not only denounce (as was right and becoming) the sale of Christians as slaves to Jews, but revert to the use of violence and ultimate expulsion of all who remain firm in Judaism. This is especially the case with the sixth, eighth, ninth, and tenth councils of Toledo. The eighth council received a counter petition from the Jews, which, though not admitted to a place in its acts, is given by Baronius (*ad ann.* 653, cf. Milman *l. c.*). The results in some measure resemble those arising in the France of after days from the revocation of the edict of Nantes, namely, thousands of conversions (so called), of which many were probably unreal, and the flight of numbers to Gaul and Africa. A later council of Toledo, the twelfth, in A.D. 681, surpassed in the rigour of its enactments all former persecutions. If, as there seems reason to suppose, the Jews lent powerful aid to the subsequent Moorish invasion, they took a terrible (though, it must be owned, only too natural) revenge for their wrongs.

We pass by canons of the *Concilia Toletana* directed against the sin of simony and on the illegitimate sons of clerics, because these topics are common to the Christendom of that period, and in nowise specially Spanish. [J. G. C.]

EUGENIUS (28), bishop of Trapezopolis in Phrygia, subscribed the canons of the synod called Trullana, or Quinisexta, held at Constantinople, A.D. 692. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 810; Mansi, xi. 1001.) [L. D.]

EUGENIUS (29), bishop of Forum Cornelii (Imola), A.D. 801. He was a native of that city, and is described as "vir magno ingenio." (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 624; Manzonius, *Episc. Corneliens.* 44.) [T. W. D.]

EUGENIUS (30), martyr at Tibur with Symphorosa his mother, and six brothers. [T. S. B.]

EUGENIUS (31), martyr at Paris; commemorated on Nov. 15. (*Mart.* Us., Wand.) [Eugenius (3).] [T. S. B.]

EUGENIUS (32), martyr with Eustratius and three others in Armenia during the Diocletian persecution. Commemorated Dec. 13. (*Men.* Bas.; *Menol. Graec.* Sirlet.; Baron. *Annal.* 311. xx.) [T. S. B.]

EUGENIUS (33), martyr with Valerianus during the Diocletian persecution, commemorated Jan. 20. (*Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

EUGENIUS (34), a presbyter of Antioch, martyred with Macarius during the reign of Julian. He appeared before the emperor and reproached him for his idolatry. The emperor, enraged at this, banished him to Mauritania, where he was beheaded. Commemorated Dec. 20. (*Men.* Bas.; Baron. *Annal.* 362, 90, 91.) [T. S. B.]

EUGENIUS (35), martyr with six others in Africa during the Vandal persecution at the close of the 5th century, commemorated Jan. 4 (*Mart.* Adon.). In Usuard, Notker, and the *Mart. Hier.* the name appears as Eugentius. [T. S. B.]

EUGENIUS (36), martyr with Apollonius. Commemorated July 23. (*Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

EUGENIUS (37), martyr at Neocaesarea, with Mardonius, Muso, and Metellus; commemorated Jan. 24. (*Mart.* Hier., Adon., Usuard., Notker.) [T. S. B.]

EUGENIUS (38), martyr at Cherson, together with Elpidius [ELPIDIUS (2)]. Commemorated March 8. (*Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

EUGENIUS (39), martyr in Syria with Paulus, Cyrillus, and four others. Commemorated March 20. (*Mart.* Us., Notker.) [T. S. B.]

EUGENIUS (40), a deacon; one of the four legates sent by Sylvester bishop of Rome to the Council of Arles, A.D. 314. (Labbe and Cossart, i. 1453.) [T. W. D.]

EUGENIUS (41), a monk by whom Basil wrote to the Catholics of Alexandria, in A.D. 373, to encourage them under the persecution and sufferings which followed the death of Athanasius. (Basil. *Epist.* 139 [71].) [E. V.]

EUGENIUS (42), deacon of Ancyra, sent by his bishop Marcellus cir. A.D. 347 to Athanasius with a confession of faith of the church of Ancyra. (*Eugen. Diac. Legat. ad S. Athanas.* in Patr. Gr. xviii. 1302; Ceillier, iv. 308.) [T. W. D.]

EUGENIUS (43), an archdeacon of Zenobius bishop of Florence, cir. A.D. 396. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 24, Mai. vi. 53, 55, 56; *Mart. Rom.* Nov. 21.) [T. W. D.]

EUGENIUS (44), deacon, addressed by pope Gregory the Great, empowering and requiring him to transfer some of the land of the Roman church to the monastery of Blera or Bieda, a town near Sutrium and Viterbo. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. xii. ind. v. ep. 45, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 1250.) [C. H.]

EUGENIUS (45) (EUGAN), common latinized form of the Irish Eoghan. [EOGHAN.] A person called Eugenius is said to have been one of the seven hermits from the island in the Tiber, who accompanied St. Regulus (*Legend of St. Andrew*, in Skene's *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 187; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 335). *Mart. Tallaght* (Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* xxxix.) commemorates a Eugenius Peregrinus on December 26, and Mar. O'Gorman on the same day has "Eugan mor an mara," Eugan or Eugenius, the mariner or traveller (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 346 n. [5]). [J. G.]

EUGENIUS (46) HERMOGENIANUS, a praetorian prefect, at whose instance Maximian is said to have issued a rescript for the persecution of Christians, c. A.D. 301, and under whom many afterwards suffered death (Boll. *Act. Sanct.* 29 Mai, vii. 11). [T. W. D.]

EUGENIUS (47), a usurper in the reign of Diocletian, A.D. 303. Libanius tells us that the 500 soldiers whom he was commanding in Seleucia, being indignant at the amount of work which was expected of them, thought to better their condition by proclaiming Eugenius emperor. They marched to Antioch, plundering as they went. At Antioch, however, the whole population, including even the women, rose against them, and the usurpation of Eugenius ended on the same day on which it began. (Libanius, *Or.* xiii. xiv. xv.) [M. F. A.]

EUGENIUS (48), "magister officiorum" under Constans. He was present when Athanasius had an interview with that emperor at Milan, A.D. 343. (ATHANASIUS, Vol. I. 190; Athanas. *Apol. ad Const.* sec. 3, p. 235.) [T. W. D.]

EUGENIUS (49), a wealthy eunuch of Constantinople, who had been expelled from court because of his disaffection to the emperor Jovian. He befriended Procopius with money and otherwise during his rebellion, A.D. 363–366. (Zosim. iv. 5; PROCOPIUS, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biogr.* iii. 538.) [T. W. D.]

EUGENIUS (50), procurator under Theodosius and Valentinian II. A.D. 434. The princess Honoria, sister of the emperor Valentinian, had a child by him, and was consequently expelled from the palace and sent from Italy to Theodosius. (Marcellin. Comit. *Chronicon*, A.D. 434; Patrol. Lat. li. p. 926; Baronius ad ann. 435, xxvi. Pagi, note.) [W. M. S.]

EUGENIUS (51), a notary addressed along with the subdeacon Felix and others by pope Gregory the Great, who desires them to see the regulations carried out by which bishops or clerics are prohibited from having women residing with them. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. ix. ind. ii. ep. 60; Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 996.) [C. H.]

EUGENTIUS, martyr. [EUGENIUS (35).]

EUGIPPIUS (1), ST. (EUGYPPIUS), abbat of Lucullanum, born at Carthage about the middle of the 5th century, and at the age of twelve sent by his parents to Rome (Patrol. Lat. lxii. 550), where he was educated and afterwards ordained. He was with St. Severinus when the latter was proselytizing in Noricum (Austria) and entered his monastery near Favianae (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. 8). It was near Vienna according to Mabillon (*Annales O. S. B.* i. 85, "Monasterium Favianense"). Here St. Severinus died in A.D. 482, and in 488 Eugippius accompanied his body when it was transferred to the villa of Lucullus between Puteoli (Pozzuoli) and Naples, where a monastery ("Monasterium Lucullanum," Mabil. *ib.*) was founded in honour of, and called by the name of, the saint. Of this monastery, which belonged to the Benedictine order and was under the rule of Monte Cassino, Marcianus was the first abbat, and Eugippius the second (Ceillier, xi. 85). Here he wrote many theological treatises, which are printed in the *Patrologia*, tom. lxii., and in A.D. 511 he composed the life of St. Severinus (Potthast, *Biblioth.* p. 887). He was addressed by St. Fulgentius, who wrote to him a letter on "Charity"; and he was author of a monastic rule, not extant. There has been some controversy as to whether there was a second writer of the name of Eugippius, and called the African. Sigebert says that "Eugippius" was author of a collection from the writings of St. Augustine, about 580, from which date it would follow that he was a different person from the Eugippius who was with St. Severinus at his

death in 482, and who wrote the life of the saint in 511. But it is evident that he makes a mistake, for Cassiodorus had seen the Eugippius author of the "Collection" to which Sigebert refers, and Cassiodorus died at the age of ninety-three before the year 567. (Ceillier, xi. 88.) We may add that both the Bollandists and Cave treat of only one Eugippius, and the Patrol. Lat. places the *Vita S. Severini* among the works of Eugippius Africanus. Upon the whole it would seem to be proved that Eugippius abbat of Lucullanum and Eugippius the African were the same person. (*Acta SS.* Jan. i. 483; Migne, Patrolog. Lat. lxii. 550, &c.; Ceillier, *Histoire des Auteurs ecclés.* xi. 85, &c.; Cave, *Histor. Liter.* i. 498; Surius, *de Prob. Sanct. Historiis*, Jan. 8.) [I. G. S.]

EUGIPPIUS (2), a priest to whom Dionysius Exiguus dedicated his Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's work, *De Conditione seu Opificio hominis.* The translator's prefatory letter intimates that his task was undertaken at the request of Eugippius. (Patrol. Lat. lxvii. 346; Ceillier, xi. 124.) [T. W. D.]

EUGNOMON, a bishop of Asia, one of those who presented a complaint against Chrysostom at the Council of the Oak, for having unjustly deposed him from his see. (Photius, *Cod.* 59, p. 60.) [E. V.]

EUGNOMONIUS (Eugnomon) appears among the Eutychians, who as ἐλάχιστοι ἀρχιμανδριταί, made an appeal to Marcian the emperor for a general council in A.D. 451 (Labbe, iv. 524 a). The orthodox archimandrites, however, at the council of Chalcedon, refused to recognize him as archimandrite or anything else, "We do not know Eugnomonius" (Labbe, iv. 522 A). [C. G.]

EUGRAPHIA (1), a rich widow of Constantinople, an intimate associate of the empress Eudoxia, and a leading member of the female cabal for the destruction of Chrysostom, who had aroused their enmity by his unsparing denunciations of their avarice, luxury, and extravagance. Her house was the meeting-place of all, both clergy and laity, who were disaffected to Chrysostom. (Pallad. *Dial.* p. 35.) [E. V.]

EUGRAPHIA (2), a lady to whom Theodoret expresses himself as under great obligations, and whom on the death of her husband he addressed in a long and beautiful letter, offering her various grounds of consolation. (Theod. *Epist.* 69.) [E. V.]

EUGRAPHUS, a martyr at Alexandria with Menas and Hermogenes, under Maximin; commemorated Dec. 10. (*Men.* Bas.; Baron. *Annal.* 307, 38); Dec. 3 (*Cal. Armen.*) [T. S. B.]

EUGYPPIUS, abbat. [Eugippius.]

EUHEL (Eoil), commemorated November 14 with Fachtna of Cill-toma, and Gabhran, his two brothers. They are called the three sons of Dubhthach, in the Irish kalendars, and in the *Drummond Missal* there is commemoration made "trium fratrum Gabran, Eoil et Fachtne." One of this name, "Euhel de Ros-coerach," is said to have been a pupil at Loch Eirce under St. Barry (September 25) of Cork (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 607; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 28). [J. G.]

EUIN, duke of Trent (Tridentum), one of the dukes who ruled Italy for ten years after the death of Kleph, when there was no Lombard king. During this time he repelled an invasion made upon his duchy by the Franks. He had charge of an army sent by king Autharis, c. 589, into Istria, and was sent by king Agilulf, c. 591, to make peace with the Franks. He died c. 595. (Paulus Diaconus, ii. 32; iii. 9, 27; iv. 10, who derives this local information probably from Secundus of Trent.) [A. H. D. A.]

EUIPPIUS, a bishop of long standing, holding Arianizing doctrines, from whom, though there was much reason for his being united to him, Basil felt it due to the cause of truth to separate altogether (Bas. Epist. 57 [56], *ad Meletium*; 128 [265]). Eustathius of Sebaste, in A.D. 360 violently declaimed against Euippius as not deserving the name of bishop, being one of those by whom Eustathius had been deposed, yet in A.D. 376 Eustathius united himself to Euippius, and recognized the bishops and presbyters he had ordained. (Epist. 226 [73], 239 [10], 244 [82], 251 [72].) [E. V.]

EULADIUS (Eulalius), placed by the diptychs of the church of Arles as bishop between Patroclus and St. Honoratus (Mabillon, *Vet. Analect.* p. 220, nov. edit. 1723). Tillemont (*Mém.* xii. 481) argues that his episcopate could have occupied only a brief period in 426. He is not recognized in the *Gallia Christiana* (i. 526). [C. H.]

EULADIUS, bishop of Bourges. [Eulodius.]

EULADIUS, ST., said to have been the first bishop of Nevers. In the twenty-fifth year of his reign (506) Clovis sent for St. Severinus, abbat of St. Maurice (Agaunum), whose miraculous cures were then noised abroad. On his way to Paris, the saint came to Nevers, and asking for the bishop found Euladius lying deaf and dumb. He straightway healed him by the sound of his voice. Coquille (*Hist. du Nivernois*, Paris, 1612, sub fin.) apparently identifies him with Oeladius or Æoladius, whom he places seventh, others sixth, in the list of the Nevers bishops. He is commemorated Aug. 26. (*Vitâ S. Severini* in Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 569, Paris, 1668–1701; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 626.) [S. A. B.]

EULALIA (1), virgin martyr, born in the 4th century, of noble parents, at Merida (St. Emerita) in Spain. At the age of twelve, during the persecution of Diocletian, she was concealed by her mother, but escaped, and went of her own accord to Datianus, the Roman governor. Before him she declared that she was a Christian and that she despised his idols and the emperor who worshipped them. Proof against both tortures and flatteries, she struck the governor and overthrew the corn which was being offered to the idols. After she had been burnt to death, it is said that her soul came forth like a white dove and hovered over her body till snow fell and

covered it. (Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs eccles.* iii. 39; Baron. *Annales Eccles.* A.D. 303, 138.) She is commemorated Dec. 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Ad., Us., Wand.). Prudentius has a hymn in her honour (*Peristeph.* hymn iii.). Bede in his hymn on Etheldreda gives her the following line:—

"Eulalia et perfert ignibus usta feris."

(*H. E.* iv. 20.) [I. G. S.]

EULALIA (2), saint of Barcelona. The very existence of this famous saint, to whom the cathedral of Barcelona is dedicated, has been disputed, and is, indeed, extremely doubtful. The story of her martyrdom is almost identical with that of St. Eulalia of Merida. Both saints are represented as living with their parents in the country. Both hurry to the neighbouring city when the news of the Diocletian persecution reaches them, both seek out the Praeses, and defy him and the gods, both are tortured and burnt over a slow fire. On the bodies of both after death snow descends, and covers them from sight. From the mouths of both a white dove ascends to heaven at the moment of death, and both are visited after death by a certain Felix who had been converted by their example. The points of difference are—(1) Eulalia of Merida is represented by Prudentius as twelve years old, Eulalia of Barcelona is fourteen; (2) in the case of the Barcelona saint the Praeses is the famous Dacian, in the case of Eulalia of Merida, Calpurnian; (3) in the *Acta* of Eulalia of Barcelona the dead face smiles miraculously at Felix, evidently a touch of later poetry. It is extremely difficult to fix the date of the earliest mentions of Eulalia of Barcelona. In the Mozarabic Liturgy each saint has a complete office, and a complete Mass. The feast of Eulalia of Merida falls on the 10th of December, that of Eulalia of Barcelona on the 12th of February. The authenticity of the hymn in the Mozarabic breviary, in honour of Eulalia of Barcelona, by Quiricus, bishop of Barcelona, and which Gams dates about 650, is doubted by Arevalo (see his edition of Prudentius, Migne, lx. 339). We may consider the cult of this saint however to have been established by the seventh century, and in the following century we find her name in Bede's Martyrology, in which Eulalia of Merida is omitted. Bede, in common with various later authors, says that she was beheaded, a variation from the *Acta*, which must surely have been a conscious or unconscious attempt to distinguish between the two Eulalias. It seems scarcely possible to doubt that the one story is a reflection of the other. Nevertheless, opinion has been always greatly divided, and Gams, the latest ecclesiastical historian of Spain (*Kirchengeschichte*, vol. i. p. 306), has succeeded in persuading himself of the existence of the two Eulalias. The silence of Prudentius, who devotes an entire hymn to Eulalia of Merida, and who might so easily have introduced the name of Eulalia of Barcelona into his mention of that city when he speaks of the martyr Cucufas (Prudentius, *Peristeph.* hymn 4, 33), together with the similarity of the stories and the lateness of the *Acta*, has seemed conclusive to many hagiologists against the existence of Eulalia of Barcelona. The cult of the saint is, however, one of the most famous in Spain, and her supposed relics rest in a subterranean chapel of the cathedral of Barcelona, which was consecrated in 1339, and whither they were transferred from the older fabric of 1058, built in its turn upon the site of the still earlier church into which, in 878, bishop Frodoin of Barcelona is said to have transferred the remains from the church of St. Mary without the walls (Boll. *AA. SS.* Feb. ii. 576).

(Tillemont, *Mém.* v. 713; Eulogius, *Mem. Sanct.* i. 24; Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyrol. Hisp.* i. 102; Florez, *Esp. Sag.* xxix. 287; *Vida, martirio y grandezas de santa Eulalia, hija, patrona y tutelar de Barcelona*, Ponsich y Campo, 1770.) [M. A. W.]

EULALIA (3), wife of Probus, and cousin of Sidonius Apollinaris, who addresses her husband in terms of great affection, recalling the early days when Probus was his teacher. (Sid. Apoll. *Epp.* iv. 1.) [R. T. S.]

EULALIA (4), lady at the court of Charlemagne, addressed by Alcuin. [GUNDRADA.]

EULALIUS (1), an antipope, elected and ordained as bishop of Rome after the death of Zosimus at the close of the year 418, in opposition to Boniface I., who was finally established in the see, Eulalius being expelled from Rome, by the emperor Honorius in the April of the following year. The official letters which passed have been preserved in the Vatican, and are quoted at length by Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 418, lxxix. 419, ii.–xxxii.). A summary of their contents, and of the facts deducible from them is here subjoined, since they throw light on the conflicts attending the election of bishops, and on the powers exercised by the emperors in connexion with such elections. First we have a letter (Dec. 29, 418) to Honorius at Ravenna from Symmachus the Praefectus Urbis, who had entered on his duties as such only two days before the death of Zosimus. He states that, after he had warned the people to proceed to a new election without disturbance, Eulalius the archdeacon had been taken to the Lateran church by the clergy and people, duly elected, and ordained; that in the meantime certain presbyters, accompanied by a crowd, had gone with Bonifacius, a presbyter, to the church of Theodora, and, though warned by himself to do nothing rashly, had persisted in ordaining him in the church of S. Marcellus, and thence proceeded with him to St. Peter's basilica. He concludes by requesting the instructions of the emperor, with whom, he says, it rests to give judgment in such a case.

Honorius, taking for granted the correctness of this ex-parte statement, replies (Jan. 3, 419) by ordering Boniface to be expelled from the city, and the authors of the sedition in his favour punished, the reason given for such order being that Eulalius had been duly appointed according to the rule of Catholic discipline (competens numerus ordinantium, solemnitas temporis, locique qualitas), the election of his rival being deficient in these respects. Symmachus replies (Jan. 8) that he has carried out the emperor's order, though not without resistance on the part of Boniface; that the latter had caused a messenger, sent to summon him and to forbid a procession which he was about to commence, to be beaten by the

people; had proceeded with the procession in spite of the prohibition; had entered the city again by violence, though the gates were guarded to keep him out; but had been since again expelled by an opposing mob; and that Eulalius had in the meantime celebrated divine service in the basilica of St. Peter amid the acclamations and approval of almost the whole city.

In the meantime the Roman presbyters who supported Boniface had sent the emperor a different account of things from that given by Symmachus. They had been unable, they say, to assemble for a new election in the customary place, namely, the Lateran church, because of its being taken possession of by Eulalius with a very small number of presbyters and an excited mob; they had been compelled therefore to assemble elsewhere, representing themselves as the great majority of the clergy of Rome, and as supported by the better part of the laity; that amid general acclamation of the people they had elected Boniface who, in addition to other merits, was recommended by his unwillingness to accept the dignity offered him; that seventy priests and nine bishops of divers provinces had concurred in his ordination, whereas his rival had the support of but a small number of clergy, the bishop of Ostia, a sick old man almost at the point of death, having been brought against his will to assist in his ordination. They therefore petition the emperor to revoke his former edict, issued under false information, and to summon Eulalius and his abettors to his presence, promising on their side the attendance of Boniface with as many of the presbyters of his party as might be required, for the settlement of the dispute.

Having received this counterstatement, Honorius writes to Symmachus (Jan. 15), revoking his former edict; bidding him command the attendance at Ravenna on a prescribed day (Feb 8) of Boniface and Eulalius, with their respective supporters, prepared to support their cases by reference to ecclesiastical precedent before a synod which was being summoned from various provinces to hear the arguments. In the meantime the matter in dispute was to be considered entirely open and awaiting judgment, with the proviso that the non-appearance of either claimant would be construed as fatal to his claim. Symmachus in reply (Jan. 25), while he repeats in courtly phrase his diligent execution of the imperial commands, no longer writes as the supporter of Eulalius, being anxious to represent himself as entirely impartial, and accuses both parties (whom he had forbidden to resort together to the same church from fear of conflict) of endeavouring to support their positions by calumnies and lies.

There appears next a commonitorium of the emperor to the bishops summoned by him to hear the case, in which any who had taken part in the election or ordination of either claimant are forbidden to be either judges or witnesses, and in which the rest are warned to approach the question without prejudice, and decide after full examination under the guidance of the Holy Ghost.

It appears from the documents that follow that the members of the synod thus summoned were divided in sympathy or opinion and unable to come to a decision before Easter (Mar. 30), when custom required the presence of a bishop in

Rome to celebrate the solemnities of the season. Honorius therefore decided on deferring the consideration of the case till after Easter, when he proposed to refer it to a fuller synod, and in the meantime commissioned Achilleus bishop of Spoleto to celebrate Easter in Rome after the usual manner, forbidding both claimants to the see to appear there for the present. In the letters addressed by the emperor to Symmachus, to Achilleus, to the senate, and to the people generally, on this occasion, considerable apprehension of disregard of his injunctions and of disturbance is evident. While on the one hand he takes pains to justify his prorogation of the question on the ground of its importance, the number of new points that had arisen for consideration, and the duty of the emperor to see that episcopal synods decided nothing in haste, though not to arrogate the function of decision; on the other hand he exacts obedience to his orders in a high tone of authority, and threatens with summary punishment all disturbers of the peace.

Having thus, as he hoped, provided for the peaceable celebration of Easter, he lost no time in summoning bishops from far and wide for the intended full synod to be held at Spoletum on the 13th of June. To this end he sent private letters to several of the more important prelates, such as Paulinus bishop of Nola, whose infirmities had prevented his attendance at the previous synod, Augustine, and Aurelius bishop of Carthage, together with circular letters to the bishops of Africa and of Gaul. The proposed assembly however never took place. Eulalius and his party, disregarding the imperial orders, entered Rome at mid-day, Mar. 18, came into violent collision with Achilleus and his supporters, so that a fray ensued, during which Symmachus and the Vicarius Urbis, interposing, narrowly escaped with their lives. On hearing of this the emperor ordered (Mar. 25) Eulalius to be immediately expelled from the city, declaring that his refusal to go would be fatal to his claim to the see, as well as involve him in further consequences. Having not only refused to comply, but also taken violent possession of the Lateran church, he was eventually dislodged thence and from Rome; and his expulsion was followed by an imperial edict (Ap. 3), excluding him from the see and confirming Boniface as bishop of Rome. Accordingly the latter was forthwith conducted into the city, and accepted as bishop, being welcomed (if Symmachus is to be believed) by the whole population with joy, and gratitude to the emperor for his celestial edict. An imperial rescript (Ap. 7) to the proconsul Largus countermanded the summons sent to the bishops of Africa and Gaul, speaking of the question at issue being now finally settled by imperial authority.

Eulalius seems to have acquiesced in this decision. At first he retired to Antium, near Rome, expecting the death of Boniface, who fell sick after his accession, but, this hope failing, he made no further attempt to recover the see, though invited to do so by his partisans in Rome on the death of Boniface in 423. According to the *Liber Pontificalis* he afterwards became bishop of Nepete. Honorius in a letter to Boniface after his establishment in the see endeavoured to provide against future scandals by forbidding all canvassing for the bishopric, and ordering that

in any future case of a double election neither of the candidates should be accepted, but a new election made with general consent.

From the account given above, extracted from authentic contemporary documents, the following facts are evident. First, that the ancient custom, prevalent at the time, of election of a new bishop by the clergy, with the assent of the laity, and confirmation by provincial bishops, was allowed in this case, with no desire apparent on the part of the civil power to interfere with it. Secondly, that elections had come to be conducted in an irregular and tumultuous manner, the claims of rival candidates giving rise (as had been also the case on the election of Damasus) to violent party conflicts, attended with bloodshed in the churches as well as in the streets. Thirdly, that it was the necessity of restoring order, and adjudicating between rival claims, that called forth the interference of the emperor in such church affairs. Fourthly, that in this case the emperor at first claimed no right to decide on the validity of either of the two elections on his own mere authority, or without first submitting the question to an episcopal synod; though, on the other hand, he assumed the power of selecting the members of such synod, directing its proceedings, and dissolving it at his pleasure, as well as coercing authoritatively the clergy of Rome *pendente judicio*, and commissioning whom he chose to supply the place of the Roman bishop for the time. Fifthly, that eventually he settled the whole question on his own mere authority, without either the sanction of a synod, or regard to the canonicity of the original election of the candidate whom he established in the see. A statement, contained in the *Liber Pontificalis*, that Eulalius was deposed by a synod of 252 bishops, is entirely inconsistent with the evidence of the contemporary documents above referred to, and, as such, Baronius gives it up. It is true that in the letters in which Honorius announces his final decision he intimates that the synod already held without result, as well as himself, had decided that such an attempt as Eulalius had made should involve the deposition of either claimant; but in one letter (that to the proconsul Largus) he speaks of this doubtfully,—"Id quod nostra sententia ordinaverat, et quod statuisse synodi sententia videbatur,"—and elsewhere he takes the whole responsibility on himself; and the letters of Symmachus and Largus refer the entire decision to him; nor is there evidence of such exercise of power being on this occasion challenged.

With regard to the real claims of the two rivals on the ground of canonical election, it is generally taken for granted, and probably with truth, that the letter of the Roman presbyters who supported Boniface gives a correct account of things, and hence that his claim was the valid one. Still it should be remembered that the previous letter of Symmachus gave a different account, that the synod summoned to consider the question was unable to come to a decision, and that the imperial verdict in favour of Boniface was irrespective of the original merits of the case. [J. B—y.]

EULALIUS (2), reputed to have been the fourth bishop of Syracuse, succeeding Chrestus II. c. A.D. 90, and followed by Espius. (Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, i. 630.) [R. S. G.]

EULALIUS (3). A bishop of this name is said by Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 43) and Sozomen (*H. E.* iv. 24) to have presided over Caesarea in Cappadocia, in the early part of the 4th century, and to have had as son the notorious Eustathius of Sebasteia, whom he deposed from holy orders for adopting a dress unsuitable to his office. As no bishop of the name is found at Caesarea at this time, it is probable that these not over-accurate historians have fallen into an error. (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* ix. note 24, *S. Basile.*) [E. V.]

EULALIUS (4), a presbyter, otherwise unknown, chosen by the Arian party of Antioch, as bishop after the deposition of Eustathius, c. A.D. 322. He died a few months after his consecration. The only act recorded of his episcopate is the banishment of Aetius the Anomoean from Antioch (Theod. *H. E.* i. 22; Hieron. *Chron.* sub ann. 2344; Philostorg. *H. E.* iii. 15). There is considerable uncertainty as to the succession and dates of the intruded bishops of Antioch at this period. According to Socrates (*H. E.* i. 24) the see was vacant for eight years after the deposition of Eustathius, and was then filled by Euphronius. Sozomen also (*H. E.* ii. 19) makes Euphronius the next successor to Eustathius. Philostorgius, on the other hand, states that Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, was translated to the vacant see, and, having occupied it only six months, was succeeded by Eulalius (cf. Euseb. *Contr. Marcell.* c. 4; Valesius *in Euseb. H. E.* x. 1; *in Socr. H. E.* i. 24; Kaye, *Council of Nicaea*, p. 60, note 4). [EUSTATHIUS (3) OF SEBASTEIA. EUSEBIUS (23) PAMPHILI, p. 315, note.] [E. V.]

EULALIUS (5), bishop of Iconium, the metropolis of Lycaonia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1068; Mansi, ii. 695.) [L. D.]

EULALIUS (6), bishop of Sebaste, the metropolis of Lesser Armenia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. In some MSS. the name is written EULOGIUS. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 421; Gams, *Series Episc.* 440; Mansi, ii. 694.) [L. D.]

EULALIUS (7), bishop of Amantia in Epirus, A.D. 343. (Farlati, *Illyr. Sacr.* vii. 394.) One of the Eusebian party who attended the synod of Philippopolis, A.D. 347, and signed the manifesto to the African church. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 267.) [J. de S.]

EULALIUS (8), bishop of Doara in Cappadocia Secunda. Shortly before his appointment the church at Doara had suffered severe persecution from the Arians. The orthodox party, however, succeeded in expelling the Arian prelate and electing Eulalius in his room, A.D. 373. Gregory Nazianzen delivered the sermon at his enthronement, in which he commends him highly (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 30). Three years later, A.D. 376, the deposed bishop, of whom Basil gives the lowest character, speaking of him as a runaway slave, the paramour of a powerful matron of the place, recovered his see. (Basil, Ep. 231, 239 [395, 10].) [E. V.]

EULALIUS (9), bishop of Amasea in Pontus, banished by Valens and restored by Gratian in 378. His love of peace and fear of schism led him to prefer that the intruded Arian bishops should retain their posts rather than that the catholics by the assertion of their own just claims should rend the church. Eulalius on his restoration proposed to the bishop whom he found occupying his throne to share the government with him, giving him the precedence. His proposition was refused by the Arian bishop, who soon lost to the orthodox party the small following he had. (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 2.) [E. V.]

EULALIUS (10), bishop of Nazianzus, a cousin of Gregory Nazianzen (Ep. 195 [182]), the brother of Helladius, sons of a mother worthy of such offspring (Carm. 48). The two brothers embraced a solitary life, and purchased a farm on which they might live apart from the world. The enterprise proved disastrous. The seller proved a knave, and their neighbours so unneighbourly, that after the brothers had expended a considerable sum on the estate, they were fain to beg to be allowed to resign it at the original price (Ep. 105). Gregory was much attached to his cousins, and wrote in their behalf to Caesarian, prefect of Constantinople (*ibid.*) and to Lollian (Ep. 182). Helladius died before A.D. 372, leaving the care of his sick mother to Eulalius alone (p. 108, Carm. 48). Eulalius subsequently became a presbyter and chorepiscopus, and was deputed by Gregory, in conjunction with Celeusius, to apprise Theodorus of Tyana of the doings of the Apollinarists (Ep. 88; cf. Tillemont, ix. p. 722; "St. Greg. Naz." note liv.). In A.D. 382 Eulalius was living with other solitaries at Lamis. Gregory visited him during the Lent of that year, which season Gregory had vowed to pass in absolute silence. His sighs and gestures were so correctly interpreted by Eulalius that the visit was one of great mutual edification. When Lent was over Gregory wrote condemning Eulalius for the excessive severity of his self-denial, and proposing to visit him again, now that he could once more hold converse with him (Ep. 99–102). Tillemont reasonably identifies him with Eulalius, Gregory's successor in the see of Nazianzus, 383, who was consecrated by the bishops of Cappadocia Secunda (Ep. 225). Gregory commended him warmly to his namesake of Nyssa, as one in whose arms he would be glad to die. He must not credit the tale that Eulalius's consecration had been in defiance of his wishes; on the contrary, he had repeatedly begged the bishop of his province to relieve him of his episcopate and appoint a successor. (Ep. 42.) [E. V.]

EULALIUS, bishop of Nepete, previously antipope (No. 1).

EULALIUS (11), one of the bishops of Armenia, to whom and to his brother bishops during the terrible persecution of the Christians by the Persians, c. A.D. 420, described by him in his "Ecclesiastical History" (Theod. *H. E.* v. 38), Theodoret wrote letters exhorting them to courage and endurance; reminding them that the bishops, some of whom were evidently wavering, ought to be the leaders and champions of their flocks, and not to desert them like hirelings; and entreating them to exercise tender watchfulness over the weaker members, raising the fallen, and bringing back the straying, and at the same time exercising a strict and faithful discipline to deepen their repentance and ensure their recovery. Theodoret assures them that he does not write as one possessed of authority over them, but as a friendly counsellor. The letter was sent by Stephen, a presbyter, who had brought Theodoret the news of the persecution. (Theod. *Epist.* 77.) [E. V.]

EULALIUS (12), bishop of Chalcedon, a contemporary of Nestorius, 430, mentioned in the Life of St. Hypatius the hegumen [HYPATIUS (19)]. His lukewarmness is contrasted with the zeal of Hypatius, in refusing to break with Nestorius before his condemnation, in not resisting Leontius and the Olympic games, in expelling Alexander and his monks. The Bollandist, however, throws doubts on his existence, his name not appearing at the council of Ephesus, 431, nor at the Latrocinium, 449. At the council of Chalcedon, 451, Eleutherius was bishop. (*AA. SS. Boll.* 17 Jun. iii. 331, 337; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 601.) [C. H.]

EULALIUS (13), bishop of Pionia in Mysia, present at the oecumenical council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 780; Mansi, vii. 152.) [L. D.]

EULALIUS (14), bishop of Silbium in Phrygia, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 809; Mansi, vii. 156.) [L. D.]

EULALIUS (15), supposed bishop of Viviers. The name without a see appears at the second and fourth councils of Arles, A.D. 452 and 463 (Sirmond, *Conc. Gall.* i. 102, 132). It has been contended that Viviers was his bishopric. An undecipherable name in an ancient MS. list of bishops of Viviers is thus supplied. This view involves a correction of the chronology of Tillemont (*Mém.* xvi. 106), who believes Auxonius to have filled the see of Viviers up to A.D. 464. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 544; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 656.) [R. T. S.]

EULALIUS (16), bishop of Syracuse, cir. 500. He is mentioned by the writer of the life of St. Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe prefixed to the works of that author. (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* lxv.) [FULGENTIUS (3).] Smitten with the love of the monastic life, Fulgentius had sailed from Carthage with the intention of proceeding to the Thebaid. The vessel touched at Syracuse, and the biographer gives a very pleasing picture of the Syracusan bishop, who was greatly impressed by the young traveller. Eulalius held the monastic life in the highest esteem, but dissuaded Fulgentius from going to a country not in communion with the see of St. Peter. Eulalius told him that as a youth he himself had entertained the intention of going as a monk to these very regions, but had been deterred by this difficulty. He entertained Fulgentius for several weeks, finding him in lodging and supplying all his wants (Migne, ut sup. pp. 128–130). In the letters of Ennodius (lib. iii. 18), we have two to a Eulalius, which were probably addressed to this bishop. Eulalius was present at the fourth synod of Rome

under Symmachus, A.D. 501, and took a leading part in the condemnation of the proceedings of Basilius the minister of Odoacer in reference to church property. The speech he delivered on that occasion is of some historical value. (Mansi, viii. 268; Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. p. 122, n. 8, ed. Clark.) Eulalius likewise attended the Roman synod of 503. (Mansi, viii. 299.)
[F. A.]

EULALIUS (17), bishop of Italica (Santipouce) near Seville, from about A.D. 580 to 589. He signs the third council of Toledo in the forty-first place, taking precedence of twenty-one bishops. In 590 he was succeeded by Sinticus, and may therefore have taken some part in the troubles between Leovigild and Hermengild (q. v.). Eulalius is the first historical bishop of Italica, though legend makes ST. GERONTIUS the founder of the see. We have no mention of the see after the Moorish invasion, and the town, which was founded or at any rate named by the great Scipio, has disappeared. (Cortez y Lopez, *Dicc. Georg. Hist. de la España antigua*, iii. 97.) It was only a few miles from Seville, and the bishop was therefore naturally a suffragan of that metropolitan see. (*Esp. Sagr.* xii. 263, 221; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 238.)
[M. A. W.]

EULALIUS (18), archipresbyter of Arthona (Artonne in dep. Puy de Dôme) in the 6th century. Gregory of Tours relates how he was entertaining the clergy and the presbyter Edatius the poor and the widows, when the local saint Vitalina, whose vigil they were celebrating, aided them to supply a deficiency in the viands. (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Conf.* cap. 5. Pat. Lat. lxxi. 834.) [T. W. D.]

EULALIUS (19), a count in Auvergne in the 6th century who ill-used his wife Tetradia, and was accused by common fame of being a parricide. On the latter charge he was excommunicated by his bishop Cautinus (ob. 572). Presenting himself at church on the feast of the martyr St. Julian, Eulalius complained to the bishop of having been condemned unheard, whereupon the bishop proposed to test his innocence at the communion. "Take," said he, on reaching that part of the service, "a portion (particulam) of the Eucharist, and put it in your mouth." Eulalius did so and retired in safety (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* x. 8. Pat. Lat. lxxi. 535). From this narrative Mabillon (*Liturg. Gall.* i. 5, § 25) has drawn some inferences as to the ceremonial of the period, one of them being that communicants received the bread into their own hands. (Cf. Bingham, *Antiq.* xv. 5, § 6.) [T. W. D.]

EULALIUS (20), bishop of Zenopolis in Isauria, the locality of which is doubtful. He was present at the sixth general council at Constantinople, A.D. 680. (Mansi, xi. 335; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1033.) [J. de S.]

EULAMIUS, a heathen Phrygian philosopher of the 6th century, who in company with Damascius a Syrian, Priscianus a Lydian, Hermias and Diogenes, Phoenicians, Isidorus of Gaza, Simplicius a Cilician, all of them the most eminent of their time, withdrew into Persia, hoping to enjoy greater liberty and meet with more general sympathy under king Chosroes than under the Byzantine Christian emperors. They soon found themselves disappointed, and were glad to return. (Agathias, *Hist.* ii. 30, ed. Dindorf. 1828, p. 131.) [T. W. D.]

EULAMPIA (1), a martyr together with Eulampius her brother. They were natives of Nicomedia. When the Diocletian persecution broke out, they left their home and retired to a mountain where a number of Christians had taken refuge. One day, however, Eulampius went into the city to purchase provisions; he was recognized as a Christian, arrested, and tortured. As soon as Eulampia received intelligence of this, she came down to the city, threw herself at the side of her brother, and confessed that she was one with him in his faith. They were then both beheaded. They are commemorated Oct. 10. (*Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

EULAMPIA (2), mother of the historian Philostorgius, and known to us through a slight mention preserved of her by Photius in his abridgment of the ecclesiastical history of her son. As Philostorgius was born about A.D. 364, we may consider her as belonging to the middle of the 4th century. It would appear that she was the only daughter of an orthodox presbyter of the name of Anysius, who lived at Borissus, a village of Cappadocia, and had likewise four sons. Eulampia, we may be sure, was brought up in the orthodox faith, at that time sadly tried by the prevalence of the Arian or Semi-Arian heresy.

But Eulampia did not continue orthodox. She married one Carterius belonging to the sect of the Eunomians, the keenest and most zealous inheritors of the now condemned Arianism, and whose attachment to the faith which they had inherited was strengthened rather than weakened by the cruel persecutions which they had to endure in maintaining it. Eulampia must have been a woman of ardent dispositions, for she embraced her new faith with great warmth and earnestness. We are told that she gained over to it first her brothers, then her father, and lastly, by degrees, the remainder of her relatives. What is of more consequence, however, is that she brought up her son Philostorgius in the same principles. The notice of her to which we have referred is contained in Philostorgius (lib. ix. c. 9). [W. M.]

EULAMPIUS, martyr. [EULAMPIA (1).]

EULANCIUS, a friend of Basil, residing at Neocaesarea. Basil wrote to him, A.D. 375, complaining of his unwonted silence, and expressing his fear that he was beginning to look coldly upon him on account of his unpopularity with the Neocaesareans. (Bas. Ep. 208 [281].)
[E. V.]

EULODIUS (EULADIUS), fourteenth bishop of Bourges, was father of St. Simplicius, his successor, as we learn from the oration of Sid. Apollinaris, upon the election of the latter. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 8; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 522.)
[R. T. S.]

EULOGIUS (1), bishop of Sebaste. [EULALIUS.] [L. D.]

EULOGIUS (2), bishop of Ambianum (Amiens), at the council of Sardica, 347 (Athan.

Apol. cont. Ar. 133). His name also appears among those subscribed to the acts of the council of Cologne against Euphratas in 346, which however are now generally believed to be spurious. (*Gall. Christ.* x. 1151; Sirmond, *Conc. Gall.* i. 11; Mansi, ii. 1371.) [R. T. S.]

EULOGIUS (3), one of the bishops of Egypt in exile in Palestine for the faith, to whom Basil wrote by the deacon Elpidius, A.D. 376. Basil commends him and his fellows for their strenuous resistance to the errors of Apollinaris, but complains of their having admitted the followers of Marcellus to communion. (Basil, Ep. 265 [293].) [E. V.]

EULOGIUS (4), bishop of Edessa. When a presbyter of the church, he was a sufferer in the persecution of the orthodox by Valens. Barses, the orthodox bishop, having been deposed and exiled, the faithful refused to communicate with the Arian prelate, called by Theodoret "a wolf," who had been intruded into the see. Modestus the prefect, by order of Valens, having summoned before him the leading ecclesiastics, of whom Eulogius was the chief, and called upon them to obey the emperor's command, and to communicate with the new prelate, the whole body, with Eulogius at their head, offered so firm a resistance, that Modestus sentenced them, eighty in number, to transportation to Thrace. The holy confessors, however, received so much honour both on their journey and in their place of exile, that Valens broke up the band, and relegated them, two and two, to more distant and trying localities. Eulogius with his brother presbyter, Protogenes, were sent to Antinous in the Thebaid. Though there was a Catholic bishop here, the population was almost entirely pagan. The two presbyters, moved with compassion, commenced missionary work among these heathen. The active duties of the mission fell to Protogenes, who opened schools which attracted large numbers, and paved the way for their conversion. Eulogius meanwhile devoted himself to prayer for the success of the work, and baptized the new converts who were brought him by Protogenes. On the cessation of the persecution, Eulogius and Protogenes returned to Edessa, of which city, Barses being dead, Eulogius became bishop. He is said to have been consecrated by Eusebius of Samosata. (Theod. *H. E.* iv. 18; v. 4.) He attended the council held at Rome in A.D. 369 (Labbe, ii. 894), and those of Antioch in A.D. 379, and Constantinople in A.D. 381 (Labbe, ii. 955). Eulogius has been regarded as a saint in the western church, and is commemorated on the 5th of May. (See Soz. vi. 34, and Migne's note 61, Patr. Gr. lxvii. 1394.) [E. V.]

EULOGIUS (5), bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, metropolitan, succeeded John, the successor of Gelasius, at the close of the fourth or early in the fifth century. Eulogius was already bishop in A.D. 404, when Chrysostom wrote to him from Cucusus, expressing very high esteem for his constancy in the faith, and his many virtues; and his hope that the influence of Eulogius would keep the other bishops of Palestine in the right faith (Chrys. *Epist.* 87). If Palladius is to be believed, Eulogius was hardly worthy of this esteem, for he charges him with communicating with Theophilus, and of ill-treating some of the bishops and presbyters who were banished to Palestine for their adherence to Chrysostom's cause (Pallad. *Dialog.* p. 200). Two bishops of Gaul, Heros of Arles, and Lazarus of Aix, having brought an accusation of false doctrine against Pelagius during his residence in Palestine, before Eulogius, as metropolitan, he convened a synod which met at Diospolis, the ancient Lydda, in December, A.D. 415. Fourteen bishops assembled under the presidency of Eulogius. The accusers failing to appear under plea of sickness, Pelagius was left to defend himself unopposed, and succeeded in clearing himself of the errors with which he had been charged to the satisfaction of the synod, the members of which were but little acquainted with the subtle questions involved in the controversy. Jerome, as was natural, speaks of this synod with the utmost contempt—"in illa miserabili synodo Diospolitano" (Hieron. Ep. 79). Augustine, who gives its Acts, is more favourable to it. (Aug. *Retract.* ii. 47; *Contra Julian.* i. 5; Labbe, ii. 1532.) Eulogius is identified by Tillemont (*Mém. Eccl.* xi. 518) with the bishop of Caesarea, who deposed Eustathius, a reader of that church, on the false charge of corrupting the virgin daughter of a presbyter (Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* c. 141). He died c. 417. [E. V.]

EULOGIUS (6), bishop of Trimythis (Terenuthis, Taranut), in the second province of the Thebais. He was present at the third general council at Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1127; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 613.) [J. de S.]

EULOGIUS (7), bishop of Athribis in the Egyptian Delta. He was present at the fourth general council at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, where, together with Dioscorus of Alexandria, and the other Egyptian bishops, he vainly opposed the influence of Leo. (Mansi, vii. 51; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 555.) [J. de S.]

EULOGIUS (8), bishop of Philadelphia, in Coele Syria, who signed the acts of the council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) as metropolitan of Arabia. (Labbe, iv. 83, 329, 454, &c.; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 861.) [E. V.]

EULOGIUS (9), bishop of Eporedia (Ivrea). Present at the council held under Eusebius of Milan in A.D. 451; appears as subscribing the synodical letter of the council to Leo I., by the hand of Florelus, a presbyter, because his weakness was too great to allow him to sign with his own hand. (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 98, 1083, Migne.) [C. G.]

EULOGIUS (10), a bishop mentioned by Photius (*Cod.* 130, p. 285; Pat. Gr. ciii. 1086) as presiding in a council in the seventh year of the emperor Marcian (*i.e.* A.D. 457), and issuing a *Decree against the Samaritans.* Photius appears to confuse him with the patriarch of Alexandria (No. 14), who lived much later. Tillemont (xv. 782) and Ceillier (xi. 592) suggest the possibility of his being the bishop of Philadelphia (No. 8). [C. H.]

EULOGIUS (11), bishop of Melitene, the metropolis of the Greater Armenia, signed the letter of the synod of Constantinople to pope Hormisdas concerning the ordination of archbishop Epiphanius, A.D. 520. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 443; Mansi, viii. 493.) [L. D.]

EULOGIUS (12), bishop of Perga, the metropolis of the second Pamphylia, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553, at Constantinople. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1015; Mansi, ix. 390.) [L. D.]

EULOGIUS (13), bishop of Danaba in Phoenicia Secunda, west of Palmyra. He was present at the fifth general council held at Constantinople, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 394; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 848.) [J. de S.]

EULOGIUS (14), fortieth bishop of Alexandria and patriarch, between John I. and Theodorus Scribo, 579–607. He was originally a priest and head of the monastery of the Deipara at Antioch. Some time about 582–584 he had become acquainted with Gregory, afterwards pope Gregory the Great, at Constantinople, from whose letters and from Photius's *Bibliotheca* the best account of his life and writings can be drawn. He adhered to the Catholic faith, passing his life in struggles with the various forms assumed by the Monophysite heresy, and became revered as a saint both by the Greeks and Latins, being commemorated by the former on Feb. 13 (*Basil. Menol.*) and by the latter on Sept. 13 (*Mart. Rom.*; Boll. *AA. SS.* Sept. iv. 83). The principal modern accounts of him are those of Stilting the Bollandist (*ut sup.*), Le Quien and Neale (*ut infr.*). The patriarchate of Eulogius, and that of John the Almoner who followed him soon afterwards, shed a parting lustre on the Alexandrian church before the Saracen invasion came and overwhelmed it. The bishops of the Jacobites with whom Eulogius had to contend were Damianus and Anastasius Apozygarius; but Alexandrian Jacobitism was then in a decrepit state and found a powerful antagonist in the learned and energetic patriarch.

It is a matter of dispute whether in 588 Eulogius held a synod at Alexandria to settle a dispute amongst the Samaritans concerning the text, "a prophet like unto me" (Deut. xviii. 15), which some of them referred to Joshua, some to Dositheus, the synod deciding that both were wrong (Photius, *Cod.* 230; Mansi, ix. 1021). As Photius, the authority for this synod, says it was held in the reign of Marcian, either its president was a different Eulogius or Marcian was not the emperor. Those who adopt the latter view, Stilting among them, conclude that Photius wrote Marcian by mistake for Maurice. For another solution of the difficulty see Eulogius (10). Photius gives a detailed account of the writings and orations of Eulogius against Navatus a Novatian (*Codd.* 182, 208); against Severus and Timotheus, heretics; against Theodosius; against the union between the Theodosians and Gaianites (*Codd.* 225–227); the eleven orations of Eulogius (*Cod.* 230); and a work against the Novatians divided into five books (*Cod.* 280). The extant correspondence between Eulogius and Gregory, who were united to one another by a very warm friendship, ranges from 595 to 600, but only Gregory's letters are preserved. In 595 Eulogius is urged to offer strenuous opposition to the title of Universal Bishop assumed by the patriarch John the Faster of Constantinople (Greg. *Epp.* lib. v. ind. xiii. ep. 43). In 596 Gregory dwells upon the intimate union there should naturally exist between the sees of Alexandria and Rome on account of St. Mark having been placed over the former by St. Peter (lib. vi. ind. xiv. ep. 60). In 597 Eulogius is complimented on the vigour he is displaying in his conflict with heresy (lib. vii. ind. xv. ep. 40). In 598 he is inquiring for a work on the gesta martyrum by Eusebius distinct from that historian's account of the martyrs in his extant works. [Eusebius (23), p. 321.] Gregory, who can find no such book either in the archives of the Roman church or in the libraries of the city, takes occasion to send him some interesting information as to how the martyr festivals were then observed at Rome. Gregory is at that time sending him a cargo of timber, but the timber is too small for Eulogius, and no ship will carry beams of the size that he requires (lib. viii. ind. i. ep. 29). It might be surmised that the timber was for a new church. The most interesting letter of all the series is that which Eulogius received in 598, written in June according to the computation of Jaffé (*Regest. Pontif.* p. 125). He is congratulated on the ground he is gaining upon the heretics, on the harmony of the Alexandrian Catholics, and on their growth in numbers. Gregory can gladden his heart by a narrative of similar prosperity in another quarter. The race of the Angli, placed in an angle of the world, hitherto the victims of a perverse belief and an idolatrous worship, are at length yielding to the gospel. The monk he sent to Britain is now a bishop and doing marvels. News has come that at the preceding Christmas more than ten thousand Angli had been baptized. Eulogius then may shew his Alexandrians how much can be effected at the farthest extremity of the earth by prayer (lib. viii. ind. i. ep. 30). Gregory's expressions in one passage seem to attribute to Eulogius himself no little share in originating the English mission. In 599 Gregory complains that Eulogius does not reply to his observations on the subject of the patriarch John's arrogance (lib. ix. ind. ii. ep. 78); perhaps the titular encroachment concerned Alexandria less than it did Rome. Larger timber has now been procured, but the vessel is too small to carry it; what would Eulogius have him do (*ib.*)? The latest letters received from Gregory were two in the year 600 on the subject of the Agnoëtae (lib. x. ind. iii. epp. 35, 39). From Photius (*Cod.* 230) it appears that Gregory found fault with a synodal letter received from Eulogius, because it did not make definite mention of the four councils, of Leo's tome, and of the phrase "in two natures"—that test of the true faith; whereupon Eulogius wrote back defending and explaining his orthodoxy.

The death of Eulogius is placed by Le Quien in 607; by Stilting about 605 or 606 (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 442; Neale, *Patriar. Alex.* ii. 46–52). [L. D. & C. H.]

EULOGIUS (15), deacon, martyred at Terragona with Fructuosus his bishop, under Valerian. Commemorated Jan. 21. (*Mart.* Hier., Adon., Usuard.) [T. S. B.]

EULOGIUS (16), martyr at Constantinople during the Arian persecution in the reign of Valens. He is commemorated July 3. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hier., Ad., Us., Wand.) [T. S. B.]

EULOGIUS (17). An Egyptian monk and presbyter of the 4th century, renowned for his

wonderful insight and strictness of discipline, which often made him repel men from the communion, on account of evil thoughts which he had detected in them. (Rufinus, *Hist. Mon.* cap. 14; Sozomen, vi. 28; Nicepb. Call. *H. E.* xi. 34; Cassiod. *Hist. Trip.* viii. 1, p. 323, in Pat. Lat. lxix. 1107 D.) [W. H. F.]

EULOGIUS (18), a monk to whom St. Ephrem Syrus addressed his 47th *Paraenesis*, which consists of counsels and exhortations chiefly relating to the monastic life. (Ephr. Syr. *Opp.* ii. 170, ed. Rom. 1743; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs eccles.* vi. 34.) [T. W. D.]

EULOGIUS (19), a presbyter of Constantinople, and an adherent of Cyril, who wrote to inform him of what had occurred at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Cyrill. ep. 23, Migne, al. 21, p. 84, Patr. Gr. lxxvii. 132.) [C. H.]

EULOGIUS (20), a monk to whom St. Nilus addressed one of his treatises on the ascetic life. (Nil. *Opp.* in Pat. Gr. lxxix. 1094; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs eccles.* viii. 217.) [I. G. S.]

EULOGIUS (21), deacon of the church of Constantinople, A.D. 449. On the appointment of the imperial commission to investigate the charges against Ibas of Edessa, consisting of Eustathius of Berytus, Photius of Tyre, and Uranius of Himera, Eulogius, as the deacon of Flavian, communicated the necessary letters of authority from the bishop to the commissioners (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 627). He accompanied the commission to Berytus, and was present during the investigation, as well as at the further proceedings which were held at Tyre, and at the signing of the concordat between Ibas and his accusers (*ibid.* 635). [E. V.]

EULOGIUS (22), oeconomus of the church at Constantinople, who had himself contended for the orthodox faith, to whom Theodoret wrote A.D. 449, when Dioscorus and others were clamouring for his deposition as a heretic, calling upon Eulogius, as being well acquainted with his teaching, to bear witness to the soundness of his belief, and stop the mouths of his calumniators. (Theod. *Epist.* 105.) [E. V.]

EULOGIUS (23), a tribune, one of the two imperial commissioners deputed by Theodosius II. to the "Robbers' Synod" of Ephesus in A.D. 449. [ELPIDIUS (42).] [E. V.]

EULOGIUS (24), an officer of rank carrying despatches from the Byzantine court to pope Hormisdas in the year 519. He is designated vir sublimis (Mansi, viii. 474), vir spectabilis et magistrianus (482), vir strenuus (484), vir sublimis (485), vir sublimis tribunus et notarius (515). The letters are undated, but they are assigned by Jaffé (*Reg. Pont.* 69 sq.) and Baronius (ann. 519, xciv.) to the above year. [C. H.]

EULYSIUS, bishop of Apamea in Bithynia, one of Chrysostom's most loyal adherents. He was one of the leading members of the body of forty bishops who gathered around Chrysostom in the dining-hall of the episcopal palace while the Synod of the Oak was holding its session. On his remarking in reply to Chrysostom's counsel "not to abandon their sees in case of his being deposed," that "it would be necessary for them if they retained their dioceses to communicate with his enemies and to subscribe to his condemnation," Chrysostom answered that "it would certainly be desirable to communicate with them to avoid rending the unity of the church, but that they should refuse to subscribe, as that would be to allow the justice of his deposition." (Pallad. *Dial.* p. 70.) Eulysius was one of the deputation of five, "all men of sanctity and high repute," entrusted with the remonstrance of the assembled bishops against the lawless proceedings of Theophilus, and with Chrysostom's reply to his summons. He shared in the personal indignities and ill-treatment with which the enemies of the saint vented their disappointment at his refusal to appear. (*Ibid.* pp. 71, 74.) When Chrysostom was finally expelled from Constantinople, Eulysius accompanied him in the vessel which conveyed him to the Bithynian coast, where, with his companion Cyriacus, bishop of Synnada, he was apprehended and detained in chains on suspicion of being privy to the conflagration which succeeded Chrysostom's departure. The two bishops were carried back to Chalcedon, and after examination were dismissed as innocent. (*Ibid.* p. 93.) In A.D. 405 Eulysius was bearer of letters from fifteen of the forty friendly bishops to pope Innocent, representing the past and present troubles caused to the church by the violent proceedings of Atticus and his adherents, together with one from Anysius bishop of Thessalonica. (*Ibid.* p. 26.) Chrysostom addressed a letter from Cucusus in 405 to Eulysius and the bishops who were with him, expressing a high sense of the labours and trials they had undertaken for the peace of the church, which could not fail to procure for them a divine blessing. (Chrysost. *Epist.* 148.) In A.D. 406 Eulysius and the other eastern bishops accompanied the western deputation to Constantinople, and shared their maltreatment. (Pallad. *Dial.* p. 31.) On the disastrous termination of the embassy, Eulysius and his companions disappeared, and the report ran that they had been taken out to sea and drowned. It proved, however, that they had really been deported to remote places of exile. That selected for Eulysius was the fortress of Misphas (Mizpah), three days' journey beyond Bostra or Bozrah in Arabia, where he probably died. (*Ibid.* p. 194.) [E. V.]

EUMACHIUS, 7th bishop of Viviers, about the beginning of the 5th century, succeeded by Auxonius. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 543.) [R. T. S.]

EUMALIUS, imperial vicar of Africa (see Gibbon, ii. 314, ed. Smith), to whom Constantine wrote, informing him of the decision of the council of Arles, A.D. 314, and also of his own decision in favour of Caecilian's innocence. (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 71; *Brevic. Coll.* iii. 19, vol. ix. pp. 542, 546.) [H. W. P.]

EUMENES (HYMENAEUS), bishop of Alexandria. According to the chronicle of Eusebius, he succeeded Justus in A.D. 130, and occupied the see for thirteen years. (Patrol. Gr. xix. 557; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 389.) [J. de S.]

EUMENIA, servant of Afra the converted courtesan of Augsburg, and martyred there with

Afra's mother Hilaria under Diocletian. Commemorated Aug. 12. (*Mart.* Adon., Usuard., Notker.; Bas. *Men.*; Assem. *Mart. Or. et Occ.* ii. 225.) She is by some writers called Eunomia. (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 303, cxxv.; Ceill. iii. 30.)
[T. S. B.]

EUMENIUS (1), ST., Thaumaturgus, bishop of Gortyna, in Crete, holding the see after the Decian persecution, during which his predecessor Cyrillus suffered martyrdom. He is stated to have passed the later part of his life in the Thebaid, and to have died at Thebes in Boeotia. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 258, and see *Menaea* for September, ed. Constantinople, 1843, p. 141.) Basil's *Menol.* (Sept. 18) states that he held the see for many years, and performed miracles.
[J. de S.]

EUMENIUS (2), bishop of Aphrodisias (Stauropolis), the metropolitan see of Caria, present at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381; some MSS. of the acts of the councils read Eudoxius. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 899; Mansi, iii. 571.) [L. D.]

EUMENIUS (3), a bishop mentioned with another, Maximianus, by pope Innocent I. in a letter to Rufus and other bishops of Macedonia. (Innoc. Ep. 18; Pat. Lat. xx. 538 and note.) From the name of Maximianus being followed by that of Eugenius in Ep. 17, as likewise in Chrysost. Ep. 163, both these epistles being addressed to Macedonian bishops, it has been conjectured that Eumenius in Ep. 18 is a transcriber's error for Eugenius. [C. H.]

EUMERIUS (1) (Evemerius, Eumelius), bishop of Nantes at the council of Valence, A.D. 374. (Ceill. iv. 600; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 798; Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 554; Bruns. *Can.* ii. 111; Mansi, iii. 491, 493.) [R. T. S.]

EUMERIUS (2) (Fumerius, Fumarius, Thumerius), according to old catalogues seventh bishop of Angers, succeeding Talasius and followed by Eustochius (cir. A.D. 477). (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 547; Gams, *Series Episc.* 488.)
[S. A. B.]

EUMERIUS (3), a priest, was the bearer of the letter of pope Anastasius to Clovis, on the Frankish king's conversion. (Thiel. *Ep. Rom. Pont.* p. 624; Bouquet, iv. 50.) [T. R. B.]

EUMERIUS (4) (Eumelius, Emnerus, Evemerus), fifteenth bishop of Nantes, succeeded Epiphanius, and followed by St. Felix. He was present at the second council of Orleans (A.D. 533). At the third, in 538, he was represented by a priest, Marcellianus. At the fourth, in 541, he was again present in person (Mansi, viii. 838; ix. 21, 121). A letter addressed to him is extant, from Trojanus bishop of Saintes, in answer to one of his as to a boy who did not know whether he had been baptized or not (Patr. Lat. lvii. 995). There is said to be another from Ruricius, of Limoges, but it is not in the collection of that bishop's letters in the Patrologia Latina. We learn from some eulogistic lines of Venantius Fortunatus (*Miscell.* iv. 1, in Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 151) that he built a church at Nantes. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 798.)
[S. A. B.]

EUMORPHIUS, the son of a Roman widow named Galla. She resided near Gregory the Great while he was yet a layman. Eumorphius, being at the point of death, sent his servant to a certain Stephanus, desiring him to come immediately as there was a vessel ready to take them both to Sicily. The servant thought his master mad, but Eumorphius insisted, and he went. On the road he met Stephanus's own servant, who told him his master had just died. Returning to Eumorphius, the servant found him dead likewise: both, indeed, had died simultaneously. The story was thought by Gregory to shew that the dying are sometimes allowed to know who are their equals in good or evil, and in whose society they are to pass eternity. A similar story is told of another dying man. [Joannes, monk of Spoleto.] (Greg. Mag. *Dial.* iv. 35; Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 376.) [C. H.]

EUNAPIUS. The biographer of many of the Neoplatonist philosophers. Born at Sardis in A.D. 346 or 347, he received his earliest instruction from the philosopher Chrysanthius, to whose wife he was related. In his sixteenth year he took a voyage to Athens to attend the lectures of Proaeresius; in an interesting passage, he describes a dangerous fever with which he was seized during his voyage (so that on his landing he was unconscious) and the hospitality with which he was received by Proaeresius and others at Athens. On his return from Athens, where he remained five years, he was again treated with paternal care and affection by Chrysanthius, from whom he used to receive instruction in the afternoon, while he himself gave lectures to others in the morning. It would appear that he depended on his professorial art for his livelihood; for he had himself intended to study in Egypt on leaving Athens, had not his parents (*οἱ πατέρες*) recalled him to Lydia to pursue this occupation. He was also skilled in medicine. Of the latter part of his life little is known; he lived, at any rate, till the year A.D. 414 (cf. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, art. Eunapius).

Besides his biographies, which are extant, Eunapius wrote a continuation of the history, by Dexippus, of the Roman empire. This continuation was in fourteen books, and extended, according to Photius, from A.D. 270 to A.D. 404. Only a few fragments of this latter work are extant: the principal is that known as *περὶ πρέσβεων* (*de Legationibus*). The best edition of Eunapius is that by Boissonade (Amsterdam, 1822, 2 vols. 8vo.).

Photius represents Eunapius as a reckless calumniator of the Christians of the imperial court, and especially of Constantine himself (*ἀνέδην κακίζων διασύρει*, Photius says). This may probably be true; but to speak of Eunapius, as is sometimes done, as a systematic and bitter assailant of Christianity can hardly be correct. Of his two teachers, Chrysanthius, as we learn from Eunapius himself, was but a negligent follower of heathenism (though appointed by Julian high priest of Lydia) and tolerant towards Christianity in the exercise of his priestly office; while Proaeresius was actually a Christian. Nowhere in his extant works is Eunapius bitter against the Christians, except, indeed, where he mentions the monks; of these he says that their manner of life was piggish, and their behaviour in public indecent. But with the story of

Hypatia before us, it can hardly be said that the monks did not lay themselves open to still worse charges than these. Eunapius was not a Lucian or a Celsus; the attitude of extravagant admiration towards his teachers was the one into which his mind naturally fell; he was the credulous, subservient disciple of a decaying mysticism. He relates, with apparent belief, how the statue of Hecate visibly laughed under the conjuration of the philosopher Maximus; and how the philosopher Jamblichus called out of two wells two boys, called Eros and Anteros, who embraced him, and were then replaced by him in their watery abodes. He intimates, indeed, a very slight doubt as to the truth of this latter story. This credulity is worth noticing for two reasons. First, it shews the disposition of the age to believe in marvels, and the absence of the critical spirit. Secondly, it can hardly be doubted that these and similar marvels were invented as a counterpoise to the Christian miracles. Certain it is, that Greek and Roman philosophy shews no trace of thaumaturgy till Christianity became a power in the world; and that from the moment Christianity did become such a power, these traces are plentiful. For the rest, notwithstanding the mediocre ability of Eunapius, his writings are not quite unworthy of perusal for the sake of the information they contain as to the general status of the Neoplatonist writers and their relation to the world at large. [J. R. M.]

EUNICIANUS, of Gortyna, martyred with nine others under Decius, A.D. 250. Commemorated Dec. 23. (*Men.* Bas.) [T. S. B.]

EUNIUS, bishop. [ENNIUS.]

EUNO, in the system of the PERATAE, one of the heavenly powers, the ruler of the day, and identified by them with that which ignorance had called Isis (Hippol. *Ref.* v. 14). [G. S.]

EUNOCUS is spoken of by Dempster as a disciple of St. Columbanus (November 2), and a Scot, who wrote *Gesta Columbani Magistri*, flourished A.D. 606, and was venerated as a saint on October 2 (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 253; Tanner, *Bibl.* 271). [J. G.]

EUNOICUS, martyr. [SEBASTE, FORTY MARTYRS OF.]

EUNOIUS, bishop of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos, subscribed the synodal decree of Gennadius of Constantinople against the Simoniaci, A.D. 459. In his subscription Mitylene is called a metropolis, but other subscriptions of bishops of this see do not confirm him. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 955; Mansi, vii. 917.) [L. D.]

EUNOMIA, martyr. [EUMENIA.]

EUNOMIEUTYCHIANI (*Εὐνομιευτυχιανοί*, Soc. v. 24), one of the sects into which the Eunomians of Constantinople became divided after the banishment of Eunomius. [EUNOMIUS (3).] Their founder Eutychius, a layman, in a controversy which arose among the Eunomians as to the foreknowledge of our Lord, and especially as to the meaning of Matth. xxiv. 37 and Mark xiii. 32, maintained that, as He had "absolutely received all things of the Father" He had also received that foreknowledge, and therefore that those passages must be interpreted accordingly. Finding that his opinions were strongly opposed, Eutychius went to Cappadocia to submit them to Eunomius, who approved them. The controversy still continued however, and after the death of Eunomius Eutychius was expelled from the community. He and his followers then formed themselves into a separate party. They also differed from the main body of the Eunomians as to the formula which should be employed in the administration of baptism. The question which thus divided the Eunomians afterwards caused a similar schism among the Monophysites. (Sozom. *H. E.* vi. 26; vii. 17; Cassiod. *Hist. Tripart.* ix. 40; Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.* iv. 3; AGNOËTAE, Vol. I. 62 b, II.) [T. W. D.]

EUNOMIOEUPSYCHIANI, an Eunomian sect, called from their founder Eupsychius (Niceph. Call. *H. E.* xii. 30). They seem to be the Eunomieutychiani (cf. Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 17, and note 32 of Valesius), Eupsychius being apparently a variant of Eutychius. [T. W. D.]

EUNOMIOTHEOPHRONIANI (*Εὐνομιοθεοφρονιανοί*, Niceph. Call. xii. 30), one of the sects into which the Eunomians became divided on a question raised by Theophronius, a Cappadocian, as to the Divine omniscience. They also differed from other sections of the body on the subject of baptism. (Socr. *H. E.* v. 24, vii. 17; Cassiod. *Hist. Tripart.* ix. 40; Philostorg. *H. E.* x. 4; AGNOËTAE, Vol. I. 62 B, I.) [T. W. D.]

EUNOMIUS (1), presbyter of Auvergne, cir. A.D. 179, father of Fedanius. (Greg. Tur. *Glor. Mart.* i. 53.) [C. H.]

EUNOMIUS (2), a bishop, of what see does not appear. He was sent with Olympius to Africa by Constantine, after the decision of the Roman council, A.D. 313, to make further inquiries as to the innocence of Caecilian. The two commissioners spent forty days at Carthage, and concluded that the council's decision must be maintained. (*Opt.* i. 25; *Dict.* i. 367.) [H. W. P.]

EUNOMIUS (3) of Cappadocia, bishop of Cyzicus (360–364) after the expulsion of Eleusius.

He was the pupil and secretary of Aetius. He completed and formulated his master's heretical system with a preciseness and logical consistency which stamped the name of Eunomians on the Anomoean heretics instead of the name of Aetius, to whom the party owed its existence. Eunomius stands conspicuous among the controversial leaders of the 4th century for the moral earnestness with which he pursued and urged his own theological convictions, free from the taint of self-interest which characterized others, especially the Arian court party, as well as for the purity of his life, and the high tone of his personal character. He appears to have been a thoroughly honest man, with "a fierce disdain of compromise and dissimulation" (Newman, *Arians*, ch. iv. § 4), never shrinking from following his dogmatic conclusions to their legitimate issues and declaring them with all boldness, careless of the horror with which the orthodox were filled by what appeared to them such open blasphemies.

His mind was cast in a rigid Aristotelian mould, and was entirely destitute of imagination or sympathy. He was distinguished by "a faculty of subtle disputation and hard mechanical reasoning," (Newman, *ibid.*), which subjected the Christian verities to strict logical processes, and rejected every doctrine that could not be shewn to be consistent with human reason. Neander describes him as characterized by a doctrinal tendency which narrowly confined itself within the province of the understanding, and regarded all truth in an outward mechanical way, with a strong opposition to the contemplative and mystical element, and looking on religious feeling as a despicable weakness; the decided enemy of asceticism, as well as of the growing disposition to the worship of saints and relics—in fact, the "Rationalist" of the 4th century. (Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 78, Clark's translation.) His uncompromising honesty, resolute boldness, and freedom from all vacillation and self-seeking, arrested attention, and to a certain extent secured respect. "Earnestness," writes Dr. Newman, "is always respectable, and if it be allowable to speak with a sort of moral catachresis, the Anomoeans merited on this account, as well as ensured, a success which a false conciliation must not hope to obtain" (*ib.* p. 350).

In our ignorance of the minor geography of Asia Minor, it is difficult to determine the birthplace of Eunomius precisely. The name is given as Dacora by Sozomen and Philostorgius, and as Oltiseris by Gregory Nyssen. It is probable that the former was his small paternal estate, and the latter the village to which it belonged. Sozomen describes it as situated under the slopes of Mount Argaeus, not far from Caesarea, but Gregory Nyssen is certainly correct in placing it on the confines of Cappadocia and Galatia. (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 17; Philost. *H. C. E.* x. 6; xi. 5.) Eunomius was proud of his Cappadocian birth, and resented it as an insult when Basil called him a Galatian. Basil's brother says in excuse that Oltiseris was so near the border it was not easy to remember on which side it was. (Basil, *in Eunom.* lib. i. p. 696; Greg. Nyss. *in Eunom.* lib. i. p. 307.) Eunomius came of an honest, industrious stock. His grandfather, Priscus, had been a slave, who had probably purchased his freedom, as well as a small farm, with his savings. His father was an unpretending, hard-working man, supporting his family by the produce of his land, and the teaching of a few of the neighbours' children in the winter evenings. (Greg. Nyss. *ibid.* p. 291.) Eunomius inherited his father's and grandfather's independent, earnest spirit. Determined to rise, he got himself taught shorthand writing, and leaving his paternal farm became amanuensis to a kinsman, and tutor to his children. The restlessness of an ardent, youthful spirit soon rendered the country distasteful to him, and he repaired to Constantinople, where he hoped to satisfy his desire of studying rhetoric. Gregory Nyssen, who makes it his object to blacken his character as much as possible, hints that Eunomius's life at Constantinople was not very reputable, but he specifies no charges. It was reported that at one time he worked as a tailor, making clothes and girdles. Before very long he returned to Cappadocia.

The fame of Aetius, who was then residing as a teacher at Alexandria, reached Eunomius; he conceived an ardent desire to attach himself to him as a pupil, and after a conference at Antioch with Secundus the Arian bishop of Ptolemais, who was intimately acquainted with Aetius, went to Alexandria, about A.D. 356, and placed himself under Aetius's instruction, acting at the same time as his amanuensis (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 35, iv. 7; Soz. *H. E.* vi. 27; Philost. *H. E.* iii. 20; Greg. Nyss. *in Eunom.* i. p. 290). After two years of study at Alexandria, Eunomius accompanied Aetius to Antioch at the beginning of A.D. 358, to attend the Arian council summoned by Eudoxius, who had through court favour succeeded to the see of Antioch on the death of Leontius the year before.

The bold front which was displayed by the pure Arian party at this council, and the favour shewn to the flagrant blasphemies of Aetius and Eunomius, who did not scruple to assert the absolute unlikeness (ἀνόμοιον) of the Son to the Father, excited the violent opposition of the semi-Arian party, of which George of Laodicea, Basil of Ancyra, and Macedonius of Constantinople, were the highly respectable leaders. Under colour of the dedication of a church a council was speedily held by them at Ancyra, in which the Anomoean doctrines and their authors were condemned. A synodical letter was sent by them to the emperor, denouncing the blasphemous teaching of Eunomius and his master, and charging the latter with being privy to the conspiracy of Gallus. (Philost. *H. E.* iv. 8.) Intelligence of these proceedings struck dismay into the Arian clique at Antioch. It was felt essential that an able advocate should be despatched to Constantinople to defend them; and Eunomius, who, having previously declined Eudoxius's offer to ordain him because he had not sufficiently broken with the semi-Arian party, had now been ordained deacon, was selected as their advocate. But on his journey through Asia Minor he was apprehended by some imperial officers (invidiously designated by the Arian Philostorgius, emissaries of Basil) and banished by the emperor's order to Midaeus or Migde in Phrygia. Aetius was at the same time banished to Pepuza, while Eudoxius found it prudent to retire to his native Armenia, till the storm of the weak Constantius's wrath had blown over. (Greg. Nyss. *ibid.* p. 291.) Eudoxius soon found means to reinstate himself in the emperor's favour, and on the deposition of Macedonius by the council of Constantinople at the close of A.D. 359 he was chosen as his successor in the imperial see. Constantius had the utmost abhorrence of the Anomoeans and their teaching. Aetius was therefore sacrificed by the Arians as a scapegoat, while Eunomius was reluctantly persuaded to separate himself from his old teacher and conceal his heterodoxy, that by thus accommodating himself to the times he might secure a position of influence, where he might secretly disseminate his views. Eudoxius procured for him from the emperor the bishopric of Cyzicus, which was vacant by the deposition of the semi-Arian Eleusius [ELEUSIUS (2)]. In compliance with Eudoxius's advice, Eunomius at first maintained a discreet reserve on the points of controversy between the Anomoeans and the orthodox, but, weary of a dissimulation alien from his straightforward nature he soon began to propound his doctrines, at first privately, and then in public assemblies. Complaints of his heterodoxy were

laid before Eudoxius, who, vexed with Eunomius for having paid so little regard to his counsel, put the informers off with a promise to investigate these complaints, a promise he never intended to fulfil. The people of Cyzicus, weary of delay, applied to the emperor himself, who sent an order to Eudoxius to summon Eunomius to answer the charges laid against him. Eudoxius again adopted the same policy of delay, until Constantius indignantly threatened that unless he attended to his commands he would banish them both. Eudoxius was now compelled to act. He summoned Eunomius to appear before a council of bishops at Constantinople, at the same time sending him a secret message to warn him of his danger, and counselling flight. Eunomius, not appearing, was condemned in his absence, and was deposed both from his see and his episcopal office, and banished. (Theod. *Haer. Fab.* iv. 3; *H. E.* ii. 29; Philost. *H. E.* vi. 1.) Eunomius on this broke altogether with those with whom he had to a certain extent made common cause, and became the head of a party of his own, called after him Eunomians, professing the extreme Anomoean doctrines of the general comprehensibleness of the Divine Essence, and the absolute unlikeness of the Son to the Father. The accession of Julian in A.D. 361 recalled Eunomius and Aetius, together with other bishops who had been banished by Constantius. They both settled in Constantinople, where they continued preaching during the reign of Julian, and that of his successor Jovian. (Philost. *H. E.* vi. 7, vii. 6.) The growing popularity of Eunomianism at Constantinople was a cause of jealousy to Eudoxius, who took advantage of the commotions caused by the rebellion of Procopius on the accession of Valens in A.D. 364, to expel both Eunomius and Aetius from the city. Eunomius retired to his country house near Chalcedon. Procopius having also taken refuge there in Eunomius's absence, Eunomius was accused of favouring his designs, and was in danger of being capitally condemned. Sentence of banishment to Mauritania was actually passed upon him, A.D. 367. But on his way thither, passing through Mursa, the Arian bishop, Valens, interested himself greatly in his cause, and by personal application to the emperor Valens obtained the repeal of his sentence. (Philost. *H. E.* ix. 4–8.) He was again sentenced to banishment in the same year by Modestus, the prefect of the Praetorian guards, as a disturber of the public peace. (Philost. *H. E.* ix. 11.) But he was again at Constantinople, or at least at Chalcedon, at the beginning of the reign of Theodosius, A.D. 379, to whom in A.D. 383, he, in common with the other bishops summoned by him, presented a confession of faith, which is still extant. The next year Theodosius, finding some of the officers of the court infected with Eunomian views, expelled them from the palace, and having seized Eunomius himself at his house at Chalcedon, banished him to Halmyris, a town of Moesia, on the Danube. This place having been captured by the Goths who had crossed the frozen river, Eunomius was transported to Caesarea in Cappadocia. The fact that he had attacked their late venerated bishop, Basil the Great, in his writings, rendered him so unpopular there that his life was hardly safe. He was therefore permitted to retire to his paternal estate at Dacora, where he died in extreme old age soon after A.D. 392, when according to Jerome (*Vir. Illust.* c. 120) he was still living, and writing much against the church. He was buried at Dacora, whence his body was transferred to Tyana, by the order of Eutropius, c. 396, and there carefully guarded by the monks, to prevent its being carried by his adherents to Constantinople, and buried by the side of his master Aetius, to whom he had himself given a splendid funeral. (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 17; Philost. *H. E.* ix. 6, xi. 5.)

The portrait drawn by Philostorgius (*H. E.* x. 6), though that of an ardent admirer who extolled his defects as beauties, is by no means flattering. Though he speaks of his face, body, and limbs as full of grace and dignity, when he proceeds to describe the white scorbutic blains, "which marked his face as it were with brands and scars," as adding to the majesty of his person, and his lisp as increasing the attractiveness of his speech, we know what weight to give to his words. According to Ruffinus (*Hist. Eccl.* x. 25) his constitution was poisoned with jaundice within and without ("interius exteriusque morbo regio corruptus").

Eunomianism, as a cold, logical system, wanted the elements of vitality, and notwithstanding its wide popularity at its commencement, did not very long survive its authors. In the following century, when Theodoret wrote, the body had dwindled to a scanty remnant, compelled by the hatred their blasphemies had excited to conceal themselves, and holding their meetings in such obscure corners that they had gained the name of "Troglodytes" (Theod. *Haer. Fab.* iv. 3). St. Augustine remarked that in his time the few Anomoeans existing were all to be found in the East, and that there were none of the sect in Africa (Aug. *de Past. Cur.* c. 8, p. 278).

The efforts of Eunomius as a religious teacher were directed to the formal development of Arianism as a doctrinal system. He starts with the conception of God as the absolute simple Being, of whom neither self-communication nor generation can be predicated. His essence is in this, that He is what He is of Himself alone, underived, unbegotten—and as being the only unbegotten One, the Father, in the strict sense of Deity, is alone God. And as He is unbegotten, inasmuch as begetting necessarily involves the division and impartation of being, so it is impossible for Him to beget. If, also, that which was begotten shared in the Θεότης of the Deity, God would not be the absolute unbegotten One, but would be divided into a begotten and an unbegotten God. A communication of the essence of God, such as that involved in the idea of generation, would transfer to the Absolute Deity the notions of time and sense. An eternal generation was to Eunomius a thing absolutely inconceivable. A begetting, a bringing forth, could not be imagined as without beginning and end. The generation of the Son of God must therefore have had its beginning, as it must have had its termination, at a definite point of time. It is, therefore, incompatible with the predicate of eternity. If that can be rightly asserted of the Son, He must equally, with the Father, be unbegotten. This denial of the eternal generation of the Son involved also the denial of the

likeness of His essence to that of the Father, from which the designation of the party, "Anomoean" (ἀνόμοιον) was derived. That which is begotten, he asserted, cannot possibly resemble the essence of that which is unbegotten. The unbegotten continues ever unbegotten, and the begotten begotten. As long, therefore, as the two essences are what they are, the notion of equality of essence, "Homoousian," or even similarity of essence, "Homoiousian," is plainly untenable. Were the begotten to resemble the unbegotten in its essence, it must cease to be begotten. Were the Father and the Son equal, the Son must also be unbegotten, a consequence utterly destructive of the fundamental doctrine of generation and subordination. Such generation, moreover, Eunomius held to be essentially impossible. For what could the unbegotten Absolute One take out of His essence to impart to the begotten One, but that which is unbegotten? If then, according to the teaching of the church, the Son, who is begotten, were of the same essence as the Father who begets, there must be both an unbegotten and a begotten element in God. The essence of the Father and of the Son must therefore be absolutely dissimilar. And as their essence, so also is their knowledge of themselves different. Each knows Himself as He is, and not as the other. The one knows Himself as unbegotten, the other as begotten. Since, therefore, the Son did not share in any way in the essence of the Father, what is His relation to God, and to what does He owe His origin? Eunomius's answer to this question lay in a distinction between the essence (οὐσία) and the energy (ἐνεργεία) of God. Neither movement nor self-communication being predicable of the Divine Essence, it is to the Divine energy, conceived as separable from the Θεότης that we must ascribe the calling into existence out of nothing of all that is. It is in virtue of this ἐνεργεία alone that God can be called Father, as it is by this that all that is, besides Himself, has come into being. Of these creations of the Divine energy the Son or Logos holds the first place, as the instrumental creator of the world. And in this relation likeness to the Father is predicable of the Son. In fact, the Son may be in this sense regarded as the express image and likeness of the ἐνεργεία of the Father, inasmuch as He had conferred on Him divine dignity in the power of creation. This was the ground of the immeasurable difference between the Son and all other created beings. He was produced by the Father, as an alone Being, the first or most perfect of all Beings, to be, by His will, His instrument in the creation of all other existences. God called Him into being immediately, but all other creatures mediately through Him. This teaching introduced a dualism into the essence of God Himself, when it drew a distinction between His Essence and His will—the one being infinite and absolute, and the other relative and limited to finite objects. On the ground of this dualism he is charged by Gregory Nyssen with Manichaeism. Eunomius regarded the Paraclete as sharing in the Divine nature in a still more secondary and derived sense, inasmuch as He was no more than the highest and noblest production of the Only-begotten Son, given to be the source of all light and sanctification.

The entire want of spiritual depth and life which characterized Eunomius is evidenced by his maintaining that the Divine nature is perfectly comprehensible by the human intellect, and charging those who denied this with an utter ignorance of the first principles of Christianity. He accused them of preaching an unknown God, and even denied their right to be called Christians at all, since without knowledge of God there could be no Christianity; while he repudiated the claim of those who did not hold the same views as himself as to the nature of God and the generation of the Son of God, to the possession of any true knowledge of the Divine Being. He held that Christ had been sent to lead other creatures up to God, the primal source of all existence, as a Being external to Himself, and that believers should not stop at the generation of the Son of God, but having followed Him as far as He was able to lead them, should soar above Him, as above all created beings whether material or spiritual, to God Himself, the One Absolute Being, as their final aim, that in the knowledge of Him they might obtain eternal life. It is evident how poor and low Eunomius's idea of the knowledge of God was, placing it merely in a formal illumination of the understanding, and a theoretical knowledge of God and spiritual truth, instead of that fellowship with God as made known to us in Christ, and that knowledge which comes from love, which the church has ever held to be the true life of the soul. In harmony with this formal, intellectual idea of knowledge, as the source of Christian life, Eunomius assigned a lower place to the sacraments than to the teaching of the word, depreciating the liturgical element of Christianity as compared with its doctrinal element. As quoted by Gregory Nyssen, he asserted that "the essence of Christianity did not depend for its ratification on sacred terms, on the special virtue of customs and mystic symbols, but on accuracy of doctrine" (Greg. Nyss. *in Eunom.* p. 704). For fuller statements of the doctrinal system of Eunomius, see Dorner, *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, Div. i. vol. ii. p. 264 ff., Clark's translation; Neander, *Church History*, vol. iv. p. 77 ff., Clark's translation; Herzog, *Real-Encycl.* "Eunomius und Eunomianer" (from which works the foregoing account has been derived); Klose, *Geschichte und Lehre des Eunomius*, 1833; Bauer, *Dreieinigkeit*, i. pp. 365–387; Meyer, *Trinitätslehre*, pp. 175 ff.; Lange, *Arianismus in seiner weiteren Entwickelung.*

Eunomius, as a writer, was more copious than elegant. Photius exhausts a whole vocabulary of vituperation upon the style of his *Refutation of St. Basil* (*Cod.* 138, p. 314), which he asserts to be so far removed from all grace and elegance that he seems not even to know those words. His meaning is very hard to arrive at, as by a studied obscurity he seeks to conceal the jejuneness of his thoughts, and the weakness of his arguments. Photius speaks very depreciatingly of his logical power. He says that he took up logic late in life, never fully comprehended it, and often used it erroneously. He pours great ridicule on the pomposity of his dithyrambic language and his misapplied ingenuity in coining harsh words full of consonants, and so difficult to pronounce that it was

no easy task to read his interminable periods. Socrates estimates Eunomius's style no less unfavourably. He accuses him of perpetual repetitions, of heaping up words without ever advancing a step, and evidencing weakness both in conception and in argument (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 7). Notwithstanding these alleged defects, his writings, which Rufinus states were very numerous and directed against the Christian faith (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 25) were in much esteem among his followers, who, according to Jerome, valued their authority more highly than that of the Gospels, and believed that the very light of truth resided in Eunomius (Hieron. *adv. Vigil.* tom. ii. p. 123). The bold blasphemies contained in these books were the cause of their destruction. Successive imperial edicts, one of Arcadius, dated not more than four years after his death A.D. 398 (*Cod. Theod.* tom. vi. p. 152; lib. xvi. 34), commanded that his books should be burnt, and made the possession of any of his writings a capital crime. Little, therefore, of his has come down to us save some few fragments preserved in the works of his theological adversaries. His *Exposition of Faith* and his *Apologeticus* are the only pieces extant of any length.

The works ascribed to him are (1) *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, in seven books. Socrates ridicules the verbosity and circumlocution of this work, the seven volumes of which, he says, only prove that he had totally failed to understand the object of the Epistle (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 7).

(2) *Epistles*, of which Photius states he had read as many as forty, and found in them the same affectation of subtlety combined with shallowness and a disgraceful ignorance of the laws of epistolary composition (*Cod.* u. s.).

(3) *ἔκθεσις πίστεως*, *Fidei libellus*. A confession of faith presented to Theodosius, A.D. 383 (Socr. *H. E.* vii. 12). This was first printed by Valesius in his notes to Socrates, and afterwards by Baluze in *Conciliorum Nov. Collect.* i. 89. It is also to be found in the *Bibliotheca Graeca* of Fabricius, lib. v. c. 23. Valesius says of it, "etsi totam Eunomii impietatem complectitur, quaedam tamen habet minime spernenda."

(4) *Apologeticus*, in twenty-eight sections. This is his most famous work, in which, with much subtlety, he seeks to refute the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity, especially the co-eternal and consubstantial divinity of Christ. Basil the Great thought the book worthy of an elaborate refutation, which we possess in his five books, *Adversus Eunomium*. A considerable portion of the *Apologeticus* was printed by Cave from a MS. in the possession of archbishop Tenison, with a Latin translation from the pen of Henry Wharton (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. p. 220 sq.), and the whole is given by Fabricius, with a Latin translation (*Bibl. Graec.* lib. v. c. 23, ed. Hamburg, 1717). It has been also published by Canisius (*Lect. Ant.* ed. Basnage, i. p. 181), and more recently by Thilo (*Bibl. Dogm.* ii. p. 180, and Migne, Pat. Gr. xxx. 835). An English translation of it was published by Whiston in his *Eunomianismus Redivivus*, London, 1711, 8vo.

(5) Ἀπολογίας ἀπολογία. A defence of the preceding work from the attack made on it by St. Basil. Philostorgius absurdly states that Basil died of despair after reading this work, feeling himself incapable of answering it (Philost. *H. E.* viii. 12). Photius, on the other hand, tells us that, after Eunomius had devoted many years of close study to the composition of this reply, conscious of its inadequacy, he was afraid that Basil should see it, and kept it unpublished till after his death, and even then put it into the hands of his friends and adherents alone. Theodore of Mopsuestia, Gregory Nyssen, and others, however, got hold of it, and treated the wretched thing with the contumely it deserved (Phot. *Cod.* 138).

(Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. p. 219; Fabric. *Bibl. Graeca*, viii. p. 261; Photius, *Cod.* 137, 138; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* vi. 501 ff.) [E. V.]

EUNOMIUS (4), a bishop intruded by the Arians into the see of Samosata, on the deposition of Eusebius Samosatensis by Valens in A.D. 374. His episcopate was short and unhappy. The people of Samosata resented the loss of their bishop so keenly that they all, from the highest to the lowest, refused to hold any intercourse with Eunomius. No one visited him, or exchanged a word with him. He officiated in an empty church. When he entered the public baths no one would bathe with him, nor even use the water contaminated by a heretic. Thinking it useless to remain where he was the object of general aversion, Eunomius resigned his bishopric and left the city. He was succeeded by Lucius. (Theod. *H. E.* iv. 15.) [E. V.]

EUNOMIUS (5), bishop of Beroë in Thracia, an Apollinarian. His period was somewhere between Danophilus, A.D. 370, and Sebastianus, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1167.) [J. de S.]

EUNOMIUS (6), bishop of Marazana, or Maruzana, in Byzacene, who was present at the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. de Don. Hist.* Oberthür, p. 425.) [H. W. P.]

EUNOMIUS (7), bishop of Rhaesina (Theodosiopolis) in Osrhoena, when the city was besieged by Varanes king of Persia, in the reign of Theodosius II., c. A.D. 420. The bishop vigorously opposed the Persian attacks, despising the threats of burning down the church, and ultimately killed one of the kings present in the besieging army by a stone shot from a ballista inscribed with the name of the apostle St. Thomas, the supposed founder of the Edessene church, whereupon the siege was abandoned. (Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 36 al. 37; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 979.) [L. D.]

EUNOMIUS (8), bishop of Nicomedia, 451. The thirteenth session of the council of Chalcedon was taken up with a dispute between Eunomius the metropolitan of Nicomedia and Anastasius bishop of Nicaea, with regard to jurisdiction over the see of Basilinopolis. It is an instance of an appeal, in a purely ecclesiastical matter, to the secular authority of the emperors Valentinian and Marcian. A prominent part in the proceedings was taken by the judges, who were the commander-in-chief Anatolius, the prefect of the Praetorians Palladius, and the master of the offices Vincomalus. Anastasius had excommunicated the clergy of Basilinopolis, claiming that city as belonging to his province. Eunomius quoted Valentinian, Anastasius Julian and Valens. The

magistrates and synod declared Nicomedia to be metropolis of all Bithynia, setting aside a claim proposed by Aetius archdeacon of Constantinople, to the effect that that see had the right of consecrating for Basilinopolis (Mansi, *Concil.* vii. 302; Ceillier, x. 695). [W. M. S.]

EUNOMIUS (9), bishop of Amida (now Diarbekir), on the Tigris, the metropolis of the province of Mesopotamia, consecrated A.D. 546. (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 48 n.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 994.) [L. D.]

EUNOMIUS (10) appointed count of Tours in the place of Leudastes, who was deposed for oppression of the people and persecution of Gregory, A.D. 580. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 48, 50, vii. 23.) [S. A. B.]

EUNUS, Feb. 27, the surname of a martyr named Cronion, who together with Julian was carried through Alexandria on a camel, scourged, and afterwards burned, during the Decian persecution. (Euseb. vi. 41; *Mart.* Usuard., *Rom. Vet.*, Adon.) [T. S. B.]

EUNUTIUS (ENUTIUS), **ST.**, bishop of Noyon. In the majority of the catalogues after the name of Hunuanus, the twenty-seventh bishop, is found that of Guido, and next to him that of Eunutius, but some have "Guido cum Enutio sancto." This has puzzled the commentators, and several explanations have been attempted. It has been suggested (1) that Eunutius was a priest only, (2) that he was a sort of suffragan bishop, who performed the duties of the office for Guido, (3) that one was bishop of Noyon, and the other of Tournay. Le Cointe again rejects all these views, and believes that at the synod of Soissons (A.D. 744), either because Guido had become too old to discharge the duties of the episcopate, or for some other good reason, Eunutius was consecrated bishop, while the other was yet living. The dates are an objection to this theory, as there is an extant letter of pope Zacharias to Elisaeus, the successor of Eunutius, which is ascribed to the year following the council, while by some of the catalogues six years are allotted to the joint reign of the two bishops. He is commemorated Sept. 10. (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* a. 745, n. xix. xx., tom. v. p. 121; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 985; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 616.) [S. A. B.]

EUO-. [See under EVO-.]

EUPARDUS was a bishop of Autun, and is placed by the compilers of the *Gallia Christiana* (iv. 343) seventeenth on the list, between St. Nectarius and Remigius or Benignus, about A.D. 550. This position, however, is matter of conjecture, some putting him rather earlier, while others place him about forty years later. (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* a. 560, n. v.; Gams, *Series Episc.* 499.) [S. A. B.]

EUPATERIUS, a layman who, together with his daughter, had written to Basil requesting that he would declare his faith. Basil replies that he adheres strictly to the Nicene creed, but that the false teaching of others with respect to the Holy Spirit had rendered some addition to it necessary. For his part he would communicate with no one who asserted that the Holy Spirit was a created Being. (Basil, Ep. 159 [387].) [E. V.]

EUPATOR, magister militum in Sardinia, who in 598 testified to the fanatical conduct of Petrus the convert from Judaism at Cagliari. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ix. indict. ii. *Ep.* 6, in Migne, lxxvii. 943, where he is called Eupaterius); in 601 as duke of Sardinia he received a letter from Gregory commending Valdarichus to his protection (lib. xii. indict. v. *Ep.* 18, in Migne, lxxvii. 1230). [A. H. D. A.]

EUPHEBIUS (EPHEBUS, EUPHEMUS, EFRIMUS), a bishop of Naples. Ughelli states that his date cannot be positively ascertained, there being no extant narrative of his life. Baronius, following Paulus Regius, states him to have died A.D. 713. Others placed him much earlier. Joannes Diaconus calls him the eighth bishop of Naples, and successor to St. Eustasius, who was "S. Agrippino subrogatus" c. A.D. 180, but the date of whose death is uncertain. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 37; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 236.) [R. S. G.]

EUPHEMIA (1)—Sept. 16. Virgin and martyr at Chalcedon under Galerius, A.D. 307, and celebrated over the east and west. She was arrested by order of the proconsul Priscus, and after various tortures was killed by wild beasts. For the circumstances of her martyrdom we have very early evidence. Asterius [ASTERIUS], bishop of Amasea, A.D. 400, tells us that he saw the sufferings of the martyr depicted on a tablet in the great church of Chalcedon, which was built over her tomb. In the same church the council of Chalcedon met A.D. 451, and the fathers attributed the success of their efforts against Eutychianism to her prayers, a circumstance commemorated afterwards on July 11 (*Cal. Byzant.*, and Neale's note). Her relics were transferred to the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, where amid the struggles of the Iconoclastic controversies she seems to have been regarded as a special friend of the assailed *cultus*. Constantine Copronymus, therefore, sought to fling them into the sea about A.D. 766, but they were rescued by the opposite party. There was a church at Rome dedicated to her as early as the time of Gregory the Great, while Codinus tells us that there were no less than four dedicated to her in Constantinople, the most splendid of which was built in her honour by Constantine the Great, and, after the lapse of 450 years, profaned and turned into a public stable by Constantine Copronymus, but restored and beautified afterwards by the empress Irene (Codinus, *de Orig. Constant.* § 81; Du Cange, *Cpolis. Christ.* lib. iv. pp. 100–102). Her acts are contained in Symeon Metaphrastes; Surius; Ruinart. The work of Asterius treating of her will be found in Mansi incorporated with the acts of the seventh general council, A.D. 787. Venantius Fortunatus in his poem *De Virginitate* (*Miscellan.* lib. viii. carm. 6) represents her as one of an attendant band upon the Blessed Virgin in the character of patroness of Chalcedon. (*Mart.* Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi; *Carthag. Kalendar*; *Sacramentar.* Greg. Mag.) [G. T. S.]

EUPHEMIA (2), AELIA MARCIA, empress, wife of the emperor Justinus. Her original name was Lupicina, and she was first

called Euphemia by the acclamations of the populace at her coronation. Her praenomen Aelia is known from her coins. She died in her husband's lifetime, not long after his accession, and was buried in the church of St. Euphemia. (Victor. Tununens. *Chron.* in Patr. Lat. lxviii. 952 b; Theoph. ann. 501, p. 141, in Patr. Gr. cviii. 383 a; Du Cange, *Fam. Aug.* p. 78.) [C. H.]

EUPHEMITAE, also known as MESSALIANS, "praying people," and therefore reckoned by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 80) as predecessors of the Christian sect so called. Epiphanius, who is our sole informant about them, tells us that they were neither Christians, Jews, nor Samaritans, but were heathen, believing in a plurality of gods, but offering worship only to one whom they called the Almighty; that they built for themselves oratories, which in some places were made completely to resemble Christian churches; that in these they used to meet at evening and at early morn, with great abundance of lights, to join in hymns and prayer. We learn from him next with some surprise that some of the magistrates put several of these people to death for their perversion of the truth and unwarranted imitation of church customs, and that in particular LUPICIANUS having thus punished some of them gave occasion to a new error; for that they buried the bodies of those who had been thus executed, held meetings for their divine service at the spot, and called themselves MARTYRIANI. In fine Epiphanius charges a section of the Euphemites with calling themselves SATANIANI, and with worshipping Satan under the idea that by such service they might disarm the hostility of a being confessedly of great strength and of immense power to harm. It does not appear that Epiphanius means to assert that the Christian Euchites were historically derived from these heathen Euphemites, but merely that there was a general resemblance of practices between the two. It has been conjectured (Tillemont, viii. 529) that the Euphemites of Epiphanius may be identical with the HYPSISTARII of Greg. Naz., and less probably with the COELICOLAE of Africa. [EUCHITES.] [G. S.]

EUPHEMIUS (1), bearer of a letter from Ascholius bishop of Thessalonica, A.D. 373, to Basil, who speaks in warm terms of him, and also of his wife, whom he calls *κοσμιωτάτη*. (Basil, Ep. 154 [337].) [E. V.]

EUPHEMIUS (2), the owner of a farm at Apenzinzus, wrongfully occupied by Meletius, brother-in-law of Gregory Nazianzen. Gregory in his will declared that the farm was the property of Euphemius, whom he had often reproached for his want of proper spirit in abstaining from claiming it. (Greg. Naz. *Testam.*) [E. V.]

EUPHEMIUS (3), bishop of Sophene, a district in the province of Mesopotamia; his name is found in the Latin list of the subscriptions to the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1001; Mansi, vii. 403.) [L. D.]

EUPHEMIUS (4), 3rd patriarch of Constantinople, succeeding Fravitta and followed by Macedonius II. He ruled six years and three months A.D. 489–496, and died in 515. Theophanes calls him Euthymius. Euphemius was a presbyter of Constantinople, administrator of a hospital for the poor at Neapolis, untinged with any suspicion of Eutychian leanings, and is described as learned and very virtuous. Finding that Peter Mongus, the patriarch of Alexandria, anathematized the council of Chalcedon, he was so indignant that before he took his seat on the patriarchal throne he solemnly separated from all communion with him, and with his own hands effaced his name from the diptychs, placing in its stead that of Felix III. of Rome. For a year the war raged strong between Mongus and Euphemius. Each summoned councils against the other; Euphemius even thought of persuading a council to depose Mongus; but at the end of October, 490, Mongus died.

To pope Felix the patriarch sent letters, as was usual, to announce his election. Great must have been his indignation when he received the reply that he might be admitted as a private member of the church Catholic, but could not be received in communion as a bishop, because he had not removed from the diptychs the names of his predecessors, Acacius and Fravitta.

Soon after his accession two interesting scenes occurred. One was at the death (probably in 489) of Daniel the Stylite on the pillar where he had lived for thirty-three years. Euphemius came with others to the foot of the pillar to attend his last moments, as a tribute of respect to so renowned a personage. The other scene was in Constantinople. Anastasius, the future emperor, then an aged officer of the emperor Zeno, was an adherent of Eutychian opinions, and according to Suidas formed a sect which met in some church of Constantinople. The patriarch appeared before the conventicle with menacing gestures and drove them from the spot. "If you must frequent the church," he exclaimed, "agree with her! or else no more enter into her gates to pervert men more simple than yourself. Do otherwise, and I will shave your head, and lead you in triumph with the people." Henceforth, says the annalist, Anastasius kept quiet, for the sake of the glory that he coveted. As the emperor Zeno died in 491, this must have occurred within two years after the consecration of Euphemius, and it witnesses alike to his intrepidity and his influence.

After the death of Zeno, the empress Ariadne procured the election of Anastasius, on the understanding that he was to marry her. The patriarch openly called him a heretic and unworthy of reigning over Christians. Vain at first were the entreaties of the empress and the senate that he would consent to crown him. At length Euphemius came to terms; Anastasius must capitulate on all points; he must give a written profession of his creed, promise under his hand to keep the Catholic faith intact, without making any attempt upon it after he should have become emperor, make no innovation in the church, and follow as his rule of belief the decrees of Chalcedon. These were severe conditions for Anastasius; but he gave the promise under the most solemn oaths, and Euphemius put it into the hands of the saintly Macedonius, chancellor and treasurer of the church of Constantinople, to be stored in the archives of the cathedral. (Evagr. iii. 32.)

At the end of 491, or on Feb. 25, 492, pope Felix died. His successor Gelasius immediately announced his elevation to the emperor Anastasius, but took no notice of Euphemius. Euphemius, in his ardent way, had written to him at once to express his joy on his appointment, and his desire for peace and for the reunion of the churches. Not to be chilled even by obtaining no answer, he wrote a second letter, and sent it by the deacon Syncletius. Neither letter remains; it appears however from the reply of Gelasius that Euphemius had congratulated the Roman church on having a pontiff who needed no instruction from any one, but was able to judge with his own eyes all that was necessary for the reunion of the churches; adding that, for himself, he was not sufficiently his own master to do what he wished; that the people of Constantinople would never agree to disgrace the memory of their late patriarch Acacius; that if that measure were necessary, the pope had better write to the people about it himself, and send somebody to try and persuade them; that Acacius had never said anything against the faith, and that if he was in communion with Mongus, it was when Mongus had given a satisfactory account of his creed. Euphemius subjoined his own confession, rejecting Eutyches and accepting Chalcedon. It seems also that Euphemius spoke of those who had been baptized and ordained by Acacius since the sentence pronounced against him at Rome, and pointed out how embarrassing it would be if the memory of Acacius must be condemned. (Ceillier, x. 486.)

Replying to these temperate counsels, Gelasius allows that in other circumstances he would have written to announce his election, but sourly observes that the custom existed only among those bishops who were united in communion, and was not to be extended to those who, like Euphemius, preferred a strange alliance to that of St. Peter. He allows the necessity of gentleness and tenderness, but remarks that there is no need to throw yourself into the ditch when you are helping others out. As a mark of condescension he willingly grants the canonical remedy to all who had been baptized and ordained by Acacius. Can Euphemius possibly wish him to allow to be recited in the sacred diptychs the names of condemned heretics and their successors? Euphemius professed to reject Eutyches; let him reject also those who have communicated with the successors of Eutyches. Acacius had not advanced anything against the truth; was it not even worse, then, for him to know the truth and communicate with its enemies? Euphemius asked when Acacius was condemned? No condemnation was needed! It was *ipso facto* according to the decrees of ancient councils. If Peter Mongus did purge himself, why did not Euphemius send proofs, instead of contenting himself with asserting the fact? He is much vexed with Euphemius for saying that he is constrained to do things which he does not wish; no bishop should talk so about that truth for which he ought to lay down his life. He refuses to send a mission to Constantinople, on the ground that it is the pastor's duty to convince his own flock. At the tribunal of Jesus Christ it will be seen which of the two is bitter and hard. The high spirit of the orthodox patriarch was fired by this dictatorial interference. He even thought of summoning the pope himself to account. And as it is certain that Gelasius was even more suspicious of the emperor Anastasius, who was, in spite of the recantation which Euphemius had enforced, a real Eutychian at heart, so it is very likely that, as Baronius asserts, the patriarch did not attempt to conceal the pope's antipathy to the emperor.

Meantime nothing cooled the zeal of Euphemius for the council of Chalcedon. Anastasius harboured designs against its supporters; to thwart him the patriarch gathered together the bishops who were at Constantinople, and invited them to confirm its decrees. According to Theophanes and Victor of Tunis this occurred in 492 (Vict. Tun. *Chron.* p. 5); but in Mansi (vii. 1180) the event is placed at the beginning of the patriarchate of Euphemius, and the decrees are said to have been sent by the bishops to pope Felix III.

Various jars shewed the continued rupture with Rome. Theodoric had become master of Italy, and in 493 sent Faustus and Irenaeus to the emperor Anastasius to ask for peace. During their sojourn at Constantinople the envoys received complaints from the Greeks against the Roman church, which they reported to the pope. As was likely, Anastasius and Euphemius had much to say on the subject, the chief point of the patriarch being that Acacius could never have been condemned by one prelate only, but that to excommunicate a metropolitan of Constantinople nothing less was needed than a general council. On this Gelasius observed that it had been done in virtue of Chalcedon, according to the custom with all heresies; pope Felix had only put in force an old decree, and had invented nothing new; the same could be done by any bishop, not by a pope only. Gelasius also accused Euphemius of hindering the peace with Theodoric, not for faith's sake, but only to strengthen his own party. (Mansi, viii. 16.)

Now occurred that imprudence of Euphemius which unhappily cost him his throne. The emperor Anastasius, tired of his war against the Isaurians, was looking about for an honourable way of stopping it. He spoke confidentially to Euphemius about it; asking him to beg the bishops at Constantinople (there were always bishops coming and going to and from the metropolis) to pray for peace, that he might be thus furnished with an opportunity of entering on negotiations. Euphemius betrayed the secret to John the patrician, father-in-law of Athenodorus, one of the chiefs of the Isaurians. John hurried to the emperor to inform him of the patriarch's indiscretion. Anastasius was deeply offended, and from that time forth never ceased to persecute his old opponent. He accused him of helping the Isaurians against him, and of corresponding with them. On one occasion when he had gained an advantage over them, he sent Eusebius, his Master of the Offices, to the patriarch with the taunting message, "Your Grace's prayers have covered your friends with confusion" (*τοὺς φίλους σου ἠσβολώσαν*. Theoph. *Chronog.* A.C. 488).

At another time an assassin, either by Anastasius's own order, or to gain his favour, drew his sword on Euphemius at the door of the

metatorium (sacristy). But a very tall ecclesiastic, who was a head and shoulders above his master, received the blow, which was likely to prove fatal. Another of the attendants struck the assailant heavily with the bolt of the door and killed him on the spot.

Anastasius sought other means to get rid of the great prelate whom he so much detested. He was now in open quarrel with him; Theodorus speaks of the violence with which he demanded back the profession of faith on which his coronation had depended (Theodor. Lect. ii. 8, 572 sq. in Patr. Graec. lxxxvi.). He assembled the bishops who were in the capital, and preferred charges against their metropolitan. With obsequious disregard of ecclesiastical rules they declared him at once excommunicated and deposed. The emperor obtained, at the request of Ariadne and the senate, who wished to cover the injustice to Euphemius by a respectable, popular, and orthodox appointment, the election of Macedonius, nephew of the former patriarch Gennadius. But the people, loyal to their noble-hearted bishop, refused to surrender him. As was usual in times of national excitement, they ran in crowds to the great hippodrome, calling aloud on the Almighty, and making a kind of sedition in favour of the deposed patriarch. They had, however, soon to yield to the emperor.

Meanwhile Euphemius, fearing for his life, retired to the baptistery, and refused to go out until Macedonius had promised on the word of the emperor that no violence should be done him when they conducted him to that exile to which he knew at any rate that he was condemned. With a proper feeling of respect for the fallen greatness and unconquerable dignity of his predecessor, Macedonius, on coming to find him in the baptistery, made the attendant deacon take off the newly-given pallium and clothed himself in the dress of a simple presbyter, "not daring to wear" his insignia before their canonical owner. After some conversation, Macedonius (himself to follow Euphemius to the very same place of exile under the same emperor) handed over to him the proceeds of a loan which he had raised for his expenses. Euphemius was taken to Eucaïtes in 495, the fifth year of Anastasius. His death occurred twenty years later, in 515, at Ancyra, where it is thought that the invasion of the Huns had made him retire.

In the East Euphemius was always honoured as the defender of the Catholic faith and of Chalcedon, and as a man of the highest holiness and orthodoxy. Great efforts were made at the fifth general council to get his name put solemnly back in the diptychs with that of Macedonius (Mansi, viii. 1061 E). Elias metropolitan of Jerusalem, himself afterwards expelled from his see by Anastasius, stood stoutly by Euphemius at the time of his exile, declaring against the legality of his sentence. (Cyrillus, *Vita S. Sabae*, c. 69, apud Sur. tom. vi.) The authorities for his life are, Marcel. *Chron.* A.C. 491–495 in Patr. Lat. li. p. 933; Theodor. Lect. *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 6–15 in Patr. Graec. lxxxvi. pt. i. 185–189; Theoph. *Chronog.* A.C. 481–489 in Patr. Graec. cviii. 324–337; St. Niceph. Constant. *Chronog. Brev.* 45 in Patr. Graec. c. p. 1046; Baronius, A.D. 489–495; Gelas. Pap. *Epist. et Decret.* i. in Patr. Lat. lix. 13. [W. M. S.]

EUPHEMIUS (5) (Baron. *Annal.* ann. 537, xiv.), bishop of Antioch. [EPHRAIM (6).] [C. H.]

EUPHEMIUS (6), bishop of Toledo from cir. A.D. 574 to cir. 590. He signed the acts of the third council of Toledo, 589, as "Metropolitanus Ecclesiae Catholicae Toletanae Provinciae Carpetaniae." This signature is remarkable for the use of the word "Catholic," which also appears in the signatures of three other Metropolitans at the same council: Merida, Braga, and Seville, and refers, no doubt, to the existence of Arian bishops in those sees before the council. It is worthy of notice that, although in the case of certain suffragan bishoprics, Tortosa, Oporto, Tuy, Valencia, and Lugo, the Arian bishop is allowed after conversion to keep the episcopal dignity, so that each of these sees appears with two bishops at the council, there is no trace of this indulgence in the case of the Metropolitan sees, which no doubt were felt to be too important to be allowed to run any risk. The title Metropolitanus Provinciae Carpetaniae, which truthfully expressed the position of the church of Toledo at the time (and which reappears after the Moorish conquest; see Acts of the Synod of Cordova in 839, *Esp. Sagr.* x. 525), led either to the assembling of the synod of Carthaginensian bishops at Toledo in 610, or to the later forgery of its supposed acts, and of the *Decretum Gundemari* [GUNTHIMAR]. In the same third council the well-known Peter of Ercavica, signs as Arcavicensis Celtiberiae Ecclesiae Episcopus. Ercavica lay on the boundary between Carpetania and Celtiberia, and Peter therefore seems by his signature to have meant to imply his exemption from the jurisdiction of the "Metropolitan of Carpetania" (Gams, *K. G.* ii. 2, 68–77). In the *Decretum Gundemari* Euphemius is said to have styled himself Metropolitan of Carpetania through ignorance; "nos ejusdem ignorantiae sententiam corrigimus"; while Florez, whose views on the primacy of Toledo are now in great measure superseded, supposes it to have sprung from modesty or unwariness. For a discussion, however, of the relation of Toledo to the older bishoprics of Carthaginensis, and of the growth of the primacy, see GUNTHIMAR and JULIAN (*Esp. Sagr.* vi. 330, 333; v. 251, Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 238). [M. A. W.]

EUPHORUS (EUFORUS, PHOSPHORUS) signs the acts of the eighth Council of Toledo, an. 653, as bishop of Cordova. His name stands thirty-eighth on the list. (*Esp. Sagr.* x. 236; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448; Gomez Bravo, *Cat. de los Obispos de Cordova*, p. 77.) [M. A. W.]

EUPHRAIM (Εὐφραίμιος, Soph. *Ep. Synod. ad Honor.* ap. Photius, *Biblioth.* ccxxxi. in Patrol. Gr. ciii. 1090 c.), bishop of Antioch. [EPHRAIM (6).] [T. W. D.]

EUPHRANON, according to "Praedestinatus," i. 24, a bishop of Rhodes, who opposed the Severiani. [G. S.]

EUPHRANOR, a Libyan bishop, cir. A.D. 263. He was inclined to Sabellianism, on which account Dionysius bishop of Alexandria wrote him a letter afterwards quoted and commented on by Athanasius. (Ath. *de Sentent. Dionys.* §§ 10, 12, 13 in Pat. Gr. xxv. 494, 498, 499; Ceillier, ii. 399.) [T. W. D.]

EUPHRASIA (1)—Jan. 19. Virgin and martyr at Nicomedia under Maximin, A.D. 309. Being condemned to violation, she ingeniously contrived to preserve her virginity and to secure martyrdom by pretending to the character of a sorceress. (Bas. *Menol.*; Nicephorus, lib. 7, c. 13; Bar. *Annal.* 309, 35.) [G. T. S.]

EUPHRASIA (2)—May 18. One of the seven virgin martyrs at Ancyra. [FAINA.] [G. T. S.]

EUPHRASIA (3), virgin. [EUPRAXIA.]

EUPHRASIA (4), wife of Namatius, or Naamatus, bishop of Vienne (ob. 567). Like her husband she was of noble birth, and after his death she devoted herself and her property to "the exile, the widow, the captive, and the poor." Fortunatus wrote an epitaph in her praise. (Venant. Fort. *Opp.* pt. i. lib. iv. cap. 27; Patr. Lat. lxxviii. 176; *Gall. Chr.* xvi. 27; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 582, xxii.) [T. W. D.]

EUPHRASIA (5). [EUPHROSYNA (1).]

EUPHRASIUS (1), bishop of Andujar or Illiturgi. [EUFRASIUS (1).]

EUPHRASIUS (2), bishop of Colonia or Taxara in Cappadocia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 413; Mansi, ii. 694.) [L. D.]

EUPHRASIUS (3), bishop of Calanis. [EUPHRATION.]

EUPHRASIUS (4), bishop of Nicomedia, present at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381 (Mansi, iii. 572). He seems to have died shortly afterwards. (Greg. Nyss. ep. 17; Pat. Gr. xlvi. 1056; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 587.) [T. W. D.]

EUPHRASIUS (5), subdeacon of Edessa, who took an active part in the persecution of Ibas his bishop, signing the "Instructio et Deprecatio" against him and afterwards appearing in person at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, as one of his accusers. (Mansi, vii. 206, 250.) [T. W. D.]

EUPHRASIUS (6), bishop of Lagania, in the province of Galatia Prima. He took part in the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 488; *Acta Conc. Chalced.* act. i. ii. iii. vi. xv. xvi.) [T. W. D.]

EUPHRASIUS (7), a bishop martyred in Africa at the beginning of the 6th century. He was commemorated on Jan. 14. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 932.) [I. G. S.]

EUPHRASIUS (8), bishop of Antioch, A.D. 521–529. He was a native of Jerusalem. At the commencement of his episcopate he strongly opposed the council of Chalcedon, going so far as to erase the names of the fathers of that assembly, as well as that of Leo bishop of Rome, from the diptychs. He afterwards repented of this, it is said through fear (Theoph. *Chronog.* A.M. 6013, Patr. Gr. cviii. 392), and according to Joannes Malalas he became a violent persecutor of those whose cause he had espoused (Joan. Mal. *Chronogr.* lib. xvii. ed. Dindorf. p. 416). Euphrasius perished in the great earthquake which laid the city of Antioch in ruins, A.D. 426. (Theoph. A.M. 6019; Evagrius, *H. E.* iv. 4, 5; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 733.) [T. W. D.]

EUPHRASIUS (9), said to be the first-known bishop of Parentium (Parenzo), c. 521 (Gams, *Series Episc.* 799; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, viii. 781). He is said to have lapsed into schism after one year's episcopate. Pelagius I., c. 558, in a letter (Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* 678) to Narses, speaks of a certain "Euphrasius schismaticus." Cappelletti gives an inscription in which his name is recorded. [A. H. D. A.]

EUPHRASIUS (10), bishop of Calahorra, signs by deputy the acts of the thirteenth council of Toledo, 683 (*Esp. Sagr.* xxxiii. 159; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 287). [M. A. W.]

EUPHRASIUS (11), bishop of Lugo from about 681 to 688, signs the acts of twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth councils of Toledo (*Esp. Sagr.* xl. 84; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270, 287, 313). [AGRESTIUS.] [M. A. W.]

EUPHRASIUS. See also EUFRASIUS.

EUPHRATAS (1), bishop of Cologne, 343, said to have been deposed for Photinianism by a synod at Cologne, 346 (Mansi, ii. 1371, and note by Binius, 1375). But the acts of this assembly are spurious or have been falsified; for in 347 Euphratas attended the council of Sardica, and not only subscribed its decrees, but was one of those deputed to ask of Constantius the restoration of the churches to Athanasius and his friends. On this mission he proceeded to Antioch, and Theodoret (lib. ii. c. 9) and Athanasius (*Hist. Arian. ad Mon.* 281) relate a detestable trick played on him by Stephen of Antioch for the purpose of ruining his reputation. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 622; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 332, and viii. 119.) [R. T. S.]

EUPHRATAS (2), bishop of Cheronesus (Chersonesus), in Crete. Signed in A.D. 458 the synodical epistle of the Cretan bishops to the emperor Leo. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 271.) [J. de S.]

EUPHRATAS (3), presbyter of Constantinople in 454. In a letter to Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, pope Leo the Great, whose interference in the affairs of the East was systematic, allows Euphratas to be ordained presbyter if he is willing in ample documents to abjure the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies, although he had spoken ill of the late bishop of Constantinople, Flavianus, of blessed memory. (Leo Mag. *Epist.* cxxxv.; Patr. Lat. liv. 1278; Ceillier, x. 227.) [W. M. S.]

EUPHRATAS (4), eunuch under Justinian, by race one of the Abasgi, a people of the Caucasus. In A.D. 529 he was sent by Justinian on a mission to the Abasgi. A great number of eunuchs came from that race, and Justinian determined to put a stop to the practice of castration. He issued a law to forbid it in general, and despatched Euphratas to warn his countrymen in particular. Justinian also built a church amongst them, and supplied them with missionaries. The tribe was converted to Christianity. (Evagr. lib. iv. cap. 22; Procop. *de Bell.* ii. 572, 15, Dindorf, 1838; Baron. ad ann. 529, xviii. Justinian, *Novell.* 142.) [W. M. S.]

EUPHRATAS (5), bishop of Tyana (Eusebia, Christopolis), metropolis of the second Cappadocia, present at the fifth general council, A.D.

553; at the fifth session he quoted the diptychs of his own church to prove that Theodorus, to whom Gregory Nazianzen had written some letters, had been bishop of Tyana, not of Mopsuestia. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 400; Mansi, ix. 258, 390.) [L. D.]

EUPHRATES (1). [PERATAE.] Origen (*contra Celsum*, vi. 28) states that the Ophites boasted of one Euphrates as the introducer of their impious doctrines. And Hippolytus (*Ref.* iv. 2, v. 13, x. 10), followed by Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 17), speaks of the Ophite sect called Peratae as founded by Euphrates the "Peratic," and Acembes the Carystian. There is certainly a case for suspicion that this Euphrates the Peratic, the supposed founder of the sect of Peratics, may be as mythical a personage as Ebion, the eponymous founder of the Ebionites. We do not read elsewhere of any Euphrates but the Stoic philosopher, who lived in the reign of Hadrian (see *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, s. v.), whom we cannot suppose to have been a teacher of Ophite doctrine. But the name of the river Euphrates was largely used among the Peratae with a mystical signification; and it is conceivable that members of the sect, knowing the name to be held in honour among them, and knowing also that there had been an eminent teacher so called, may have been led to claim him as their founder. On the other hand, it is plain that the Peratic treatise of which Hippolytus gives an abstract, and which may have been also seen by Origen, contained the name of Euphrates coupled with that of Acembes the Carystian, a personage whom there was no motive for inventing. There is nothing incredible in the supposition that these are the names of real Ophite teachers, too obscure to leave any record of their existence, outside their own sect.

The title "Peratic," as applied to the sect, is explained by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii. 17) as one derived from place. In this sense it may have taken its origin from the phrase Ἄβραμ ὁ περατής (Gen. xiv. 13, LXX), which was understood to mean one who came from the other side of the Euphrates (see Julius Africanus, ix. in Routh's *Reliquiae*, ii. 244). Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xii. 19), speaking of a certain gum which came from Arabia, India, Media, and Babylon, adds that that which came from Media was called by some Peratic (Harvey, Irenaeus, I. lxxxvii.). This seems to be the same as the Peratic frankincense spoken of by Arrian (*Periplus Maris Erythr.* p. 148, Amst. 1683). It is probably a mere corruption that Sophronius of Jerusalem (Hardouin, *Concil.* iii. 1287) speaks of Euphrates "Persicus," for he clearly got the name from Theodoret; yet the corruption may have originated in the change of an unfamiliar word into a supposed equivalent. On the whole, we may conclude that this Euphrates, if he existed, came from the extreme east, and we may safely reject Bunsen's idea that this designation can mean Euboean. He founds this conjecture on the facts that Acembes, with whom Euphrates is coupled, came from Euboea, and that Euboea is sometimes spoken of as ἡ πέραν, the other side. But this does not prove that the name "Peratic" would ever have been understood as equivalent to "Euboean;" it is nowhere stated that Euphrates and Acembes were fellow countrymen, and if they were, it is not likely that the one would have been designated after his town and the other generally after the island.

Mosheim, in his work on the Ophites (*Geschichte der Schlangenbrüder*) quoted by Matter (*Gnosticisme*, i. 180), counts Euphrates as the first Gnostic, on the grounds that he was the founder of the Ophites, and that this sect was anterior to Christianity. But his reasons for the latter opinion have not been found convincing. One of the strongest, viz. that Philaster counts Cainites, Sethites, and Ophites among pre-Christian sects [CAINITES] loses all its weight when we find reason to believe that Philaster here made an arbitrary deviation from the authority he was following (see Lipsius, *Quellenkritik des Epiphanios*). [G. S.]

EUPHRATES (2), chamberlain of Constantine the Great. According to Codinus he had a great share in Constantine's conversion, but is not mentioned by the earlier authors. See Codin. *Orig. Constantinopol.* p. 10 c. [M. F. A.]

EUPHRATES (3), presbyter. [EUFRATES.]

EUPHRATES (4) (EUPHRATAS), bishop of Eleutherna in Crete; present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 404; *Or. Christ.* ii. 270.) [J. de S.]

EUPHRATION, bishop of Balaneae (on the Syrian coast, at the mouth of the river Eleutherus), present at the Nicene council, A.D. 325 (Mansi, ii. 693, 698). Athanasius (*de Synod.* § 17, p. 584) states that Eusebius of Caesarea, in Palestine, writing to Euphration, did not fear to assert openly that Christ was not very God. A charge of writing to Euphration in blasphemous terms on the same subject is made against Eusebius in the acts of the second council of Nicaea (Mansi, xiii. 701 D). He was banished from his see by the Arians at the same time as Eustathius of Antioch, to the great grief of his diocese (Athanas. *de Fug.* § 3, p. 254). In Athanas. (*Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* § 5) the see of Euphration is written Καλαναῖς, which has caused him sometimes to be called bishop of Calanis; but as the Benedictine editor there observes, the true name is Βαλανέαι, which occurs in *Apol. de Fug.* § 3. [E. V.]

EUPHRONIUS (1), bishop of Antioch, one of the prelates intruded by the Arian party after the deposition of Eustathius, cir. 332. He had previously been a presbyter of the Cappadocian Caesarea. For the difficulties connected with the succession of these intruded bishops of Antioch see EULALIUS (4). The see being again vacant by the premature death of Eulalius, the dominant party desired to establish their position by retaining Eusebius of Caesarea, who was then at Antioch as a leading member of the council by whom Eustathius had been deposed, and applied to the emperor Constantine to sanction the appointment. Eusebius, however, wrote to the emperor to decline the proffered dignity, such translation being a violation of the Nicene canons (Can. 15). Constantine on this wrote three letters, preserved by Eusebius (*de Vit. Const.* iii. 60, 61, 62), one to Eusebius, highly commending his refusal of the see, a second to

the people of Antioch, bidding them not to covet the bishops of other cities, and a third to the ordaining prelates recommending Euphronius of Caesarea and George of Arethusa. The choice fell on Euphronius. He added another to the list of short-lived intruded prelates, dying within less than two years of his election. (Socr. *H. E.* i. 24; Soz. *H. E.* ii. 19; Theod. *H. E.* i. 22; Kaye, *Council of Nicaea*, p. 60, note 4.) [Eusebius (23) p. 315, note.] [E. V.]

EUPHRONIUS (2), bishop of Colonia in Armenia; afterwards metropolitan of Nicopolis (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 428, 429). While he was at Colonia, A.D. 375, Basil wrote to him apologizing for the rarity of his letters, caused by the distance and the difficulty of finding letter carriers, and asking his prayers (Basil, Epist. 195 [312].) The same year, on the death of Theodotus, the sensitively orthodox metropolitan of Nicopolis, Fronto was ordained as his successor by the party of Eustathius of Sebaste. The orthodox Christians of Nicopolis refused to communicate with their new bishop, and held their worship in the open air. Fronto's measures of repression only exasperated the schism. To heal the wound Poemenius, bishop of Satala, with the hearty approval of all the bishops of the province and the sanction of the civil authorities, promptly sent Euphronius to occupy the episcopal seat at Nicopolis. The people of Colonia, being very indignant at the loss of their bishop, and threatening to bring the matter before the tribunals, Basil wrote to calm them (Ep. 227 [292].) He begs them to postpone their private feelings to the general good of the church. They could not but be affected by the religious condition of Nicopolis, their metropolis. Euphronius had promised not to give up his superintendence of his old flock. He would have more labour, but they would have as much care. Basil wrote a similar letter to the magistrates of Colonia (Ep. 228 [290]), counselling peaceable acquiescence in the decision of the bishops. Not content with this, Basil at the same time wrote to the clergy of Nicopolis apologizing for the irritated feeling of the people of Colonia at which they must not take umbrage (Ep. 229 [193]); and to the magistrates of the city, exhorting them to heartily recognise their new bishop, and do all they could to strengthen the feeling in his favour among the people of the rural districts. (Ep. 230 [194].) [E. V.]

EUPHRONIUS (3), bishop of Anemurium in Isauria. He signed the synodical letter of the Isaurian bishops to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 563: Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1017.) [J. de S.]

EUPHRONIUS (4), bishop of Hierapetra, in Crete, A.D. 458; signed in that year the synodical letter of the Cretan church addressed to the emperor Leo. (*Or. Christ.* ii. 267.) [J. de S.]

EUPHRONIUS (5), ST., ninth bishop of Autun, successor of Leontius. Before his elevation to the bishopric he had built the church of St. Symphorian, the martyr of Autun. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 15; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 214.) The date of his consecration is not quite certain, but it was probably not long before A.D. 452. That year was rendered memorable by an eclipse of the moon, a comet, and some portentous signs in the sky, following close upon Easter. With reference to the last, Idatius (*Chronicon*, Migne, Patr. Lat. li. 883) relates that Euphronius, now a bishop, addressed a letter to Count Agrippinus, which has not, however, survived. The following year, in conjunction with St. Lupus of Troyes, he wrote an epistle, which is still extant, to Talasius, bishop of Angers, in answer to questions put to them on the subjects of church ritual, and the discipline of the inferior clergy in the matter of marriage. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 66; cf. Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs sacrés*, x. 357.) The middle years of his episcopate are bare of recorded facts, but we know that he was on intimate terms with Sidonius Apollinaris. (See the two letters expressive of friendship and esteem, lib. vii. *Ep.* 8 and lib. ix. *Ep.* 2, Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 574, 617.) About A.D. 470 he assisted at the consecration of John I. to the see of Châlons, of which a curious account is given by Sidonius. (Sidon. Apoll. *Epist.* iv. 25 in Patr. Lat. lviii. 531.) In 474 or 475, he is said to have been present at the councils of Arles and Lyons, held to condemn the Pelagian views of the priest Lucidus (Mansi, vii. 1007). The name also appears among the signatures to a commina-tory letter of Faustus bishop of Riez to the same Lucidus, the doctrine in which is said to be semi-Pelagian. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (iv. 340) refuse to admit the identity of this heretic subscriber with the bishop, and they are supported by the fact that no see is appended to the signature. (Cf. Tillemont, xvi. 423.)

In the will of St. Perpetuus of Tours (to be found in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 754) there is a legacy of a silver reliquary and a missal to his "consacerdos" Eufronius. This may quite possibly have been the bishop, who had a certain connexion with Tours, since Gregory (*ut supra*) tells us that he sent marble for the top of St. Martin's tomb there. Upon his death, the date of which is unknown, he was succeeded by Flavichonus. He was buried in his own church of St. Symphorian, and is commemorated on Aug. 3. [S. A. B.]

EUPHRONIUS. [Eufronius.]

EUPHROSIUS, bishop of Rhodes, the metropolis of the Cyclades, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 924; Mansi, ii. 695.) [L. D.]

EPHROSYNA (1), Euphrasia, a virgin, of Alexandria, daughter of Paphnutius born in the beginning of the 5th century. She was betrothed by her parents, but in order to escape marriage, fled disguised as a monk to a neighbouring monastery, and describing herself as Smaragdus an eunuch who had escaped from the palace, was received as a monk by the abbat. She was eventually allowed a separate cell, and lived for thirty-eight years without her sex being discovered. Her father in his grief at her loss came to the abbat, who recommended him to take his sorrow to Smaragdus. The father and daughter had a long interview—he known to her, she unknown to him—in which she instructed him in religion, but allowed him to go without betraying herself. In later years, feeling death near, she sent for him, revealed

herself, and died. Her father embraced monastic life in the same monastery, and died there. She is commemorated by the Roman church on Feb. 11, by the Greek on Sept. 25. (Basil. *Menol.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 537; Baillet, *Vie des Saints*, Feb. 11.) [I. G. S.]

EUPHROSYNA (2)—Jan. 1. Martyr at Alexandria. (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi.)

EUPHROSYNA (3)—May 7. A female slave of Flavia Domitilla, with whom she suffered. [G. T. S.]

EUPILIUS (LUPILIUS), bishop of Como (539), came from Utrecht. (*Acta Sanctorum*, Boll. Oct. 11, v. 632; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 513; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 260.) [A. H. D. A.]

EUPITHIUS, bishop of Stratonicia (Hadrianopolis) in Caria, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 411; Mansi, vii. 156.) [L. D.]

EUPLIUS—Aug. 12. Deacon and martyr at Catana in Sicily in the Diocletian persecution. He was one of those who then voluntarily sought martyrdom. His acts, which are, however, very corrupt, tell us that one day he came to the tent of the proconsul and proclaimed outside, "I am a Christian, and for the name of Christ I am willing to die." Upon this he was tortured and beheaded. In Basil's *Menology* he is noted on Aug. 11. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuard.; *Kal.* Frontonis; Surius, Ruinart; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 303, cxlviii.) [G. T. S.]

EUPLUS (1), a member of the Ephesian church, sent by that church to meet IGNATIUS at Smyrna on his way to Rome. (Ignat. *Ep. ad Eph.* 3.) [G. S.]

EUPLUS (2), son of Eusanius bishop of Agrigentum. Eusanius died intestate, and Euplus solicits from pope Gregory the Great that both his father's property and his mother's jointure may be made over to him. Gregory writes to Maximianus bishop of Syracuse, enjoining compliance with this request. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. iv. ind. xii. ep. 37; Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 711.) [C. H.]

EUPNIUS, a magistrate addressed by Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who pleaded for justice to be done to the bearer of his letter. (Firm. Caes. ep. 40 in Pat. Gr. lxxvii. 1510.) [T. W. D.]

EUPORUS (1)—Dec. 23. Martyr in Crete during the Decian persecution, with Evarestus, Eunicianus and seven others. The magistrate handed him to the populace, who tortured him for thirty days and then beheaded him. (Bas. *Men.*) [G. T. S.]

EUPORUS (2), bishop of Hypaepa in the province of Asia, on the road between Ephesus and Sardis, present at the council of Ephesus A.D. 431. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 695; Mansi, *Concil.* iv. 1216.) [L. D.]

EUPRAXIA—July 25. Daughter of a senator, Antigonus, and cousin of the emperor Theodosius, A.D. 390. Having been espoused to a senator, he died before they were married, whereupon she retired with her mother into a monastery at Thebes in Egypt, where she died. (Bas. *Men.*) [G. T. S.]

EUPRAXIUS (1), a slave of Gregory Nazianzen, brother of Theophilus, manumitted in his will, and bequeathed a legacy of five gold pieces. (Greg. Naz. *Testam.*) [E. V.]

EUPRAXIUS (2), a disciple and intimate friend of Eusebius of Samosata. While Eusebius was in exile in Thrace, A.D. 374, a letter was carried to him by Eupraxius congratulating him on his good confession, and written either by Basil or Gregory Nazianzen, Tillemont inclining to think to the latter (*Mém. Eccl.* ix. 230). (Basil, *Ep.* 166 [251]; Greg. Naz. ep. 65 al. 30.) [E. V.]

EUPREPIA, servant of Afra of Augsburg, martyr with her fellow servants Digna and Eumenia; commemorated Aug. 12 (Bas. *Men.*; *Mart.* Usuard., Adon.; Boll. *Acta SS.* 12 Aug. ii. 58). Her name is sometimes written Eutropia (cf. Ceillier, iii. 30). [EUMENIA.] [C. H.]

EUPREPIA, A.D. 587, the sister of Ennodius bishop of Pavia. Among the 297 letters of Ennodius we have several addressed to Euprepia, and one which is probably from her (Ennod. *Epp.* lib. iv. 4). She lived in the Gallic province of Narbonne or Arles, and seems at one time to have contemplated changing her abode. In one of the letters Ennodius sends her one of his poems, an epitaph on the wife of his friend and correspondent Faustus. He gives her advice and admonition, and frequently makes mention of her son Lupicinus. He alludes to her in other letters. [F. A.]

EUPREPIUS (1), first recorded bishop of Verona, imagined to have been one of the Seventy, and to have sat A.D. 60–72; commemorated Aug. 21. St. Cricinus follows him. Other bishops of Verona bearing this name in the list of Gams are not recognised by Ughelli. (Ug. *Ital. Sac.* v. 677; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 400; *Mart. Rom.* Aug. 1.) [C. H.]

EUPREPIUS (2)—Oct. 17 and Sept. 27. Martyr under Lysias at Aegae in Cilicia with Anthimus and Leontius, his brothers. They were three physicians, of the class known as ἀνάργυροι, practising without fee, after the example of Cosmas and Damianus, with whom they suffered. [COSMAS (1) and DAMIANUS (8).] (*Mart.* Usuardi, Sept. 27; Bas. *Men.* Oct. 17; *Menaea Gr.* Oct. 17, ed. Constantin. 1843, Oct. p. 123; Ferrarius, *Catal. Gen. Sanct.* 407.) It would seem to have been in his honour that the monastery to which Nestorius is said to have wished to retire after his deposition was erected. It was situated in the suburbs of Antioch. Nestorius had been a monk there. (Evagrius, *H. E.* i. 7; Marius Mercator. pt. ii. praef. Garner. in Migne, *Patrol.* xlviii. 702.) [T. W. D.]

EUPREPIUS (3) (EUTROPIUS), bishop of Adrianopolis in Thrace, deposed by the Eusebian council of Constantinople, A.D. 336, according to the Libellus Synodicus of the council (Mansi, ii. 1170); but as Pagi (ann. 336. vi. in Baron.) points out, Athanasius names this bishop Eutropius, mentioning him in terms of high praise, both for his orthodoxy and the fortitude with

which he endured the trials of persecution and exile. (Athanas. *Epist. de Fuq.* § 3, in Pat. Gr. xxv. 648; Id. *Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* § 5, *ib.* 699.) [T. W. D.]

EUPREPIUS (4), bishop of Bizya in Thrace; one of the sixty-eight bishops who demanded that the opening of the council of Ephesus should be postponed until the arrival of John of Antioch. He signed on this occasion also for Fritilas bishop of Heraclea (*Synod. adv. Tragoed.* cap. 7, in Theodoret. *Opp.* t. v. in Pat. Gr. lxxxiv. 591). He nevertheless attended the council when it opened, signed the sentence against Nestorius and the "decretum de fide" (Mansi, iv. 1225 c, 1364 e). But Euprepius is chiefly of interest from the memorial termed "supplex libellus," which he and Cyril bishop of Coele in the same province jointly addressed to the fathers of the council (*ibid.* 1478). In this document they stated that by an ancient custom in the European provinces a bishop sometimes had one or more bishoprics besides his own under his charge; that Euprepius was at that time administering the see of Arcadiopolis in addition to that of Bizya, while Cyril was acting similarly. The council was requested to rule that this custom might not be disturbed, and that Fritilas bishop of Heraclea might be forbidden to appoint bishops in those cities of Thrace which were then without bishops of their own. The prayer was granted, and it was decreed that the custom of the cities in question should be respected. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1136, 1145.) [E. V.]

EUPREPIUS (5), one of the monks under Eutyches at Constantinople who addressed the Latrocinium of Ephesus in 449 against their bishop Flavianus. (Mansi, vi. 862.) [T. W. D.]

EUPREPIUS (6), bishop of Cyzicus, the metropolis of the Hellespontine province, succeeded Eusebius, who was killed by the citizens. John bishop of Ilium signed the decrees of the fifth general council, A.D. 553, in behalf of Euprepius his metropolitan. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 754; Mansi, ix. 389.) [L. D.]

EUPREPIUS (7), confessor in the reign of Constans II. He and his brother Theodorus, sons of Plutinus who held a lucrative public post at Constantinople, were zealous maintainers of the Catholic opinions against the Monothelites, being disciples of Anastasius the presbyter and apocrisiarius of the Roman church, and the warm supporter of St. Maximus. Anastasius was banished to Trapezus, and the brothers refusing like him to accept the Typus [CONSTANTINUS IV.] endeavoured to effect their escape to Rome, but were seized at Abydos and sent into exile to Cherson, where Euprepius sank under his hardships on Oct. 26 in the fourteenth indiction (*i.e.* A.D. 671). They are mentioned in the *Hypomnesticon de Gestis S. Maximi.* (Anastas. Biblioth. *Collectanea*, in Patr. Lat. cxxix. 684.) See also Boll. *Acta SS.* 13 Aug. iii. 114. [T. W. D.]

EUPROBUS (EUTROPIUS), April 30. Bishop and martyr at Saintes, whither he had been sent to preach the gospel. He died in the 3rd century. Palladius, bishop of the same see, built a church in his honour in the 6th century, the consecration of which is described by Gregory of Tours. (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi; Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Mart.* cap. 56.) [G. T. S.]

EUPSYCHIUS (1), martyr, who suffered in the reign of Hadrian. He was discharged after his first arrest, when he gave away all his possessions to the poor, and to those who had informed against him before the magistrates. He afterwards suffered excruciating tortures, his sides being torn with iron hooks before he was dispatched with the sword. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. 7.) [H. R. R.]

EUPSYCHIUS (2) (EUTYCHIUS), saint and martyr, first bishop of Melitene, the metropolis of the second Armenia. In the Menaea he is commemorated on May 28th (*AA. SS. Bolland.* Mai. vi. 734), and is said to have learned Christianity from the apostles, but his martyrdom is generally referred to the time of the emperor Gordian III., c. A.D. 238. Le Quien (*Oriens Christ.* i. 439) identifies him with the martyr of Basil's epistles [EUPSYCHIUS (6)]. [L. D.]

EUPSYCHIUS (3), martyr. [NICOMEDIA, MARTYRS OF.]

EUPSYCHIUS (4), bishop of Tyana (Eusebia, Christopolis), metropolis of the second Cappadocia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325, and a speaker in the council; his name was recorded first on the diptychs of that church, as we learn from the speech of EUPHRATAS at the fifth council. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 395; Mansi, ii. 694.) He is no doubt the Cappadocian bishop mentioned with twenty-seven others as a type and standard of orthodoxy by Athanasius, A.D. 356, in his letter to the bishops of Egypt and Libya. (Athanas. *Opp.* pars 1, p. 220, § 8 in Patr. Graec. xxv. 557.) [L. D.]

EUPSYCHIUS (5), whose name appears in the Roman Calendar, and whose martyrdom is celebrated on April 9 (Boll. *Acta SS.* April 9, i. 822), suffered from the rashness which induced him in the brief reign of Julian to assist in the demolition of a temple to Fortune, which had remained undisturbed in the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia. "All the actors in this transaction were condemned, some to death and others to banishment" (Sozomen, *H. E.* v. 11). Caesarea was struck from the roll of cities and the order was issued that henceforth it should bear its earlier name *Masaca.* Among the objects of the emperor's special indignation were Damas and Eupsychius. The latter was a notary who had recently married. He was made a special example of, and after cruel torment beheaded. Julian gave orders that the temple should be rebuilt, the order was never obeyed, on the contrary a church was erected on the spot, dedicated to the memory of Eupsychius. To the festival of the dedication of this church Basil summoned the bishops of Pontus, by a letter which is still extant. (Bas. *Opp.* Paris ed. *Ep.* cclii.) Moreover, we find Basil eagerly entreating Eusebius of Samosata to be present at the festival of Eupsychius Sept. 7, in the year 372. (Bas. *Ep.* c.; Gregor. Naz. *Opp. Epp.* xxvi. xxvii.; Ceillier, vol. v. p. 252.) [H. R. R.]

EUPSYCHIUS (6), a person deputed by Tranquillinus, a bishop, to convey tidings to Chrysostom at Cucusus concerning his health and other matters, but who failed to fulfil his commission. (Chrysost. *Epist.* 37.) [E. V.]

EUPSYCHIUS (7), circ. 423, addressed by Atticus, archbishop of Constantinople, in a letter arguing for the union of two natures in Jesus Christ, each keeping its own essence. A fragment of the letter is cited in the third part of the Acts of the council of Chalcedon, among testimonies of the fathers establishing the two natures. (Mansi, vii. 471; Ceillier, viii. 15). [W. M. S.]

EUPSYCHIUS (8), bearer, about 449, of a letter from pope Leo the Great to Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople (Leo Mag. Epist. xxxix.; Patr. Lat. liv. 889; Ceillier, x. 214.) [W. M. S.]

EUREDUS (Eusendus), bishop of Lerida; signs the acts of the thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth councils of Toledo, A.D. 683, 688, and 693. He is the last bishop of the Gothic period. (*Esp. Sagr.* xlvi. 108; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 287, 304, 313.) [M. A. W.]

EURESIUS, a bishop of the civil diocese of Asia denounced as a heretic by an edict of the emperor Arcadius, addressed to Aurelian the proconsul, Sept. 3, A.D. 395 (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. v. 28). The edict extends the definition of heresy so as to include all who "vel levi argumento a judicio Catholicae religionis et tramite detecti fuerint deviare" (*Cod. Justin.* I. v. 2, § 1); and it was under that definition that Euresius was charged with heresy, and forbidden to be regarded as "of the number of the most holy bishops." Baronius, quoting the edict, marks Euresius with an asterisk, to indicate that the name is suspicious (*Ann. Eccles.* s. a. 395). Gothofred identifies him with the Luciferian bishop Ephesius who is mentioned in the "libellus" presented by Faustinus and Marcellinus to the emperors Valentinianus II., Theodosius, and Arcadius, *c.* A.D. 386 (Pat. L. xiii. 99), as having been cruelly persecuted by Damasus bishop of Rome, A.D. 366–384; and Pagi accepts the identification (*Critic.* s. a. 395, v. vi.). It would appear that after his persecution in the West, Euresius fled to the East, and that after Theodosius issued the rescript addressed to Cynegius (ob. 388, Zosim. iv. 45) granting toleration to the Luciferians (Pat. L. *u. s.* 107) he peacefully exercised the episcopate until Arcadius published this edict. [Ephesius; Faustinus.] [T. W. D.]

EURFYL (Ervul), ST., a Welsh saint of the 7th century after whom Llaneurfyl (Llanerfyl, Llanervul) in Montgomeryshire is named; commemorated on July 6 (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 307). [C. W. B.]

EURGAIN (Eugain, Eurgein), the foundress of Llaneurgain or Northop, Flintshire, and wife of Elidr Mwynvawr (the courteous), a Lancashire chieftain, is given in the *Pedigree of the Saints* as daughter of Maelgwn Gwynedd, son of Cadwallawn Llawhir, son of Einion Yrth, son of Cunedda Wledig, and Rees places her among the Welsh saints of the middle of the 6th century. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 7, 25, 40; Prof. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, iii. 261, 535; Rev. W. J. Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 593, 597.) [J. G.]

EURIC (1) (Evarich, Evorich, Euthorik, Evarix), king of the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse from 466 to 484, and from 477 onwards master of almost the whole of Spain. Under him the Visigoth power reached its highest point. In the reign of his successor it was curtailed by the Franks, while in that of his father, Theodoric or Theodored I. (d. 451), and his brothers, Thorismund and Theodoric II., the country occupied by the Goths had still been reckoned as an integral part of the empire ("auxiliamini reipublicae," says Aetius to the Goths before the battle of Chalons, "cujus membrum tenetis," Jord. c. 36), while the Gothic state had found it necessary to submit again and again to the foedus with Rome. But under Euric it took a fresh departure. "Euric, therefore, king of the Visigoths," says Jord. c. 45, "seeing the frequent changes of the Roman princes" (and the weakness of the Roman kingdom, "Romani regni vacillationem," as he says in c. 46), "attempted to occupy the Gauls in his own right, *suo jure*." And again, "totas Hispanias Galliasque sibi jam proprio jure tenens." Thus the pretence of the foedus was finally set aside, and in the interval between the fall of the Western Empire and the rise of the Ostrogoths and Franks, Euric appears as the most powerful sovereign of the West (Dahn, v. 100).

The facts of his reign are briefly these. In 466, the year of his accession, Euric sent legates to the Eastern emperor Leo, perhaps with a last thought of renewing the foedus. The negotiations, however, came to nothing, and in 467 the Goths and Vandals made a defensive league against Leo, Anthemius and Rikimir, who were about to attack Genseric. Beside his Vandalic auxiliaries in Gaul Euric also had the support of a certain party among the provincials themselves, as is shewn by the evidence given at the trial of Arvandus, prefect of the Gauls, for treasonable correspondence with the Goths (Sidon. Apoll. i. 7), and in 468 he attacked the new made Western emperor Anthemius simultaneously in Gaul and Spain. In Spain the Gothic army took Merida and Lisbon from the Suevi, while in Gaul, the Bretons under Riothimir, the faithful allies of Rome, were defeated at Déols, on the Indre, and Bourges was captured (470 ?). Between 472 and 474 the state of affairs at Rome prevented any help being sent to the Burgundian and Breton allies, and all over the country south of the Loire, the enfeebled Roman garrisons were no longer able to make any resistance to the Gothic attacks. By 474 the Gothic dominion in Gaul would have extended from the Atlantic to the Rhone and Mediterranean, and from the Pyrenees to the Loire, but for one obstacle—the vigorous defence of Auvergne by Ecdicius, son of the emperor Avitus, and the famous bishop of Clermont, Sidonius Apollinaris (Sid. Apoll. vii. 1). The history of this dramatic struggle, preserved for us in the letters of Sidonius, throws valuable light on the whole state of politics in the 5th century. It is the last desperate effort of the provincial nobility to avoid barbarian masters, and it is a fight, too, of Catholicism against Arianism. But it was an unsuccessful struggle. After besieging Clermont in 474, Euric withdrew into winter quarters, while Sidonius and Ecdicius, in the midst of a devastated country, organized fresh resistance. But with the spring diplomacy intervened. Glycerius, fearful for Italy, and hoping to purchase a renewal of the foedus, had in 473 formally ceded the country to Euric, a compact rejected by Ecdicius

and Sidonius, and now Nepos, for the same reasons, sent legates to Euric, amongst them the famous Epiphanius of Pavia (Ennod. *Vita S. Epiph. AA. SS.* Jan. ii. p. 369), to treat for peace. Euric persisted in the demand for Auvergne, and accordingly, in return for a renewal of the foedus ("fidelibus animis foederabuntur," Sid. Apoll. ix. 5), Ecdicius and Sidonius were ordered to submit, and the district was given over to the revenge of the Goths. Ecdicius fled to the Burgundians, while Sidonius (see *Ep.* vii. 7, for his invectives against the peace—"Pudeat vos hujus foederis, nec utilis nec decori!"), after having in vain attempted to make favourable terms for the Catholics with Euric, was banished to Livia, near Narbonne (Sid. Apoll. viii. 3). By the influence, however, of Euric's minister, Leo, he was set at liberty after a year's imprisonment, and appeared at the Gothic court at Bordeaux, where, during a stay of two months, he succeeded in obtaining only one audience of the king, so great was the crowd of ambassadors, and the pressure of important business waiting for the decision of Euric and his minister. In *Epp.* viii. 9, Sidonius has left us a brilliant picture of the Gothic king, surrounded by barbarian envoys, Roman legates, and even Persian ambassadors. It is little to be wondered at, he says, that his own business was passed by—

> "Nec multum domino vacat vel ipsi,
> Dum responsa petit subactus orbis."

The Gothic territory in Gaul was now bounded by the Loire, the Rhone, and the two seas, while in Spain a great many towns—which, is not quite clear—were already held by Gothic garrisons. From these starting-points Euric's troops easily overran the whole country when the time for the next great forward step arrived. In 475 came the fall of Nepos and Augustulus, and the suspension of the empire of the West. The news stirred all the barbarian races in Gaul and Spain into uneasy movement. Euric, with an Ostrogothic reinforcement under Widimer, crossed the Pyrenees in 477, took Pampelona and Saragossa, and annihilated the resistance of the Roman nobility in Tarraconensis. By 478 the whole peninsula had fallen to the Goths with the exception of a mountainous strip in the north-west, relinquished probably by treaty to the Suevi. Since 461 no Roman army had been available for the protection of Spain, while sometimes, as the allies of Rome and under the shelter of the foedus, sometimes as the enemies both of Rome and the Suevi, the Goths had gradually possessed themselves of numerous important points. Their conquest of the peninsula was now complete, and thus, says Dahn, "a place of refuge was provided for the Goths . . . . destined in the following generation to fall back before the young and all-subduing power of the Franks, called to a greater work than they" (*Könige der Germanen*, v. 98). Fresh successes in Gaul followed close upon the Spanish campaign. Arles was taken, 480, Marseilles, 481, and ultimately the whole of Provence up to the Maritime Alps (Proc. b. G. i. 1, quoted by Dahn, *l. c.*). Resistance on the part of the provincials was impossible, and the exiled Nepos, indeed, seems to have formally surrendered almost the whole of southern Roman Gaul to Euric. Euric was now sovereign from the Loire to the Straits of Gibraltar, and appears also as the protector of the neighbouring barbarian races against the encroaching Franks (*Cass. Var.* iii. 3), taking the same position towards them as Theodoric the Great took later in the reign of Euric's son Alaric, Theodoric's son-in-law. Euric survived the accession of Chlodwig three years, dying before September, 485.

Euric's Personal Character, and his Persecutions of the Catholics.—That Euric was a ruler of commanding gifts and personality cannot be doubted. Even his bitterest enemy, Sidonius, speaks of his courage and capacity in terms of unwilling admiration. "Pre-eminent in war, of fiery courage and vigorous youth," says Sidonius ("armis potens, acer animis, alacer annis," *Ep.* vii. 6), "he makes but one mistake—that of supposing that his successes are due to the correctness of his religion, when he owes them rather to a stroke of earthly good fortune." He was much interested in religious matters, and was a passionate Arian, not merely apparently from political motives, though his persecution of the Catholic bishops was dictated by sufficient political reasons. The letter of Sidonius quoted above throws great light upon Euric's relation to the Catholic church, and upon the state of the church under his government. "It must be confessed," he says, "that although this king of the Goths is terrible because of his power, I fear his attacks upon the Christian laws more than I dread his blows for the Roman walls. The mere name of Catholic, they say, curdles his countenance and heart like vinegar, so that you might almost doubt whether he was more the king of his people or of his sect. Lose no time," he adds, addressing his correspondent Basilius, bishop of Aix, "in ascertaining the hidden weakness of the Catholic state, that you may be able to apply prompt and public remedy. Bordeaux, Périgueux, Rodez, Limoges, Gabale, Eause, Bazas, Comminges, Auch, and many other towns, where death has cut off the bishops ("summis sacerdotibus ipsorum morte truncatis," a passage misunderstood later by Gregory of Tours, who speaks of the execution of bishops, *Hist. Franc.* ii. 25), and no new bishops have been appointed in their places . . . . mark the wide boundary of spiritual ruin. The evil grows every day with the successive deaths of the bishops, and the heretics, both of the present and the past, might be moved by the suffering of congregations deprived of their bishops, and in despair for their lost faith." The churches were crumbling, and thorns filled up the open doorways; cattle browsed in the porches and on the grass round the altar. Even in the town churches services were rare, and not only clerical discipline, but the very memory of it seemed about to perish. "For when a priest dies, and no episcopal benediction gives him a successor in that church, not only the priest but the priest's office dies" ("sacerdotium moritur, non sacerdos"). Not only are there vacancies caused by death: he gives the names of two bishops, Crocus and Simplicius, who have been deposed and exiled by Euric. Finally, he implores the aid of Basilius, the position of whose bishopric made him diplomatically important ("per vos mala foederum currunt, per vos regni utriusque pacta conditionesque portantur") towards obtaining for the Catholics from the Gothic govern-

ment, at least the right of ordaining bishops, that "so we may keep our hold upon the people of the Gauls, if not *ex foedere*, at least *ex fide*."

Gregory of Tours in the following century echoed and exaggerated the account of Sidonius, and all succeeding Catholic writers have accused Euric of the same intolerant persecution of the church. It is, however, certain that the persecution must be looked upon as to a great extent political. The Catholic bishops and the provincial nobility were the natural leaders of the Romanized populations. The ecclesiastical organization made the bishops especially formidable. (See Dahn's remarks on the Vandal king Huneric's persecutions, *Könige der Germanen*, i. 250.) Their intrigues and their opposition threatened the work of Euric's life, and did, in fact, backed by the arms of the orthodox Franks, destroy it in the reign of his successor. But whether the persecution was more religious or more political, it has a special interest as one of the earliest instances of that oppression in the name of religion, of which the later history of the Goths and of the Spain they conquered, is everywhere full (Dahn, v. 101).

It is certain, however, that Euric by no means oppressed the Romans as such. His minister Leo was of an illustrious Roman family (Sid. Apoll. viii. 3), and so also was the count Victorius, to whom was entrusted the government of Auvergne after its surrender (Sid. Apoll. vii. 17; Greg. Tur. ii. 35). It was probably by Leo's help that Euric drew up the code of laws of which Isidore and others speak. "Sub hoc rege Gothi legum statuta in scriptis habere coeperunt. Nam antea tantum moribus et consuetudine tenebantur." (*Hist. Goth. apud Esp. Sagr.* vi. 486.) Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, *Vte Abth.* p. 88–101. See list of sources and literature prefixed. For the ultra-Catholic view of the persecution, Gams's *Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, ii. 1, 484.

[M. A. W.]

EURIC (2) (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr. Epit.* cap. 83), king of Gallicia. [EBURIC.] [C. H.]

EURIELA, Breton saint of the 7th cent., daughter of king Hoel III. (otherwise called Judicael) and sister of St. Josse. Lobineau mentions a parish church dedicated to her in the diocese of Dol, not far from Dinan. She was commemorated on Oct. 1. (Lobineau, *Saints de Bretagne*, vol. ii. p. 117, ed. 1836; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. 1, 198.) [C. H.]

EUROLDUS (CUROLDUS, CONRADUS) is given as twenty-fourth bishop of Besançon, between Wandelbertus and Auruleus, about the middle of the eighth century. He is said to have died in the twelfth year of his episcopate (*Gall. Christ.* xv. 19). [S. A. B.]

EUROSIA, virgin martyr at Jacca, a town in Spain by the river Aragon, under the Saracens in the 8th century; commemorated June 25. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. v. 88.) [C. H.]

EURVYL. [EURFYL.]

EURYN was one of the sons of Helig Foel, who was descended from Caradog Fraichfras, and chieftain of a district which was overflowed, and is now known as the Lafan Sands in Beaumaris Bay, Carnarvonshire. Like his father and brothers, he is included among the saints, but has no feast or church dedication (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 103, 298, 301–2; Williams, *Emin. Welsh*, 148). [J. G.]

EUSANIUS (1), martyr under Maximinian in the Samnite town of Furconium, near Aquila; commemorated July 9. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 601.) [C. H.]

EUSANIUS (2), bishop of Agrigentum. His son Euplus in 594 is to receive a fair share of the goods which belonged to Eusanius before he became bishop: so directs Gregory the Great (lib. iv. indict. xii. *Ep.* 37, Migne, lxxvii. 711; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* p. 109). [A. H. D. A.]

EUSEBIA (1), empress, second wife of Constantius II. We learn from Julian that she was born at Thessalonica, and was the daughter of a consul. (*Or.* iii. §§ 107, 109.) She had two brothers, Ensebius and Hypatius, consulars. (Amm. xxi. 6. 4.) Her marriage with the emperor took place apparently in 352 or 353. (Tillemont, *Emp.* iv. 26.) His affection for her is shewn by the fact that he called a new province of the empire, comprising Bithynia, &c., after her name. (Amm. xvii. 7. 6.) In 354 she was instrumental in saving the life of Julian, whose firm friend she continued to be, and whose panegyric on her is still preserved, being numbered as his third oration. (Cf. esp. §§ 118, 121 and *Ad Ath.* § 273.) It was greatly owing to her influence that he received the title of Caesar in 355, and also the hand of Helena. (Zosim. iii. 1.; Jul. *Ad Ath.* § 274 A; Trübner ed.) In 356, during her husband's expedition across the Rhine, she paid a visit to Rome, where she was received with great honour. (Jul. *Or.* iii. § 129 C.) In the following year apparently she persuaded Constantius to make Julian governor of the nations beyond the Alps. (Zosim. iii. 1.) Her death is only alluded to incidentally. (Amm. xxi. 6. 4.) She never had any children, and one serious charge is brought against her by Ammianus (xvi. 10. 18), namely, that through jealousy she several times induced Helena the wife of Julian to take drugs, which produced abortion. With the exception of this, all authorities speak of her with high praise. Julian of course lavishes upon her the most fulsome compliments, but besides that, Zosimus (l. c.) speaks of her as highly educated and endowed with discernment extraordinary for her sex, and Ammianus (xxi. 6, 4) describes her as excelling in the accomplishment of her mind and in beauty of person.

It is possible that St. Chrysostom alludes to her (*In Epist. ad Phil. Hom.* xv.) where he speaks of an empress whose death was the result of unlawful efforts to procure by drugs the fruitfulness which God had seen fit to withhold from her. Of her attitude towards the church we have not much information. Theodoret (*H. E* ii. 16. 28) states that Liberius in exile rejected her presents, as he did those of the emperor, from which we should gather that she belonged to the Arian party, and this is probable on other grounds. Suidas (sub nom. Leontius) relates a story of Leontius bishop of Tripolis in Lydia failing to pay her the adulation which the other bishops displayed, and her anger on account of it. Leontius is called an Arian by

Philostorgius. Baronius appears to go beyond the authorities when he speaks of her as the instigator of all her husband's attacks upon the Catholic faith. (Baron. *A. E.* an. 356 cxxvi.) [M. F. A.]

EUSEBIA (2), pretended virgin of the Manichaeans, mentioned by Augustine (*De Haeres.* cap. 46). [C. H.]

EUSEBIA (3), a deaconess of the Macedonian sect at Constantinople. She was an intimate friend of Caesarius, who built a church in that city in honour of St. Thyrsus. [CAESARIUS (6).] Eusebia had a house and grounds in the suburbs of the city, where she had concealed relics of the forty martyrs who suffered at Sebaste. When on her death-bed, she charged the Macedonian monks of Constantinople to bury her remains where the relics were deposited, but to keep the fact of their concealment there a secret. They fulfilled both her requests, and built a subterranean oratory around the relics and her remains, and a dwelling house over them (Sozomen, *u. s.*). Caesarius and his wife agreed that whichever of them died first should bury the other by the side of Eusebia, and he therefore purchased the property for that purpose. His wife died first, and was buried there accordingly. It was on that property that Caesarius built his church, but not until after the buildings erected by the monks had fallen into ruins.

In the meanwhile the monks had left Constantinople, probably after the edicts of A.D. 423 directed against the Macedonians (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 59, 60 = 13), but without communicating the secret about the relics to any one. Not long after the erection of the church, however, they were discovered by means of Polychronius, a presbyter of the city, who, when a youth, had witnessed the burial of Eusebia. He succeeded in tracing the only survivor of the monks, who was in possession of the secret, and through him it was revealed. The relics having thus been found, they were placed in a splendid reliquary, which had been prepared for them by the empress Pulcheria, and carried in a grand procession into the church of St. Thyrsus (Sozomen, *u. s.*). Sozomen tells us that he was present on the occasion. Baronius relates the story under A.D. 538. [T. W. D.]

EUSEBIA (4), virgin at Mylasa, in the 5th century. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 24 Jan. ii. 600.) [EPHRAIM (5).] [C. H.]

EUSEBIA (5), mother of Theodoric the Great. [ERELIEVA.]

EUSEBIA (6), "Patricia," addressed by Gregory the Great in 603. (Lib. xiii. indict. vi. *Epist.* 32. Migne, lxxvii. 1282.) From this letter it appears that her mind was either so engrossed in riches, or perhaps so occupied by the tumultuous disorders of the imperial city (regiae civitatis) that she could not write to Gregory. He counsels her to turn her thoughts rather towards things spiritual; he prays that she may in this world pass a tranquil life with her most noble husband, and rejoice in the welfare of the lord Strategius, until at some distant day she reaches her eternal reward. Gussanvilla, in his notes on this letter, can hardly be wrong in concluding that she is the Eusebia, daughter of Rusticiana Patricia, mentioned in a letter of Gregory in 598, where Strategius is also named, he being probably Eusebia's son (lib. viii. ind. i. ep. 22). Rusticiana had once resided at Rome, but had removed to Constantinople. [C. H.]

EUSEBIA (7), abbess, was the daugnter of noble parents, Adalbrand and St. Rictrude, but was brought up by her grandmother, St. Gertrude, abbess of Hamáy or Hamaige (Hamatichense), on whose death in 649 Eusebia was chosen as her successor. As, however, she was only twelve years old, her mother, who was abbess of Marchiennes, on the Scarpe, between Flanders and Hainault, desired her to come and learn to obey before she tried to command others. Eusebia objected, but was obliged to obey an order which her mother obtained from Clovis II., and she came to Marchiennes (Marciana), accompanied by all her nuns. She bore ill her subjection to St. Gertrude, and would often cross secretly at night to Hamay, chant the offices there, and return next day to Marchiennes. Chastised and even seriously injured by her mother, she still remained firm, and she was at length allowed to take back her nuns to Hamay, of which convent she then became abbess, at the age of thirteen. Here she showed extraordinary wisdom and power of command, and died at the age of twenty-three, about A.D. 660. She is commemorated on March 16. (*Acta SS.* Mar. ii. 452; Migne, Patrol. Lat. 149, 133; Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Mar. 16.) [I. G. S.]

EUSEBIANI, followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia. [EUSEBIUS (60).]

INDEX TO EUSEBIUS.

	PAGE
Pope	303
Bishops without see or country mentioned	305
Bishops arranged in alphabetical order of their sees or countries	307
Priests	375
Deacons and Reader	377
Martyrs	377
Monks	378
Lay Dignitaries	378
Miscellaneous	379

EUSEBIUS (1), succeeded Marcellus as bishop of Rome A.D. 309 or 310. He was banished to Sicily by Maxentius, where he died after a pontificate of four months (from April 18 to August 17). His body was brought back to Rome, and buried in the cemetery of Callistus on the Appian Way. The days of the month assigned above to his accession and death are those given in our oldest and most trustworthy authority, the Liberian catalogue (A.D. 354), which however in this case slightly contradicts itself in giving 4 months and 16 days as the duration of his episcopate. It contains no intimation of the year, nor any facts. The Liberian *Depositio Episcoporum* gives Sept. 26 as the date of his burial, the interval between which day and that of his death being easily accounted for by his having died in Sicily and been buried at Rome. Later authorities vary much as to the date and duration of his reign, the Felician catalogue (A.D. 530) giving the latter as 7 years, 1 month, 3 days, the chronicle of Eusebius (*ad ann.* 1. Galer.) as 7 months. The Felician catalogue describes him as a Greek by birth and the son of a phy-

sician, and speaks of the Invention of the Cross during his episcopate, of the baptism by him of Judas Quiriacus, and of his interment in the cemetery of Callistus. Judas Quiriacus, otherwise Judas Cyriacus, was said to have been the finder of the Cross of our Lord, whence his name (Platina, *de Vit. Pontif.* art. Eusebius, p. 41). But the authentic accounts of the finding of the supposed true cross by Helena place the event much later than Eusebius, and hence the stories connecting him with it are given up both by the Bollandists and Baronius. Hardly anything indeed was known with any certainty about this bishop till the recent discoveries of De Rossi in the catacombs threw a new light on this page of papal history. It has been already stated that he was known to have been buried in the cemetery of Callistus on the Appian Way, the fact resting on the authority of the Liberian *Deposit. Episc.*, as well as on that of the Felician catalogue, whereas his two immediate predecessors, Marcellinus and Marcellus, were spoken of as interred elsewhere, in the cemetery of Priscilla. But ancient itineraries, written by persons who had visited these tombs, while still open to view, described his resting-place as not being the papal crypt in the cemetery of Callistus, where all the popes (with the two exceptions named) since Pontianus had been laid, but a separate one at some distance from it. Accordingly, De Rossi sought for this crypt, and found it, and therein discovered, in the years 1852 and 1856, fragments of the inscription placed by pope Damasus over the grave. This inscription was indeed previously known by means of copies taken and preserved before the closing of the catacombs. But it was uncertain whether it referred to Eusebius the pope or to some other Eusebius. Baronius, who quotes it, takes it as referring to the priest Eusebius who suffered in the time of the emperor Constantius in connexion with the recall of pope Liberius. Tillemont, and the Bollandists, on the other hand, refer it to the pope. All doubt as to the correctness of the latter view has now been set at rest by the discovery, in the crypt referred to, not only of some forty-six fragments of a slab bearing a copy of the original inscription, but some also of the original slab, identified as such by the well-known peculiar characters of the Damasine inscriptions. The inscription is as follows:—

"Damasus Episcopus feci.
Heraclius vetuit lapsos peccata dolere
Eusebius miseros docuit sua crimina flere
Scinditur in partes populus gliscente furore
Seditio caedes bellum discordia lites
Extemplo pariter pulsi feritate tyranni
Integra cum rector servaret foedera pacis
Pertulit exilium domino sub judice laetus
Litore Trinacrio mundum vitamque reliquit.
Eusebio Episcopo et martyri."

On each side of the verses a single file of letters records the name of the engraver of this as well as of all the other Damasine inscriptions, thus:—"Furius Dionysius Filocalus scribsit Damasis pappae cultor atque amator." We thus have revealed to us a state of things at Rome of which no other record has been preserved. It would seem that, on the cessation of the Diocletian persecution, the church there was rent into two parties on the subject of the terms of readmission of the lapsed to communion: that one Heraclius headed a party who were for readmission without requirement of the penitential discipline insisted on by Eusebius; that the consequent tumults, accompanied by bloodshed, were such that "the tyrant" Maxentius interposed, and banished the leaders of both factions; and that Eusebius, having died during his exile in Sicily, thus obtained the name of martyr.

It appears further, from the similar Damasine inscription on Marcellus, that the contest had begun at the time of his accession, before the episcopate of Eusebius, and that in his time also the heathen civil power had interposed, banishing Marcellus who, as well as his successor, had required penance from the *lapsi*, and so caused tumults and sanguinary conflicts. [MARCELLUS.] It is possible that the person referred to by the word "alterius" in the inscription on Marcellus in the lines,

"Crimen ob alterius Christum qui in pace negavit
Finibus expulsus patriae est feritate tyranni,"

was the same Heraclius who opposed Eusebius. The way in which his name occurs in the inscription on Eusebius suggests the idea that he may have been elected as an antipope by his party. This view is taken by Lipsius (*Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe*). However that might be, the whole ground of dispute was essentially the same as what had led to the first election of an antipope, viz. Novatian, after the Decian persecution, some fifty years before; but with these differences; that on the earlier occasion the question was whether the *lapsi* were to be readmitted to communion at all or not, the schismatics being on the side of severity; on the later occasion the question was only about the conditions of their readmission, the dissentients being on the side of laxity. In both instances the church of Rome, as represented by her lawful bishops, seems to have held a consistent and judicious course, however disgraceful to the Christian community the scandals that accompanied the later contest.

There are three spurious decretal epistles attributed to Eusebius; one to the bishops of Campania and Tuscia, referring to the Invention of the Cross, and ordering the celebration of a festival in its honour; containing also a long lecture on the authority of St. Peter, and directions as to the reconciliation of properly baptized heretics by the imposition of hands of bishops. Two others, addressed to the bishops of Gaul and of Egypt, relate mainly to accusations brought against bishops and clergy, the object being to afford them protection and immunity.

There are also four decretals attributed to him, allowing betrothed girls to enter monasteries, ordering the Eucharist to be consecrated on white linen only, enjoining the observance of fasts, and regulating the banquets of bishops. None of these documents have any claim to authenticity. There is however a decree of his which Benedict XIV., while allowing the probable spuriousness of the rest, refers to as quoted by Ivo of Chartres, and as genuine, the subject being Extreme Unction (Benedict XIV. *de Servorum Dei Beatificatione*, iii. 32. 31). Martene also (*de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, c. 7, art. 2) refers to this decree as preserved by Ivo, adducing it as a proof, among many others,

that Extreme Unction was anciently administered before the Viaticum, and hence while the patient was still in possession of his faculties, and not, as in later times, when recovery was despaired of. "Jubet enim Eusebius illo decreto ut Sacerdos circa aegrotantem poenitentem orationes dicat, et ungat eum oleo sancto, et Eucharistiam ei donet."

Baronius, on the authority of the spurious Acts of Eusebius of Vercelli, states that the pope Eusebius baptized this prelate, and gave him his own name. Tillemont gives no credence to this story, which rests on no good authority. Eusebius is honoured as a saint and confessor on the 26th September in the Roman Calendar.

[J. B.]

EUSEBIUS.—Bishops without See or Country mentioned or apparent.

EUSEBIUS (2), subscribed the council of Sardica A.D. 347 (Athan. i. 133, Patr. Graec. xxv. 337). [W. M. S.]

EUSEBIUS (3), a bishop, deposed by the Semiarian party at the council of Seleucia A.D. 359, together with Acacius (Athanas. *de Synod.* p. 580, § 12; Soer. *H. E.* ii. 40). [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (4), a bishop, brother of Chromatius bishop of Aquileia (*q. v.*), and very closely allied with him ("non plus naturâ quam morum aequalitate germanus," Jerome, *Ep.* 8, ad Niceam). He was present at the baptism of Rufinus, who speaks of him as being, though only a deacon, yet a father to him, and his teacher in the creed and the Christian faith (Ruf. *Apol.* i. 4). He was one of the earliest friends of St. Jerome, and drew from him some of his letters from the Syrian Desert (*Epp.* 7, 8, ed. Vall.). He was afterwards a bishop, as is known from Rufinus (loc. cit.), but his see is uncertain. The editor of the works of Chromatius (Migne, Patrol. xx. 257) identifies him with the bishop of Bologna, whose name occurs as being present at the council held at Aquileia A.D. 381. But this is quite conjectural. He died A.D. 395, as appears from Jerome's letter to Heliodorus (*Ep.* 60, § 19, ed. Vall.). [W. H. F.]

EUSEBIUS (5), of Alexandria, a writer of sermons, about whom Galland hesitates not to say that "all is uncertain; nothing can be affirmed on good grounds as to his age or as to his bishopric" (*Bibl. Patr.* viii. p. xxiii.). It is needless to dwell on the attempts to identify him with Eusebius, the Alexandrian deacon, who became bishop of Laodicea in the 3rd century, with Eusebius of Caesarea, with Eusebius of Emesa. The ascetic writer, Nico the younger, of the 11th century, cited some answers of "Macarius, the Alexandrian, to the great Eusebius of Alexandria" (Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* vol. viii. p. 285; *i.e.* vol. xi. p. 277, ed. 1801). This Macarius died in 404. "But Nico lived far too late to be of any authority" (Pusey, *Doct. of Real Presence*, p. 449). One of Eusebius' sermons, that on Almsgiving, was preached, at earliest, some time after the death of "holy Melania," which happened after the taking of Rome by Alaric. On the other hand, he is cited not only by John of Damascus in his Parallels (Damasc. *Op.* ii. 316, 331, 391, 393, 422, 425, 470, 472, 561, 576, 597, 598, 637, 666, 669, 671, 675, 697, 701), but by the author of the Parallels in the Rochefoucauld MS., who lived a century earlier, in the first year of Heraclius (Le Quien, *ib.* ii. 279, 749; the quotations are in *ib.* 777, 783). He cannot therefore be referred (as Le Quien suggested, *Or. Christ.* ii. 905) to the times of the first Saracen caliphs. The difficulty is rather increased than abated by a Life of Eusebius, printed by Card. Mai in his *Spicilegium Romanum*, ix. 703 ff., which gives this account of him: Eusebius was a devout monk, revered for his sanctity, who lived in the mountain country of Egypt while Cyril was patriarch of Alexandria. Cyril paid him a visit, and, when dying, recommended him as his successor. The clergy agree; a deputation is sent to Eusebius; he deprecates the proposed elevation; his visitors leave him; he resolves to fly by night into the Thebaid; on the way a voice warns him to return: he obeys, and when again invited to Alexandria, proceeds thither, is consecrated by Cyril, who dies that night; Eusebius is enthroned, and preaches every Sunday with great effect: he converts an obstinate sinner of high birth and great wealth, called Alexander; after a seven years' episcopate, foreseeing his end, he tells Alexander of a visit paid by him in early life to the Cross and the Holy Resurrection" at Jerusalem, and of a vision which had assured him of Christ's benignity even to the negligent among His servants. Wishing to die in his old retreat, he is escorted thither with tapers by the Alexandrian people, after consecrating Alexander as his successor, and on his arrival, he commends his "most sweet children" to the Holy Trinity and to their new pastor, and dies "with a smile upon his face." The biographer, John the Notary, adds that he had received a book of ascetic maxims, drawn up by Eusebius, from the author's own hand, had after his death given it into the keeping of Alexander, and when Alexander himself died (20 years after Eusebius) had had it transcribed by the calligrapher Mosobius. This account cannot be received, for it is well known that Dioscorus succeeded Cyril in the see of Alexandria, and no place in the list of its occupants can be found for Eusebius. Nor can Eusebius's bishopric be placed at a Syrian Alexandria. Mai abandons the problem as hopeless; and it would seem that if Eusebius was a bishop, and a bishop in Egypt, he was either a "vacant" bishop (σχολάζων) or consecrated *honoris causâ*, without a see, like the "John, bishop and monk," in the *Life of St. Sabas*, c. 21, or the Lazarus (we cannot say Barses and Eulogius [EULOGIUS (4)], cf. Theod. iv. 16, 18) mentioned by Sozomen, vi. 34, not to speak of other instances in the early Irish church. (See Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* vol. v. p. 275, *i.e.* vol. vii. p. 295, ed. 1801.) As to his age, we must be content with uncertainty as to whether he belongs to the 5th or the 6th century. Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.* vol. v. p. 275) says that 18 Homilies of Eusebius were found and cited by Turrianus, and some were known to Holstenius and Allatius. A complete list of these sermons is given by Mai, as follows: 1. On Fasting (in Mai's *Spicilegium Romanum*, ix. 1). 2. *On Love* (*ib.* ix. 16). 3. *On the Incarnation and its Causes* (*ib.* ix. 21). 4. *On Thankfulness in Sickness* (*ib.* ix. 652). 5. *On*

Imparting Grace to him that lacks it (*ib.* ix. 659). 6. *On Sudden Death*, or, *those that die by snares* (*ib.* ix. 664). 7. *On New Moon, Sabbath, and on not observing the voices of Birds* (*ib.* ix. 666). 8. *On Commemoration of Saints* (*ib.* ix. 669). 9. *On Meals*, at such festivals (*ib.* ix. 673). 10. *On the Nativity* (*ib.* ix. 679). 11. *On the Baptism of Christ* (*ib.* ix. 679). 12. *On "Art thou He that should come?"* (*ib.* ix. 685). 13. *On the Coming of John into Hades, and on the Devil* (*ib.* ix. 688). 14. *On the Treason of Judas* (*ib.* ix. 693). 15. *On the Devil and Hades* (*ib.* ix. 696). 16. *On the Lord's Day* (Galland. viii. 292). 17. *On the Passion, for the Preparation Day* (among "Spuria" in Chrysostom, ed. Montfaucon, xi. 793). 18. *On the Resurrection* (*ib.* x. 787). 19. *On the Ascension* (*ib.* xiii. 247). 20. *On the Second Advent* (Mai, *Class. Auct.* x. 595). 21. *On "Astronomers"* (Mai, *Patr. Nov. Bibl.* ii. 522). 22. *On Almsgiving, and on the Rich Man and Lazarus* (*ib.* ii. 501). Eusebius adheres simply to the Catholic doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. He uses the ordinary Eastern phrase, "Christ our God" (S. *On Almsgiving*), speaks of Him as Maker of the world (*ib.*), as Master of the creation (*On Resurrection*), as present from the beginning with the prophets (*Ascension*), and as the Lord whom Isaiah saw in his vision (*On the Baptism*). He calls the Holy Spirit consubstantial with the Father and the Son (*ib.*); in the sermon on *Almsgiving* he calls the Virgin Mother "Ever-virgin" and "Theotocos," and "our undefiled Lady." He insists on free will and responsibility. "God made man capable of free choice . . . He saith, 'If you do not choose to hear Me, I do not compel you.' God could make thee good against thy will, but what is involuntary is unrewarded . . . . If He wrote it down that I was to commit sin, and I do commit it, why does He judge me?" If a man means to please God, "God holds out a hand to him straightway," &c. "Time is short, eternity is long," is the point which he urges in the sermon on *Almsgiving*. "Provide for your salvation before the fair (*πανήγυρις*) is broken up, while yet there are those who buy and sell oil." "If a man keep death ever in mind, he will sin no more." He enforces almsgiving. "Some say, there is time enough: I am like my grandfather, I shall live, long as he did; or I shall have a long illness . . . Vain excuse! Remember the man who pulled down his house, &c. Do not say, I must first provide for my children. Death comes like a thief, and shuts you up in a little abode (*οἰκίσκῳ μικρῷ*) of three cubits." Eusebius is repeatedly severe on Pharisaic formalism. A virginal life, self-control, sleeping on hard beds or on the ground, much fasting, avail not without active charity. "Many wear sackcloth in public, let their hair grow long, walk ostentatiously (*ἐπιδεικτικῶς*), wish to be thought saints, and to be reverenced (*προσκυνεῖσθαι*) by all; but God knows their thoughts, their secret aim," &c. Before a man renounces the world (by a monastic vow) let him try himself, know his own soul. He who fasts must fast with "tongue, eyes, hands, feet;" his whole "body, soul, and spirit" must be restrained from all sinful indulgence. "Fast, as the Lord said, in cheerfulness, with sincere love to all men. But when you have done all this, do not think you are better than A or B. Say you are unprofitable servants." Eusebius discourages a fanatical rigorism; in Lent, he who is in weak health may take wine and oil. Lent must not be broken for a friend's sake, but the station-fasts on Wednesday and Friday may be so: he who eats not must not blame him who eats (here he even quotes Rom. xiv. 6). People are not to blame wine, but those who drink it to excess: nor riches, but the man who administers them ill. Abraham had riches, but they harmed him not, &c. Some sentences shew a true spiritual insight: "What sort of righteousness exceeds the rest? Love, for without it no good comes of any other. What sin is worst? All sin is dreadful, but none is worse than covetousness and remembrance of injuries" (Serm. *On Love*). He has humour, too, which must have told: "On Sundays, the herald calls people to church; everybody says he is sleepy, or unwell. Hark! a sound of harp or pipe, a noise of dancing: all hasten that way as if on wings" (*Hom. on the Lord's Day*, Galland. viii. 253). Alexander tells Eusebius, "Some say there are as many stars as men. Were there then only two stars when Adam and Eve were created, or only eight during the Deluge? If you do not give alms while you fast, you simply save yourself expense. He who fasts avoids headache, keeps his feet straight, does not run against walls, or set his house on fire." He rebukes fatalistic superstition, and tells his hearers that he knows of some who say to the sun at its rising, "Have mercy!"—these being not exclusively "Heliognostae" but professing Christians as well. He denounces as sinful all language based on astrology. Eusebius is fond of rhetorical amplification of Scriptural passages; he thus deals with Matt. xxv. 34, 41; he dilates on Satan's discomfiture by the Cross, and gives his imagination full scope on the "harrowing of hell" (Serm. 15 and 17). He depicts vividly the extravagance of Alexandrian wealth; the splendid houses glistening with marble, beds and carpets wrought with gold and pearls, horses with golden bridles and saddles, the crowds of servants of various classes,—some to attend the great man when he rides out, some to manage his lands or his house, building, or his kitchen,—to fan him at his meals, to keep the house quiet during his slumber: the varieties of white bread, the pheasants, geese, peacocks, hares, &c., served up at his table (*Almsgiving*). "I have often walked," he says, "in the broad street of our city" (that which ran across Alexandria, between the gates "of the Sun" and "the Moon"), and heard poor folks talking . . . 'Brother, God will certainly bless A B, for he relieves my poverty. See the cloak I wear; he gave it me. God look on him and shew him mercy!'" Then, as to the unfeeling rich: "When I went to beg of him a bit of bread, he set his dogs at me." All those men "cursed and anathematized" such a person (*ib.*). Eusebius is very full on Sunday duties (Serm. *On Lord's Day*). Work is to be laid aside: it is no charity to assist a poor man in working on the day that belongs to God. Slaves are to do no work. The Christian should look forward to Sunday, not simply as a day of rest from labour, but as a day of prayer and Communion. Let him come in early morning to church, for the Eucharistic service (the features of it are enumerated: the psalmody, the reading

of Prophets, of St. Paul, of the Gospels, the Angelic and Seraphic hymns, the ceaseless Alleluia, the exhortations of bishops and presbyters, the presence of Christ "on the sacred table," the "coming" of the Spirit). "If thy conscience is clear, approach, and receive the Body and Blood of the Lord. If it condemns thee in regard to wicked deeds, decline the Communion until thou hast corrected it by repentance, but stay through the prayers (*i. e.* the communion service), and do not go out of the church unless thou art dismissed;" or again, "before the dismissal." He censures the custom of persons coming out of church and sitting down outside it, the presbyter often prominent among them, to discuss affairs and disputes; so that when they re-enter the church, they are "scowling and gnashing their teeth at each other." He severely blames a layman who tastes food before the Liturgy is over, whether he communicates or not; but denounces those who communicate after eating (as he knows that many do on Easter Day itself) as if guilty of a heinous sin. (In this case, as in regard to premature departure from church, he does not scruple to refer to Judas.) He blames those who do not communicate when a priest, known to be of bad life, is the celebrant; for "God turneth not away, and the bread becomes the Body," &c. (*On Imparting Grace*). The true pastor should be full of sympathy, and not excommunicate, or curse, often. In a priest's presence the deacon ought not to excommunicate, or do other offices of the priest. In a priest's absence, he may do all that the priest does, except the holy gifts and mysteries." If a priest is going from home, he should ask the presbyter of another village to give the people the (usual) prayers; failing which he should consecrate bread, that the deacon may administer it to the people. He reproves the disorderly conduct of some who came to the vigil services of a saint's festival, not for prayers, but for conversation amd amusement; when they feel sleepy, they go out and lie down till daybreak, then rise and cause great disturbances. "Inside the church, the priest is presenting the supplication . . . having set forth (*προτεθεικώς*) the Body and the Blood . . . for the salvation of the world: while, outside, amusements go on" (*On Commemoration of Saints*). He refers to the different functions of priest, deacon, reader, chanter, and sub-deacon (*ὑπηρέτης*). He encourages invocation of Saints (*Serm.* 8). He censures those who take a Judaical view of Christian festivals, saying, "to-day is Easter-day," or "to-morrow will be the Nativity, and I cannot carry anything out of my house." "All this is Judaical. At this rate, a Christian ought also to eat unleavened bread;" and he quotes Gal. iv. 11 (*On New Moon*). He alludes to superstitions about the evil eye, and to the use of charms in sickness.

Mai calls him a writer delightful from his "ingenuitas," his "Christiana ac pastoralis simplicitas," and his "nativum dicendi genus" (*Patrum Nov. Biblioth.* ii. 499). [W. B.]

EUSEBIUS.—Bishops arranged in Alphabetical Order of their Sees or Countries.

EUSEBIUS (6), bishop of Abida in Phoenicia Secunda. He signed the synodical epistle of the province, addressed to the emperor Leo, referring to the murder of Proterius at Alexandria. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 849; Mansi, vii. 559.) [J. de S.]

EUSEBIUS (7), bishop of Alexandria (Scandaret or Iskenderum) in Cilicia. The period in which he flourished is very doubtful; he is placed by Gams (*Series Episcop.* p. 436) in the 7th century. There seems no ground for including him among the possible authors of the famous Homilies, except that the other claimants are open to almost equally strong objections [EUSEBIUS (5)]. (See the Homilies with prefaces by Mai and Galland, and the life of Eusebius by Joannes Monachus, in the Patrol. Gr. lxxxvi. i. 287, et seq. Also Gennadius, *Vir. Illust.* c. 35; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 905; Thilo, *Ueber die Schriften des E. von A.* p. 54 ff.; and the articles in Herzog's and Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopaedias* by Semisch and Dähne respectively.) [J. de S.]

EUSEBIUS (8), bishop of Ancyra, circ. A.D. 445, consecrated by Proclus, archbishop of Constantinople (Ceillier, viii. 409). He was present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (Mansi, vi. 565 c.) [W. M. S.]

EUSEBIUS (9), fifth bishop of Antibes, succeeding Etherius, and followed by Optatus. He subscribed the fifth council of Orleans (A.D. 549) by the hand of a deacon called September. The fifth council of Arles (A.D. 554) is also subscribed by a Eusebius, probably the same bishop, though the name of his see is omitted. (Mansi, ix. 137, 703.) The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 390) give from old MSS. an account of the three Spanish martyrs, Vincentius, Orontius, and Victor, which is conjectured to have been written by this Eusebius. See ETHERIUS, bishop of Antibes. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 1148.) [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (10) II., the tenth bishop of Antibes in the *Series* of Gams (p. 554), succeeding Optatus, and followed by Deocarius (A.D. 614). He does not appear in the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (iii. 1146). [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (11), bishop of Antioch by the Maeander in the province of Caria, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 907; Mansi, ii. 695.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (12), last of the three known bishops of Apollonia, in New Epirus, near the Avus, between Dyrrhachium and Aulon. He was present at the council of Chalcedon in 451. (Mansi, vi. 578 c, 947 a, vii. 161 a; Farlati, *Illyr. Sacr.* vii. 395, 396; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 248.) [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (13), ninth bishop of Apt, succeeding Praetextatus and followed by Clementinus, was in occupation of the see in A.D. 546. An ancient abbey in the diocese which bears his name is said to be called after him. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 352; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* a. 546 n. vi., tom. i. 703.) [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (14), bishop of Arethusa, in Syria Secunda, north of Emesa. He signed the synodical epistle of the province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 551; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 916.) [J. de S.]

EUSEBIUS (15). One of the leading bishops of Armenia, to whom Theodoret wrote a letter of encouragement during the Persian persecution, c. A.D. 420, described by him (*H. E.* v. 38). The chief bishop of the district having vacated his post, either by death, or apostasy, or some other unexplained cause, Theodoret exhorts Eusebius, as next in authority, to occupy the place boldly, and fulfil his duties without apprehension of what it might cost him. He sets forth in very powerful language the duties of pastors as declared in Holy Scripture; but exhorts him not to deal too severely with the lapsed, but to imitate the loving forbearance of God in leading back to repentance and amendment. (Theod. *Epist.* 78.) [EULALIUS (13).] [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (16) I., eighth in the list of bishops of Arretium or Arezzo, standing between Maximus and Gaudentius, succeeding to the see A.D. 380. (Ughel. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 409; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 741.) [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (17) II., twelfth in the list of bishops of Arretium or Arezzo, between Laurentius and Gallus; succeeded A.D. 444. (Ughel. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 410; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 741.) [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (18), bishop of Aspona, subscribed the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (*Concilia Gener.* ed. Rom. 1628, i. p. 369.) [W. M. S.]

EUSEBIUS (19), bishop of Basti (Baza), signs the acts of the fourth Council of Toledo, A.D. 633, taking precedence of forty-five other bishops. He may therefore be supposed to have been old at the time. He signs also the fifth (an. 636), and the sixth (an. 638). He died before Oct. 646. (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 87; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385.) [EUTYCHIANUS.] [M. A. W.]

EUSEBIUS (20), bishop of Berytus, vid. of Nicomedia. [EUSEBIUS (60).]

EUSEBIUS (21), ST., fifth bishop of Besançon, succeeding St. Paulinus and followed by St. Hilarius. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (xv. 5) quote an anonymous canon of the monastery of St. Paul to the effect that he was a subdeacon of the church of Rome, whom pope Melchiades (A.D. 311–314) ordained priest and consecrated to the see of Chrysopolis (*i.e.* Besançon, *ibid.* p. 2). He is said to have sat two years and a half only, and was then buried in the church of St. Peter, which he had himself dedicated in the suburbs (cir. A.D. 312). [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (22), bishop of Bologna, who took part in the Council of Aquileia, over which Ambrose presided, and joined in the condemnation of Palladius and Secundianus for Arianism. (Ambrose, *Opp.* iii. pp. 820–843.) [J. Ll. D.]

EUSEBIUS (23) OF CAESAREA, also known as **EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI.**

I. *Literature.* A Life of Eusebius was written by Acacius [ACACIUS (2)], his pupil and successor in the bishopric of Caesarea (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 4). This work, from the pen of a personal friend and disciple who inherited his books and papers (Sozom. *H. E.* iii. 2, iv. 23), would have been invaluable; but unfortunately it has perished without leaving a trace behind. Of extant sources, the most important are the scattered notices in writers of the same or immediately succeeding ages, such as Athanasius, Jerome, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. At a later date some valuable information is contained in the proceedings of the Second Council of Nicaea (Labbe, *Conc.* viii. 1144 sq. ed. Colet.), as also in the *Antirrhetica* of the patriarch Nicephorus (*Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 371 sq.), likewise connected with the Iconoclastic controversy. The primary sources of information however for the career of one who was before all things a literary man must be sought in his own works. The only edition of the works of Eusebius which aims at completeness is in Migne's *Patr. Graec.* vols. xix–xxiv. Yet even this does not contain the works extant only in Syriac versions, especially the *Theophania* (Eng. transl. ed. Lee, Cambridge, 1843) and the longer edition of the *Martyrs of Palestine* (ed. Cureton, London, 1861); and even some Greek fragments are occasionally omitted (*e.g.* the letters to Alexander and Euphration). But it includes the large accessions to the works of Eusebius which were first discovered and published by Mai, and is indispensable for convenience of reference. Lists of the works of Eusebius are given by Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 81), by Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* vi. 37), and by Ebedjesu (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* iii. p. 18 sq.). Suidas (s. v. Εὐσέβιος) copies the Greek version of Jerome. Notices of individual works of Eusebius, of which some have perished, appear in Photius, *Bibl.* 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 27, 39, 127.

Among modern sources of information are the standard works of Cave (*Hist. Lit.* i. p. 175 sq.), Tillemont (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. pp. 39 sq., 659 sq., together with scattered notices in his account of the Arians and of the Nicene council in vol. vi.), Fabricius (*Bibl. Graec.* vii. p. 335 sq. ed. Harles), and others. The Lives of Eusebius by Hanke (*Byz. Rer. Script.* p. 1 sq.), by Valois (*de Vita Scriptisque Eusebii Diatribe*, prefixed to his edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*; often reprinted, and most recently by Heinichen in his *Eusebii Script. Hist.* i. p. 52 sq., 1868, with notes of his own), and by Stroth (*Leben u. Schriften des Eusebius*, prefixed to his translation, *Eusebii Kirchengeschichte*, i. p. xv sq., Quedlinburg, 1799), should be especially mentioned; and to these should be added the Life by Bright, prefixed by way of introduction to the Oxford reprint (1872) of Burton's text of the *Eccles. Hist.* Valois has appended a very useful collection of *testimonia* or passages referring to Eusebius in ancient writers. The most complete monograph on the whole subject is Stein's *Eusebius Bischof von Cäsarea*, Würzburg, 1852. Important contributions will also be found in the special monographs on the *Ecclesiastical History*, of which a list is given in its proper place.

A list of the editions, translations, and works relating to Eusebius, will be found in Hoffmann, *Bibliogr. Lexic.* s. v. It is very fairly complete up to the time (A.D. 1839) when the volume appeared, but very much has been done since. The principal editions of the several works will be mentioned below under their respective heads.

II. *Birth, Parentage, Education, and Early Life.* Of the date of his birth we have no precise information, but the references in his own works enable us to fix it approximately. Thus

he mentions Dionysius of Alexandria (*H. E.* iii. 28) as having occupied the see in his own time (καθ' ἡμᾶς); and Dionysius was bishop of Alexandria from A.D. 247 or 248 to A.D. 265. So also he speaks of Paul of Samosata (*H. E.* v. 28) as a contemporary (ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς); and Paul was deposed from his episcopate A.D. 270. In the same way, having occasion to mention the great heresiarch of the age (*Theoph.* iv. 30), he calls him "the *maniac* of yesterday and of our own times"; while he himself elsewhere (*H. E.* vii. 31) places Manes during the Roman episcopate of Felix (A.D. 270–274). And, speaking more generally, he draws the line between his own and a previous generation after his account of Dionysius of Alexandria, and before his mention of the accession of Dionysius of Rome (A.D. 259) and the troubles about Paul of Samosata which followed thereupon, declaring at this point that he intends now to relate the history of his own generation for the information of posterity (*H. E.* vii. 26 τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῖς μετέπειτα γνωρίζειν γενεὰν, ὁποία τις ἦν, παραδῶμεν). These notices will hardly allow us to place his birth much later than A.D. 260, so that he would be close upon eighty years old at the time of his death.

Nor again is any direct notice of his birthplace preserved in any early and trustworthy writer. It seems however tolerably safe to assume that he was a native of Palestine and probably of Caesarea. We cannot indeed lay much stress on the fact that he is commonly called "Eusebius the Palestinian" (Marcellus in Eus. *c. Marc.* i. 4, p. 25, E. ὁ τῆς Παλαιστίνης; Basil. *de Spir. Sanct.* 29, ὁ Παλαιστῖνος E., *Op.* iii. p. 61, Garnier; Theodt. *H. E.* i. 14, E. τὸν Παλαιστῖνον); for some designation was necessary to distinguish him from his namesake of Nicomedia, and "Eusebius the Palestinian" is merely another way of saying "Eusebius of Caesarea," which occurs in the same contexts. It may therefore refer to his see, rather than to his birthplace. But all the notices of his early life are connected with Caesarea; and as it was usual in those times to appoint by preference to a bishopric some native of the place, everything is in favour of this as the city of his birth. The first writer who distinctly calls him a native of Palestine appears to be Theodorus Metochita (*Cap. Miscell.* 17), who flourished in the earlier part of the 14th century.

Of his parentage and relationships absolutely nothing is known. It has been inferred from an expression of Arius who, writing to Eusebius of Nicomedia, designates his namesake of Caesarea ὁ ἀδελφός σου ὁ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ (Theodt. *H. E.* i. 4), that they were actual brothers. Against this it is objected that Eusebius of Nicomedia (Theodt. *H. E.* i. 6) calls him "my master Eusebius" (τοῦ δεσπότου μου Εὐσεβίου), and that such an expression is inconsistent with brotherhood. Neither the argument nor the answer carries much weight. Arius might well call them brothers, as being associated in theological sympathies as well as in episcopal office. Eusebius of Nicomedia might equally well style an actual brother his "master," owing to ascendancy of character or of intellect; just as Seneca speaks of his own brother, "domini mei Gallionis" (*Ep. Mor.* 104). But the absolute silence of all contemporaries, as well as of the two persons themselves, on any such relationship is quite fatal to this supposed brotherhood. There is more ground for the belief that he was related to his friend Pamphilus. Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* vi. 37) makes him a nephew (ὁ τούτου ἀδελφιδοῦς) of the martyr. Yet it is somewhat strange that he himself should never allude to this connexion, if it were so close. On the contrary, he speaks of his becoming acquainted with Pamphilus in such a manner as to suggest that there was no existing relationship which brought them together (*H. E.* vii. 32).

Whether he was a native of Caesarea or not, it was with this city, the early home of Gentile Christianity (Acts x. 6 sq., xxiii. 23, 33, &c.), that all the associations of his youth, so far as we know, were connected. Here, as a child, he was catechized in that declaration of belief which years afterwards was laid by him before the great Council of Nicaea, and adopted by the assembled fathers as a basis for the creed of the universal church (see below, p. 313). Here, as a young man, he remembered to have seen (A.D. 296) in company with the reigning Augustus the future persecutor of the faith, then on his progress through Palestine, a tall and handsome prince of right royal mien, who was destined hereafter to exert an unrivalled influence on the future of the Christian Church, and with whom the interests of his own later life were closely bound up (*Vit. Const.* i. 19). Here he listened to the Biblical expositions of the learned Dorotheus, thoroughly versed in the Hebrew Scriptures and not unacquainted with Greek literature and philosophy, once the superintendent of the emperor's purple factory at Tyre, but now a presbyter in the church of Caesarea (*H. E.* vii. 32). Here, in due time, he was himself ordained a presbyter, probably by that bishop Agapius whose wise forethought and untiring assiduity and open-handed benevolence he himself has recorded (*H. E.* ib.). Here, above all, he contracted with the saintly student Pamphilus that friendship which was the crown and glory of his life, and which martyrdom itself could not sever.

Pamphilus, a native of Phoenicia, had studied in Alexandria, but was now settled in Caesarea, of which church he was a presbyter. He had gathered about him a collection of books which seem to have been unrivalled in Christian circles, and which, supplemented by the excellent library of bishop Alexander at Jerusalem (*H. E.* vi. 20), enabled Eusebius to indulge to the full his portentous appetite for learning. Eusebius himself left a catalogue of the books contained in the library of Pamphilus (*H. E.* vi. 32). Acacius and Euzoius, the successors of Eusebius in the see of Caesarea, repaired the collection, and supplied the ravages of time and wear (Hieron. *Epist.* 34, *Op.* i. 155). Jerome describes Pamphilus as gathering books together from all parts of the world, thus rivalling in the domain of sacred learning the zeal which Demetrius Phalereus or Pisistratus had shewn for profane knowledge (*l. c.*). Origen himself had set the example of a literary society. Aided by the munificence of his friend Ambrosius, he had kept about him always a large number of shorthand writers, to whom he dictated, and of calligraphers—women as well as men—who copied out the Scriptures for him (*H. E.* vi. 23). His example was not thrown away on Pamphilus.

Pamphilus was a devoted admirer of Origen. He possessed the original copy of the Hexapla of Origen, which was afterwards used by Jerome at Caesarea (Hieron. *Comm. in Tit.* iii. 9, *Op.* vii. 734). He sought out the works of this father before all others (Hieron. *Op.* i. 155; Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 32). He even transcribed the greater part of them with his own hand for his library (Hieron. *Vir. Ill.* 75). One long work of Origen in the handwriting of Pamphilus came into the possession of Jerome himself; owning it, he says, he considers that he owns the wealth of Croesus; it is signed, as it were, with the very blood of the martyr (*l. c.*). Like Origen too, Pamphilus paid great attention to the reproduction of accurate copies of the Scriptures. More than one extant MS has been taken from or collated with some copy which he had transcribed or corrected with his own hand (see Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, pp. 51, 59, 159, 223, 228). In this work he had the assistance of Eusebius (*Vir. Ill.* 81). Hence the Palestinian manuscripts of the LXX, which Jerome describes as published by Eusebius and Pamphilus from the text of Origen (*c. Ruffin.* ii. 27, *Op.* ii. p. 522). A colophon found in an extant Vatican MS, and given in facsimile in Migne's Euseb. *Op.* iv. 875 (after Mai, *Bibl. Nov. Patr.* iv.), presents a lively picture of the common labours of the two friends at this time: "It was transcribed from the editions of the Hexapla, and was corrected from the Tetrapla of Origen himself, which also had been corrected and furnished with scholia in his own handwriting; whence I, Eusebius, added the scholia. Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected [this copy]." The readings of the "Eusebian" copy (τὸ Εὐσεβίου, τὸ βιβλίον Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου) are frequently mentioned in the scholia to the Old Testament (Field's *Hexapla*, i. p. xcix).

Nor was it only in copying and editing that the society gathered about Pamphilus occupied itself. The work of *translation* would necessarily engage attention in a city which stood on the border land between the Greek and Syrian language; and we are especially told of one of his associates, the martyr Procopius, that he translated from Greek into Aramaic (Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* p. 4, ed. Cureton).

Amidst these and kindred pursuits their friendship ripened. But Eusebius owed far more to Pamphilus than the impulse and direction given to his studies. Pamphilus was no mere student recluse. He was a man of large heart and bountiful hand; he was above all things helpful to his friends (*Mart. Pal.* 11); he gave freely to all who were in want; he multiplied copies of the Scriptures, which he distributed gratuitously (Euseb. in Hieron. *c. Rufin.* i. 9, *Op.* ii. 465). And to the sympathy of the friend he united the courage of the hero. He had also the power of impressing his own strong convictions on others. Hence, when the great trial of faith came, his house was found to be not only the home of students but the nursery of martyrs. To one like Eusebius, who owed his strength and his weakness alike to a ready susceptibility of impression from those about him, such a friendship was an inestimable blessing. How else could he express the strength of his devotion to this friend, who was more than a friend, than by adopting his name? He would henceforward be known as "Eusebius of Pamphilus." "In the midst of all" this glorious company of martyrs, writes Eusebius, "shone forth the excellency of my lord Pamphilus; for it is not meet that I should mention the name of that holy and blessed Pamphilus without styling him 'my lord'" (*Mart. Pal.* p. 37, ed. Cureton). It was either a blundering literalism or an ignoble sarcasm, which led Photius (*Epist.* 73, Baletta) to suggest the explanation that he was "*the slave* of Pamphilus." Any man might have been proud to wear the slave's badge of such a devotion.[a]

III. *The Persecution.* Eusebius was now in middle life when the last and fiercest persecution broke out. For nearly half a century—a longer period than at any other time since its foundation—the Church had enjoyed uninterrupted peace, so far as regards attacks from without. Suddenly and unexpectedly all was changed. The city of Caesarea became a chief centre of persecution. Eusebius tells us how he saw with his own eyes the houses of prayer razed to the ground, the holy Scriptures committed to the flames in the midst of the market-places, the pastors of the churches hiding themselves as they were hunted here and there, and shamefully jeered at when they were caught by their persecutors (*H. E.* viii. 2). For seven years the attacks continued. They were fitful and intermittent. But the suspense and uncertainty must have increased the horror. No governor stayed his hands; no year was without its sufferers. Almost at any moment a devout and zealous Christian might be required to do that which his faith forbade him to do even at the cost of his life. Of some of the terrible scenes which ensued, Eusebius was himself an eye-witness; of all he had the full and exact knowledge which is derived from immediate local and personal contact with the incidents. His written account shews how deeply he was impressed with the constancy and the triumphs of the sufferers; of Procopius from Scythopolis, the proto-martyr of this glorious band, who had scarcely passed the gates of Caesarea when he was ordered to sacrifice to the gods, and was beheaded for his refusal (*Mart. Pal.* ed. Cureton, p. 3 sq.); of Alphaeus, the reader and exorcist in the church of Caesarea, who, when the emperor's *vicennalia* were celebrated, held back the people from sacrificing to idols, and was crowned with martyrdom after suffering cruel lacerations and rackings for his reckless audacity (p. 5 sq.); of the blameless ascetic youth Apphianus, not yet twenty years of age, who "resided in the same house with us" (p. 13), having come from Beyrout to Caesarea to be instructed by Pamphilus in the holy Scriptures, who in his extravagant zeal seized the hand of the governor Urbanus and held him back as he was offering libations, who after

[a] The second book of the treatise *against Sabellius*, if genuine, contains some touching reminiscences of his friend. The writer relates the devout fondness with which his friend used to dwell on the expression "the only-begotten Son of God," so that the tones of his voice still linger in his ears (*Op.* vi. 1059, 1063, 1067 sq.); for, if Eusebius of Caesarea were the writer, we could hardly hesitate to follow Valois in identifying the unnamed "beatus vir" with Pamphilus. Reasons however have been given for assigning the treatise to another (see below, p. 345).

enduring a succession of excruciating tortures with a "body and soul like adamant" paid his life as a forfeit for his temerity, being thrown into the deep waters with stones tied to his feet, but whom nevertheless the sea refused to hold captive, giving up her dead before the time and amidst earthquake and tempest "vomiting back the holy body of the martyr of God," while the whole population of Caesarea crowded to the shore to see the marvellous sight; of Aedesius, the brother of Apphianus, well versed in the learning of the Greeks and Romans, who likewise "had passed a long time in the society of the martyr Pamphilus, and by him had been imbued with the godly doctrine, as with purple suited for royalty" (p. 18), who was first imprisoned at Caesarea, then sent to work in the copper mines of Phaeno in Palestine, then released, then seized again at Alexandria, being provoked into a reckless protest against the governor Hierocles by the lawless and fierce outrages inflicted on the unoffending Christians, and after cruel sufferings drowned like his brother in the sea; of Agapius, who, having been condemned some time before at Gaza, but reserved to grace the festivities at Caesarea when "the chief of tyrants, Maximinus," visited that city, bore himself bravely in the teeth of the wild beasts, and, lacerated and half dead, was remanded to prison till the next day, when his mangled body was thrown into the sea, and his soul "winged her flight through the air into the kingdom of heaven, whither she was before hastening, and was received together with the angels and the holy company of martyrs"; of these and many others, young and old, who endured and won the crown during this protracted reign of terror; above all, of that "name very dear to me," that "heavenly martyr of God," the "holy and blessed Pamphilus," "my lord Pamphilus" (pp. 25, 37), who after two years of imprisonment sealed his long confession by martyrdom and crowned a saintly life with an heroic death, the centre of a brave company, among whom he shone "as the sun among the stars." For at this same time eleven others perished with him. It was a perfect number, twelve in all, a type of the prophets and apostles (p. 38). A typical company too—so it appeared to Eusebius—in another respect; reproducing in miniature "a perfect representation of the Church"; for it included sufferers of all ages, one a youth of eighteen, others in middle life, one an old man with grey hairs; of diverse countries, some foreigners from Egypt and from Cappadocia, some natives of Caesarea, and even inmates of Pamphilus's own household; of various intellectual acquirements, the simplicity of the uneducated and the profound learning of the scholar; and, lastly, of all ranks in the Church, presbyters, deacons, readers, laymen, even catechumens. So they fitly perished by diverse kinds of death. "It seemed as if a great door of the kingdom of heaven had been opened by the confession of Pamphilus, and an abundant entrance effected for others as well as for himself into the paradise of God" (p. 43). This happened under the governor Firmilianus, A.D. 309. It was the last spectacle (*θέατρον*) on a grand scale displayed before men and angels in this arena of Christian fortitude. Not long after, the chief persecutor proclaimed his "palinode" to the world; and the Church had peace again.

And meanwhile, how had Eusebius borne himself in this season of peril? A quarter of a century later, when he was sitting in judgment at the council of Tyre, a grave charge was brought against him, affecting his conduct at this crisis. Potammon, bishop of Heraclea, an Egyptian confessor, started up and addressed the president, "Art thou seated as judge, Eusebius; and does Athanasius, innocent though he is, await his sentence from thee? Nay, tell me then, wast thou not with me in prison during the persecution? And I lost an eye for the truth, but thou, as we see, hast received no injury in any part of thy body, neither hast thou suffered martyrdom, but remained alive with no mutilation. How wast thou released from prison, unless it be that thou didst promise to those who put upon us the pressure of persecution to do that which is unlawful, or didst actually do it?" Eusebius, we are told, in vexation rose and dismissed the court, saying, "If ye come hither and say such things against us, then do your accusers speak the truth. For if ye behave thus tyrannously here, much more do ye in your own country" (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxviii. 8).

On the strength of this charge he is supposed to have escaped martyrdom by offering sacrifice, or at least by some unworthy concession. But what does the evidence amount to? It is the language of a strong partisan, bitterly hostile to him; and it is after all only a conjectural inference of his accuser. How could Eusebius have been imprisoned for the faith, and escaped from prison, if he had not been untrue to his convictions? It did not occur to the blind hatred of Potammon that possibly Eusebius might have remained in captivity till the proclamation of Galerius opened the prison doors to all alike; or that meanwhile a thousand things might have occurred to earn for him an exceptional favour which might save his life without forfeiting his honour. There is a dignity in the response of Eusebius which bespeaks rather the disdainful innocence that will not condescend to a reply, than the uneasy conscience which shrinks from investigation. Even Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arian.* 8, i. p. 103), when referring to this incident, can only say that Eusebius was "accused of sacrificing" by the confessors. He does not dare to affirm that he was guilty. He himself obviously knows nothing of any such crime. He never elsewhere calls Eusebius "the sacrificer" (*ὁ θύσας*) as he does Asterius. If Eusebius had been guilty, this accusation would have been flung at him again and again, surrounded as he was by angry controversialists, in an age when controversy was not too scrupulous in its personalities. Nor again is such a blot on his past history reconcilable with his appointment by universal consent to the bishopric of his own city of Caesarea, where his character was so well known. Neither would he have ventured, if he were conscious of any such guilt, to refer, as he does again and again, with fearlessness to the shameful defections which had occurred during the persecution.

So far as we have information of his movements at this time, they do not betray any such cowardice. During the long incarceration of his friend, Eusebius must have spent a great part of his time with him. There is no con-

clusive evidence indeed that he shared his imprisonment, as is often assumed;[b] but they were engaged together in an elaborate work, the *Defence of Origen*, so that their intercourse must have been close and constant. It is a speaking fact too, that this work, completed by Eusebius alone after his friend's martyrdom, was addressed to the Christian confessors working in the copper mines at Phaeno (Photius, *Bibl.* 118). Moreover, while the persecution raged, so far from avoiding the scenes of danger, Eusebius is found again and again in the thickest of the conflict. Not at Caesarea alone does he appear as an eye-witness of the sufferings of the martyrs. At Tyre also he was present when several Christians were torn to pieces by the wild beasts in the amphitheatre (*H. E.* viii. 7, 8). Leaving Palestine, he visited Egypt. In no country did the persecution rage more fiercely than in Egypt. Here, in the Thebaid, they perished, ten or twenty, even sixty or a hundred, at a time. Eusebius relates how he himself, when he was in these parts, witnessed numerous martyrdoms in a single day, some by beheading, others by fire; the executioners relieving each other by relays in their hideous work, and the victims eagerly pressing forward to be tortured, clamouring for the honour of martyrdom, and receiving their sentence with joy and laughter (*H. E.* viii. 9). This visit to Egypt was apparently after the imprisonment and martyrdom of Pamphilus, in the latest and fiercest days of the persecution. If Potammon's taunt had any foundation in fact, it was probably now that Eusebius was imprisoned for his faith. If so, we have the less difficulty in explaining his release, without any stain left on his integrity or his courage.

IV. *His Episcopate.* It cannot have been very long after the restoration of peace (A.D. 313) when Eusebius was elected by unanimous consent to the vacant see of Caesarea. The last bishop of this church whom he himself mentions is Agapius; and there is no reason for doubting that Eusebius was his immediate successor.[c] Among the earliest results of the peace was the erection of a magnificent basilica at Tyre under the direction of his friend Paulinus, the bishop. Eusebius was invited to deliver the inaugural address. This address he has preserved and inserted in his *History*, where indeed he does not mention the orator's name, but the thinness of the disguise does not conceal, and cannot have been intended to conceal, the personality of the orator (*H. E.* ix. 4 *καί τις ἐν μέσῳ παρελθὼν τῶν μετρίως ἐπιεικῶν κ.τ.λ.*). In this he evidently speaks as a compeer in an assemblage of bishops. This oration, which will be described more fully below, is a paean of thanksgiving over the restitution of the Church, of which the splendid building at Tyre was at once the first-fruit and the type. This incident must have taken place not later than A.D. 315. For more than a quarter of a century he presided over the church of Caesarea, winning, it would seem, the respect and affection of all. One attempt was made to translate him to a more important sphere, but it was foiled, as we shall see, by his own refusal. He died bishop of Caesarea.

V. *The Council of Nicaea.* When the Arian controversy broke out, the sympathies of Eusebius were enlisted at an early stage on the side of Arius. If his namesake of Nicomedia may be trusted, he was especially zealous on behalf of the Arian doctrine at this time (Euseb. Nicom. in Theodt. *H. E.* i. 5 *ἡ τοῦ δεσπότου μου Εὐσεβίου σπουδὴ ἡ ὑπὲρ ἀληθοῦς λόγου*). But the testimony of a strong partisan, eagerly seeking to place his cause in the best light, may well be suspected; and the attitude of Eusebius of Caesarea throughout suggests that he was influenced rather by personal associations and by the desire to secure liberal treatment for the heresiarch than by any real accordance with his views. But, whatever may have been his motives, he wrote to Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, remonstrating with him for deposing Arius, and urging that he had misrepresented the opinions of the latter (Labbe, *Conc.* viii. 1148, ed. Colet). The cause of Arius was taken up also by two neighbouring bishops, occupying important sees, Theodotus of Laodicea and Paulinus of Tyre. In a letter addressed to his namesake of Constantinople, Alexander of Alexandria complains of three Syrian bishops, "appointed he knows not how" (*οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐν Συρίᾳ χειροτονηθέντες ἐπίσκοποι τρεῖς*)—doubtless intending Eusebius of Caesarea and his two allies—as having fanned the flame of sedition (Theodt. *H. E.* i. 3); while on the other hand Arius himself claims "all the bishops in the East," mentioning by name Eusebius of Caesarea with others, as on his side (Theodt. *H. E.* i. 4). Accordingly, when he was deposed by a synod convened at Alexandria by Alexander, Arius at once appealed to Eusebius and others to interpose. A meeting of Syrian bishops was convened, and decided in favour of his restoration. The decision however was worded cautiously. The synod thought that Arius should be allowed to gather his congregation about him as heretofore; but they added that he must render obedience to Alexander and entreat to be admitted to communion with him (Soz. *H. E.* i. 15).

Such was the attitude of Eusebius towards the Arian controversy when the council of Nicaea assembled (A.D. 325). In this council he took a leading part. His prominence on this occasion he cannot have owed to his bishopric, which, though important, did not rank with the great sees, "the apostolic thrones" (Soz. *H. E.* i. 17) of Christendom, Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. But he was beyond question the most learned man and the most famous living writer in the Church at this time. This fact alone must have secured a hearing for him. Probably however his importance was due even more to his close relations with the great emperor. How this intimacy first grew up, we do not know, but at

[b] Tillemont (*H. E.* vii. p. 41) alleges Photius as an authority for believing that Eusebius himself was incarcerated; but the words of Photius (*Bibl.* 118) do not say more than that Eusebius was with Pamphilus in his prison when they composed the work together.

[c] Baronius (*Ann.* s. a. 314), Tillemont (*H. E.* vii. p. 42), and others interpolate Agricolaus as the successor of Agapius and predecessor of Eusebius, on the ground that he appears as bishop of Caesarea at the council of Ancyra, about A.D. 314 (Labb. *Conc.* i. 1505, ed. Colet.). But the lists in the *Synodicon* (*ib.* 1509) and in the Syriac (Cowper's *Syrian Miscellanies*, p. 41) name Caesarea of Cappadocia as the see of Agricolaus, and this is doubtless correct.

this time he enjoyed the entire confidence of his imperial master. "He alone of the Eastern prelates could tell what was in the mind of the emperor; he was the clerk of the imperial closet; he was the interpreter, the chaplain, the confessor of Constantine" (Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 118).

(i) *The Inaugural Address.* It was probably owing to court favour that he occupied the first seat to the right of the emperor (*V. C.* iii. 11 *τῶν ἐπισκόπων ὁ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τάγματος πρωτεύων*), and delivered the opening address to Constantine when he took his seat in the council-chamber (*V. C.* i. prooem., iii. 11; Sozom. *H. E.* i. 19). The council was held during the emperor's *vicennalia;* his last rival and bitterest foe, Licinius, had been defeated and slain not long before; and the orator's address naturally took the form of a paean of victory, a hymn of thanksgiving (*V. C.* i. prooem. *τὸν καλλίνικον*, *ib.* iii. 11, Sozom. *l. c.*, *χαριστήριον ὕμνον*). The speech is unfortunately not preserved, but we may form some notion of its probable character from the extant oration which Eusebius delivered at the *tricennalia* of this same sovereign. There can be no doubt from the manner in which Eusebius describes the orator at the council of Nicaea that he is speaking of himself (*V. C.* iii. 11); and indeed he elsewhere incidentally mentions having delivered a panegyric of the emperor on that occasion (*V. C.* i. prooem.; see Stroth, p. xxvii sq.). Yet this function is assigned by Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 6) to Eustathius of Antioch, whom he reports to have sat next to Constantine, and "crowned the emperor's head with the flowers of praise." Moreover, the very oration which purports to have been delivered by Eustathius on this occasion is extant (Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* ix. p. 132 sq.); but it stands self-condemned by its post-Nicene phraseology, and seems to have been composed by Gregory of Neocaesarea, who flourished some centuries later. And again, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Philostorgius, as reported by Nicetas Choniates (*Thes. de Orth. Fid.* v. 7), assigned the opening address neither to Eusebius nor to Eustathius, but to Alexander of Alexandria. These divergent accounts may perhaps be reconciled by supposing that a few formal words were first addressed to the emperor by the two great Eastern patriarchs, while the true inaugural oration was delivered by Eusebius. Some such hypothesis is suggested by the statement in the *Hist. Tripart.* ii. 5, and in Nicephorus, *H. E.* viii. 16, where Eusebius is represented as following Eustathius.

(ii) *The Creed.* When the main subject, for which the council had been assembled, came under discussion, we find Eusebius again taking a prominent part. He himself has left us an account of his doings at this stage in a letter of explanation which he afterwards wrote to his own church of Caesarea (see below, p. 344). He laid before the council the creed which was in use in the Caesarean church, which had been handed down to him from the bishops who preceded him, which he himself had been taught at his baptism, and in which, first as a presbyter and then as a bishop, he had instructed others. The emperor was satisfied with the orthodoxy of this creed, inserting however the single word *ὁμοούσιον*. At the same time he gave explanations as to the meaning of the term which set the scruples of Eusebius at rest. The assembled fathers however did not rest here, but taking this as their starting-point (*προφάσει τοῦ ὁμοουσίου*) made other insertions and alterations. The creed as thus revised is still substantially the Caesarean creed, but the additions were not unimportant. Moreover, an anathema was appended in which Arian doctrines were directly condemned. Eusebius took time to consider before subscribing to this revised formula. The three expressions which caused difficulty were: (1) "of the substance of the Father" (*ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός*); (2) "begotten, not made" (*γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα*); (3) "of the same substance" (*ὁμοούσιον*); and of these he demanded explanations. The explanations were so far satisfactory that for the sake of peace he subscribed to the creed. He had the less scruple in assenting to the final anathema, because the Arian expressions which it condemned were not scriptural, and he considered that "almost all the confusion and disturbance of the churches" had arisen from the use of unscriptural phrases. This letter, he concludes, is written to the Caesareans to explain that though he would resist to the last any vital change in the traditional creed of his church, he had nevertheless subscribed to these alterations, when assured of their innocence, to avoid appearing contentious (*ἀφιλονείκως*). On this subject, see especially Hort's *Two Dissertations*, p. 55 sq.

(iii) *The Paschal Cycle.* The settlement of the dispute respecting the time of observing Easter was another important work undertaken by the council. In this work also a leading part has been assigned to Eusebius by some modern writers (*e. g.* Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 182, following Tillemont, *H. E.* vi. p. 668). The cycle of nineteen years, which ultimately prevailed in the Church under the name of the Golden Number, is supposed to have been fixed by the council; and this work is attributed expressly to Eusebius. This table for determining Easter, it is maintained, "first originated in the council chamber of Nicaea; perhaps in the desire of the emperor Constantine to soothe the wounded feelings of his favourite counsellor. . . . The council would naturally turn to the most learned of its members to accomplish the work. That member was unquestionably Eusebius of Caesarea. He had paid special attention to chronology. . . . It is creditable to the justice and wisdom of the council that they should not have allowed these recent disputes and wide theological differences to stand in the way of intrusting this delicate task to the man who on general grounds was most fitted to undertake it" (Stanley, *l. c.*). But the evidence does not justify either of the assumptions involved in this view. (1) There are strong reasons for hesitating to believe that the nineteen years' cycle was adopted at the council of Nicaea. It was the old Metonic cycle (invented about B.C. 432), and it had already been applied to the determination of Easter by Anatolius of Laodicea about A.D. 284 (Euseb *H. E.* vii. 32). It did not therefore originate in the council. Still the council might have given it an authoritative sanction, and thus secured its currency in the Church at large. This would follow from the language of St. Ambrose (*Epist.* 23, *Op.* ii. p. 880 sq.), who says (§ 1) that the Nicene fathers "congregatis peritissimis calculandi, decem et novem annorum collegere

rationem," and adds, "hunc circulum enneadecaterida nuncuparunt." In the next century too Cyril (*Epist.* 86, *Op.* x. 382, Migne), writing to Leo (A.D. 444), ascribes the adoption of this cycle to the Nicene council; and the same statement is made by later writers (see Butcher, *Ecclesiastical Calendar*, Dublin, 1877, Appendix, p. 267). But, though these statements are explicit, their accuracy is open to grave question. For first, in the documents relating to the treatment of the Paschal question at Nicaea, not a word is said as to the mode of calculating Easter (Euseb. *V. C.* iii. 18; Socr. *H. E.* i. 9); and, secondly, the churches of Rome and the West continued long after to make use of an older cycle (Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, i. p. 315), and they are hardly likely to have disregarded any direct decision of a council which they always treated with the highest respect. (2) But, even if it were more certain that the Nicene council directly sanctioned the cycle of nineteen years, there is no ground for regarding this as especially the work of Eusebius. Jerome indeed (*Vir. Ill.* 61) says that Eusebius "arranged [composuit] a canon for Easter, which was a cycle of nineteen years, that is, an *ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίς*"; and Bede (*de Temp. Rat.* 44, *Op.* i. 483, Migne) says the same thing, probably deriving his information from Jerome, though stating more precisely that Eusebius was "the first" to apply this cycle to the Paschal computation, which he certainly was not. But neither writer connects this fact with the council of Nicaea. Eusebius did indeed write a treatise on Easter (*V. C.* iv. 35), of which a fragment is extant (see below, p. 342), and in it he may have advocated the Metonic cycle. To this treatise probably Jerome and Bede refer; but it was written many years after the Council of Nicaea, with which it appears not to have had any connexion. The probable inference from the notices seems to be that the calculation of Easter was entrusted to the bishops of Alexandria, and that the nineteen years' cycle, being already in use in the Alexandrian church, thus indirectly obtained the sanction of the council. The earliest extant authority who mentions this duty as imposed on the Alexandrian bishops is Cyril of Alexandria (A.D. 437), *Epist.* 87 (*Op.* x. 383). The expression of Athanasius (*Festal Letters*, x. p. 67, Oxf. transl.), "the custom which has been delivered to us by the fathers," seem not to refer to any authorization of the Nicene bishops (as it has been interpreted), but to the traditional practice of the Alexandrian patriarchs, who, at least as early as Dionysius (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 20), are found issuing these Paschal letters. Leo the Great also, writing A.D. 453, states explicitly (*Epist.* 121, p. 1228) that "the holy fathers" (of Nicaea) delegated this duty of announcing the time of Easter to the bishop of Alexandria, because the Egyptians were skilled in these computations from ancient times. The *Festal Letters* of Athanasius (see the index in the Oxford translation, p. xv sq.) cover the period from A.D. 328 to 373. The nineteen years' cycle is already the basis of the calculation here. This appears, for instance, from the year 330, when Athanasius places Easter on April 19, whereas, according to the alternative eighty-four years' cycle which obtained at Rome, it would fall on March 22. How long it had prevailed in the Alexandrian church, we are without means of ascertaining. But inasmuch as Anatolius, who certainly advocated it, was himself an Alexandrian, we may conjecture that it was introduced by him. The action of the Nicene council therefore would be altogether indirect in this matter; and there is no reason for supposing that Eusebius in particular took any prominent part in the decision, though he is known to have approved the Alexandrian mode of reckoning.

(iv) *Dispute with Philosophers.* In the dispute between the bishops and the "philosophers," as related by Gelasius in his account of the Nicene Council, a conspicuous part is assigned to Eusebius of Caesarea (ii. 18, 19). The philosopher Phaedo hurls at him the favourite Arian text, Prov. viii. 22, where Wisdom says (according to the LXX translation), "The Lord created (*ἔκτισε*) me the beginning of His ways for His works." Wisdom being a synonym for the Logos, the Logos is thus declared to be a created thing (*κτίσμα*). Eusebius answers this Arian argument at great length, partly by monologue, partly by questioning his opponent. The whole discussion, it need hardly be said, is purely fictitious; but the fiction bears testimony to the prominent position asserted by Eusebius in the council, and it is not a little remarkable that a severely orthodox part is assigned to him.

(v) *Metropolitan Rights.* A more authentic indication of his influence appears in the seventh canon of the council, in which we may perhaps see "a slight passage at arms" between him "and Macarius of Aelia Capitolina, not yet 'Jerusalem': *As custom and ancient tradition have obtained that the bishop of Aelia should be honoured let him bear his proper honour*—so far Macarius gained his point, but (and here we cannot mistake the intervention of his superior, the metropolitan of Caesarea) *always saving the rights of the metropolitan*" (Stanley, *l. c.* p. 193). But if so, the victory of Eusebius was more complete than would appear from this translation, for the words, *ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς*, in this context are naturally translated, "let him have the next [second] place in point of honour," not "let him have the honour consequent thereupon."[d]

VI. *Progress of the Arian Controversy.* The hopes which Eusebius with others had built upon the decisions of the Nicene council were soon dashed. The final peace of the Church seemed as far distant as ever. In three several controversies with three distinguished antagonists, Eusebius took a more or less prominent part; and his reputation, whether justly or not, has suffered greatly in consequence.

(i) *Synod of Antioch.* Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, was a staunch advocate of the Nicene doctrine and a determined foe of the Arians. Against Eusebius of Caesarea he had already taken up a position of antagonism. He had assailed the tenets of Origen (Socr. *H. E.* vi. 13), of whom Eusebius was an ardent champion. He had attacked Eusebius himself, charging him with faithlessness to the doctrines of Nicaea,

[d] On this canon see Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* i. p. 387. The "metropolis" is Caesarea, not Antioch, as some have supposed. The language of this canon is explained by the historical circumstances before and after this date.

and was accused in turn of Sabellianism by Eusebius (Socr. *H. E.* i. 23; Soz. *H. E.* ii. 19). To the historian Socrates the doctrines of the two antagonists appeared to have so much in common that he was puzzled to conceive how they managed to fall out (*οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως συμφωνῆσαι οὐκ ἴσχυον*). At all events Eustathius of Antioch and Eusebius of Caesarea were regarded as the two principals in the quarrel (Soz. *H. E.* ii. 18). A conflict so serious could not be confined to a paper war, and more active steps were taken. A synod of bishops was assembled at Antioch, A.D. 330, to consider the charge of Sabellianism brought against Eustathius. If we are to believe Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 21), this synod was got together by a vile conspiracy on the part of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea, in which they induced Eusebius of Caesarea and other Palestinian bishops to join; but Theodoret's account condemns itself by its false chronology (Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* i. p. 434). The character of the bishop of Caesarea is not stained by this blot. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the assembly was mainly composed of bishops with Arian or semi-Arian sympathies. The charges brought against Eustathius are described in their proper place. [EUSTATHIUS.] Eustathius was deposed, and the see of Antioch thus became vacant. The assembled bishops put forward Eusebius of Caesarea as his successor, and wrote to the emperor on his behalf. The Christian populace of Antioch was divided. If the representations made by the bishops to Constantine deserve credit, the vast majority at all events of the laity were in favour of Eusebius. Eusebius himself speaks in a somewhat different strain (*V. C.* iii. 59). However this may be, the Eustathian party was strong, and the peace of the city was in imminent peril from the conflict. The tempter in his envy, writes Eusebius, "was rending the church of the Antiochenes with tragic woes, so that the whole city was well nigh overthrown from its foundations." It is not probable that such a position would at any time have possessed great attractions for Eusebius, and under the present circumstances it would appear less desirable than ever. He was a man of peace, and here was a prospect of war to the death. He was devoted to literary pursuits, and here it was proposed to tear him away from his Caesarean library and from the comparative leisure of a less important see to the arduous duties of chief pastor in the most turbulent of cities. The splendours of a great patriarchate would hardly excite the ambition of such a man under these circumstances. At all events, with the letter of the bishops pressing the appointment of Eusebius the emperor received another from Eusebius himself declining the proffered honour. He alleged more especially the rule of the Church, which was regarded as an "apostolic tradition," forbidding translations from one see to another. In consequence of these representations Constantine wrote three letters in reply, which are preserved by Eusebius (*V. C.* iii. 60, 61, 62). To the people of Antioch he sent a missive enforcing counsels of peace and deprecating their wish to rob another see of its bishop. To Eusebius himself he wrote, highly applauding his decision and complimenting him in the highest terms. To the bishops he issued his injunctions that they should not seek to violate the apostolic rule, but that other fit persons should be put forward for election, of whom he mentioned two by name. One of these, Euphronius, was elected.[e] Thus Eusebius remained undisturbed in the see of Caesarea, which he retained till his death. Throughout this matter, if we except the pardonable vanity which leads him to insert the emperor's compliments to himself, there is nothing to the discredit of Eusebius. On the contrary, his renunciation of the honour which was thrust upon him contrasts favourably with the unscrupulous ambition of too many of his contemporaries. Of the previous incidents which led to the vacancy in the see of Antioch, he says not a word; but he intimates that he abstains from giving the emperor's letters denouncing the factions at Antioch, because they inculpate certain persons and he does not wish to revive the memory of wrongdoings in the past. It was by this synod of Antioch also that Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, was deposed (Hilar. *Op.* ii. p. 654; see Hefele, i. p. 435), and we are especially told that he pleaded his cause in the presence of Eusebius of Caesarea (Athan. *Ap. c. Arian.* 47, *Op.* i. p. 130; Hilar. *Op.* ii. p. 626).

(ii) *Synods of Caesarea, Tyre, and Jerusalem.* The next stage of the Arian controversy exhibits Eusebius in conflict with a greater than Eustathius. The disgraceful intrigues of the Arians and Meletians against Athanasius, which led to his first exile, are related in the biography of that saint [ATHANASIUS, p. 183 sq.]. It is sufficient to say here that the emperor summoned Athanasius to appear before a gathering of bishops at Caesarea, to meet the charges brought against him. It is stated by Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 26) that Constantine was induced to name Caesarea by the counsels of the Arian party, who selected this place because the enemies of the accused were in a majority there (*ἔνθα δὴ πλείους ἦσαν οἱ δυσμενεῖς*). It is equally probable that the emperor would himself have given the preference to Caesarea, since he reposed the greatest confidence in the moderation (*ἐπιείκεια*) of its bishop. However this may be, Athanasius excused himself from attending. He believed, and he may have so pleaded in reply to the emperor, that there was a conspiracy against him, and that he would not have fair play at such a place (*Festal Letters*, p. xvii, Oxford transl.; Theod. *H. E.* i. 26; Soz. *H. E.* ii. 25). This was A.D. 334. Of this synod at Caesarea Athanasius himself is silent in his *Apology*.

The matter however was not allowed to rest here. In the following year (A.D. 335) Athanasius received a peremptory and angry summons

[e] Euphronius is represented as the immediate successor of Eustathius by Soz. *H. E.* ii. 10, Socr. *H. E.* i. 24; and this is the natural inference from Constantine's letter (Eus. *V. C.* iii. 62). On the other hand, Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 21) says that they appointed Eulalius first but that he only lived a short time, and they then desired to translate Eusebius of Palestine. Jerome (*Chron.* ii. p. 192, Schöne) gives the names of the Arian bishops who were thrust in succession into the place of Eustathius, as "Eulalius, Eusebius, Eufronius, Placillus," &c. Perhaps Eulalius was put forward for the vacant see, like Eusebius, but never actually appointed. The statement attributed to Philostorgius, that Paulinus of Tyre succeeded Eustathius, will be considered below, p. 322.

from Constantine to appear before a synod of bishops, not now at Caesarea, but at Tyre.[f] Theodoret (*l. c.*) conjectures (*ὡς οἶμαι*) that the place of meeting was changed by the emperor out of deference to the fears of Athanasius, who "looked with suspicion on Caesarea on account of its ruler." It is not improbable that Athanasius, or his friends, had taken objection to Eusebius as a partisan in this controversy; for the Egyptian bishops who espoused the cause of Athanasius, addressing the synod of Tyre, allege "the law of God" as forbidding "an enemy to be witness or judge," and shortly afterwards add mysteriously, "ye know why Eusebius of Caesarea has become an enemy since last year" (Athan. *Ap. c. Arian.* 77, *Op.* i. p. 153), as if he had taken offence at the objections then raised against him. The scenes at the synod of Tyre form the most picturesque and the most shameful chapter in the Arian controversy. After all allowance made for the exaggerations of the Athanasian party, from whom our knowledge is chiefly derived, the proceedings will still remain an undying shame to Eusebius of Nicomedia and his fellow intriguers. But there is no reason for supposing that Eusebius of Caesarea took any active part in these plots. Athanasius is generally silent about him, mentioning him rarely, and then without any special bitterness. The "Eusebians" (*οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον*) are always the adherents of his Nicomedian namesake. But, though probably free from any participation in their plots, of which he may have been wholly ignorant, he was certainly used as a tool by the more unscrupulous and violent partisans of Arius, and he must bear the reproach of a too easy compliance with their actions. The proceedings of the bishops assembled at Tyre were cut short by the withdrawal of the accused himself. Athanasius suddenly took ship to Constantinople, and appealed in person to the emperor. The synod saw no other course but to condemn him by default. For a fuller account of its proceedings, the reader is referred to the biography of Athanasius; but there are two incidents connected with it which relate to Eusebius, and which claim a mention here. (1) It was on this occasion that Potammon, the Egyptian confessor, flung the taunt of cowardice and apostasy in the face of Eusebius, as related already (p. 311). Hefele discredits the story altogether (*Conciliengesch.* i. p. 446). He supposes it to be another version of an incident related by Rufinus (x. 17; comp. Sozom. *H. E.* ii. 25) respecting Paphnutius and Maximus of Jerusalem. It seems more probable however that some such taunt was levelled at Eusebius on this occasion. But whether so or not, no stain rests upon his character in consequence of this reckless accusation. (2) It will be remembered that, among the charges brought against Athanasius at this synod, Theodoret and Rufinus (x. 17) mention that he was accused of having seduced a girl, who had a child by him, and that, when confronted with him, she was unable to identify her supposed seducer, but pointed to another as Athanasius. The story is clearly unworthy of credit, for there is no mention of it in Socrates or Sozomen, or in Athanasius himself. But it is instructive to find that Philostorgius gives the same story, transposing the persons (*H. E.* ii. 12). Athanasius is the false accuser; Eusebius of Caesarea the innocent accused. The falsehood is detected in a similar way; and the synod condemns Athanasius for his vile conspiracy. The two forms of the story are a painful illustration of the recklessness with which moral charges were flung at theological opponents on either side. It is worth observing that both in the incident of Potammon (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxviii. 7 *ἐκέλευσε δικάζειν Εὐσέβιον τὸν Καισαρείας καὶ ἄλλους τινάς . . . ἀναστὰς διέλυσε τὸ δικαστήριον*) and in the story of the seduction (Philost. ii. 12 *ὃς τοῦ ἐκεῖσε συνεδρίου κορυφαῖος ἐνομίζετο*) Eusebius appears as the presiding bishop at Tyre. This does not seem very probable. It should be noticed also that in Sozomen's account (*H. E.* ii. 25) the contumacy of Athanasius in not appearing before the bishops assembled in the preceding year at Caesarea is alleged as a special ground of condemnation.

The bishops assembled at Tyre were in the midst of their session, possibly preparing to crown the work of condemning and deposing Athanasius by the readmission of Arius and his friends into the church, when an urgent summons from the emperor, through the notary Marianus, called them to take part in the approaching festival at Jerusalem (Euseb. *V. C.* iv. 41 sq.; Socr. *H. E.* i. 33 sq.; Sozom. *H. E.* ii. 26; Theodt. *H. E.* i. 29). It was the *tricennalia* of Constantine. No previous sovereign after Augustus, the founder of the empire, had reigned for thirty years. Constantine had a fondness for magnificent ceremonial, and here was a noble opportunity (*V. C.* iv. 40 *καιρὸς εὔκαιρος*). The occasion was marked by the dedication of Constantine's new and splendid basilica, built on the site of Calvary. Bishops were summoned from all parts; the imperial posts were put at their disposal; and nothing was left undone to give lustre to the festival. The prelates assembled at Tyre formed only a fraction of the subsequent gathering at Jerusalem. If an accidental reference in the acts of St. Basil of Ancyra refers to this occasion, as it appears to do (*Act. Boll.* Mart. xxii; see Tillemont, vi. p. 284), the number of bishops who met for the dedication was not less than 230. The festival was graced by a series of orations from the principal persons present; some pronouncing panegyrics on the emperor, others describing the magnificence of the building, others discoursing on high topics of theology, others interpreting the hidden meaning of the Scriptures. In these rhetorical displays Eusebius bore a conspicuous part. It is probable that Eusebius found in this dedication-festival a far more congenial atmosphere than in the intrigues and bickerings of the synod at Tyre. At all events he treats the assemblage at Tyre as a mere episode of the festival at Jerusalem (*ὀδοῦ δὴ πάρεργον*). The emperor, he says, preparing for the celebration of this festival, was anxious to put an end to the quarrels which rent the

[f] In the preface to the *Festal Letters*, p. xvii, it is stated that Athanasius left Alexandria, Epiphi 17, A.D. 336; but this must be an error of a year, for a document given by Athanasius, *Ap. c. Arian.* 75 (*Op.* i. p. 152), and written later than this event, is dated Thoth 10 (= Sept. 7), A.D. 335.

Church. In doing so he was only obeying the Lord's injunction, "Be reconciled to thy brother, and then go and offer thy gift" (comp. Soz. i. 26). This view of the emperor's motive is entirely borne out by Constantine's own letter to the synod at Tyre. It accords moreover with his proceedings on a previous occasion. As the council of Nicaea had been summoned with a view to re-establishing peace in the Church for his approaching *vicennalia*, so now the bishops were directed to meet at Tyre on their way to Jerusalem to secure a general pacification before the celebration at the close of his next decennium. Eusebius shows by his language that he was greatly impressed by the celebration; but Tillemont, who manifests a strong prejudice against Eusebius throughout, altogether misstates the case in saying that he "compares or even prefers this assembly to the council of Nicaea, striving to exalt it as much as he can, for the sake of effacing the glory of that great council," &c. (vi. p. 284). So far from preferring it, he says distinctly that "*after* that first council" this was the greatest synod assembled by Constantine of all those with which he was acquainted (*V. C.* iv. 47 *ταύτην μεγίστην ὧν ἴσμεν σύνοδον δευτέραν συνεκρότει . . . μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐκείνην κ. τ. λ.*). And on the other hand, so far from shewing any desire to depreciate the council of Nicaea, he cannot find language magnificent enough to sing its glories (*V. C.* iii. 6 sq.), when it is the proper theme of his narrative.

But the bishops assembled at Jerusalem did not content themselves with the celebration of the religious festival. They took another highly important step. Arius and Euzoius had presented a confession of faith to the emperor, seeking readmission to the church. The emperor himself was satisfied with the opinions expressed in this document, and persuaded himself that it was in harmony with the faith of Nicaea. It did not perhaps directly contradict the creed of the Nicene fathers in any point; it even contained a strong expression respecting the pre-existence of the Son (*τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων γεγενημένον Θεὸν λόγον*); but after all that had passed, its omissions were more eloquent than its admissions. These omissions however were not likely to strike Constantine. He therefore despatched Arius and Euzoius to Jerusalem, at the same time requesting the synod to consider their confession of faith, and to restore them to communion.[g] The request was not made in vain. The condemnation of Athanasius at Tyre was followed by the readmission of Arius and his followers at Jerusalem. Of the bishops who were responsible for this act, some would be instigated mainly by hostility to Athanasius, desiring thus to complete his defeat; others, taking the emperor's view, would regard it as an act of pacification. How far either motive would prevail with Eusebius of Caesarea, we can only conjecture; but the stress which he lays on Constantine's desire to secure the peace of the church, on this as on all other occasions, suggests that pacification would be a predominant idea in his own mind, though perhaps not unmixed with other influences. It is strange that throughout his account of these proceedings Eusebius does not name either Athanasius or Arius; that in his allusion to the synod of Tyre he confines himself to vague generalities about the settlement of quarrels; and that in his narrative of the assemblage at Jerusalem he does not so much as hint at any synodical action of any kind.

(iii) *Synod of Constantinople.* The conduct of the emperor at this time was strangely fickle and inconsistent. He had no distinct theological convictions on the great doctrine at issue, and was therefore at the mercy of the last speaker. Athanasius had not fled to Constantinople in vain. Constantine desired pacification, but he was not insensible to justice; and the personal pleadings of Athanasius convinced him that justice had been outraged (*Ap. c. Arian.* 86). The bishops assembled at the dedication festival had scarcely executed the request, or the command, of the emperor's first letter, when they received another written in a very different temper (Athan. *Ap. c. Arian.* 86; Socr. *H. E.* i. 34; Sozom. *H. E.* ii. 27). It was addressed "to the bishops that had assembled at Tyre"; it described their proceedings as "tumultuous and stormy" (*μετὰ θορύβου καὶ χειμῶνος*); it contended that their judgment had been overclouded by a spirit of contentiousness to the perversion of the truth; and it ended by summoning them to present themselves without a moment's delay at Constantinople. The leaders of the Eusebian party alone obeyed; the rest slunk away to their respective homes. Among those who repaired to the imperial city was Eusebius of Caesarea. Of the principal events which marked this occasion, the banishment of Athanasius and the death of Arius, it is unnecessary to speak here. But the proceedings of the synod then held at Constantinople (A.D. 336) have an important bearing on the literary history of Eusebius. The chief work of this synod was the condemnation of Marcellus [MARCELLUS], bishop of Ancyra, an uncompromising opponent of the Arians. He had written a book in reply to the Arian Asterius "the sophist," in which his zeal against Arian tenets goaded him into expressions that had a rank savour of Sabellianism. The proceedings against him had commenced at Jerusalem. They were taken up again at Constantinople, where he was condemned of Sabellianism, and deposed from his bishopric (Socr. *H. E.* i. 36; Soz. *H. E.* ii. 33). Eusebius is especially mentioned as taking part in this synod (Athan. *Ap. c. Arian.* 87; comp. Euseb. *c. Marc.* ii. 4, p. 115). But the dominant party were not satisfied with this condemnation. Eusebius was urged by his friends to undertake a refutation of the heretic. The two works against Marcellus, of which an account will be given in the proper place, were his response to this request.

Meanwhile Eusebius found more congenial employment during his sojourn at Constantinople. The celebration of the emperor's *tricen-*

[g] The account of Sozomen (*H. E.* ii. 27) is here followed. In the narrative of Socrates (*H. E.* i. 25) the presentation of this confession of faith to the emperor is placed at a much earlier date—before the refusal of Athanasius to readmit Arius at Alexandria, which led to the plottings of the Eusebian party and ultimately to the assembling of the synod at Tyre. The fact that the synod of Jerusalem in its circular letter announcing its decision pleaded the receipt of a letter from Constantine asking for the readmission of Arius and appending a written confession of faith given by him (Athan. *Ap. c. Arian.* 84, *Op.* i. p. 157; *de Synod.* 21, *Op.* i. p. 586) seems to shew that Sozomen is right.

nalia had not yet ended, and the bishop of Caesarea delivered a panegyric which he afterwards appended to his *Life of Constantine*. An account of this work, which is extant under the title *De Laudibus Constantini*, is given below. With complacent vanity the orator records the emperor's satisfaction with his performance. This sovereign so "dear to God listened attentively, and was like one in an ecstasy of delight" (*κατακρούμενος ὁ τῷ θεῷ φίλος γαννυμένῳ ἐῴκει*); he expressed his approval afterwards at a banquet to the bishops who were his guests (*V. C.* iv. 46). Possibly the delivery of this oration may have been the chief motive which induced Eusebius to accompany the Arian bishops to the imperial city. It must have been during this same visit also, though on an earlier day, that he delivered before the emperor his discourse on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had probably been spoken previously at the dedication itself. On this occasion too the satisfaction of Constantine was not less marked. He stood the whole time, though on the orator's own confession the discourse was lengthy; he refused again and again to be seated; he listened intently throughout, and would not suffer the orator to break off when he desired to do so (*V. C.* ix. 33, 46). This oration has unfortunately not survived (see p. 343).

VII. *His Relations with the Emperor and Imperial Family.* It does not appear that Eusebius had any personal interview with Constantine, when as a young man he passed through Caesarea in the retinue of Diocletian (see p. 309). The historian records the incident merely as a sightseer. The first direct communication on record is a letter from the emperor to Eusebius as metropolitan of Caesarea after the restoration of peace, giving orders for the rebuilding of the churches (*V. C.* ii. 46); but this does not suppose any personal acquaintance. Constantine indeed addresses him on this occasion as his "dearly beloved brother," but nothing can be built upon the expression. At the Council of Nicaea however he stood high in the emperor's favour, as the prominent position there assigned to him shews (p. 312 sq.); and from that time forward there seems to have been no interruption to his cordial relations with his imperial friend. The emperor was wont to enter into familiar conversation with him, relating to him the most remarkable incidents in his career, such as the miraculous appearance of the cross in the skies (*V. C.* i. 28), and the protection afforded by this same emblem in battle (*V. C.* ii. 9) He corresponded with him on various subjects. Besides official letters, such as that which has been already mentioned, Constantine wrote to compliment him on his declining the see of Antioch. "Consider thyself happy," he says on this occasion, "forasmuch as by the testimony of the whole world, so to speak, thou hast been judged worthy to be bishop of every church" (*V. C.* iii. 61). On receiving from Eusebius his treatise on the Paschal festival dedicated to himself, he sent in reply a letter of acknowledgment, expressing his excessive admiration (*ὑπερθαυμάσας*) and urging his correspondent to write many more such discourses (*V. C.* iv. 45). On another occasion again he writes to him, asking him to see to the execution of fifty copies of the Scriptures for his new capital Constantinople, and supplying him with the means necessary for executing the order (*V. C.* iv. 36; see below, p. 334). But he not only corresponded familiarly with the bishop of Caesarea. It was a still greater mark of respect to listen with patience, and even with delight, to the lengthy and elaborate orations which Eusebius held from time to time in his presence, as we have seen him doing. We may well suppose that, beyond his vast learning, the bishop of Caesarea had other qualities which rendered his society attractive to the great emperor. Constantine himself praises his gentleness or moderation (*V. C.* iii. 60 *ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς παιδεύσεώς τε καὶ ἐπιεικείας ἕνεκεν καλῶς τε καὶ πολλοῦ γινώσκω*, and again, *τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοσαύτην ὑμᾶς ἐπιεικείας ψῆφον ἐνέγκασθαι*). Nor would the unfeigned admiration which Eusebius entertained for his imperial host fail to recommend him to the great man. On the other hand, the bishop praises the frankness and affability of the sovereign, which was condescending and unsuspicious to a fault, so that the unscrupulous preyed upon his confidence (*V. C.* iv. 54). Nor was Constantine the only member of the imperial family with whom Eusebius had friendly relations. We find the empress Constantia, the sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius, writing to him on a matter of religious interest. To her Eusebius replies in a letter, of which a great part is still extant. In his reply we are especially struck with the frankness of expostulation, almost of rebuke, which he addresses to this high personage (*Spicil. Solesm.* i. 383). These relations of Eusebius with a lady of the imperial family had a precedent in the life of his great hero Origen, who in like manner found an attentive disciple in Mammaea, the mother of the emperor Alexander Severus (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 21).

VIII. *Latest Years and Death.* Within twelve months, or a little more, of the time when he had listened with rapt attention to the orations of the bishop of Caesarea, the great emperor, who then had seemed so strong and vigorous, breathed his last (May 22, A.D. 337); and the orator himself soon followed his imperial master. The precise time when Eusebius ended his long and laborious life is not known, but he was no longer living in 341, for we find his successor Acacius representing Caesarea in the synod held at Antioch that year. From the connexion in which his death is mentioned by the historians, we may infer that it happened not later than the close of A.D. 339 or the beginning of A.D. 340.[h] In Wright's *Ancient Syrian Martyrology*,

[h] Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 4) writes *ἐν δὲ τῷδε τῷ χρόνῳ τελευτήσαντος Εὐσεβίου κ. τ. λ.* In the previous chapter he mentions the intrigues of the Arians which led to the second exile of Athanasius, but says that he will defer the account of this exile till later (*μικρὸν ὕστερον λέξω*). In the following chapter he describes the death of the younger Constantine as happening "no long time after;" (*μετ' οὐ πολύ*). The second exile of Athanasius seems to have taken place in March, 340 [ATHANASIUS, p. 388]. Constantine was slain in the early months of the same year (Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* i. 402). Sozomen (*H. E.* iii. 2) places the death of Eusebius in exactly the same relation to all these events. It happened therefore, after the transactions which led to the exile of Athanasius had begun, but before the exile itself, and before the death of the younger Constantine.

which cannot date later than half a century after the event, "the commemoration of Eusebius bishop of Palestine" is placed on May 30. If this represents the day of his death, as probably it does, he must have died in 339, for the notices will hardly allow so late a date in the following year. His literary activity was unabated to the end. Four years at the most can have elapsed between his last visit to Constantinople and his death. He must have been fast approaching his eightieth year when the end came. Yet at this advanced age, and within this short period, he composed the *Panegyric*, the *Life of Constantine*, the treatise *Against Marcellus*, and the companion treatise *On the Theology of the Church*; while probably also he had in hand at the same time other unfinished works, such as the *Theophania*. There are no signs of failing mental vigour in these latest works. The two doctrinal treatises, which must certainly be assigned to the last four years of his life, are perhaps the most forcible and lucid of his writings. The *Panegyric* and the *Life of Constantine* are disfigured indeed by a too luxuriant rhetoric; but in vigour they do not fall behind any of his earlier works. Of his death itself no record is left. He passed away silently, we may suppose, as an old man of regular habits and equable temperament might be expected to pass away. Acacius, his successor, had been his pupil. Though more decidedly Arian in his bias, he was a devoted admirer of his master (Sozom. *H. E.* iii. 2). He wrote a life of Eusebius (see p. 308), and seems to have edited some of his works (see p. 328).

IX. *Literary Works.* The literary remains of Eusebius are a rich and comparatively unexplored mine of study. With the exception of the *Chronicle* and the *Ecclesiastical History*, none of his writings have been investigated with proper diligence, and the vast majority remain still with the most meagre annotations, if annotated at all. Even in the excepted cases much remains still to be done. In wandering through this wide and pathless waste, without guides and without tracks, a writer will necessarily go astray; and the following account must therefore be regarded as only tentative. The literary chronology of Eusebius is especially perplexing. He was in the habit of re-editing his books, and, possibly also, of adding references from later works in the earlier, even when he did not re-edit. Hence the apparently contradictory evidence with regard to dates, which meets us again and again in his writings.

His works may be arranged under the following heads: A. *Historical*; B. *Apologetic*; C. *Critical and Exegetical*; D. *Doctrinal*; E. *Orations*; F. *Letters*. The division is of necessity more or less artificial, and in some cases a work might be placed under more than one of these heads. Thus the *Defence of Origen* is partly historical, partly doctrinal, while in one sense it may be called apologetic; and so again the *Letter to the Church of Caesarea* is exclusively doctrinal, and the *Oration in Praise of Constantine* is mainly apologetic. But a rough classification like this is recommended by its obvious convenience.

References are given in brackets [ ], after the titles of the several works, to the edition of Eusebius in the *Patrologia Graeca* of Migne, whenever the works in question are included in that collection.

A. Historical.

(1) *Life of Pamphilus.* Eusebius (*Mart. Pal.* 11), speaking of his friend's martyrdom, refers to this work as follows: "The rest of the triumphs of his virtue, requiring a longer narration, we have already before this given to the world in a separate work in three books, of which his life is the subject." He also refers to it three times in his *History* (*H. E.* vi. 32, vii. 32, viii. 13). In the first of these passages he states that in it he has given a full list of the works of Origen and of the other ecclesiastical writers collected by Pamphilus at Caesarea. Doubtless Jerome's list of Origen's works, which was discovered a few years ago (see Redepenning in *Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol.* 1851, p. 66 sq.), is borrowed from this source. This Life is several times mentioned by Jerome (*Ep.* 34, *Op.* i. p. 154 sq.; *Vir. Ill.* 81; *c. Ruffin.* i. 9). In the last passage he describes it as containing "tres libros elegantissimos," and gives a short extract from the third book. This appears to be the only remaining fragment; for the account of Pamphilus' death, published by Papebroch, belongs, as we shall see, not to this work, but to the longer edition of the *Martyrs of Palestine*. The date of the *Life of Pamphilus* is uncertain; but it was written before the *History* (on the v. l. ἀναγράψομεν for ἀνεγράψαμεν in *H. E.* viii. 13, see Heinichen), and before the shorter edition of the *Martyrs of Palestine* (l.c.).

(2) *On the Martyrs of Palestine* (περὶ τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ μαρτυρησάντων) [*Op.* ii. 1457 sq.]. This work is extant in two forms, a shorter and a longer.

(i) The shorter form is found attached to the *Ecclesiastical History* in most MSS of the latter, but not always in the same place. Commonly it stands between the eighth and ninth books, but in one MS at least it is placed in the middle of viii. 13, where in fact Eusebius makes a reference to it; while in some others it is relegated to the end of the tenth book. In one or two MSS however, and notably in *D. Marc. Venet.* 338, perhaps the most important of all, it is wanting; neither has it any place in the Latin of Rufinus, or in the Syriac version of the *History*. Its fluctuating position in the MSS has a close analogy in the famous pericope (Joh. vii. 53–viii. 11) of the evangelical narrative.

(ii) The longer form is not extant entire in the original Greek. In the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* (Jun. t. i. p. 64) Papebroch published for the first time in Greek, from a Paris MS of the Metaphrast, an account of the martyrdom of Pamphilus and others (Ἄθλησις τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων Παμφίλου κ.τ.λ.) which professed to be "composed by Eusebius Pamphili" (συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου). It had appeared in a Latin version before. The Greek was reprinted by Fabricius, *Hippolytus* ii. p. 217. This is a fuller account of the same incidents which are related in the *Mart. Pal.* 11 attached to the *History*. In the matter which the two contain in common they are expressed in the same words, or nearly so. Hence it followed that the one must have been an enlargement or an abridgment of the other. Both Papebroch and Fabricius supposed that the Metaphrast had extracted these Acts from Eusebius's *Life of Pamphilus*. On the other hand, Valois maintained that the Meta-

phrast must have had a fuller edition of the *Martyrs of Palestine* than the existing Greek text. He was confirmed in this view by the fact that some anonymous Latin Acts of St. Procopius, which he printed, stood in exactly the same relation to the account of this martyr's death in the *Mart. Pal.* 1. These Latin Acts were evidently translated from some contemporary account, for they contained the words, "primo anno quo adversus nos fuit persecutio."

Recent discovery has established the conjecture of Valois. In A.D. 1861 Cureton published from a MS in the British Museum, dated A.D. 411 (the same which also contains the *Theophania*), an ancient Syriac version of the *Martyrs of Palestine*. The portions relating to Procopius and to Pamphilus and his companions correspond to the longer forms of their respective Acts as already described. Here then is a translation of the entire work of Eusebius in its longer form.

This discovery moreover throws light on another fact. S. E. Assemani's *Acta Martyrum Occidentalium*, p. 166 sq. (Romae, 1748), contains accounts of the deaths of several of these Palestinian martyrs in Syriac, published from the Vatican MS *Syr.* 1. Assemani, starting from the theory of Valois and finding that his Syrian Acts of Procopius were identical with the Latin Acts already mentioned, inferred that we had in these Syriac Acts portions of the complete work of Eusebius, of which the Greek attached to the *History* was only an abridgment. So far he was correct in his inference. But he went on to express his opinion that Eusebius himself wrote the work in Syriac, and that the Acts which he published were in fact the originals of the author. This latter theory is shattered by Cureton's publication. Assemani's Acts (so far as they contain common matter) are another and independent Syriac version of the same Greek as Cureton's. Assemani's Syriac has the following Acts taken from the work of Eusebius: (1) Procopius, p. 166 sq.; (2) Alphaeus, &c., p. 172 sq.; (3) Timotheus, p. 182 sq.; (4) Apphianus, p. 186 sq.; (5) Aedesius, p. 195 sq.; (6) Agapius, p. 198 sq.; (7) Theodosia, p. 201 sq.; (8) Peter Absalom, p. 206 sq.

Of the genuineness of this longer work there can be no reasonable question. The Syriac MS of the Curetonian version itself was written within little more than seventy years of Eusebius's death. Moreover, it is plainly not the original autograph of the translation. The confusion and transposition of Syriac letters shew that the version has passed through one and probably more stages of transcription after it was made. Thus Apphianus is changed into Epiphanius, Anea into Aia, Peleus into Paulus, &c. (see pp. 58, 61, 64, 69, 78, 84, 85, Cureton). And in other words also, besides proper names, the text has been corrupted (pp. 57, 63, 83). Moreover, the Greek MS from which the Syriac version was made had either been mis-copied or so blurred by time as to be illegible in parts. Hence the name Paesis (a good Egyptian name, like Paapis, Paphnutius, &c. with the meaning "belonging to Isis"; see Tattam *s. v.* ΠΑ∆ΗCI) has become Plasis by a confusion of Α Λ (p. 57), Aedesius has become Alosis by a confusion of Δ Λ (p. 60), &c. Allowing sufficient time for these corruptions, we are carried back to the date of Eusebius himself. Moreover, the historical notices, which this longer account superadds to the shorter narrative, indicate a contemporary and an eye-witness.

Nor again can it reasonably be doubted that the shorter form of the *Palestinian Martyrs*, attached to the history, is Eusebius's own. Not only does the compiler retain those notices of the longer form in which Eusebius speaks in his own person; but in those passages also, which are peculiar to this shorter form, Eusebius is evidently the speaker. Thus, in his account of Pamphilus (c. 11) he mentions having already written a special work in three books on his martyred friend's life. Again, when recording the death of Silvanus who had had his eyes put out (c. 13), he mentions his own astonishment on one occasion (καταπλαγῆναί ποτε αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶ), when he heard him reading the Scriptures, as he supposed, from a book in church, at being told that he was blind and was repeating them by heart. Moreover, other incidental notices, which are inserted from time to time and have no place in the longer form, shew the knowledge of a contemporary and eyewitness.

Eusebius was in the habit of working up old matter in new forms. A twofold edition of this book therefore is no stumbling-block. But it is an interesting problem to inquire the motive in this particular case.

The longer edition seems to be the original form of the book. It is an independent work, and appears to have been written not very long after the events themselves. It betrays no other motive than to inform and edify the readers, more especially the Christians of Caesarea and Palestine, to whom it is immediately addressed. "Our city of Caesarea" is an expression occurring several times (pp. 4 twice, 25, 30). "This our country," "this our city," are analogous phrases (pp. 8, 13). The martyrs are described as "those of whom the whole people of Palestine is proud, for in the midst of this our land also the Saviour of all mankind himself arose" (p. 3). "We also," he writes, when relating a miraculous occurrence, "call as witnesses to you of these things which we have written the whole of the inhabitants of the city of Caesarea, for there was not so much as one of the inhabitants of this city absent from this terrific sight" (p. 17). The beginning and end are hortatory, and suggest a directly *didactic* purpose in the narrative.

In the shorter form the case is different. The writer does not localize himself in the same way. It is always "the city," never "this city," of Caesarea. The appeal to the Caesareans in recounting the miracle is left out (c. 4). The hortatory beginning and ending are omitted; and generally the didactic portions are abridged or excised. For the hortatory opening a chronological notice, and an account of the decree under which the martyrs were condemned, are substituted. The hortatory close in like manner makes room for a brief summary of the sufferings of the martyrs under Diocletian throughout the world, ending with a reference to the palinode of the persecutors. "We must now," so it concludes, "record the palinode" (ἀναγραπτέα δὴ καὶ ἡ παλινωδία).

It would seem then that this shorter form

was part of a larger work, in which the sufferings of the martyrs were set off against the deaths of the persecutors. The object of this antithetical treatment would be the vindication of God's righteousness. This idea appears several times elsewhere in the writings of Eusebius, and he may have desired to embody it in a separate treatise. The work is plainly not complete, as we have it. The palinode, which is promised, never comes. Nor is this the only sign of incompleteness. In c. 12 Eusebius refers to something which he has "said at the beginning." To this there is nothing corresponding in the extant work. The preface therefore is wanting, as well as the conclusion. This hypothesis as to the intention of the work, if it be admitted, solves another difficulty. At the end of the eighth book of the *History*, several MSS (generally the same which contain the *Martyrs of Palestine*) give a short appendix, as contained "in some copies" (ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις). This appendix contrasts the miserable deaths of the persecutors with the happy end of Constantius the friend of the Christians, crowned by the happy accession of his son Constantine. It evidently does not belong to the *History* itself. It is no less obviously a fragment of some larger work; for it refers to an account of the abdication of the two emperors, which has been given in a previous part of the narrative. May we not have here a fragment of the second part of the treatise of which the *Martyrs of Palestine* in the shorter recension formed the first?

(3) *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms* (ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίων συναγωγή). The title of the work may be inferred with substantial correctness from a comparison of the references in *H. E.* iv. 15, v. praef., 4, 21. Of this work Eusebius was not, as some have supposed, the author, but merely, as the title suggests and as the notices require, the compiler and editor. The narratives of martyrdoms had a double importance in the eyes of Eusebius: they were not only valuable as history, but they were instructive as lessons (*H. E.* v. praef. οὐχ ἱστορικὴν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικὴν περιέχον διήγησιν). Hence he took pains to preserve authentic records of them. He conceived that those which happened during the last persecution should be narrated by contemporaries and eye-witnesses. Hence he himself undertook to record the sufferings of the martyrs of his own country Palestine at this time; while he left to others in different parts of the world to relate those "quae ipsi miserrima viderunt," declaring that only thus strict accuracy could be attained (see *H. E.* viii. 13, οὐχ ἡμέτερον, τῶν δ' ὄψει τὰ πράγματα παρειληφότων ἴδιον ἂν γένοιτο, with the whole context). But he was anxious also to preserve the records of past persecutions. Hence this collection of *Martyrologies*. The epithet "ancient" (ἀρχαῖα) must probably be regarded as only relative. Those martyrdoms were "ancient," which took place prior to the "persecution of his own time" (ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμός, according to his favourite expression). He himself refers to this collection for the martyrdom of Polycarp and others at Smyrna under Antoninus Pius A.D. 155 or 156 (iv. 15), for the documents relating to the sufferers in Gaul under M. Aurelius A.D. 177 (v. 1, sq.), and for the defence of Apollonius under Commodus A.D. 180–185 (v. 21). But it would probably comprise any martyrdoms which occurred before the long peace that preceded the outbreak of the last persecution under Diocletian.

Out of this simple fact that Eusebius made a collection of the older acts of martyrdom, much legendary matter has grown. It gave rise to a fictitious correspondence between Jerome and others (Hieron. *Op.* xi. 542, Vallarsi). Chromatius and Heliodorus, the bishops, write to Jerome asking him to search for the "feriales" in the archives of St. Eusebius at Caesarea, and instruct them that they may observe the saints' days with more regularity. He replies to them, stating how on the occasion of Constantine's visit to Caesarea Eusebius had requested that the judges throughout the Roman empire might be directed to furnish him with copies of any judicial proceedings against the martyrs. Using these materials Eusebius had compiled a narrative giving "omnium pene martyrum provinciarum omnium Romanarum trophaea." From this work Jerome himself draws up the calendar of saints' days, which he sends in answer to his correspondent's request. These letters were afterwards prefixed to the so-called *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, which they are intended to recommend. Baronius (*Mart. Rom.* praef. cc. vi, vii), and S. E. Assemani (*Act. Mart. Occ.* p. 39 sq.) have pointed out the historical impossibilities which these letters contain. But though a forgery, they appear to have been in circulation at an early date. There is a reference to them even in Cassiodorus (*Inst. Div. Litt.* 32, p. 556), if the passage be not interpolated. They seem also to have suggested the statement in the forged *Acts of St. Sylvester*, where this imaginary work of Eusebius is described in similar language, with the additional statement that it contained twenty (v. l. eleven) books. We may suppose also that directly or indirectly they prompted the inquiry of Eulogius of Alexandria, who wrote to ask Gregory the Great to send him this work of Eusebius. Gregory (*Ep.* viii. 29) says in reply that no such work exists in the archives of the Roman church or in the libraries of Rome, and that he himself had never heard of it, till he got the letter of Eulogius. In the middle ages however rumours of this work appear and re-appear; and at the revival of learning hopes of its discovery were excited from time to time. The story is fully investigated by Assemani (l. c.) who shews it to be incredible in itself and irreconcilable alike with the silence and the utterances of Eusebius.

(4) *Chronicle* [*Op.* i. 99 sq.]. As this is made the subject of a separate article [EUSEBIUS, CHRONICLE OF], little need be said here. The suggestion there thrown out, that Eusebius published two different editions of this work (see p. 352), deserves every consideration. It would solve not a few difficulties which we encounter in the literary history of Eusebius. The following reasons may be alleged for this theory. (i) The Armenian version differs from Jerome's in some important respects, but especially in the dates of the Roman bishops. (ii) Jerome states that the work was brought down to the *vicennalia* of Constantine (A.D. 325). But the *History* was published not very many months after this (see below, p. 322), and must have been in progress long before. Now the dates

of the earlier Roman episcopate in the Armenian differ widely from those given in the *History*, while Jerome's dates agree with the latter. If there was only one edition, this phenomenon may be explained in one of two ways. *Either* Jerome reproduces the original Eusebian chronology of the Roman bishops and the Armenian translator (or some later redactor of the *Chronicle* before his time) tampered with the work, and substituted a confessedly erroneous chronology for one substantially correct—a very improbable supposition; *or* (as assumed by Lipsius and commonly) the Armenian may give the proper Eusebian dates, and Jerome may have altered them—a hypothesis which is still less credible, when we remember that Jerome's chronology in the *Chronicle* agrees substantially with the *History*, and that Eusebius was engaged on the *History* at the same time with the *Chronicle*. (iii) The references in other works of Eusebius are best explained on the hypothesis of a first edition of the *Chronicle* some years earlier than the copy which fell into Jerome's hands. Thus it is mentioned in the *Eclogae Propheticae*, and this latter work was certainly written during the persecution, *i.e.* at all events before A.D. 313 (see below, p. 339). Again, it is referred to likewise in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, and there are indications, though not so absolutely certain as in the previous case, that the earlier books of the sequel to this work, the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, were written during and soon after the persecution (see below, p. 329). Tillemont (*H. E.* vii. p. 50) was disposed to postulate an earlier edition of the *Chronicle*, on the sole ground of the reference in the *Praeparatio*. The publication of the *Eclogae Propheticae*, and the discovery of the Armenian version of the *Chronicle*, have strengthened the position twenty-fold. If this hypothesis be correct, the Armenian must be a mixture of the earlier and later editions, for it also refers to the *vicennalia* (i. pp. 71, 131, Schoene). Petermann on entirely independent grounds attributes a mixed origin to this Armenian version (see below, p. 354).

(5) *Ecclesiastical History* (ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία) [*Op.* ii. 10 sq.]. The *date* of the work is ascertained from the following facts. (1) Eusebius refers to the following works as already written: the *Chronicle* (i. 1); the *Extracts from the Prophets* (i. 2, 6); the *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms* (iv. 15, v. prooem., 4, 22); the *Defence of Origen* (vi. 23, 33, 36); the *Life of Pamphilus* (vi. 32, vii. 32, viii. 13 [?]). On the other hand he expresses his *intention* of relating the sufferings of the martyrs, of which he himself was an eye-witness, in another work (viii. 13), referring apparently to the *Martyrs of Palestine*. (2) The work closes with a eulogy of Constantine and his son Crispus. As Crispus was put to death by his father in the summer A.D. 326, this gives a *terminus ad quem*, beyond which the publication of the work cannot be placed. (3) The last incident recorded, or alluded to, in the work is the defeat and punishment of Licinius. Licinius was defeated A.D. 323, and put to death A.D. 324 (Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* i. pp. 376, 378). (4) There is no reference, direct or indirect, to the Council of Nicaea, which met in June, A.D. 325. On the other hand, the theological language of Eusebius (*e.g.* i. 2, 3) is such as he would hardly have used after he had put his signature to the creed of this council. (5) The last book is dedicated to his friend Paulinus. Here again we have a definite *terminus ad quem*, for Paulinus died A.D. 324, or 325 at the latest. Those who would postpone the date of the *History* meet this argument in one of two ways. (i) They suppose that Paulinus was no longer living when Eusebius wrote these words. This however is an unnatural interpretation, not being suggested by anything in the context. The expression ἱερώτατε has a parallel in the preface to his *Onomasticon*, where he addresses this same person, when he was certainly living, as ἱερὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε Παυλῖνε. Even if with Heinichen we interpret the words σοὶ τοῦτον ἐπιγράψωμεν, not "let us *inscribe*," but "let us *ascribe* this to thee," as if the tenth book had been added at the instigation of Paulinus, it will still imply that he was living. The imperative however and the ἀναβοώμενοι of the context seem to point rather to a dedication. (ii) They postpone the death of Paulinus to a much later date. This however seems impossible. Paulinus was bishop first of Tyre and afterwards of Antioch (Euseb. *c. Marcell.* i. 4). This last see he only held six months before his death (Philostorg. *H. E.* iii. 15). At the Council of Nicaea however, Zeno is bishop of Tyre and Eustathius of Antioch. His death therefore must have taken place before the summer A.D. 325, when the council met; and Jerome (Euseb. *Chron.* ii. p. 192) is unquestionably right when he represents Paulinus as the immediate *predecessor* of Eustathius. On the other hand the language of Philostorgius (*l.c.*), as given by Photius, implies that he *succeeded* Eustathius when Eustathius was deposed, for it apparently makes him the immediate predecessor of Eulalius. If Philostorgius said this, the facts already adduced shew that he was wrong, but possibly the error is due to Photius's mode of abridging.[1] Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 6) overlooks Paulinus's short tenure of office, when he makes Eustathius the immediate successor of Philogonius. Other passages quoted by Heinichen (*e.g.* Soz. *H.E.* ii. 18) prove nothing, for they do not require that Paulinus should be still living at the times of which they speak.

From all these considerations it seems clear that the *History* was finished some time in A.D. 324 or 325; before midsummer in the latter year, and probably some months earlier. But there are reasons for thinking that the earlier books were written some years before this time. "If we compare the closing sentences of the ninth and tenth books it is evident that, when the ninth book was written, Eusebius was not aware of the rupture between Licinius and Constantine, which happened in 314; and it appears also that he was at the same time very imperfectly informed of the course of affairs in the west, which led to the decisive victory of Constantine over Maxentius in 312, though he

[1] The corresponding passage in Suidas (*s. v.* 'Αέτιος) shews how by a slight change of expression the erroneous statement might be introduced. Nicetas Chon. (*Thes.* iii. 9) says, "Solus vero Philostorgius libro Historiarum secundo Paulinum Tyro Antiochiam translatum esse auctor est." This statement is not strictly accurate, for Eusebius himself mentions his translation to Antioch; but Philostorgius, if rightly represented, is alone in placing the incident after the removal of Eustathius, A.D. 330.

was well acquainted with the eastern campaign, which ended with the death of Maximian in 313. We may therefore suppose that the nine books were composed not long after the edict of Milan in 313, while the tenth book was added in the interval between 323 and the close [the summer?] of 325" [W]. In this case the words "not yet seized with phrensy" (*οὔπω μανέντος τότε*), referring to Licinius (ix. 9), must have been a later insertion of the author; and indeed they are altogether out of harmony with the context. This early date of the first nine books will explain the fact that in viii. 13 Eusebius speaks of the *Martyrs of Palestine* as a projected work. "If this view of the date of the *History* be true, the book gains an additional interest. It becomes itself the last great literary monument of the period which it describes. It belongs not only in substance, but also in theological character to the ante-Nicene age. It gathers up and expresses in a form anterior to the age of dogmatic definition, the experience, the feelings, the hopes of a body which had just accomplished its sovereign success, and was conscious of its inward strength." [W.]

The work contains no indications that it was due to any suggestion from without, as some have supposed. If the author had been prompted to it by Constantine he would hardly have been silent about the fact, for he is only too ready elsewhere to parade the flatteries of his imperial patron. Moreover, it was probably written in great measure, or at least the materials for it were collected, before his relations with Constantine began. His own language rather suggests that it grew out of a previous work, the *Chronicle*. In his preface he speaks of it as an expansion (*πληρεστάτην . . . τὴν ἀφήγησιν*) of the narrative which he had given in epitome in this last-mentioned work. Accordingly, in the opening words, in which he sums up its contents, he places the chronological element in the forefront: "The successions of the holy apostles together with the times which have been accomplished from the days of our Saviour to our own age." But though the first suggestion of the work may have been derived from the *Chronicle*, the central conception is entirely different and modifies the work accordingly.

For the design of the work then we must refer to his opening chapters. He begins by enumerating the topics which the book is intended to comprise. These are: (1) the successions of the apostles with continuous chronological data from the Christian era to his own time (*τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν . . . χρόνοις*); (2) the events of ecclesiastical history (*ὅσα τε . . . λέγεται*); (3) the most distinguished rulers, preachers, and writers in the Church (*καὶ ὅσοι . . . ἐπρέσβευσαν λόγον*); (4) the teachers of heresy who, like 'grievous wolves,' have ravaged the flock of Christ (*τίνες τε . . . ἐπεντρίβοντες*); (5) the fate which has befallen the Jewish race as a retribution (*πρόσετι . . . περιελθόντα*); (6) the persecutions of the Church and the victories of the martyrs and confessors, concluding with the great and final deliverance wrought by the Saviour in the author's own day (*ὅσα τε αὖ . . . ἀντίληψιν*). Such a narrative can only have one starting-point, the Incarnation. After giving this sketch of its purport and contents, he prays for guidance, since he is entering upon a desert and untrodden way, where he will find no footprints, though the works of predecessors may serve as beacon-lights here and there through the waste. He considers it absolutely necessary (*ἀναγκαιότατα*) to undertake the task, because no one else before him had done so. The work, he concludes, must of necessity commence with the Incarnation and Divinity (*οἰκονομίας τε καὶ θεολογίας*) of Christ, because from Him we all derive our name. Accordingly in the succeeding chapters he goes on to shew that Christianity is no new thing, but has its roots in the eternal past. The Word was with God before the beginning of creation. He was recognised and known by righteous men in all ages, especially among the Hebrews; His advent, even His very names, were foretold and glorified; His society also—the Christian Church—was the subject of prophecy, while the Christian type of life was never without its examples since the race began. It is important to bear this in mind as a refutation of the charge brought against us Christians, that our doctrines are new and our society is of yesterday (i. 4, comp. ii. 1). "After this necessary preparation" (*μετὰ τὴν δέουσαν προκατασκευήν*, i. 5), he proceeds to speak of the Incarnation, of its chronology and its synchronisms in external history, the Herodian kingdom, the Roman empire, the Jewish priesthood, including a discussion of the Saviour's genealogy; thus shewing that it came in the fulness of time as a realisation of the prophecies (c. 5–10). Then follows an account of the personalities employed in the announcement of the Kingdom and the foundation of the Church. A chapter is devoted to the Baptist as the first herald (c. 11), another to the appointment of the twelve and the seventy (c. 12); a third to the mission sent by Christ Himself to Edessa, as recorded in the archives of that city (c. 13). We are thus brought to the time of the Ascension.

So the first book ends. The second comprises the preaching of the apostles to the destruction of Jerusalem, the writer's aim being not to repeat the accounts in the New Testament, but to supplement them with notices from external sources. The third book extends to the reign of Trajan and covers the sub-apostolic age, ending with the notices of Ignatius, Clement, and Papias. The fourth and fifth carry us forward to the close of the second century, including the Montanist, Quartodeciman, and Monarchian disputes. The sixth contains the period from the persecution of Severus (A.D. 203) to that of Decius (A.D. 250), the central figure being Origen, of whom a full account is given. The seventh continues the narrative to the outbreak of the great persecution under Diocletian, and is made up in great measure of quotations from Dionysius of Alexandria, as we are warned in the preface (*Διονύσιος ἰδίαις φωναῖς συνεκπονήσει*). It is significant that the last forty years of this period, though contemporary with the historian, are dismissed in a single long chapter. It was a period of very rapid but silent progress, when the Church for the first time was in the happy condition of having no history. The eighth book gives the history of the persecution of Diocletian till the "palinode," the edict of Galerius (A.D. 311). The ninth relates the sufferings of the Eastern Christians until the victory over Maxentius at the Milvian bridge in the West, and the death

of Maximin in the East, left Constantine and Licinius sole emperors. The tenth and last book, which is dedicated to Paulinus, gives an account of the rebuilding of the churches, of the imperial decrees favourable to the Christians, of the subsequent rebellion of Licinius and the victory of Constantine, by which he was left without a rival as the master of the Roman world. A panegyric of Constantine closes the whole.

It will have appeared from this account that Eusebius had a truly noble conception of the work which he was taking in hand. It was nothing less than the history of a society which stood in an intimate relation to the Divine Logos Himself, a society whose roots struck down into the remotest past and whose destinies soared into the eternal future. He felt moreover that he himself lived at the great crisis in its history. Now at length it had conquered, or at least seemed to have conquered, the powers of this world. No such moment in its development had ever occurred before; and it was difficult to see how any such could occur again. This was the very time therefore to place on record the incidents of its past career. Moreover, he had great opportunities, such as were not likely to fall to another. In his own episcopal city, perhaps in his own official residence, was the largest Christian library which had hitherto been got together—the books collected by his friend Pamphilus. Not far off, at Jerusalem, was another valuable library, collected in the earlier part of the preceding century by the bishop Alexander, and especially rich in the correspondence of men of letters and rulers in the church, "from which library," writes Eusebius, "we too have been able to collect together the materials for this undertaking which we have in hand" (*H. E.* vi. 20). Moreover, he himself had been trained in a highly efficient school of literary industry under Pamphilus, while his passion for learning has rarely been equalled, perhaps never surpassed.

It must be confessed however that the execution of his work falls far short of the conception. The faults indeed are patent and tend to obscure the merits, so that an unjust depreciation of the work has too commonly been the consequence. Yet, with all allowance made for these, it is a noble monument of literary labour. He himself, as we have seen, pleads for indulgence, as one who is setting foot upon new ground, "nullius ante trita solo." As he had no predecessor, so also he had no successor. Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, all commenced their work where he had ended. None ventured to go over the same ground again, but left him sole possessor of the field which he held by right of discovery and of conquest. The most bitter of his theological adversaries were forced to confess their obligations to him, and to speak of his work with respect. It is only necessary to reflect for a moment what a blank would be left in our knowledge of this most important chapter in all human history, if the narrative of Eusebius were blotted out, and we shall appreciate the enormous debt of gratitude which we owe to him. The little light which glimmered over the earliest history of Christianity in medieval times came ultimately from Eusebius alone, coloured and distorted in its passage through various media.

The two points which require consideration are (1) the range and adequacy of his materials; (2) the use made of these materials.

1. The range of materials is astonishing when we consider that Eusebius was a pioneer breaking new ground. Some hundred works, in several cases very lengthy works, are either directly cited or referred to as read. When we remember that in many instances he would read an entire treatise through for the sake of one or two historical notices, while in many others he must have done the same without finding anything which would serve his purpose, we are able to form some conception of the enormous labour involved in the work. This then is his strongest point. Yet even here deficiencies may be noted. He very rarely quotes the works of heresiarchs themselves, being content to give their opinions through the medium of their opponents' refutations. A still greater defect is his ignorance of Latin literature and of Latin Christendom generally. Thus he knows nothing of Tertullian's works, except the *Apologeticum*, which he quotes (ii. 2, 25, iii. 20, 33, v. 5) from a bad Greek translation (*e. g.* ii. 25, where the translator, being ignorant of the Latin idiom *cum maxime*, makes shipwreck of the sense). Of Tertullian himself he gives no account, but calls him a "Roman." Pliny's letter he only knows through Tertullian (iii. 33), and is unacquainted with the name of the province which Pliny governed. Of Hippolytus again he has very little information to communicate, and cannot even tell the name of his see (vi. 20, 22). His account of Cyprian too is meagre in the extreme (vi. 43, vii. 3), though Cyprian was for some years the most conspicuous figure in western Christendom, and died (A.D. 258) not very long before his own birth. He betrays the same ignorance also with regard to the bishops of Rome. His dates here, strangely enough, are widest of the mark in the latter half of the 3rd century, close upon his own time. Thus he assigns to Xystus II. († A.D. 258) eleven years (vii. 27) instead of eleven months; to Eutychianus († A.D. 283) ten months (vii. 32) instead of nearly nine years; to Gaius, whom he calls his own contemporary, and who died long after he had arrived at manhood (A.D. 296), "about fifteen years" (vii. 32) instead of twelve. He seems to have had a corrupt list, and he did not possess the knowledge necessary to correct it. With the Latin language indeed he appears to have had no thorough acquaintance, though he sometimes ventured to translate Latin documents (iv. 8, 9; comp. viii. 17). But he must not be held responsible for the blunders in the versions of others, *e.g.* of Tertullian's *Apologeticum*. Whether the translations of state documents in the later books are his own or not does not appear. But as Constantine was in the habit of employing persons to translate his state papers, speeches, &c., from Latin into Greek (*V. C.* iv. 32), we may suppose that Eusebius generally availed himself of such official or semi-official versions. See on this subject Heinichen's note on *H. E.* iv. 8.

2. Under the second head the most vital question is the *sincerity* of Eusebius. Did he tamper with his materials or not? The sarcasm of Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, c. xvi) is well known: "The gravest of the ecclesiastical

historians, Eusebius himself, indirectly confesses that he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace of religion. Such an acknowledgment will naturally excite a suspicion that a writer who has so openly violated one of the fundamental laws of history, has not paid a very strict regard to the observance of the other." The passages to which he refers (*H. E.* viii. 2; *Mart. Pal.* 12) do not bear out this imputation. There is no indirectness about them, but on the contrary they deplore, in the most emphatic terms, the evils which disgraced the church, and they represent the persecution under Diocletian as a just retribution for these wrongdoings. The ambitions, the intriguing for office, the factious quarrels, the cowardly denials and shipwrecks of the faith,—"evil piled upon evil" (*κακὰ κακοῖς ἐπιτειχίζοντες*)—are denounced in no measured language. But the writer contents himself with condemning these sins and shortcomings of Christians in general terms, without entering into details, and declares his intention of confining himself to such topics as may be profitable (*πρὸς ὠφελείας*) to his own and future generations. This treatment may be regarded as too great a sacrifice to edification. It may discredit his conception of history; but it leaves no imputation on his honesty. Nor again can the *special* charges against his honour as a narrator be sustained. There is no ground whatever for the surmise that Eusebius forged or interpolated the passage from Josephus relating to our Lord, quoted in *H. E.* i. 11, though Heinichen (iii. p. 623 sq., Melet. ii.) is disposed to entertain the charge. Inasmuch as this passage is contained in all our extant MSS, and there is sufficient evidence that other interpolations (though not this) were introduced into the text of Josephus long before his time (see Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 47, Delarue's note), no suspicion can justly attach to Eusebius himself. Another interpolation in the Jewish historian, which he quotes elsewhere (ii. 23), was certainly known to Origen (*l. c.*). Doubtless also the omission of the owl in the account of Herod Agrippa's death (*H. E.* ii. 10) was already in some texts of Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8, 2). The manner in which Eusebius deals with his very numerous quotations elsewhere, where we can test his honesty, is a sufficient vindication against this unjust charge.[j]

Moreover, Eusebius is generally careful not only to collect the best evidence accessible, but also to distinguish between different kinds of evidence. "Almost every page witnesses to the zeal with which he collected testimonies from writers who lived at the time of the events which he describes. For the sixth and seventh books he evidently rejoices to be able to use for the foundation of his narrative the contemporary letters of Dionysius; 'Dionysius, our great bishop of Alexandria,' he writes, 'will again help me by his own words in the composition of my seventh book of the history, since he relates in order the events of his own time in the letters which he has left' (vii. praef.) . . . . In accordance with this instinctive desire for original testimony, Eusebius scrupulously distinguishes facts which rest on documentary from those which rest on oral evidence. Some things he relates on the authority of a 'general' (iii. 11, 36) or 'old report' (iii. 19, 20) or from tradition (i. 7, ii. 9, vi. 2, &c.). In the lists of successions he is careful to notice where written records failed him. 'I could not,' he says, 'by any means find the chronology of the bishops of Jerusalem preserved in writing; thus much only I received from written sources, that there were fifteen bishops in succession up to the date of the siege under Hadrian, &c.' (iv. 5)." [W.] "There is nothing like hearing the actual words" of the writer, he says again and again (i. 23, iii. 32, vii. 23; comp. iv. 23), when introducing a quotation.

The general sincerity and good faith of the historian seem therefore to be assured. But his intellectual qualifications for his task were in many respects defective. His credulity indeed has frequently been much exaggerated. "Undoubtedly he relates many incidents which may seem to us incredible, but, when he does so, he gives the evidence on which they are recommended to him. At one time it is the express testimony of some well-known writer, at another a general belief, at another an old tradition, at another his own observation (v. 7, vi. 9, vii. 17, 18)" [W.]. The most remarkable passage bearing on the question is one in which he recounts his own experience during the last persecution in Palestine (*Mart. Pal.* 9). "There can be no doubt about the occurrence which Eusebius here describes, and it does not appear that he can be reproached for adding the interpretation which his countrymen placed upon it. What he vouches for we can accept as truth; what he records as a popular comment leaves his historical veracity and judgment unimpaired." [W.] Gibbon (c. xvi) describes the character of Eusebius as "less tinctured with credulity, and more practised in the arts of courts, than that of almost any of his contemporaries."

A far more serious drawback to his value as a historian is the loose and uncritical spirit in which he sometimes deals with his materials. This shews itself in diverse ways. (*a*) He is not always to be trusted in his discrimination of genuine and spurious documents. As regards the canon of Scripture indeed he

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[j] It is not the *substitution* of an angel for an owl, as the case is not uncommonly stated. The result is produced mainly by the *omission* of some words in the text of Josephus, which runs thus: *Ἀνακύψας δ'οὖν μετ' ὀλίγον [τὸν βουβῶνα] τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ὑπερκαθεζόμενον εἶδεν [ἐπὶ σχοινίου τινός], ἄγγελόν [τε] τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐνόησε κακῶν εἶναι, τὸν καί ποτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενον.* The words bracketed are omitted and *αἴτιον* is added after *εἶναι*, so that the sentence runs, *εἶδεν ἄγγελον· τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐνόησε κακῶν εἶναι αἴτιον κ. τ. λ.* This being so, I do not feel at all sure that the change (by whomsoever made) was dictated by any disingenuous motive. A scribe, unacquainted with Latin, would stumble over *τὸν βουβῶνα* which had a wholly different meaning and seems never to be used of an owl in Greek; and he would alter the text in order to extract some sense out of it. In the previous mention of the bird (*Ant.* xviii 6. 7), Josephus or his translator gives it as a Latin name, *βουβῶνα δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ὄρνιν τοῦτον καλοῦσι.* Möller (quoted by Bright, p. xlv) calls this "the one case" in which, so far as he recollects, "a sinceritatis via paululum deflexit noster"; and even here the indictment cannot be made good. The severe strictures therefore against Eusebius made, *e.g.* by Alford on Acts xii. 21, are altogether unjustifiable.

takes special pains; he lays down certain principles which shall guide him in the production of testimonies; and on the whole he adheres to these principles with fidelity (see *Contemporary Review*, Jan. 1875, p. 169 sq.). Yet elsewhere he adduces as genuine the correspondence of Christ and Abgarus (i. 13), though never treating it as canonical Scripture. The unworthy suspicion that Eusebius himself forged this correspondence which he asserted to be a translation of a Syriac original found in the archives of Edessa has been refuted by the discovery and publication of the original Syriac (*The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle with an English Translation and Notes* by G. Phillips, London, 1876; see Zahn, *Götting. Gel. Anz.* Feb. 6, 1877, p. 161 sq.; *Contemporary Review*, May 1877, p. 1137; a portion of this work had been published some time before in Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 6 sq., London, 1864). Not his honesty, but his critical discernment was at fault. Yet we cannot be severe upon him for maintaining a position which, however untenable, has commended itself to Cave (*H. L.* i. p. 2) and Grabe (*Spic. Patr.* i. p. 1 sq.), and other writers of this stamp, as defensible. This however is the most flagrant instance of misappreciation. On the whole, considering the great mass of spurious documents which were current in his age, we may well admire the discrimination with which he separates the false from the true, as *e.g.* in the case of the numerous Clementine writings (iii. 16, 38), alleging the presence or the absence of external testimony for his decisions. Pearson's eulogy (*Vind. Ign.* i. 8) on Eusebius, though exaggerated, is not undeserved. He is *generally* a safe guide in discriminating between the genuine and the spurious. (*b*) He is often careless in his manner of quoting. His quotations from Irenaeus for instance lose much of their significance, even for his own purpose, by abstraction from their context (v. 8). His quotations from Papias (iii. 39) and from Hegesippus (iii. 32, iv. 22) are tantalizing by their brevity, for the exact bearing of the words could only have been learnt from the suppressed context. But with the exception of the passages from Josephus (where the blame, as we have seen, must be shifted to other shoulders) the quotations themselves are given with fair accuracy. (*c*) He draws hasty and unwarranted inferences from his authorities, and altogether he is loose in interpreting their bearing. This is his weakest point as a critical historian. Thus he quotes the passages of Josephus respecting the census of Quirinus and the insurrections of Theudas and of Judas the Galilean, as if they agreed in all respects with the accounts in St. Luke, and does not notice the chronological difficulties (i. 5, 9; ii. 11). He adduces the Jewish historian as a witness to the assignment of a tetrarchy to Lysanias (i. 9), though in fact he says nothing about this Lysanias in the passage in question, but elsewhere mentions an earlier person bearing the name as ruler of Abilene (*Ant.* xx. 7. 1; *B. J.* ii. 11. 5). He represents this same writer as stating that Herod Antipas was banished to Vienne (i. 11), whereas Josephus sends Archelaus to Vienne (*B. J.* ii. 7. 3) and Herod Antipas to Lyons (*Ant.* xviii. 7. 2; but in *B. J.* ii. 9. 6, Spain is given as the place of exile). He quotes Philo's description of the Jewish Therapeutae, as if it related to a body of Christian ascetics (ii. 17). He gives, side by side, the contradictory accounts of the death of James the Just in Josephus and Hegesippus, as if the one tallied with the other (ii. 23). He entangles himself in a hopeless confusion between the imperial brothers M. Aurelius and L. Verus (v. prooem., 4, 5) from a misunderstanding of his documents, though in the *Chronicle* (ii. p. 170) he is substantially correct with regard to these emperors. And examples of such carelessness in the use of his materials might be largely increased. (*d*) He is very *desultory* in his treatment. We have not unfrequently to pick out from various parts of his work the notices bearing on one definite and limited subject. He relates a fact, or quotes an authority bearing upon it, in season or out of season, according as it is recalled to his memory by some accidental connexion. "Nothing can illustrate this characteristic better than the manner in which he deals with the canon of the New Testament. After mentioning the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, he proceeds at once (iii. 3) without any further preface to enumerate the writings attributed to them respectively, distinguishing those which were generally received by ancient tradition from those which were disputed. At the same time he adds a notice of the Shepherd, because it had been attributed by some to the Hermas mentioned by St. Paul. After this he resumes his narrative, and then having related the last labours of St. John he gives an account of the writings attributed to him (iii. 24), promising a further discussion of the Apocalypse, which however does not appear. This catalogue is followed by some fragmentary discussions on the Gospels, to which a general classification of all the books claiming to have apostolic authority is added. When this is ended, the history suddenly goes back to a point in the middle of the former book (ii. 15). Elsewhere he repeats the notice of an incident for the sake of adding some new detail, yet so as to mar the symmetry of his work." [W.] Examples of this fault occur in the accounts of the first preaching at Edessa (i. 13, ii. 1), of the writings of Clement of Rome (iii. 16, 38; iv. 22, 23, &c.), of the daughters of Philip (iii. 30, 39; comp. v. 17, 24), and in many other cases.

The *History* of Eusebius was early translated into the two languages which shared with the Greek by far the largest part of the whole area of Christendom. The *Syriac* version is preserved in great part in two MSS: one at St. Petersburg, dated A.D. 462, and containing books i–iv, viii–x with lacunae, and small portions of books v, vii (see Dindorf's *Praef.* p. vi sq.); the other in the British Museum (Add. 14,639 described in Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 1039), belonging to the 6th century and containing books i–v (with some mutilations in the beginning of the first book). As there were among the companions of Pamphilus persons who made it their business to translate from the Greek into Syriac (see above, p. 310), and as other works of Eusebius were certainly translated into this latter language very soon after they were written (see pp. 320, 332), we may infer that this Syriac version of the *History*

dates not many years after the original, and perhaps during the lifetime of the author himself. Dr. Wright is preparing an edition of this version, of which he has given a specimen (i. 1–4) in Dindorf's praef. p. xviii sq. The old *Latin* version was made by Rufinus, who, as usual, deals very freely with his original. He abridges and even inserts at pleasure. The work is accompanied by a continuation from his own pen, carrying the history down to the death of Theodosius the Great. The exact date of this translation is uncertain, but the possible limits are narrow. In the preface Rufinus mentions that Chromatius, to whom it is dedicated, imposed the task upon him at a time when Alaric was laying Italy waste. Alaric first invaded Italy A.D. 402, and the version therefore should probably be dated soon after. Chromatius died A.D. 406. The best edition is that of Cacciari, Rome, 1740. The work is the subject of an important monograph by Kimmel, *de Rufino Eusebii Interprete*, Gerae, 1838. See also Ebert, *Christl. Latein. Literatur*, p. 310 sq. (Leipzig, 1874).

The editio princeps of the Greek of Eusebius's *History* is that of Stephens, Paris, 1544. The following are the principal editors after Stephens. (1) Valesius (Paris, 1659), who has contributed more largely than any one else to the criticism and elucidation of Eusebius. (2) Reading (Cambridge, 1720); together with the Ecclesiastical Histories of Socrates, Sozomen, etc. Reading reprinted Valois' translation and commentary with additions and corrections from this editor's manuscript notes, and supplemented it with materials from other writers. (3) Heinichen (Leipzig, 1827); a very important contribution, but superseded by his later edition, of which an account is given below. (4) Stroth (Halae ad Salam. 1779). The first volume only appeared, containing books i–vii. (5) Burton (Oxford, 1838); the text, translation of Valois, and apparatus criticus, to which Burton himself made important contributions. This was followed in A.D. 1842 by two volumes of variorum notes and excursuses, issued by the Oxford press, containing the labours of Valois, Heinichen, and others. Burton died before the edition was completed (1838), and it was brought out by anonymous friends. (6) Schwegler (Tubingae, 1852); a text and critical apparatus, but no explanatory notes; a convenient edition with useful indices. (7) Laemmer (Scaphusiae, 1862). This is the most important edition for the criticism of the text, the editor having made large additions to the existing materials; but it has no explanatory notes. (8) The later edition of Heinichen in his *Eusebii Pamphili Scripta Historica* (Lipsiae, 3 vols., 1868, 1869, 1870), which includes also the *Vita Constantini*, the *Panegyricus* (*de Laudibus Constantini*), and the *Constantini ad Sanctorum Coetum Oratio*. This is the most complete and useful edition, comprising prolegomena, text, apparatus criticus, explanatory notes, excursuses, and indices. The editor has revised and supplemented his former work, making use of the materials which have accumulated since the appearance of his first edition. To these editions should be added, as the most recent text and convenient for use, that of W. Dindorf in Teubner's series (Lipsiae, 1871).

Monographs on the *Ecclesiastical History* are very numerous. The following may be mentioned. Möller, *de Fide Eusebii in Rebus Christianis enarrandis*, Havn. 1813; Danz, *de Eusebio Caesariensi Historiae Ecclesiasticae Scriptore*, etc., Jenae, 1815; Kestner, *de Eusebii Historiae Ecclesiasticae Conditoris Auctoritate*, etc., Gottingae, 1816; Reuterdahl, *de Fontibus Hist. Eccl. Eusebii*, Lond. Goth. 1826; Hély, *Eusèbe de Césarée, premier Historien de l'Église*, Paris, 1877. The writer of the present article has also had the advantage of consulting some manuscript notes of Dr. Westcott, from which extracts have been given above with the initial [W.]. Particular points are more fully treated in special works; *e.g.* the list of Roman bishops by Lipsius, *Die Papstverzeichnisse des Eusebios*, Kiel, 1868, and *Chronologie der Römischen Bischöfe*, Kiel, 1869.

(6) *Life of Constantine* [*Op.* ii. 905 sq.], in four books. The date of this work is fixed within narrow limits. It was written after the death of the great emperor who is its subject (May 337), and after his three sons had been declared Augusti (Sept. 337); see iv. 68. On the other hand, the death of the author himself was not later than A.D. 340 (see above, p. 318). Gothofred (Philostorg. *Eccl. Hist.* vii. 3, and elsewhere) denied its genuineness; but this opinion does not deserve serious refutation. The work is not named indeed by Jerome, but then he himself implies that his catalogue is far from complete (*Vir. Ill.* 81). On the other hand, it is directly mentioned by Socrates (*H. E.* i. 1, v. 22) and largely used by writers of the 5th century, and it bears manifest traces of Eusebius's pen. Photius also gives an account of it (*Bibl.* 127), styling it *εἰς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα ἐγκωμιαστικὴ τετράβιβλος*. Eusebius does not profess to give a complete or general biography of Constantine. He distinctly states that he intends to pass over his military exploits and his legislative enactments, and to confine himself to those incidents which pertain to the religious life (*μονὰ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεοφιλῆ συντείνοντα βίον*, i. 11). Accordingly the heading prefixed to the table of contents runs, *κεφάλαια τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν βίου τοῦ μακαρίου Κωνσταντίνου κ.τ.λ.* Though not professing to be a continuation of the *Ecclesiastical History*, it fulfils this function to some extent. In this relation it is mentioned by Socrates (*H. E.* i. 1), to whom, as to other historians of the same events, it furnishes important materials for the period to which it relates. For the Council of Nicaea more especially, and for some portions of the Arian controversy, it is a primary source of information of the highest value. As regards the emperor himself, it is notoriously one-sided. The advice of Fleury to believe "everything bad which is told by Eusebius, and everything good which is told by Zosimus, of Constantine," will not easily be forgotten. A biography of this emperor, which does not even hint at the dark tragedy of the imperial household, when son and nephew and wife were murdered in rapid succession, must necessarily give a false and distorted impression of his character, whatever palliating circumstances for this crime we may discover or imagine. The verdict of Socrates, the earliest writer who mentions this work, will not be disputed. The author, he says, "has devoted more thought to the praises of the emperor and to the grandi-

loquence of language befitting a panegyric, as if he were pronouncing an encomium, than to the accurate narrative of the events which took place." But with all this there is no ground for suspecting him of misrepresenting the facts. Suppression rather than invention is the fault of the work. He has given us no shadow in his portrait, and Constantine's character was marked with some very dark lines. With this important qualification, his biography has the highest value. It is a vivid picture of certain aspects of a great personality, painted by one who was familiarly acquainted with him and had access to important documents. It may be fulsome, and nauseous in its fulsomeness; but flattery is a word quite out of place. Flattery cannot pierce the sealed grave; and the language which he uses of the reigning sovereigns does not overstep the bounds of the conventional homage expected in those ages from a loyal subject. It may even be set down to the credit of Eusebius that his praises of Constantine are much louder after his death, than they ever were during his lifetime. In this respect he contrasts favourably with the meanness of Seneca in blackening the memory of the very sovereign whom a short time before he had extolled to the skies. Nor shall we do justice to Eusebius, unless we bear in mind the extravagant praises which even heathen panegyrists lavished on the great Christian emperor before his face, as an indication of the spirit of the age. But after all excuses made, this indiscriminate praise of Constantine is a reproach from which we should gladly have held Eusebius free.

In this work, as in several of his other writings, Eusebius has had no scruple in repeating himself. Some chapters are taken from the *Ecclesiastical History*; others from the *Tricennial Oration*; others again from the *Theophania*; but by far the greatest part of the work is new. Its most valuable portions are the letters and speeches of Constantine, and the author's personal reminiscences of the emperor. The headings of the chapters occasionally contain information which is not in the chapters themselves (*e.g.* iv. 44, where the name of Marianus is given). They must therefore have been added by some one acquainted with the facts, and presumably a contemporary. If the reasons given by Valois for denying their Eusebian authorship be held valid, we may naturally attribute them to his successor Acacius, who inherited his papers and may possibly have published the *Life of Constantine* as a posthumous work.

This work was first printed by Stephens with the *Ecclesiastical History* (A.D. 1544). It was afterwards edited with the same by Valois, and by Reading after Valois. Heinichen's first edition (Lipsiae, 1830) was independent of the *Ecclesiastical History*; but in his later revision of his work (A.D. 1869) it is included with the latter in the *Scripta Historica* of Eusebius (see above, p. 327). Various opinions respecting the character of the work are given in his *Melet.* xxiii attached to his notes (iii. p. 754). Photius (*l.c.*) criticizes it as too florid (*ἀνθηρότερον*) and forced (*ἐκβεβίασται*) in style.

B. APOLOGETIC.

(7) *Against Hierocles* [*Op.* iv. 795]. This work is not named by Jerome, but was read by Photius, *Bibl* 39. Hierocles was governor in Bithynia, and used his power ruthlessly to embitter the persecution which he is thought to have instigated (Lactant. *Div. Inst.* v. 2; *Mort. Pers.* 16; see Mason, *Persecution of Diocletian*, pp. 58, 108). If he was the same Hierocles who in the later years of the persecution ruled in Egypt, Eusebius had himself been an eye-witness of his cruelties (*Mart. Pal.* p. 18, ed. Cureton; comp. *H. E.* viii. 9). At all events he alludes in this work to the judicial functions of his adversary (*c. Hierocl.* 20, p. 524, *τὰ ἀνωτάτω καὶ καθόλου δικαστήρια πεπιστευμένῳ*). But Hierocles, not satisfied with assailing the Christians from the tribunal, attacked them also with his pen. The title of his work, which consisted of two books, seems not to have been *Φιλαλήθεις Λόγοι*, as it is most commonly given after Pearson (p. 584), but *ὁ Φιλαλήθης* simply, 'The Lover of Truth,' for Eusebius so styles it again and again (§ 1 twice, 4 several times, 14, 17, 25, 34, 43). It was headed, says Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* v. 2), not *contra Christianos* [*κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*], as if he were attacking enemies, but *ad Christianos* [*πρὸς Χριστιανούς*], as if he were reasoning with friends. Nevertheless it was a ruthless assault on Christianity, written in a biting style. Its main object was to expose the contradictions of the Christian records. With this main part of the work however Eusebius does not concern himself. He says (§ 1) that it is shamelessly plundered, sometimes even *verbatim*, from previous assailants of Christianity like Celsus; that when the time comes it may perhaps be met by a special refutation (he seems to be referring to his own treatise against Porphyry, which he had either begun or projected at this time); and that meanwhile it had been virtually refuted by anticipation in Origen's work. He therefore confines himself to one point—the comparison of Apollonius, as described in his Life by Philostratus, with our Saviour, to the disparagement of the latter. There is much difference of opinion whether Philostratus himself intended to set up Apollonius as a rival to the Christ of the Gospels [APOLLONIUS OF TYANA], but Hierocles at all events turned his romance to this use. On this point alone (which, by the way, is brought forward also by "the philosopher" whom Macarius refutes, *Apocr.* iii. 1) does Eusebius credit Hierocles with originality.

Eusebius refutes his opponent with great moderation, and generally with good effect. He allows that Apollonius was a wise and virtuous man, but he refuses to concede the higher claims advanced on his behalf. He shews that the work of Philostratus was not based on satisfactory evidence; that the narrative itself is full of absurdities and contradictions; and that the moral character of Apollonius as therein portrayed is far from perfect. For this purpose he takes the eight books in succession, fastening on such points as serve his purpose. He maintains that the supernatural incidents, if they actually occurred, might have been the work of demons. At the conclusion (§ 46–48) he refutes and denounces the fatalism of Apollonius, as alone sufficient to discredit his character for wisdom. The book begins, "Well then, dear friend, is it not right?" as if it had been attached to something which went before. But this mode of expression is perhaps assumed to give it an air of

ease. The work is correctly described by Photius as "a short treatise in refutation of the arguments of Hierocles in favour of Apollonius of Tyana" (ἀνασκευαστικὸν βιβλιδάριον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως Ἱεροκλέους λόγους), and the titles in the MSS are to the same effect. It was probably one of the earliest works of Eusebius.

This treatise was first published by Aldus (Venet. 1502) with Philostratus's *Vita Apollonii*. It has been several times printed together with the work of Philostratus. The most convenient of recent editions are those of Gaisford, *Eusebii Pamphili contra Hieroclem et Marcellum Libri* (Oxon. 1852), and Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati Opera*, i. p. 369 sq. (Lipsiae, 1870, Teubner). An important aid is Pearson's *Prolegomena in Hieroclem*, reprinted in his *Minor Works*, ii. p. 575 sq.

(8) *Against Porphyry* (κατὰ Πορφυρίου), an elaborate work in twenty-five books: Hieron. *Epist.* 70 ad Magn. § 3 (i. p. 427, Vallarsi), *Vir. Ill.* 81. In the latter passage indeed the printed texts have "libri triginta de quibus ad me viginti tantum pervenerunt," but all Vallarsi's MSS "miro consensu" read "libri viginti quinque," omitting the other words. This accords with the notice in *Epist.* 70. The vulgar text therefore must be regarded as a later alteration, perhaps due to some confusion with another refutation of Porphyrius by Apollinaris, which did contain thirty books and is mentioned elsewhere by Jerome in connexion with Eusebius. The alteration however is earlier than the Greek version of Sophronius, which agrees with the vulgar text. The work of Porphyrius, which this treatise undertook to refute, comprised fifteen books, and was the most formidable of the heathen attacks on the Biblical records: see Holsten, *de Vit. et Script. Porph.* c. xi. p. 273 sq. (reprinted in Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* iv. p. 207 sq. ed. 1); Tillemont, *Empereurs* iv. p. 74 sq.; Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* v. p. 746 sq. (ed. Harles); Neander, *Church History* i. p. 236 sq. (Bohn); Kellner in *Theolog. Quartalschr.* xlvii. p. 60 sq. (1865). The ablest part of the work seems to have been the assault on the authenticity of Daniel in the 12th and 13th books, and to this Eusebius replied in the 18th, 19th, and 20th books of his refutation: Hieron. *Comm. in Dan.* praef. (*Op.* v. p. 617), *Comm. in Matt.* lib. iv. (vii. p. 196); comp. *c. Rufin.* ii. 33 (ii. p. 527). The correspondence of position in the attack and reply seems to shew that Eusebius took the arguments of Porphyry in order from beginning to end.

It is strange that, though Eusebius again and again quotes from this very work against Christianity (*H. E.* vi. 19; *Praef. Ev.* i. 9. 20 sq.; v. 2. 9 sq.; x. 9. 12), and elsewhere, when referring to other works by Porphyry, describes him as the author of this attack on the Christians (*Praef. Ev.* iv. 6. 2; v. 5. 4; vi. 36. 5; *Dem. Ev.* iii. 7. 1), yet he never once (so far as I remember) mentions his own refutation. His silence may be explained with Valois by supposing that this refutation was written after these works in which Porphyry is mentioned, *i.e.* after A.D. 325. On the other hand, we have seen that he was already contemplating some such work at a much earlier date, when he wrote his tract against Hierocles. The project however may have been long delayed, and meanwhile he may have come to regard Porphyry as a foeman worthier of his steel than Hierocles. At all events there were personal circumstances, irrespective of the importance of Porphyry's work, which would lead Eusebius to notice it. He constantly speaks of Porphyry as a contemporary (ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς, *H. E.* vi. 19; *Praep. Ev.* i. 9. 20; iv. 6. 2; v. 2. 9), though he appears to have died in the very earliest years of the century. Porphyry was an Eastern, a native of Batanea, and had studied at Caesarea itself. If Socrates may be believed (*H. E.* iii. 23), he was at one time a Christian, but having received blows from some Christians, he apostatized in vexation at this treatment. This however is a typical story, which is reproduced in various forms of others, so that no weight attaches to it. On the other hand we have it on Porphyry's own authority (quoted in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 19) that when young he had known Origen, and, as we may infer, had been his pupil. His disparagement and misrepresentation of this father, whom Eusebius regarded as the great master, would supply a personal stimulus to an admirer of Origen to refute the work in which the depreciation and misstatements occurred (see Euseb. *H. E.* l. c.)

It is strange that no part of this elaborate refutation has survived. Yet we may form some notion of its contents from the *Praeparatio* and *Demonstratio Evangelica*, in considerable portions of which Eusebius obviously has Porphyry in view, even where he does not mention him by name. To Jerome and Socrates the refutation of Eusebius seemed satisfactory. Philostorgius (*H. E.* viii. 14) preferred the similar work of Apollinaris to it, as also to the earlier refutation of Methodius. He himself however was induced to add another to these writings against Porphyry (*H. E.* x. 10). All the four refutations alike have perished, with the work which gave rise to them.

(9) *Praeparatio Evangelica* (Προπαρασκευὴ Εὐαγγελική) [*Op.* iii. 9]. So Eusebius himself calls this treatise (e.g. *Praep. Ev.* xiv. procem., xv. 1. 1; xv. 62. 16; comp. also Hieron. *Vir. Ill.* 81) by a convenient abridgment, and this appears to be the title which it bears universally in the MSS; but more strictly it ought to have been called *Praeparatio Demonstrationis Evangelicae* (comp. *Dem. Ev.* ii.), for it is an introductory treatise leading up to the work which follows.

(10) *Demonstratio Evangelica* (Εὐαγγελικὴ Ἀπόδειξις) [*Op.* iv. 9]. These two treatises in fact are parts of one great work. They are both dedicated to Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea in Syria (*Praep. Ev.* i. 1. 1 θεῖον ἐπισκόπων χρῆμα), an adherent of the Arian party, who held this see for some thirty years.

Various opinions have been held as to the time when these works were written. These have sometimes been based on erroneous data. Thus in *Dem. Ev.* vi. 13. 17, Eusebius has been supposed to refer to his *History*, but ἡ ἡμετέρα ἱστορία there means 'my personal investigations.' Thus again conversely in two passages in the *H. E.* i. 3, 6, he has been understood as referring to the *Demonstratio*; but the first reference is certainly to the *Eclogae Propheticae*, and the second would be satisfied as well by *Ecl. Proph.* iii. 45 (p. 149 sq.) as by *Dem. Ev.* viii. 2 sq. There is indeed a direct reference to the *Quaestiones ad*

Stephanum in *Dem. Ev.* vii. 3. 18; but the difficulties which beset the date of that work and the existence of a cross reference in it to the *Demonstratio* (see below, p. 338) deprive this notice of any value. All these notices failing us, we have recourse to the allusions to contemporary events. In *Dem. Ev.* iii. 5. 78 he says that "the confession of the name of Jesus is wont to inflame the wrath of the rulers," so that they inflict the severest punishments on the Christians though innocent (comp. iv. 16. 22). This passage seems to have been written before the cessation of the persecution (A.D. 312). On the other hand, in v. 3. 11 he speaks of "churches flourishing (*ἀνθούσας*) throughout the world" in language which implies that the Christians then enjoyed peace; and in vi. 20. 17 he describes the enemies of the Gospel in Egypt as plotting to extinguish it, but "being scattered (*διασκεδαννυμένους*) by God," language which implies that the tyranny of Hierocles was over, and that the edict of Milan had ended the reign of terror. See Tillemont, vii. p. 23 sq. Again, *Praep.* xii. 10. 5 alludes to the persecution in language which seems to shew that it had not long ceased (*εἰσέτι δεῦρο*). On the other hand, *Praep.* x. 9. 11 contains a direct reference to the *Chronicle*, but this may perhaps be regarded as a reference inserted afterwards, unless indeed Eusebius published two editions of the *Chronicle* (see above, p. 322). In the absence of more direct testimony therefore, we may infer that these works were begun during the persecution, but not concluded till some time after.

The *Preparation* is extant entire and comprises fifteen books. It is mentioned by Jerome (*l. c.*) and by Photius (*l. c.*), who both give the number of the books. The *Demonstration* on the other hand is incomplete. It consisted originally of twenty books (Hieron. *l. c.*, Photius *Bibl.* 10). Of these, only the first ten are extant in the MSS, but an extract from the fifteenth was discovered and published by Mai (*Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* i. 2, p. 173) from a commentary on Daniel; and Jerome, *Comm. in Hos.* praef. (*Op.* vi. p. xxiii), refers to the eighteenth. In the older editions the beginning of the first book and the end of the tenth are mutilated. The missing portions of these two books were first supplied by J. A. Fabricius (*Delect. Argum.* etc. Hamburgi, 1725) from a MS in the possession of Mavrocordato, prince of Wallachia. Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* vi. 37) gives ten as the number of books, so that it was already mutilated in his time. There is, so far as I am aware, no evidence that these works were translated into Syriac. They are not mentioned in Ebed-jesu's catalogue. Probably the version of the *Theophania*, where the apologetic of Eusebius is given in a shorter form, satisfied the demands of the Syrian Church.

The *Preparation* begins with a preface, which serves as an introduction to the whole work. It sketches briefly what the Gospel is, and then adverts to the common taunt that the Christians accept their religion by faith without investigation. The whole work is an answer to this taunt. Taken in connexion with the opening chapters of the *Demonstration*, this introduction conveys an adequate idea of the design of Eusebius. The object of the *Preparation* is to justify the Christians in transferring their allegiance from the religion and philosophy of the Greeks to the sacred books of the Hebrews. The object of the *Demonstration* is to shew from those sacred books themselves that they did right in not stopping short at the religious practices and beliefs of the Jews, but adopting a different mode of life. Thus the *Preparation* is an apology for Christianity as against the Gentiles, while the *Demonstration* defends it as against the Jews, and "yet not" he adds, "*against* the Jews, nay, far from it, but rather *for* the Jews, if they would learn wisdom" (*οὐ . . κατὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἄπαγε, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, πρὸς αὐτῶν μὲν οὖν, εἰ εὐγνωμονοῖεν*, *Dem. Ev.* i. 1. 11). Thus the two treatises form one comprehensive work. It is a justification of the *anomalous* position of the Christians, so unintelligible to the ancient world, with which religion was essentially a matter of nationality and patriotism, and appearing to them as "a novel route through a trackless waste, deserting the paths of Jew and Greek alike" (*Praep. Ev.* i. 2. 4 *καινήν τινα καὶ ἐρήμην ἀνοδίαν . . . μήτε τὰ Ἑλλήνων μήτε τὰ Ἰουδαίων φυλάττουσαν*). Accordingly the writer on his part "invokes the aid of the God of all alike, whether Jews or Greeks," in the Saviour's name to assist him in his task (*Dem. Ev.* i. 1. 19). He claims originality for his comprehensive plan, as contrasted with the partial labours of previous apologists and exegetes (*Praep. Ev.* i. 3. 4). It is a challenge thrown down to the whole non-Christian world.

Of the contents of the *Preparation* a summary is given at the beginning of the last book (xv. 1. 1–7). In the first, second, and third books he attacks the mythology of the heathen, exposing its absurdity, and refutes the physiological interpretations put upon the myths; in the fourth, fifth, and sixth, he discusses the oracles, and as connected therewith the sacrifices to demons and the doctrine of fate; in the seventh, eighth, and ninth, he passes on to "the Hebrew Oracles," explains their bearing, and adduces the testimony of heathen writers in their favour; in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth, he remarks on the plagiarisms of the Greek philosophers from the Hebrews, dwelling on the priority of the Hebrew Scriptures, and shews how all that is best in Greek teaching and speculation agrees with them; in the fourteenth he directs attention to the contradictions among Greek philosophers, pointing out how those systems which are opposed to Christian belief have been condemned by the wisest Gentile philosophers themselves; and lastly, in the fifteenth, he exposes the falsehoods and errors of the Greek systems of philosophy, more especially the Peripatetics, the Stoics, and the materialists of all shades and schools. He thus considers that he has given a complete answer to those who charge the Christians with transferring their allegiance from Hellenism to Hebraism blindly and without knowledge.

In the *Demonstration*, the first and second books are introductory (iii. 1. 1 *τῶν προλεγομένων*). In the first a sketch is given of the Gospel teaching, and reasons are alleged why the Christians, while adopting the Hebrew Oracles, should depart from the Jewish mode of life; a distinction being drawn between Hebraism, the religion of all godly men from the beginning, and Judaism, the temporary and

special system of the Jews, so that Christianity is a continuation of the former, but a departure from the latter. In the second, testimonies are adduced from the prophets to shew that the two great phenomena of the Christian Church had been foretold long ago—the general ingathering of the Gentiles and the general falling away of the Jews—so that the Christians "were only laying claim to their own" (iii. 1. 1 *διὸ καὶ ὡς οἰκείων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλλοτρίων αὐτῶν μεταποιούμεθα*). With the third book begins the main subject of the treatise (*αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν*). In this third book he promises to speak of the *humanity* (*περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας*) of Christ, as corresponding to the predictions of the prophets; but the topics are introduced in a desultory way (*e.g.* that Christ was not a sorcerer, that the Apostles were not deceivers, etc.) without any very obvious connexion with the main theme, though otherwise this is one of the most important books in the treatise. In the fourth and fifth books he passes on to the *divinity* of Christ, both as the Son and as the Logos (see v. prooem. 1. 2), this likewise having been announced by the prophets. From the sixth book onward to the end he treats of the *incarnation* and *life* (*ἐπιδημία*) of our Lord, as a fulfilment of the prophecies. In this division he speaks of the manner of Christ's appearing, of the place of His birth, of His parentage and genealogy, of the time of His advent, of His works, as in like manner foretold (from the sixth to the ninth book). In the tenth book, the last which is extant, he reaches as far as the passion, treating of the traitor Judas and the incidents at the time of the crucifixion. What topics were comprised in the remaining ten books we have no data for determining, but we may conjecture with Stein (p. 102) that they dealt with the burial, resurrection, and ascension, and perhaps also with the foundation of the Christian Church and the Second Advent. The extant fragment of the fifteenth book relates to the four kingdoms of Daniel ii. The reference in Jerome (*l. c.*) to the eighteenth book speaks of the author as there "discussing some matters respecting the prophet Hosea."

This great apologetic work exhibits the same merits and defects which we find elsewhere in Eusebius. There is the same greatness of conception marred by the same inadequacy of execution, the same profusion of learning combined with the same inability to control his materials, which we have seen in his *History*. The divisions are not kept distinct; the topics start up unexpectedly and out of season. But with all its faults, this is probably the most important apologetic work of the early church. It necessarily lacks the historical interest of the apologetic writings of the 2nd century; it falls far short of the thoughtfulness and penetration which give a permanent value to Origen's treatise against Celsus as a defence of the faith; it lags behind the Latin apologists in rhetorical vigour and expression. But the forcible and true conceptions which it exhibits from time to time, more especially bearing on the theme which may be briefly designated "God in history," arrest our attention now, and must have impressed his contemporaries still more strongly; while in learning and comprehensiveness it is without a rival. The *Preparation* exhibits the same wide range of acquaintance with the classical writers of Greece which the *History* exhibits in the domain of Christian literature. The list of writers quoted or referred to is astonishing for its length (see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* vii. p. 346). Some of these are only known to us even by name through Eusebius, and of several others he has preserved large portions which are not otherwise extant. The range of his quotations from extant writers may be inferred from the fact that he quotes not less than twenty-one works of Plato, and that there are between fifty and sixty quotations from the *Laws* alone. It was chiefly the impression produced by this mass of learning which led Scaliger to describe it as "divini commentarii," and Cave to call it "opus profecto nobilissimum" (*H. L.* i. p. 178).

The first editions of the Greek of the *Praeparatio* and *Demonstratio* were those of Stephens, A.D. 1544 and A.D. 1545 respectively. The *Praeparatio* was afterwards edited by Vigerus (Viguier), Paris, 1628, who revised the text, translated the work afresh into Latin, and added notes. The most important edition is that of Gaisford (4 vols., Oxon. 1843), who revised the text and gave a full critical apparatus, reprinting the translation and notes of Viguier. In 1846, Seguier published a French translation with notes. These notes are reprinted in Migne (iii. p. 1457 sq.). The *Demonstratio* also was edited by Gaisford (2 vols., Oxon. 1852), with critical apparatus and translation. The Latin translation was made by Bernardino Donato, 1498. The most recent text of both the *Praeparatio* and *Demonstratio* is that of W. Dindorf in Teubner's series, 1867. The *Praeparatio* and *Demonstratio* are the main subject of a monograph of Haenell *de Eusebio Caesariensi Religionis Christianae Defensore* (Gottingae, 1843).

(11) *Praeparatio Ecclesiastica* (Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Προπαρασκευὴ), mentioned by Photius (*Bibl.* 11), and—

(12) *Demonstratio Ecclesiastica* (Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀπόδειξις), also mentioned by Photius (*Bibl.* 12).

The first of these works does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere. The second is named in the *Jus Graeco-Romanum* (lib. iv. p. 295, ed. Leunclav.), but the reference conveys no information as to its contents. Photius merely gives, or rather gave, the number of books in each (the numbers have been obliterated), and adds in the case of the *Praeparatio Ecclesiastica*, that it contained extracts. Thus we are left to conjecture. The names however, combined with the one fact which Photius does mention, suggest that these two works aimed at doing for the society what the *Praeparatio* and *Demonstratio Evangelica* do for the doctrines of which the society is the depositary. If so, there seems to be an allusion to the *Demonstratio Ecclesiastica* in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* (i. 3. 11), where Eusebius speaks of having gathered together in a special work (*ἐν οἰκείᾳ ὑποθέσει*) the sayings of Christ relative to the foundation of His Church and compared them with the events. In this case we may suppose that those portions of the *Theophania* (book iv) which relate to this subject were adapted from the *Demonstratio Ecclesiastica* just as other portions (book v) are

adapted from the *Demonstratio Evangelica* (see below, p. 333).

(13) *Two Books of Objection and Defence* (Ἐλέγχου καὶ Ἀπολογίας λόγοι δύο), mentioned likewise by Photius (*Bibl.* 13). He adds that he also read "two others which, while they varied from the two former in some passages, were the same in all other respects both in the language and in the sentiments." In other words, they were two different editions of the same work, just as we have two editions of the *Martyrs of Palestine*. This book again is only known from Photius. He tells us that Eusebius in this work "introduces certain difficulties as alleged by the Greeks against our blameless religion (θρησκείας), and solves them well, though not so in all respects" (καλῶς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν πᾶσιν, ἐπιλύεται). Cave (*Hist. Lit.* i. p. 182) strangely supposes that the purport of this work was a defence of himself against the charge of Arianism. This view is quite irreconcilable with the language of Photius, which implies that it was an apology for the Christians against attacks of the heathen. The form is illustrated by a similar apologetic work, the recently discovered *Apocritica* of Macarius Magnes, where the Gentile philosopher alleges his objections and the Christian apologist answers them. Photius does indeed mention the Arianism of Eusebius just below, but this mention has no special reference to the book in question. Having spoken of several works in succession by the same author, he adds at the close some general remarks on the style and opinions of the writer himself. There seems to be an allusion to this work in *Eccl. Theol.* ii. 22 (p. 269, Gaisford).

(14) *Divine Manifestation* (Θεοφάνεια), in five books [*Op.* vi. 607 sq.]. This work is mentioned in the lists of Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 81) and Ebedjesu (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* iii. p. 18). It is quoted sometimes in the Catenae as Εὐαγγελικὴ Θεοφάνεια (vi. pp. 609, 618, 645, 655), but elsewhere as Θεοφάνεια simply. The simpler title accords with Jerome and with the heading of the Syriac version. This work was long supposed to be lost, except by Labbe, who believed that the five books of the *Theophania* mentioned by Jerome were the five extant books against Marcellus, imagining θεοφάνεια to be a synonyme for θεολογία. Meanwhile it was noticed that certain Catenae in the Vienna and other libraries contained extracts purporting to be taken from the *Theophania* of Eusebius (Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* v. p. 408, ed. Harles). At length fragments of the Greek original were published by Mai from Vatican MSS in his *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* i (1831), viii (1833). A few years later (A.D. 1842) the work was printed entire in a Syriac version by Dr. S. Lee, who in the following year also published an English translation with introduction and notes (*Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, on the Theophania*, etc., Cambridge, 1843). By the aid of this version, Mai (A.D. 1847) in his *Bibl. Nov. Patr.* iv. p. 310 (comp. p. 110) published anew his Greek fragments collected and rearranged, including among them some extracts which he had before erroneously assigned to the commentary on St. Luke. This collection of Greek fragments is reprinted in Migne.

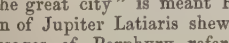
The Syriac MS which has preserved this work is the same which also contains the *Martyrs of Palestine*, and has been mentioned already (p. 320). As it is dated A.D. 411, and as the Syriac text already contains very many corruptions which point to several stages of transcription (see Lee, p. xiv sq., note, and *passim*), the version itself was probably contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the original work. The Greek text however had already undergone some few corruptions, as the rendering 'of stone' (=λίθινος) in *Theoph.* v. 2 (corresponding to ἠλίθιος in the parallel passage of the *Dem. Ev.* iii. 7. 20) shews. The difficulty of rendering the involved and florid sentences of Eusebius into Syriac must have been enormous, and the translator has necessarily used much freedom in unravelling the constructions and reproducing the imagery; but on the whole he has expressed the meaning fairly well. He was not however a complete master of Greek idiom, as *e.g.* when he renders κατὰ κεφαλῆς, said of St. Peter's crucifixion, "after his Head," *i.e.* Christ, instead of "head downwards" (v. 31).

The subject of the *Theophania* is, as its name suggests, the manifestation of God in the Incarnation of the Divine Word. The contents of the five books are as follows. (1) An account of the *subject* and the *recipients* of the revelation. As against atheists on the one hand and polytheists on the other, the doctrine of the Word of God is insisted upon. His person and working are set forth. The polytheist and the pantheist are alike at fault. The Word is essentially one. His relation to the different grades of creation, and more especially to man. The pre-eminence, characteristics, destiny, and fall of man. (2) The *necessity* of the revelation. The human race was degraded by gross idolatry with its accompanying immoralities. The philosophers could not rescue it. Plato had the clearest sense of the truth, and yet even he was greatly at fault. Meanwhile the demons of polytheism had maddened mankind, as we see from the human sacrifices and from the prevalence of wars. The demons too had shewn their powerlessness; they could not defend their temples, and they did not foresee their overthrow. (3) The *proof* of the revelation. The evidence of its excellency and power as seen in its *effects*. For this end it was necessary that the Word should be incarnate, should be put to death, and should rise again. The change which has come over mankind in consequence. (4) The *proof* of the revelation continued. The evidence from the *fulfilment of Christ's words*—His prophecies respecting the extension of His kingdom, the trials of His Church, the destinies of His servants, and the fate of the Jews. (5) The common *objection* of the heathen that Christ was a sorcerer and a deceiver, and that He achieved all these results by magic, is discussed and answered.

Eusebius had no hesitation about repeating himself; and the *Theophania* is a notable example of this freedom from scruple. Large portions of the treatise appear not only in substance but even verbatim in his other works. The coincidences with the *Oration on the Tricennalia* of Constantine are perhaps the most striking. Very considerable portions of the first and second books, and some three-fourths of the third book, will be found in this panegyric. (Comp. *Theoph.* i. 2–34 with *L. C.* 11. § 8–12.

§ 16; *Theoph.* ii. 1 sq. with *L. C.* 13. § 1 sq.; *Theoph.* ii. 78–80 with *L. C.* 9. § 2–7; *Theoph.* iii. 2–39 with *L. C.* 16. § 1–17. § 15, 13. § 16–14. § 12; *Theoph.* iii. 45–60 with *L. C.* 15. § 1–8; besides other coincidences.) The plagiarisms from the *Demonstratio* are hardly less. The whole of the fifth book, with the exception of the opening chapter and an occasional paragraph here and there, will be found in *Dem. Ev.* iii. 3. 1–iii. 7. 38, though the order is sometimes changed, and the coincidences are not always verbatim. Nor are these the only parallels between the two works. The *Præparatio* also contributes its quota (comp. e.g. *Theoph.* ii. 53–64 with *Præp. Ev.* iv. 15. 8–iv. 16. 15), though here the debt is not so large. It has been conjectured above (p. 331) that great parts of the fourth book were taken in like manner from a lost work, the *Demonstratio Ecclesiastica*.

The date of the *Theophania* is a matter of some interest. The place of writing is Caesarea (iv. 6), and it was plainly written after the triumph of Constantine and the restoration of peace to the Church. The persecution is over, and the persecutors have met with their punishment (iii. 20, v. 52). Polytheism is fast waning, and Christianity is spreading everywhere (ii. 76, iii. 79). Lee however would place it soon after the restoration of peace, mainly on the ground that "whatever portions of this work are found either in the *Præparatio*, the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, or the *Oratio de Laudibus Constantini*, they there occur in no regular sequence of argument as they do in this work, especially in the latter, into which they have been carried evidently for the purpose of lengthening out a speech" (p. xxi sq.). On the relation of our treatise to these other works of Eusebius with which it has matter in common, the settlement of the date must mainly depend; but Lee appears to have misconceived these relations altogether. (1) As regards the *Præparatio* and *Demonstratio*, the phenomena are occasionally such as can hardly be explained otherwise than by their priority to the *Theophania*. Thus in *Præp. Ev.* iv. 16. 9, 10, we have two quotations from different parts of Porphyry (*de Abst.* ii. 56, followed by *ib.* ii. 27) in succession. The words at the joining run thus: "*But even at the present time who does not know that a man is sacrificed in the great city at the feast of Jupiter Latiaris?* And again he (Porphyry) says: *From whence even to the present time not only in Arcadia at the Lycaea, but in Carthage they all publicly offer human sacrifices to Cronos.*" In the *Theophania* however (ii. 64), though Porphyry's language is repeated word for word, no indication is given that Eusebius is quoting from any one, and the two quotations are run into each other thus; ". . . of Jupiter Latiaris. For even to the present time not only in Arcadia at the Lycaea," etc. The effect of this is so confusing that Lee has entirely misapprehended the meaning. By "the great city" is meant Rome, as the mention of Jupiter Latiaris shews, so that the two passages of Porphyry refer to two different human sacrifices in localities far apart. But Lee supposes that "the great city" is Megalopolis in Arcadia, and he boldly translates



(*i.e.* τοῖς Λυκαίοις), "to Jupiter," thus making one sacrifice of the two. In the same way the string of examples given in the *Theophania* throughout presupposes the string of authorities from which they are taken, and which are quoted at length in the *Præparatio*. The case as regards the *Demonstratio* is not quite so clear, but where there is a variation, it points to the priority of the *Demonstratio*. Compare for instance the quotations from heathen writers given in full in *Dem. Ev.* iii. 3. 9–12, with the summary of their contents in *Theoph.* v. 5. So again, when he is speaking of the early bishops of Jerusalem before the foundation of Aelia Capitolina, the addition of their number "fifteen" in *Theoph.* v. 45, which is not found in *Dem. Ev.* iii. 5. 109, seems to point to a time subsequent to his studies in ecclesiastical history, which furnished him with more definite knowledge on the subject (*H. E.* iv. 5). (2) The relation of the *Theophania* to the *Oration in Praise of Constantine* presents itself in a different way. This oration was delivered, as we have seen, A.D. 335 or 336. The latter part, comprising about one half of the whole, appears almost verbatim in different parts of the *Theophania*, besides close coincidences of thought and expression scattered throughout the rest. Is it conceivable that Eusebius would have dared to deliver page after page of a published theological work as if it were written for the occasion? Would not such a procedure have been regarded as an insult alike to the emperor and to the hearers? On the other hand, if we suppose that he had partially written the *Theophania* at this time, but had not given it to the public, then he might fairly utilise as much of it as served his immediate purpose. In fact, the relation of this panegyric to the *Theophania* seems to be the same as to the *Life of Constantine*. The theological portion of the speech is taken mainly from the former, the historical portion from the latter. Neither was published at the time, though both were perhaps begun, or at least contemplated, and therefore he could plagiarise from them with impunity. If this view be true, the *Theophania* was one of his latest works. Indeed I am almost disposed to think that it was left unfinished when he died. It ends with a passage out of the *Demonstratio*, from which nearly the whole of the last book is taken. This passage breaks off in the middle of a sentence in its original place (*D. E.* iii. 7. 38), but it is slightly modified here, so as to make a possible ending for the *Theophania*. Still it is somewhat abrupt, and the subject wants rounding off. The late date of the *Theophania* would account for the fact that Eusebius does not refer to it in his other extant writings, notwithstanding its importance. This view is quite consistent with the statement (ii. 14) that the immoral rites of Baalbec still survived; for, though Constantine took measures to suppress them (*V. C.* iii. 58), it is clear from later writers that the attempt was altogether ineffective. Lee seems to think that because the *Theophania* contains a popular treatment of subjects which Eusebius discusses more elaborately in the *Præparatio* and *Demonstratio*, therefore it must have preceded them in time. But it happens more often than not that the more recondite work is followed by the more popular exposition by the same author. The reputation of the former creates the demand for the latter.

(15) *On the Numerous Progeny of the Ancients* (περὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν πολυπαιδίας). The title of this lost treatise is taken from *Praep. Ev.* vii. 8. 29, where Eusebius mentions it. It is doubtless the same work to which St. Basil refers (*de Spir. Sanct.* 29, *Op.* iii. p. 61) as *Difficulties respecting the Polygamy of the Ancients* (ἐν τοῖς ἐπαπορήμασι περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων πολυγαμίας). The right place for this treatise would seem to be among the apologetic works, since it appears to have aimed at accounting for the normal type of life among the patriarchs and the Jews generally, as seen in polygamy, and reconciling it with the ascetic type, which in his own time was regarded as the true ideal of Christian teaching. This practical contradiction starts up again and again in his extant apologetic writings, as a difficulty to be explained. In the reference in the *Praeparatio* he speaks of having discussed in this work the notices of the lives of the patriarchs and "their philosophic endurance and self-discipline" (τῆς φιλοσόφου καρτερίας τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσκήσεως), whether by way of direct narrative or of allegorical suggestion. The quotation in Basil does not aid us.

C. Critical and Exegetical.

Under this head will be ranged all works directed primarily to the criticism and elucidation of the Scriptures.

(16) *Biblical Texts.* We have seen already (p. 310) how in his earlier years Eusebius was occupied in conjunction with his friend Pamphilus in the production of correct texts of Old Testament Scriptures. A notice connected with his later years exhibits him engaged in a similar work (*V. C.* iv. 36, 37). The emperor writes to Eusebius, asking him to provide fifty copies of the Scriptures for use in the churches of his new capital Constantinople, where the Christian population had largely multiplied. The manuscripts must be easily legible and handy for use; they must be written on carefully prepared parchment; and they must be transcribed by skilful calligraphers. He has already written, he adds, to the procurator-general (καθολικός) of the district (τῆς διοικήσεως), charging him to furnish Eusebius with the necessary appliances, and has placed at his disposal two public waggons in order to convey the manuscripts, when complete, to the new metropolis. Eusebius executes the commission. The manuscripts were arranged, he tells us, in ternions and quaternions (τριάσὰ καὶ τετρασσὰ), and were carefully prepared at great cost. The emperor wrote again, expressing his satisfaction at the manner in which the commission had been executed.

It has been a question whether we have not among our extant MSS some of these very copies which Eusebius supplied to the churches of Constantinople. The only two which can possibly fall within the age of Eusebius are the *Vaticanus* and the *Sinaiticus*. The former however does not answer to the description, for it is folded not in ternions or quaternions, but in quinternions or quires of five sheets (see Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* p. 96, ed. 2). The latter does indeed satisfy this condition (see *ib.* p. 88), and Dr. Scrivener (*Collation of Codex Sinaiticus*, p. xxxvii) thinks it "very credible" that we have here one of the copies prepared by Eusebius for Constantinople, but the locality in which it was found is at all events not favourable to the supposition, and the text in many respects differs too widely from the readings found in Eusebius to encourage this opinion (see Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark* p. 293). The library of Caesarea however was for many generations the resort of transcribers and correctors who were anxious to secure accurate texts of the Scriptures: see *e.g.* a later hand in a copy of the LXX, instanced by Scrivener (*Introduction*, p. 51); the original corrector of H of St. Paul's Epistles (*ib.* p. 159); and the Greek text from which the Harclean Syriac, or part of it, was translated (*St. Clement of Rome* p. 234, Appendix).

(17) *Sections and Canons, with the Letter to Carpianus prefixed* [*Op.* iv. 1273]. Eusebius explains the origin and method of these sections and canons in the prefatory letter. Ammonius of Alexandria (about A.D. 220) had constructed a Harmony or Diatessaron of the Gospels. He took St. Matthew as his standard, and placed side by side with the paragraphs in this evangelist the parallel passages in the other three gospels. The work of Ammonius suggested to Eusebius the plan which he adopted. It was however somewhat different in principle. The great inconvenience of Ammonius's work was that St. Matthew alone could be read continuously, while the sequence of the other evangelists was interrupted. On the other hand, Eusebius desired to preserve the continuity of all the narratives. He therefore divided each gospel separately into *sections*, which he numbered continuously. At the same time he constructed a table of ten *canons*, each containing a list of passages, as follows: canon i, common to all the four evangelists; canon ii, common to Matthew, Mark, Luke; canon iii, common to Matthew, Luke, John; canon iv, common to Matthew, Mark, John; canon v, common to Matthew and Luke; canon vi, common to Matthew and Mark; canon vii, common to Matthew and John; canon viii, common to Luke and Mark; canon ix, common to Luke and John; canon x, passages peculiar to a single evangelist, so that this last canon contains four separate lists. The sections of the several gospels were numbered in black, and beneath each such number was a second number in vermilion, specifying the canon to which the section belonged. By turning to the canon so specified, the reader would see the numbers of the parallel sections in the other evangelists. Thus at Matt. xiii. 54 sq. he finds $\frac{\text{PMA.}}{\text{A}}$ This 141st section of St. Matthew therefore belongs to the first canon. Turning accordingly to the first canon, he finds

MT	MP	Λ	ΙΩ
PMA	N	ΙΘ	NΘ

This shews him that the 141st section of St. Matthew corresponds to the 50th of St. Mark, to the 19th of St. Luke, and to the 59th of St. John; and he accordingly turns to these sections in the gospels, and finds the parallel passages, Mark vi. 1 sq., Luke iv. 22, John vi. 41, 42.

It will be seen from this account that the numbering of the sections was entirely dependent on the arrangement in canons. A section did not necessarily comprise a single subject complete in itself, as a chapter or a paragraph

might do. Its length was regulated altogether by the matter which it had in common with one or more of the other gospels. Thus the 1st section of St. Luke extends over eighty-five verses (Luke i. 1–ii. 5), comprising the preface at one end and the account of the taxing with the journey to Bethlehem at the other, because the whole of this part has no parallel in the other evangelists. On the other hand, elsewhere a single verse will frequently be bisected, because its different parts stand in different relations to the other gospels.

This fact decides a critical question of some importance. It is common to speak of the arrangement which has been described as *Ammonian* Sections and *Eusebian* Canons, as though Eusebius had derived the former from Ammonius and had himself only added the latter. This however is not the natural inference from his own language. He does not say that he borrowed anything from Ammonius, but that his general scheme was suggested by the work of that critic (ἐκ τοῦ πονήματος τοῦ προειρημένου ἀνδρὸς εἰληφὼς ἀφορμάς), though he himself adopted a different method (καθ' ἑτέραν μέθοδον). The foregoing account shews that the canons and sections were intimately connected, and that the latter were determined altogether by the former. The principle of Ammonius was different, and the numbering of the sections, even so far as regards St. Matthew's Gospel, would not be suggested by his plan, or indeed have been compatible with it. The other gospels he would not be required to divide into sections at all. Mill however (*Proleg.* p. lxiii sq.) falls into the error of ascribing the sections to Ammonius, and he is followed by not a few more recent critics. The case is correctly stated by Wetstein (*Proleg.* pp. 68, 69 sq.), by Lloyd (*Nov. Test.* p. vii sq., Oxon. 1828), and by Westcott (*Dict. of the Bible, s. v.* "New Testament," p. 512); and the reasons for this view are more fully given by Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark* p. 295 sq.

The primary object of this scheme was to lay the basis of a Harmony of the Gospels, or at least to furnish materials for the investigation of questions bearing on the mutual relations of the several evangelical narratives. The fact that it was suggested by the Diatessaron of Ammonius shews this. The interest which such investigations had for Eusebius is evident moreover from his own *Quaestiones ad Stephanum* and *ad Marinum*. But Eusebius would find, as later harmonists have found, that it is not easy to draw the line between divergent narratives of the same event or discourse, and narratives of similar events or discourses. Hence, the only safe principle which he could lay down for himself was sufficiently close resemblance (τὰ παραπλήσια). Any narrower rule would have obliged him to prejudge numberless doubtful cases, and this apparently he had no desire of doing. This principle however, once adopted, obliged him to admit as parallels references to similar incidents or sayings which no one could regard as different representations of the same thing; *e.g.* corresponding to the mention of the last passover in Matt. xxvi. 1, 2 (§ 274), we have references not only to Mark xiv. 1 (§ 156), Luke xxii. 1 (§ 260), John xi. 55 (§ 96), which are strictly parallel, but also to the two previous passovers mentioned by St. John, ii. 13 (§ 20) and vi. 4 (§ 48). In such cases the parallels serve very much the same purpose as our marginal references, and good service has been done by calling attention to these phenomena (Burgon, *l. c.* p. 298 sq.). But it seems to be an entire misconception to suppose that the sections "are only rightly understood when they are regarded as marginal references," and that the system "is nothing else but a clumsy substitute for what is achieved by an ordinary reference Bible." The main object of Eusebius was to exhibit the mutual relations of the four evangelical narratives; the main object of a reference Bible is to furnish illustrations to individual passages from other sources. The arrangement of the several canons was quite superfluous for this latter purpose; and a far less intelligent man than Eusebius might have seen that, by precluding any references to other parts of the same gospel, his system was very ill conceived for the attainment of such an aim. For the purpose which he had in view, it is very fairly adequate, though not perfect, and it has never yet been superseded.

Dean Burgon has pointed out (p. 308 sq.) that in the Syriac MSS generally, even in those of ancient date (*e.g.* the Medicean MS, written A.D. 586), though the principle of the Eusebian sections and canons is preserved, yet the subdivisions themselves are not the same (*e.g.* in St. John there are two hundred and seventy-one sections instead of two hundred and thirty-two); and he even raises the question whether this larger number of sections found in the Syriac MSS may not represent the original arrangement of Eusebius (p. 310). For this latter suspicion there is no ground. The Syriac subdivision was doubtless some later, but comparatively early, readjustment of the Eusebian sections. The Latin sections, which must be as old as Jerome's time, and therefore can be traced farther back than the Syriac, are the same as the Greek. In the Coptic MSS also, so far as I have noticed, the sections correspond to those of the Greek.

The letter to Carpianus was translated into most, if not all, languages in which versions of the gospels were anciently made. For the history of the sections and canons in the MSS see Scrivener's *Introd. to the Criticism of the N. T.* p. 54 sq. and *passim*. The sections and canons are marked in many editions of the Greek Testament, *e.g.* those of Tischendorf and Tregelles.

(18) Under the head of Biblical exegesis may be ranged several topographical works which were undertaken at the instance of Paulinus, bishop of Tyre.

(a) *Interpretation of the Ethnological Terms in the Hebrew Scriptures* (τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεταβαλὼν τὰς ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ κειμένας Ἑβραίοις ὀνόμασι προσρήσεις).

(b) *Chorography of Ancient Judaea, with the Inheritances of the Ten Tribes* (τῆς πάλαι Ἰουδαίας ἀπὸ πάσης βίβλου καταγραφὴν πεποιημένος καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν διαιρῶν κλήρους).

(c) *A Plan of Jerusalem and of the Temple* (ὡς ἐν γραφῆς τύπῳ τῆς πάλαι διαβοήτου μητροπόλεως αὐτῶν, λέγω δὴ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, τοῦ τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἱεροῦ τὴν εἰκόνα διαχαράξας). It was accompanied with memoirs relating to the different localities (μετὰ παραθέσεως τῶν εἰς τοὺς τόπους ὑπομνημάτων).

(d) *On the Names of Places in Holy Scripture* (περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ), entitled in the head of Jerome's version *de Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum*, but elsewhere (*Vir. Ill.* 81) *Topica*.

The first three works (or perhaps they should be regarded as parts of the same work) are mentioned in the preface to the fourth, which alone is extant. The second is probably intended by Ebedjesu (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* iii. p. 18) in his catalogue, where he mentions among the writings of Eusebius a book *de Figura Mundi*, the Greek being mistranslated.

The treatise, *On the Names of Places*, like the three which preceded it, was written at the instance of Paulinus, to whom it is dedicated. It professes to give alphabetically "the designations of the cities and villages mentioned in Holy Scripture in their original language" (πατρίῳ γλώττῃ), together with a description of the locality and the modern names in each case. There is no indication of date; but from its relation to Paulinus, as well as for other reasons, we may conjecture that it was a somewhat early work. Jerome indeed in his preface says otherwise; he describes it as written "post decem ecclesiasticos historiae libros . . . post temporum canones etc."; but his recklessness of language deprives this statement of any value. Eusebius himself names other works (the topographical treatises already mentioned) which he had written already, but not the *History* and the *Chronicon*. Jerome interpolates these in his manipulation of Eusebius's preface.

The names of the places are not taken from the LXX, but transliterated with various success from the Hebrew. The letters are given in order, A, B, Γ, etc.; but in each several letter the words are arranged under the successive books in which they occur, so that the order is not strictly alphabetical. The great value of the treatise consists in the acquaintance which Eusebius had with the geography of Palestine in his own day.

This work had already been translated into Latin by some unskilful hand before Jerome's time, "quidam vix imbutus literis . . . ausus est in Latinam linguam non Latine vertere." The result was so unsatisfactory that he himself undertook a new version. Jerome's however was not a mere translation; he omitted some important notices, and he made several changes. His personal knowledge of Palestine enabled him to do this with effect.

The *Topica* was first edited by Bonfrère (Paris, 1631), then by Martianay in his edition of Jerome's works (ii. p. 386 sq., Paris, 1699), among which it is generally included along with his translation (*e.g.* by Vallarsi, *Op.* iii. p. 122 sq.). The two most recent and most critical editions are those of Larsow and Parthey (*Euseb. Pamph. Episc. Caesar. Onomasticon*, etc., Berolini, 1862) and of Lagarde (*Onomastica Sacra*, p. 207 sq., Gottingae, 1870). For the sake of convenience Larsow and Parthey have departed from the arrangement of Eusebius and Jerome according to the books of the Bible, and have substituted a strictly alphabetical order throughout. The original order is preserved by Lagarde, who has also given Jerome's version in the same volume.

(19) *On the Nomenclature of the Book of the Prophets* (περὶ τῆς τοῦ βιβλίου τῶν προφητῶν ὀνομασίας) [*Op.* iv. 1261 sq.]. This work contains a brief account of the several prophets and the subjects of their prophecies, beginning with the minor prophets and following the order of the LXX. It was first published by T. Curterius in his edition of *Procopius on Isaiah* (Paris, 1580). For an account of the MS (now in the Vatican) which contains it, see Mai *Bibl. Nov. Patr.* iv. p. 66.

(20) *In Psalmos* (εἰς τοὺς Ψαλμούς), a continuous commentary on the Psalms [*Op.* v. 65 sq., vi. 9]. This commentary was first published by Montfaucon, *Coll. Nov. Patr.* i (Paris, 1707), with a translation, very meagre notes, and good "praeliminaria." The manuscripts which he used however did not enable him to carry the work beyond the 118th Psalm; and as he did not observe any extracts from Eusebius in the Catenae beyond this point, he supposed that the end of the work was irrecoverably lost. Mai however *Bibl. Nov. Patr.* iv. p. 65 sq., Romae, 1847) discovered among the Vatican MSS three Catenae, which contain fairly continuous extracts from the latter part of the work, and thus was enabled to supply the missing end of this commentary in part. The whole of the extant remains will be found in Migne.

This work contains some references which enable us to fix its date roughly. (1) On Ps. xxxvi. 12 (v. p. 329, Migne) Eusebius alludes in general terms to the persecution of his own time (τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῖς) and the vengeance which overtook the persecutors; and again on Ps. xlvii. 4 sq. (v. p. 424) he sees a fulfilment of the Psalmist's words in the fate which overtook Galerius and Maximinus (whose names however are not mentioned), in the "palinode" of the persecutors, and in the rebuilding of the churches. (2) A more important indication of date is the comment on Ps. lxxxvii. 10 sq. (v. p. 1064). Eusebius explains the words, "Wilt thou do wonders among the dead," etc., as a prophetic announcement, and he sees a fulfilment in "the wonderful things which have been accomplished in our own day (καθ' ἡμᾶς) respecting the sepulchre and the confession (τὸ μαρτύριον, *i.e.* the church; comp. *V. C.* iii. 28, 30, iv. 46, etc.) of our Saviour." This evidently refers to the discovery of the site of the Holy Sepulchre and the building of Constantine's basilica thereupon, as related in *V. C.* iii. 20 sq., iv. 45 sq.; comp. *Laud. Const.* 9, § 16 sq. But it is not necessary with Montfaucon to suppose that in "the wonderful things" (τὰ θαυμάσια) Eusebius here alludes to the miracles believed in the next generation to have attended the invention of the Cross by the empress Helena; for in his *Life of Constantine* he betrays no knowledge of any such invention or miracles. The discovery of the hidden cave, and the erection of the magnificent buildings, would amply justify the term; and in fact Eusebius himself elsewhere gives a letter of Constantine in which similar expressions are used to describe these events (*V. C.* iii. 30 τοῦ θαύματος τούτου, καινοτέροις θαύμασιν, ib. 31 τὸν τοῦ κόσμου θαυμασιώτερον τόπον). Here then is a valuable note of time. The interest in the holy places began with the visit of the emperor's mother, A.D. 326. The discovery

of the site of the Sepulchre may have been made then, and the buildings, which occupied some years in the erection, may have been begun soon after; but the basilica was not dedicated till A.D. 335 (see above, p. 318). The date of this commentary therefore can hardly be placed much earlier than A.D. 330, and may have been some years later.

This work stands in the first rank of patristic commentaries in point of importance, owing to its superior antiquity and its intrinsic merits. The historical bearing of the several psalms is generally treated sensibly; the theological and mystical interpretations betray the extravagance common to patristic exegesis. The value of the work to ourselves is largely increased by the frequent extracts from the Hexaplaric versions and by other occasional notices respecting the text and history of the Psalter. The author had this advantage over most patristic commentators, that he possessed some acquaintance with Hebrew, though not sufficient to prevent him from falling into mistakes. It is not certain however (as Montfaucon assumes) that he is guilty of a gross blunder when on Ps. cix. (cx.) 3, ἐκ γαστρὸς, his present text has τὸ Ἑβραϊκὸν ἔχει Μαριάμ, and he connects it with the name of the Virgin. There is obviously some clerical error in the context, and it is not at all clear that he himself adopts the view here mentioned. Even if he does, we must not hastily assume that he misunderstood the meaning of the Hebrew מרחם "from the womb." In this case he would merely imply that there was a prophetic suggestion of the Virgin's name (מרים) in these Hebrew words, just as Philo is constantly seeing metaphysical and ethical mysteries in homonymes. Prefixed to the commentary, besides its own proper preface (p. 72 sq.) and a note on διάψαλμα (p. 76), are two other prefatory notices (p. 66 sq.), the one on the "inscriptions" (εἰς τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς) of the Psalms, and the other containing the "arguments" (ὑποθέσεις), *i.e.* a summary of their contents theologically interpreted. These would seem to belong to some other work. They may have been included in the *Elementary Introduction*, if the view taken of this work below be correct. Eusebius had been preceded by Origen as a commentator on the Psalms (Hieron. *Epist.* 112, *Op.* i. p. 754, "Psalmorum quos apud Graecos interpretati sunt multis voluminibus, primus Origenes, secundus Eusebius Caesariensis)." To him doubtless he was greatly indebted in this work.

This commentary had a great reputation. It was translated into Latin within a very few years of its publication by his namesake Eusebius of Vercellae, who however omitted the parts which he considered heretical (Hieron. l. c.; *Epist.* 61, i. p. 348; *Vir. Ill.* 96, ii. p. 932). This translation is lost. The work of Eusebius is mentioned several times, as we have seen, by Jerome; it was largely used by Theodoret; and it is frequently quoted by later writers. Notices of Syriac extracts from it appear in Wright's *Catal. Syr. MSS Brit. Mus.* pp. 35 sq., 125.

(21) *Commentary on Isaiah* (ὑπομνήματα εἰς Ἡσαΐαν) [*Op.* vi. p. 77 sq.]. This work also was first published by Montfaucon, *Coll. Nov. Patr.* ii (Paris, 1706), partly from MSS containing large portions of the continuous work, partly from copious extracts in the Catenae. As in the former case, so here also he added a translation, very meagre notes, and a good preface. This commentary is mentioned by Jerome in one passage (*Vir. Ill.* 81) as consisting of ten books ("libris decem"), in another (*Comm. in Isai.* Prol., *Op.* iv. p. 5) as comprising fifteen books ("quindecim volumina"). As Jerome must have had the work by him when he wrote the latter passage, we may suppose that fifteen is the correct number, unless there be some clerical error. In the existing MSS there is no trace of any division into books.

The indications of date in this work are as follows. (1) On xliv. 5 (p. 404) Eusebius mentions the persecution of Diocletian as a thing of the past (ἐν γοῦν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς γενομένοις διωγμοῖς . . . ἐθεασάμεθα κ.τ.λ.). (2) On xlix. 23 (p. 440), "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers," he remarks that we "have seen it fulfilled literally with our own eyes," the sovereigns taking the Church under their care, and the provincial governors supplying food (τὰ σιτηρέσια χορηγοῦσαι) to the poor of the Church in obedience to the royal command. The measures here referred to are related in *V. C.* iv. 28, σιτοδοσίας ἐπὶ χορηγίᾳ πενήτων ἀνδρῶν. (3) On xxiii. 17 (p. 257), the prophecy respecting Tyre, "her merchandise and her hire shall be holy to the Lord," he remarks that this has been fulfilled "in our own day" (καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς), and he proceeds to speak of the "establishment of the Church of God" there in language which seems to have been suggested by the erection of the great basilica at Tyre (about A.D. 314), when he himself preached the inaugural sermon (*H. E.* x. 4). (4) On xiii. 17 (p. 189) there is a direct reference to the *Chronicle* (ἐν τοῖς πονηθεῖσιν ἡμῖν χρονικοῖς συγγράμμασι). This last notice would place the date of the *Commentary on Isaiah* not earlier than A.D. 325, if we could be sure that there were no prior edition of the *Chronicle*, but the references to that work elsewhere in Eusebius, as has been pointed out (p. 321), are highly perplexing except on such a hypothesis.

This work exhibits the same characteristics as the *Commentary on the Psalms*. Jerome (*Comm. in Is.* prol. *l. c.*) describes the work as "juxta historicam explanationem"; and in other places he complains that, though in the title Eusebius professed to give "a historical exposition," "a historical interpretation" (*ib.* v. prol., p. 168 sq.; *ib.* v. § 18, p. 199), he nevertheless sometimes follows Origen and runs off into allegorical interpretations. The criticism is just, but no traces of this limitation appear in the heading in the existing MSS, unless they have been suppressed by the editor. At the same time Jerome himself is largely indebted to Eusebius, whom he sometimes translates almost word for word without acknowledgment. Eusebius occasionally inserts on the authority of a Hebrew teacher traditions which are interesting: *e.g.* that Shebna became high-priest and betrayed the people to Sennacherib (p. 249); that Hezekiah was seized with sickness for not singing God's praises, like Moses and Deborah, after his victory (p. 381). Sometimes he gives Christian traditions; *e.g.* (p. 284) that Judas Iscariot belonged to the tribe of Ephraim. This commentary of Eusebius is

mentioned by Procopius in his preface, and is freely used by him, as also by later Greek commentators.

(22) *Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel* (*εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον*) [*Op.* vi. 527 sq.]. Considerable extracts from this work, collected from the Catenae, were first published by Mai, *Bibl. Nov. Patr.* iv. p. 159 sq., Romae, 1847. It is not mentioned by Jerome or Photius.

(23) *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians.* At least such a work seems to be implied by Jerome's language, *Ep.* xlix (*Op.* i. p. 235 "Origenes, Dionysius, Pierius, Eusebius Caesariensis, Didymus, Apollinaris, latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt"), though he does not mention it in his *Catalogue.* One extract alone, on 1 Cor. iv. 5, appears in Cramer's *Catena* p. 75 (repeated p. 477).

(24) *Commentaries on other Books of Scripture.* Extracts are given from, or mention is made of, commentaries on *Proverbs* (Mai, *Bibl. Nov. Patr.* iv. p. 316, reprinted by Migne, vi. p. 75); *Song of Songs* (see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* vii. pp. 397, 409); *Daniel* (Mai, *ib.* p. 316, reprinted by Migne, vi. p. 525); *Hebrews* (Mai, *ib.* p. 207, reprinted by Migne, vi. p. 605); and several other books of the Old and New Testaments (see Fabric. *l. c.* p. 399). It is doubtful however whether in such cases the extracts (even when genuine) were taken from continuous commentaries or from other exegetical or dogmatical works of Eusebius. In some instances this is certainly so; *e.g.* in the case of notes on the gospels, which are extracted in many instances from the *Quaestiones ad Stephanum* and *ad Marinum.*

(25) *On the Discrepancies of the Gospels* (*περὶ Διαφωνίας Εὐαγγελίων*). Jerome, in his *Catalogue* (c. 81), mentions among the works of Eusebius a book *de Evangeliorum Diaphonia*, and elsewhere (*Comm. in Matth.* i. c. 3, *Op.* vii. p. 11) he refers to Eusebius as discussing a certain question "in libris *διαφωνίας εὐαγγελίων.*" Ebedjesu also in his list mentions "librum *Solutionis Contradictionum quae sunt in Evangelio*" (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* iii. p. 18). In the 16th century Latino Latini wrote that there had been found in Sicily "libri tres Eusebii Caesariensis de Evangeliorum diaphonia," and it was hoped they would be published shortly. But from that time to this nothing has been heard of the Sicilian MS. Mai however discovered in a Vatican MS an epitome of the whole work, which he published in *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* i. 1, p. 1 sq. (1825), and again in *Bibl. Nov. Patr.* iv. p. 217 sq. (1847). He also added large portions of the unabridged work, which portions he found in the Catena of Nicetas on St. Luke (*Vat.* 1611), together with other fragments from other places, including two in Syriac (from the Vatican MS *Syr.* 104). These last doubtless belonged to the translation with which Ebedjesu was acquainted. Some criticisms on Mai's editing of this work will be found in Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark*, p. 42 sq.

The work consists of two parts, which form separate works, and are quoted as such:

(i) *Questions and Solutions on the Genealogy of the Saviour, addressed to Stephanus;* in two books [*Op.* iv. 879 sq., 953 sq.]. This work is mentioned by Eusebius in the *Demonstratio* (vii. 3. 18, *ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν εἰς τὴν γενεαλογίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων*), where he refers his readers to it for further information. Its title may be inferred from this reference, combined with the heading in the *Epitome* (p. 879), where it is described as "addressed to Stephanus concerning the Questions and Solutions in the Gospel." It is mentioned also by Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* vi. 37).

(ii) *Questions and Solutions concerning the Passion and Resurrection of the Saviour, addressed to Marinus;* in one book [*Op.* iv. 937 sq., 983 sq.]. This is the title in Corder. *Caten. in Joann.* p. 436, where it is quoted (see col. 1009, Migne). More commonly it is cited simply *τὰ πρὸς Μαρῖνον* (col. 1000, 1009, 1012, 1813).

At the beginning of this second work (col. 957), Eusebius says that, having already written two books (*συγγράμματα*) of "Questions and Solutions respecting the difficulties at the beginning of the inspired Gospels," he will now proceed in reply to Marinus to discuss questions affecting the end of them, passing over the intermediate parts. Thus he regards the two works as in a manner one; and we understand how Anastasius of Sinai (col. 913) quotes as from the work to Marinus a passage which comes from that to Stephanus. Nor can there be much doubt that the two together formed the work elsewhere entitled *de Diaphonia Evangeliorum.* The difficulties indeed do not always turn upon *discrepancies* in the Gospels. Thus for instance, he discusses the question why Thamar is mentioned (col. 905), and so again with respect to the wife of Uriah and to Ruth. But the discrepancies occupy a sufficiently large space to give the name to the whole. Thus the words *διαφωνεῖν*, *διαφωνία*, occur again and again (col. 893, 933, 952, 960, 965, 972, 992, 1012); and in one quotation (col. 1008) we are referred to "the treatise addressed to Marinus concerning the apparent *discrepancy* in the Gospels respecting the resurrection." The two treatises combined moreover give the *three* books which Latini ascribes to the work *de Diaphonia.*

We have seen that Eusebius, in the seventh book of the *Demonstratio*, refers to the *Quaestiones ad Stephanum*, as already published. But on the other hand there is a reference to the *Demonstratio*, as already written, in this work itself (col. 912 *ὅσπερ οὖν συνεστήσαμεν ἐν ταῖς εὐαγγελικαῖς ἀποδείξεσιν*), the passage referred to being *Dem. Ev.* i. 3. How are we to explain these cross references? Are we to assume that they were inserted later, as we find to have been the case elsewhere (*e.g.* in Plutarch's *Lives;* see Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* i. p. 99)? If so, we must give up any attempt to arrange the chronology of Eusebius's writings in despair. But we are not driven to this. The first book of the *Demonstratio* may have been published before these *Quaestiones*, but the seventh book after them. Or again, another and a more probable solution offers itself. The reference to the *Demonstratio* is in the epitome (the corresponding part of the unabridged work not being preserved). If therefore we suppose that this epitome was made at a later date by Eusebius himself, or under his direction, the difficulty disappears. We have seen that he pursued this course with regard to the *Martyrs of Palestine;* and there are indications of the same thing here. The epitome is

not a mere abridgment; but sentences are occasionally inserted to make the meaning more clear. There is however some difficulty in ascertaining the relation of the two works, owing to the fact that a writer quoting from the larger work will himself sometimes omit sentences which seem alien to his purpose. The *Quaestiones ad Stephanum* contained two books in its original form, but there is no trace of a division into books in the epitome. It comprises sixteen questions. In the *Quaestiones ad Marinum* there are only four questions in the epitome. Mai believes that he has recovered nearly the whole of this latter work (col. 983); but we may reasonably doubt this. The epitome is entitled "A Selection in Brief" (ἐκλογὴ ἐν συντόμῳ); and it may not only have abridged the solutions but omitted some of the questions. In one quotation we are referred to the thirteenth chapter (col. 1009), and a chapter would naturally correspond to a question.

The work professes to be written in answer to questions asked and difficulties propounded by Stephanus and Marinus respectively (*e.g.* col. 882, 892, 893, 925, 937). Where a question is stated anonymously (*e.g.* col. 1005 φαίη δ' ἄν τις), this may perhaps be a change made by the authority who cites the passage of Eusebius. One writer quotes the second part as "the Epistle to Marinus" (col. 1013), but there is no trace of the epistolary form. Who Stephanus and Marinus were, we have no information. Eusebius addresses the former as "his son Stephanus, the most holy [ἱερώτατε] and studious [φιλοπονώτατε] of men" (col. 936); the latter as his "son Marinus, most valued by him, and most studious" (col. 937). A certain Stephanus held the see of Antioch for a short time after the expulsion of Eustathius (see above, p. 315), being put forward by the Arian party (Soz. *H. E.* iii. 20; Socr. *H. E.* ii. 26; Hieron. *Chron.* p. 192, Schöne). One Marinus appears as bishop of Palmyra, and another as bishop of Sebaste in Palestine, in the lists of the Nicene council.

This work exhibits the characteristic hesitation of Eusebius in a somewhat aggravated form. Alternative solutions are frequently offered, and he does not decide between them. But it is suggestive and full of interest. It is valuable also as preserving large fragments of Africanus (col. 900, 966), besides some important notices, such as the absence of Mark xvi. 9–16 from the most numerous and best MSS (col. 937). From this great storehouse of information on the subject later harmonists of the Gospels plundered freely, and often without acknowledgment. Jerome's letters on certain difficulties in the Gospels (*Epist.* 59, 120) are largely drawn from it. The unacknowledged obligations of Ambrose on St. Luke and of Jerome on St. Matthew are pointed out in an appendix by Mai (*Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* i. 1, p. 101 sq.). Isidore of Pelusium (*Epist.* ii. 212, p. 220) plagiarizes whole sentences verbatim (col. 957). And so in like manner later writers.

D. Doctrinal.

(26) *General Elementary Introduction* (Ἡ Καθόλου Στοιχειώδης Εἰσαγωγή) [*Op.* iv. 1271]. The title of this work is given in the *Eclog. Proph.* iii. 1 (p. 97, Gaisford), iv. 35 (p. 236). The *Prophetical Extracts* themselves formed the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth books of it, and Eusebius promises to deal in the tenth with the errors of "the godless heresies" (iv. 35). The purport of this lost tenth book may be gathered from certain passages in the extant *Extracts*, especially iii. 9 (restored by Selwyn, *Journ. of Philol.* iv. p. 277), where he speaks of the Marcionites on the one hand, and the Artemonites, Samosatenes, Ebionites, etc., on the other, as being refuted by the prophet's language (comp. iv. 22). It would form a sequel to the *Extracts* themselves, and in it our author would discuss the false Christology of these heretics, and perhaps also their views of the relation between the Old and New Testaments. Five fragments of this work have been published by Mai (*Script. Vet.* viii. pp. 95, 100; *Bibl. Nov. Patr.* iv. p. 316), being included in the *Res Sacrae* of Leontius and Joannes, a collection of extracts. These fragments all profess to be taken from different parts (ἐκ τοῦ α', ἐκ τοῦ δ', ἐκ τοῦ ι') τῆς α' εἰσαγώγης (ἐπιστολῆς is doubtless a scribe's error in the case of the fifth fragment). Mai explains this to mean the *First Introduction*, and hence concludes that there were two works at least bearing the name. But this is improbable. All the fragments deal with analogous topics, having reference to general principles of ethics, etc., and it is therefore more probable that the "first *book* of the introduction" is intended, so that ἐκ τοῦ α', etc. will denote the *chapters* in the book. This work seems to have been a general introduction to theology, and its contents were very miscellaneous, as the extant remains shew. The *Prophetic Extracts* is perhaps not the only treatise known to us by another name, which was incorporated in this introduction. The work may have comprised an introduction to the study of the Bible, and, if so, the *Vitae Prophetarum* would find a fit place in it.

(27) *Prophetical Extracts* (Προφητικαὶ Ἐκλογαί, or more fully, αἱ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προφητικαὶ ἐκλογαί. 1 praef.) [*Op.* iv. 1017 sq.]. The date of this work is fixed approximately by the fact that the persecution is mentioned as still raging (i. 8, p. 26). It must therefore have been written before A.D. 313. On the other hand, it contains a distinct reference to the *Chronicle* (praef. p. 2); but this difficulty may be met by the hypothesis of an earlier edition of the *Chronicle* (see above, p. 322). Our treatise itself is referred to in the *History* (i. 2 ἐν οἰκείοις ὑπομνήμασι τὰς περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προφητικὰς ἐκλογὰς συναγαγόντες). It contains extracts of prophetical passages from the Old Testament relating to our Lord's person and work, with explanatory comments, and comprises four books, of which the first is devoted to the historical books of the Old Testament, the second to the Psalms, the third to the remaining poetical books and the other prophets, the fourth to Isaiah. The author's main object, as he explains it, is to shew that the prophets spoke of Jesus Christ as the pre-existent Word, who is "a second cause of the universe and God and Lord," and that they predicted His two advents (pp. 4, 5). Thus the personality of the Logos is the leading idea in his treatment of the prophecies in this work. The preface is unfortunately mutilated. If it had been perfect, we should probably have known more of his design in undertaking it, and of his

view of its relations to his other works. It was incorporated in his *Elementary Introduction*, as we have seen (p. 339).

This work was first published by Gaisford (Oxon. 1842) from a Vienna MS; but before this Lambeck had given an account of it in his *Comm. de Bibl. Caesar. Vindob.* III. iii. p. 201 (ed. Kollar; see also Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* vii. p. 314 sq.), and had identified the authorship from the reference to the *Chronicle* in the preface, though the MS is mutilated at the beginning, so that the title is wanting. The MS is mutilated in other parts besides, and there are many obvious misreadings. Several emendations are given by the late Prof. Selwyn, who had some thoughts of preparing a new edition, in the *Journal of Philology*, iv. p. 275 sq. (1872). Migne's text is merely a reprint from Gaisford.

(28) *Defence of Origen* (Ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ Ὠριγένους). This was the joint work of Pamphilus and Eusebius. The joint authorship is distinctly attested by Eusebius himself (*H. E.* vi. 33), by Socrates (*H. E.* iii. 7), by an anonymous writer of the 6th century who collected the *Synodic Epistles* (*Epist.* 198), and by Photius (*Bibl.* 118; comp. 117). This last writer is explicit as regards the portions executed by the two friends. The work, he tells us, comprised six books, of which the first five were written by Pamphilus in his prison with the assistance of Eusebius, and the sixth was added by Eusebius to complete the work after the death of Pamphilus. The first five books therefore were written A.D. 307–309, and the sixth probably soon afterwards.

Of the authorship then there can be no doubt. But the matter was overclouded by an ignoble controversy which raged at the close of the 4th century. In the year 397 Rufinus, at the request of Macarius, translated the first book of this Apology (Rufin. *adv. Hieron.* i. 582). In his translation he entitled it a work of Pamphilus, suppressing the name of Eusebius. It is very possible that he was not acting arbitrarily in this. The first book may have been so largely the work of Pamphilus that the name of Eusebius was not put forward in it. Perhaps the part of Eusebius in this book was confined to the collection and arrangement of the extracts from Origen. At all events, in the version of Rufinus the name of Pamphilus is prefixed to all the explanations which introduce and connect the passages of Origen, and in the prefatory dedication the writer uses the first person singular, "mihi," "habeo," and so also in the body of the work. When Rufinus's quarrel with Jerome broke out, this was a main charge brought against him by the latter. Jerome maintained that Eusebius was the real author of the work; that Rufinus had deliberately substituted the name of the honoured martyr for that of the tainted Arian, so as to conciliate his readers and thus recommend the heresies of Origen; and that he had altered the book in parts and introduced more orthodox expressions; *c. Rufin.* i. 8 sq. (*Op.* ii. p. 464 sq., Vallarsi), ii. 15 sq. (*ib.* p. 505 sq.), ii. 23 (*ib.* p. 516 sq.), iii. 12 (*ib.* p. 541 sq.), iii. 37 (*ib.* p. 563), *Epist.* 84 (*Op.* i. p. 531 sq.), *Epist.* 133 (*ib.* p. 1031). In his *Catalogus* (written A.D. 392) Jerome had supposed that Pamphilus and Eusebius had written two separate works in defence of Origen. Of Pamphilus (§ 75) he there says, "scripsit, antequam Eusebius Caesariensis scriberet, Apologeticum pro Origene," while to Eusebius (§ 81) he attributes "ἀπολογίας pro Origene libri sex." In his controversy with Rufinus he excuses himself for this error, pleading that he was misled by the title of Rufinus's translation, and asserting that he had afterwards made diligent search and found in the library at Caesarea a copy of this work, which bore the name of Eusebius (*c. Rufin.* iii. 12). Jerome's treatment of this matter is a painful exhibition of disingenuousness, self-contradiction, ill-humour, and spite. Indeed he can only be acquitted of direct and conscious dishonesty on the supposition of carelessness so gross as to be criminal under the circumstances. His main points are:— (1) That Rufinus tampered with his author to make him appear more orthodox. Here indeed he has a *prima facie* case. Rufinus elsewhere shews himself anything but an accurate and conscientious translator, being far more careful about the elegance of the version than the meaning of the original; and he would hardly scruple to alter expressions if the fit was upon him. But we have the negative testimony of Photius, who has a keen scent for heresy and yet makes no complaint of this Apology, that it was in the main orthodox in the original Greek, as it is in Rufinus's translation. (2) That Pamphilus cannot have been the author, because Eusebius in his *Life of Pamphilus* says that the martyr "ipse quidem proprii operis nihil omnino scripsit, exceptis epistolis," etc. (*c. Rufin.* i. 9). But the existence of a work which consisted mainly of extracts from Origen with comments, and of which even thus he was only joint author, is quite reconcilable with this statement. Indeed the very form of the expression in the original, corresponding to "ipse quidem," "proprii," was probably chosen so as to exclude this work of compilation and partnership. (3) That the copy in the Caesarean library bore the name of Eusebius. What foundation in fact there may have been for this statement, we cannot say; but occurring, as it does, in the midst of so much disingenuous sophistry, it deserves no credit as against the distinct statement of Eusebius himself (*H. E.* vi. 33), not to mention other well-informed and careful writers. This avowal of Eusebius, by the way, is entirely ignored by Jerome, though he must have known of it. Nor indeed are Jerome's chronological statements easy to explain. The *Catalogus* was written A.D. 392; the translation of the *Apology for Origen* by Rufinus appeared not before A.D. 397. Yet Jerome implies (*c. Rufin.* ii. 23) that he was misled by Rufinus into ascribing the work to Pamphilus, "ita putans esse, ut a te et tuis discipulis fuerat divulgatum." His memory was very short indeed, for he wrote these words about A.D. 402.

The original of this work has perished, but the first book survives in the translation of Rufinus (printed in Origen, *Op.* iv. App. p. 17 sq. Delarue). Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 3) says that the work was undertaken to refute "captious detractors" (φιλαιτίων); and in the preface mention is made of certain "imperitissimi omnium obtrectatores ejus." The person especially meant was probably Methodius, who had written two works against Origen (Hieron. *Vir. Ill.* 93; Socr. *H. E.* vi. 13), and was attacked by name

in the sixth book of this Apology (Hieron. *c. Rufin.* i. 11). It was dedicated, as we have seen (p. 312), to the confessors of Palestine, more especially to Patermuthius (Phot. *Bibl.* 118) who himself suffered martyrdom the year after Pamphilus (Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 13). The first book contains an exposition of Origen's principles generally, and then more especially of his doctrines respecting the Trinity and the Incarnation; after which nine special charges against him are refuted, relating to the nature of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, the metempsychosis, etc. In one of the later books the doctrine of fatalism was discussed (Rufin. *Apol.* i. 11, in Hieron. *Op.* ii. p. 582). Elsewhere also it was shewn that Origen in his mystical explanation of Adam and Eve, as referring to Christ and the Church, only followed the traditional interpretation (Socr. *H. E.* iii. 7). In the same spirit precedents were quoted from earlier writers for his doctrines of the pre-existence of the soul and the restitution of all things (Anon. *Synod. Epist.* l. c.). This Apology also contained a full account of the life of Origen from first to last (Phot. *Bibl.* 118). Eusebius himself refers to the second book for accounts of the controversy which arose about his ordination to the priesthood and of his contributions to sacred letters (*H. E.* vi. 23), and to the sixth book for the letters which Origen wrote to Fabianus and others in defence of his orthodoxy (*H. E.* 36), besides elsewhere referring to the work generally for the part taken by Origen in the theological controversies of the time (*H. E.* vi. 33). Socrates (*H. E.* iv. 27) also states that the panegyric of Gregory Thaumaturgus on Origen was given in this Apology. The statement of Praedestinatus (*Haer.* i. 43; comp. 42), that Pamphilus in his Apology defended Origen on the ground that the errors laid to his charge were not propounded by him, but by two heretical namesakes, is unworthy of credit. This same writer also represents Pamphilus as asserting that Origen's works were interpolated by the heretics (*Haer.* i. 22), but here he is probably confusing Pamphilus with Rufinus. Antipater of Bostra wrote a *Refutation* of this Apology (*ἀντίρρησις τῆς Εὐσεβίου . . . ὑπὲρ Ὠριγένους ἀπολογίας*); see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* x. p. 518, ed. Harles, where however it is entitled without any authority, *Contra Pamphili Apologiam.* A passage of this refutation was read at the Second Council of Nicaea, A.D. 787 (Labbe, *Conc.* viii. p. 1017, ed. Colet.). It treats Eusebius as the author and does not mention Pamphilus; but for this there was a strong motive. The Apology for Origen is mentioned among the works of Eusebius by Ebedjesu (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* iii. 19). On this work see Delarue, Orig. *Op.* iv. 2, p. 3 sq.; Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* vii. p. 301 sq.

(29) *Against Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra* (*κατὰ Μαρκέλλου τοῦ Ἀγκύρας ἐπισκόπου*), in two books [*Op.* vi. p. 709 sq.]. The occasion of writing is explained by Eusebius himself (*c. Marc.* ii. 4, p. 55 sq.). Marcellus had been condemned of Sabellianism, and deposed by the synod of Constantinople (A.D. 336), which was composed chiefly of the Arian friends of Eusebius (see above, p. 317). This work was undertaken at the instance of these friends to justify the decision of the council. Certain persons considered that Marcellus had been unfairly treated, and as he himself was partly responsible for the decision, he felt bound to uphold its justice. This work aims simply at *exposing* the views of Marcellus. He describes Marcellus as being moved by envy and hatred to write the book against Asterius, which had drawn down upon him the condemnation of the synod (i. 1, p. 1; i. 4, p. 56). "Malice is blind," he writes (i. 4, p. 59), and hence the errors of Marcellus. He accuses him of seasoning his work with fulsome flatteries of Constantine, and thus attempting, though in vain, to poison the imperial ear (ii. 4, p. 115). The indignation of Eusebius is especially aroused by the attacks which Marcellus had made upon the names of the honoured dead, upon his dear friend "the thrice blessed" Paulinus bishop of Tyre, and upon his great hero, the saintly scholar Origen (i. 4, pp. 38 sq., 43 sq., 56). He felt bound in honour also to repel the assaults made upon his namesake of Nicomedia, "the great Eusebius" (i. 4, p. 38 sq.) This treatment of revered names was aggravated by a personal attack upon himself (i. 4, pp. 52, 57).[k] Accordingly he gives instances of the blunders of Marcellus. He adduces examples of false readings and misquotations (i. 2, p. 24 sq.). He accuses him of miscalling books, as when he speaks of the Proverbs as "prophecies" (*ib.* p. 27). He is especially and justly severe upon his exegetical blunders; *e.g.* when in Zech. iii. 1 he confuses Joshua the son of Josedek with Joshua the son of Nun (i. 2, p. 18 sq.); or when he interprets the expressions of Col. i. 16 as referring to the incarnation and human life of Christ (ii. 3, p. 88 sq.); or when he explains Prov. viii. 22 sq. in the same way, supposing the "abysses" to be the "hearts of the saints," and the "mountains and hills" to be "the apostles and the successors of the apostles" (ii. 3, p. 91 sq.); or when, with the same motive, in Ps. cix (cx). 3 he interprets "before the morning star" (LXX) as referring to the star which appeared to the magi. These instances shew that the exegesis of Marcellus was hopelessly bad; and yet Eusebius himself is far from faultless in this respect, *e.g.* when he understands Gal. iii. 19, 20, to refer to Christ as the mediator at the giving of the law, and thus to imply His pre-existence (i. 1, p. 14 sq.). His theological gravamen against Marcellus is briefly summed up in the concluding words: "He confesses neither beginning nor end of the Son of God in accordance with piety" (*μήτε ἀρχὴν μήτε τέλος εὐσεβὲς ὁμολογεῖ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, ii. 4, p. 116); or, in other words, he does not allow the pre-existence of the Son as a distinct personality before the Incarnation, and he denies the future reign of Christ in His humanity.

(30) *On the Theology of the Church, a Refutation of Marcellus* (*πρὸς Μάρκελλον ἔλεγχοι . . περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς θεολογίας*), in three books [*Op.* vi. p. 824 sq.]. The reasons which

[k] Tillemont however (*H. E.* vii. p. 45) seems to be in error when he represents Marcellus (*c. Marc.* i. 4, p. 54 sq.) as complaining that our Eusebius, when passing through Galatia, had preached heretical doctrine at Ancyra. The person intended is Eusebius of Nicomedia, as Zahn (*Marcellus von Ancyra* p. 43, note 4) rightly understands the passage.

induced him to write this additional work are explained in a letter to Flaccillus, bishop of Antioch, prefixed to it, and in the opening sentences of the work itself. He had thought it sufficient in the first instance merely to expose the opinions of Marcellus, without directly refuting them (*διχὰ πάσης ἀντιρρήσεως*), thus leaving them to condemn themselves. But on further reflexion, fearing lest some might be drawn away "from the theology of the church" by their very length and pretentiousness, he had undertaken to refute them. Just as Marcellus had comprised his prolix work in a single book, as he himself alleged, that it might be a testimony to the unity of God which the Arians impugned, so Eusebius divides his reply into three books, that its very form may be a protest on behalf of the distinct personalities in the Blessed Trinity which Marcellus had confused. He undertakes therefore to shew that not a single Scripture favours the view of Marcellus, but that, according to the approved interpretations, they all are dead against him. Having done this, he will expound the true theology respecting our Saviour, as it has been handed down in the Church from the beginning. Thus, as explained by its author, the aim of this second treatise is *refutation*, as that of the first was *exposure*. While the first was mainly *personal*, the second is chiefly *dogmatical*.

Whatever may be thought of the opinions of Eusebius himself, it can hardly be questioned that he makes good his case against Marcellus. "He shews himself," writes Eusebius (*Eccl. Theol.* ii. 3, p. 203), "either a Jew or a Sabellius"; *i.e.* he is either Ebionite or Monarchian. Accordingly he calls him at one time "a downright Jew" (*ib.* ii. 2, p. 201), at another "a new Sabellius" (*ib.* i. 20, p. 165); and these charges, especially the latter, are flung at him again and again. Though Marcellus himself perhaps did not intend it, his recklessness of language could only be interpreted as maintaining opinions which had a dangerous approximation to these extreme forms of heresy. The quotations given by Eusebius speak for themselves. At the council of Sardica indeed (about A.D. 346), he was reinstated after making explanations. He had been led into his heretical statements by his hatred of Arianism, and the Athanasian bishops who were dominant at Sardica would be predisposed to take the most lenient view of one who had suffered in the cause. The synod denounces "the base artifice (*κακοτεχνία*) of the party of Eusebius"; the statements which Marcellus had made "as an enquirer" (*ἃ ὡς ζητῶν . . . εἴρηκε*) they had "accused as if they were his avowed opinions" (*ὡς ὁμολογούμενα διαβεβλήκασι*); Athan. *Ap. c. Arian.* 47 (*Op.* i. p. 130). Though no direct mention is made of Eusebius of Caesarea (for the person named is, as usual, the bishop of Nicomedia), yet we must suppose that this language was directed, at least in part, against the polemical treatises of the former against Marcellus. This vague language of palliation does not meet the facts as they stand out in the extracts of Eusebius;[1] but the bishops of Sardica doubtless read the written treatise by the light of the subsequent personal explanation. When moreover we remember that Basil and Hilary and Chrysostom all condemned Marcellus as heretical, and that Athanasius himself in after years, when questioned on the point by Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxxii. 4), smiled a significant smile, but said nothing, and is even stated by one authority to have excommunicated him before the more pronounced heresy of his pupil Photinus cast back its light on the teaching of the master (Hilar. *Op.* ii. p. 639), we shall be the less disposed to allow that Eusebius misread or misinterpreted the extracts which he gives.

Neither of the two works against Marcellus is mentioned by Jerome or by Photius. Socrates (*H. E.* i. 36, ii. 20, 21) is acquainted with the *de Ecclesiastica Theologia*, though he does not give it this title, but refers to it as a work in three books "Against Marcellus." He quotes (*H. E.* ii. 21) passages from the first and third books, so that there is no doubt about the identity of the work. Of the previous work *Against Marcellus*, in two books, he betrays no knowledge; and from his language respecting the other it must be inferred that he was not acquainted with it.

The two treatises were first edited by Bishop R. Montague (Montacutius) with a translation and notes (Paris, 1628) at the end of the *Demonstratio*, and this edition was reprinted (Lips. 1688). The best edition is that of Gaisford (Oxon. 1852), where they are in the same volume with the work *Against Hierocles*. He revised the text and reprinted the translation and notes of Montague. The fragments of Marcellus are collected by Rettberg (*Marcelliana*, Götting. 1794). The monographs on Marcellus, especially Zahn's *Marcellus von Ancyra* (Gotha, 1867), are useful aids to the study of these treatises.

(31) *On the Paschal Festival* [*Op.* vi. 694]. Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* iv. 35, 36) states that he addressed to Constantine "a mystical explanation of the significance of the festival" (*μυστικὴν ἀνακάλυψιν τοῦ τῆς ἑορτῆς λόγου*), upon which the emperor wrote in reply, expressing himself greatly delighted, and saying that it was a difficult undertaking "to expound in a becoming way the reason and origin of the Paschal festival, as well as its profitable and painful consummation" (*τήν τε τοῦ πάσχα αἰτιολογίαν τε καὶ γένεσιν, λυσιτελῆ τε καὶ ἐπίπονον τελεσιουργίαν*, where *αἰτιολογίαν* is doubtless correct, though Heinichen prefers *ἀντιλογίαν*, "the controversy"). He added that Eusebius had found no incompetent translator, although it was impossible for a version to do justice to the original. The work therefore had been already translated into Latin, if we are right in so interpreting the very obscure language of Constantine. This letter was written about A.D. 335. A long fragment of this treatise was discovered by Mai in the Catena of Nicetas of Serrae on St. Luke, contained in a Vatican MS, and published by him

[1] The letter of the Sardican synod says (Athan. *l. c.*) in defence of Marcellus, *οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας, ὡς αὐτοὶ διεβεβαιώσαντο, ἀρχὴν ἐδίδου τῷ* [*τοῦ*] *Θεοῦ λόγῳ*. But Eusebius of Caesarea at all events does not take up this position. He accuses Marcellus of denying the pre-existence, not of the Word of God, but of the Son of God, before the Incarnation; and this distinction between the Word and the Son is the very pivot of the controversy.

(see *Bibl. Nov. Patr.* iv. p. 208). From a comparison it appears that some portions of this fragment had been already published by Corderius in a Latin version of his own in his Catena on this evangelist. There can be no doubt about the identity of this with the work mentioned above, as it corresponds to the description given by Eusebius and Constantine. The recovered fragment contains—(1) A declaration of the figurative character of the Jewish Passover. (2) An account of its institution and of the ceremonial itself. (3) An explanation of the typical significance of the different parts of the ceremonial, with reference to their Christian counterparts. (4) A brief statement of the settlement of the question at Nicaea. (5) An argument shewing that Christians are not bound to observe the time of the Jewish festival, mainly on the ground that it was not the Jewish Passover which our Lord Himself kept.

Of this treatise Jerome makes no mention in his list of the works of Eusebius (*Vir. Ill.* 81); but in an earlier chapter (*ib.* 61), when speaking of Hippolytus, he states that Eusebius "composed a canon for the Paschal festival, a cycle of nineteen years, that is, an *ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίς*." The bearing of this notice on the transactions of the council of Nicaea has been already discussed (p. 313). Here it is sufficient to say that, though the extant portion of our treatise contains nothing of the kind, this cycle is very likely to have found a place in it, either as an appendix or in the body of the work.

E. Orations and Sermons.

(32) *At the Dedication of the Church in Tyre.* This oration is inserted by Eusebius in his *History* (x. 4). In this way it has been preserved. The heading which it bears in the MSS (whether due to Eusebius himself or not, we cannot say) is, "Panegyric over the Building of the Churches, addressed to Paulinus, Bishop of the Tyrians." The circumstances under which it was delivered have been already mentioned (p. 312). The new basilica at Tyre was one of the most important and splendid buildings which arose after peace was restored to the Church; and Eusebius seizes the occasion to emphasize the greatness of the epoch. He addresses Paulinus as a Bezaleel, a Solomon, a Zerubbabel, as a new Aaron or Melchizedek. He applies to the occasion the predictions of the Jewish prophets foretelling the rebuilding of the temple and the restoration of the polity. He pours out his thanksgiving for the triumph of Christ, the Word of God, who has proved mightier than the mightiest of kings. This magnificent temple, which has arisen from the ruins of its predecessor, is a token of His power. Then follows an elaborate description of the building itself. This material building, continues the orator, is a symbol of the spiritual church of Tyre, of the spiritual Church throughout the world, in its history, its overthrow, its desolation, its re-erection on a more splendid scale, as well as in the arrangement of its several parts. But the spiritual Church on earth is itself only a faint image of the heavenly Zion, where the adoring hosts sing the praises of their King without ceasing.

(33) *At the Vicennalia of Constantine* (*λόγος εἰκοσαετηρικός*), A.D. 325. This oration, which is not extant, is mentioned *Vit. Const.* prooem. iii. 11. It seems to have been the opening address at the Council of Nicaea, as stated above, p. 313.

(34) *On the Sepulchre of the Saviour*, A.D. 335. It is mentioned, *Vit. Const.* iv. 33, 46 sq. The circumstances under which this oration was delivered have been already described, p. 318. Eusebius (*V. C.* iv. 47) promises to append it to his *Life of Constantine*; but if he ever fulfilled his promise, it has been dissevered and is lost.

(35) *At the Tricennalia of Constantine* (*λόγος τριακονταετηρικός*), A.D. 335 or 336 [*Op.* ii. 1315]. This is the work commonly called *de Laudibus Constantini*. Eusebius promises to append it (with the oration last mentioned) to his *Life of Constantine* (*V. C.* iv. 46); and accordingly it is found at the end of the MSS of this work, where it bears the title *εἰς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν βασιλέα τριακονταετηρικός*. It is mentioned also in the preface to the same work. The circumstances under which it was delivered have been already given, p. 317 sq. As on other similar occasions, Eusebius makes this oration a vehicle for the communication of theological teaching, more especially from the apologetic side. Referring to this speech, he describes himself in one passage as "weaving tricennial wreaths of words" and "crowning the sacred head" of the emperor therewith (*V. C.* prooem.), in another as "glorifying God the universal King" (*V. C.* iv. 46). The two passages combined justly describe the purport and contents of the oration. It falls into two parts, of which the first (§§ 1–10) has a more special reference to the emperor and the festival, while the second (§§ 11–18) is a theological exposition on the person and work of the Logos. There is this difference also, that, whereas in the first part Constantine is spoken of throughout in the third person, in the latter part he is directly addressed. In a MS in the library of Trinity College Cambridge (B. 9. 6), where this oration appears by itself (without the *Life of Constantine*), the two parts are separated; and the heading is repeated before the second. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the two parts were delivered at separate times. Though the second part forms no unfit sequel to the first, and was doubtless written with this view, yet each part is complete in itself.

The orator, taking occasion from the festival, begins to speak of the Almighty Sovereign, and the Divine Word through whom He administers the universe (§ 1). The emperor is a sort of reflexion of the Supreme Word. The monarchy on earth is the counterpart of the monarchy in heaven (§§ 2, 3). The Word is the interpreter of the Invisible God in all things (§ 4). An emperor who is sensible of his dependence on God, like Constantine, is alone fit to rule (§ 5). Periods and divisions of time are from God, as is all order throughout the universe. The number thirty (3 × 10) has a special significance in the language of symbolism. It reminds us of the kingdom of glory (§ 6). The powers of wickedness, and the sufferings of the saints, were ended by Constantine, the champion and representative of God (§ 7). He waged war against idolatry, profligacy, and superstition (§ 8). What a change has been suddenly wrought! The false gods did not foresee their fate. The emperor, armed with piety, advanced against them and overthrew them. Churches rise from the ground

everywhere (§ 8). The truth is proclaimed far and wide (§ 9).

"Come now [Φέρε δή], most mighty victor Constantine," says the orator, "let me lay before thee the mysteries of sacred doctrines in this royal discourse concerning the Supreme King of the Universe." Accordingly he proceeds to speak of the person and working of the Divine Word, as the mediator in the creation and government of the universe. The error of polytheism is condemned. As God is one, so His Word is one (§§ 11, 12). Humanity, led astray by demons and steeped in ignorance and sin, needed the advent of the Word (§ 13). It was necessary too that He should come clothed in a body (§ 14). His death and resurrection also were indispensable, that He might accomplish the redemption of men (§ 15). The power of the Divine Word was evinced by the establishment of the Church and the spread of the gospel (§ 16). It was manifested in our own time by the faith of the martyrs, by the triumph of the Church over oppression, and by the punishment of the persecutors themselves (§ 17). We have evidence of the divine origin of our faith in the prophetic announcements of Christ's coming, and in the fulfilment of His own predictions; more especially the coincidence in time between the establishment of the Roman empire and the publication of the Gospel (§ 18).

Nearly the whole of the 8th chapter, describing Constantine's suppression of the profligacies of pagan worship, appears word for word in *Vit. Const.* iii. 54, 55. Eusebius may have been already engaged on his *Life of Constantine*, which appeared within a few years after this oration was delivered. Again, the theological portion of the speech reappears almost verbatim, though with great differences in the arrangement, in the *Theophania*. The inference from this fact has been already stated, p. 332 sq.

(36) *In Praise of the Martyrs.* The catalogue of Ebedjesu (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* iii. p. 19) mentions an oration on this subject in addition to the *History of the Martyrs*. Assemani (*ib.* i. p. 184) attempted to shew that this work was an account of the Eastern (*i.e.* Persian) martyrs, as the other was of the Western (*i.e.* Palestinian); but the language of Ebedjesu ("also a History of Constantine; also of the Western martyrs, also a Speech on their praises") will not admit this interpretation. The question however is set at rest by the discovery of the discourse itself in a Syriac version. It is preserved in the same MS (dated A.D. 411), which contains also the *Theophania* and *Martyrs of Palestine* (Wright's *Catal. Syr. MSS Brit. Mus.* p. 632), where it bears the same title as in Ebedjesu. It has been published in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, N. S. v. p. 403 sq., with a translation by Mr. B. H. Cowper, *ib.* vi. p. 129 sq. The discourse is short and of little value; but it is worthy of notice that the orator (p. 133) mentions, among those whom he invites his hearers to commemorate, almost every bishop of Antioch from the closing years of the second century onward to his own time, Asclepiades, Serapion, Philetus, Zebinas, Demetrius, Flavianus (Fabianus?), Cyrillus, Babylas, so that it would seem to have been delivered at Antioch.

(37) *On the Failure of Rain*, mentioned by Ebedjesu (*l. c.*), but apparently not elsewhere. Its theme may have been the incident of 1 Kings xvii, xviii, or perhaps some contemporary event.

F. LETTERS.

(38) *To Alexander*, bishop of Alexandria, on behalf of Arius and his friends (see above, p. 312), complaining that they have been misrepresented. A fragment is preserved in the proceedings of the Second Council of Nicaea, act. vi (Labbe, *Conc.* viii. pp. 1147, 1149, ed. Colet.). It is added to these proceedings that other letters of Eusebius to Alexander "are extant [φέρονται], in which have been found many blasphemies vindicating the party of Arius."

(39) *To Euphration* (sometimes written incorrectly *Euphrasion*), bishop of Balanea in Syria, a strong opponent of the Arians (Athan. *de Fug.* 3, *Op.* i. p. 254; *Hist. Ar. ad Mon.* 5, *ib.* p. 274), who was present at the Council of Nicaea. Athanasius refers to this letter as declaring plainly that Christ is not true God (*de Synod.* 17, *Op.* i. p. 584). An extract (containing the passage to which doubtless Athanasius refers) is quoted at the Second Council of Nicaea (*l. c.*). It insists strongly on the subordination of the Son.

(40) *To Constantia Augusta* [*Op.* ii. 1545], the sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius, who was closely allied with the Arians [CONSTANTIA]. Two fragments of this letter are preserved in the proceedings of the Second Council of Nicaea, act. vi (Labbe, *Conc.* viii. p. 1144 sq.), and many more in the *Antirrhetica* of Nicephorus the Patriarch (iv. 9 sq. in *Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 283 sq.), who took an active part against the Iconoclasts. From the quotations in this latter writer (then unpublished) the letter to Constantia was pieced together by Boivin in his notes to Niceph. Gregor. *Hist. Byz.* xix. 3 (see ii. p. 1301 sq., ed. Bonn), from whom it is reprinted in *Spicil. Solesm.* l. c., and by Migne, *Op.* ii. p. 1543. It seems to be nearly complete, wanting little besides the beginning and end. There is no ground for questioning its genuineness, though this is done by Petavius, *Theol. Dogm. de Incarn.* xv. 14. 9, and by Lee (*Theophania* p. lxxii), who ascribes it to Eusebius of Nicomedia. Constantia had asked Eusebius to send her a certain likeness of Christ, of which she had heard. He rebukes her for making the request, saying that such representations are inadequate in themselves, and tend to idolatry. He states that a foolish woman (γύναιόν τι) had brought him two likenesses, which might be philosophers, but were alleged by her to represent St. Paul and the Saviour. He did not know how she had come by them; but he had detained them lest they should prove a stumbling-block to her or to others. He reminds Constantia that St. Paul declares his intention of "knowing Christ no longer after the flesh." This noble letter has done more than any of his writings to injure his reputation. It was adduced by the Iconoclasts in their favour, and their opponents were thus provoked to rake up all the questionable expressions in his writings, that they might blacken his character for orthodoxy.

(41) *To the Church of Caesarea* [*Op.* ii. 1535], written from Nicaea (A.D. 325) during or immediately after the council to vindicate his conduct. This letter is preserved by Athanasius as an appendix to the *de Decret. Syn. Nic.* (*Op.* i. p. 187; comp. § 3, *ib.* p. 166); in Socrates, *H. E*

i. 8; in Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 11; in Gelasius Cyz. *Hist. Conc. Nic.* ii. 34 sq. (Labbe, *Conc.* ii. 264 sq. ed. Colet.); in the *Historia Tripartita*, ii. 11; and in Nicephorus, *H. E.* viii. 22. On the question, whether it was appended to his work by Athanasius himself, see Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. p. 179. The occasion and contents of this letter have been discussed already (p. 313). Gelasius (*H. C. N.* ii. 34) calls it an "encyclical letter." On the other hand Theodoret (*l. c.*) speaks of it as addressed "to certain persons holding the opinions of Arius." Athanasius (*l. c.*) however describes it as addressed "to his own church," and so too Socrates, "to the people under him." To the Caesareans doubtless it was written. A passage towards the end of the letter (§§ 9, 10), which savours strongly of Arianism, is wanting in Socrates and in the *Historia Tripartita*, but appears in the other authorities, and seems certainly to be referred to by Athanasius in two places (*de Decr. Syn. Nic.* 3, l. c.; *de Synod.* 13, *Op.* i. p. 581). It is condemned however by Bull (*Def. Fid. Nic.* iii. 9. 3), and by Cave (*Diss. Tert. in Joh. Cleric.* p. 58, printed at the end of his *Hist. Lit.* vol. ii.), as a spurious addition, probably inserted by some Arian. The letter is translated and annotated by Dr. J. H. Newman in *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius* p. 59 sq. (Oxford, 1853).

In the proceedings of the Second Nicene Council act. vi (Labbe, *Conc.* viii. 1145), mention is made of "all the letters" of Eusebius, as though a considerable number were then extant. Gelasius of Cyzicus (*H. C. N.* ii. 1) speaks of a letter which he addressed to the assembly of orthodox bishops in defence of his views; but he is doubtless in error, as no such document is mentioned elsewhere.

In addition to those works of which an account has been given, several other writings are extant, either whole or in part, which claim Eusebius of Caesarea as their author. In 1643 Sirmond published in Latin fourteen *Opuscula* asserting this claim, and they have been several times reprinted (*Op.* vi. 1047, Migne). They are discussed by Tillemont, vii. p. 61 sq.; comp. also Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* vii. p. 406 sq. The most important of these are two books, or rather homilies, *Against Sabellius*. Cave (*H. L.* i. p. 183) prefers assigning them to Eusebius of Emesa, and Thilo (*Ueber die Schriften des Eusebius von Emesa*, etc., p. 64 sq.) maintains this position with much force. Tillemont would assign the first to Eusebius of Caesarea and the second to Acacius. The remaining twelve works are sermons on the Resurrection, the Ascension, etc. In the Syriac MS *Brit. Mus. Add.* 17, 142, belonging to the 6th century (see Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 1042), is a treatise *On the Star* which appeared to the Magi, ascribed to our Eusebius. It was published by Wright, *Journal of Sacred Literature* (1866) ix. p. 117, x. p. 150. The authorship is disputed by Ceriani, Nöldeke, Von Gutschmid, and others. From the closer resemblance of the Biblical quotations to the Peshito, than to the LXX, Nöldeke conjectures that it was written originally in Syriac. Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxvi. 21) mentions among other refutations (ἀντιῤῥήσεις) of the Manicheans one by Eusebius of Caesarea; but no such work is mentioned elsewhere (*e.g.* in Theod. *H. F.* i. 26); and we must therefore suppose either that Epiphanius was mistaken or that this refutation was not a separate treatise, but occurred incidentally in some other work. Other writings, attributed to Eusebius, are enumerated as extant, wholly or in part, in manuscript in various libraries by Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* vii. pp. 407, 408, Cave, *H. L.* i. p. 183; and probably several others, not mentioned in these writers, are lying hidden elsewhere. Thus a MS (B. 9. 6) in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, contains in Latin *Sermones Quinque Eusebii Caesariensis Episcopi de Sancto Stephano.*

In reviewing the literary history of Eusebius, we are struck first of all with the range and extent of his labours. His extant works, voluminous as they are, must have formed somewhat less than half of his actual writings. No field of theological learning is untouched. He is historian, apologist, topographer, exegete, critic, preacher, dogmatic writer, in turn. And, if the permanent utility of an author's labours may be taken as a test of literary excellence, Eusebius will hold a very high place indeed. The *Ecclesiastical History* is absolutely unique and indispensable. The *Chronicle* is the vast storehouse of information relating to the ancient monarchies of the world. The *Preparation* and *Demonstration* are the most important contributions to theology in their own province. Even the minor works, such as the *Martyrs of Palestine*, the *Life of Constantine*, the *Questions addressed to Stephanus and to Marinus*, and others, would leave an irreparable blank, if they were obliterated. And the same permanent value attaches also to his more technical treatises. The *Canons and Sections* have never yet been superseded for their particular purpose. The *Topography of Palestine* is the most important contribution to our knowledge in its own department. In short, no ancient ecclesiastical writer has laid posterity under heavier obligations.

The explanation of this fact must be sought in some degree in his great erudition. In the *History*, in the *Chronicle*, and in the *Preparation*, he has preserved for us a vast amount of early literature in three several spheres, which would otherwise have been irrecoverably lost. But beyond his learning he deserves the highest credit for the intelligent selection of his subjects. No writer has ever shewn a keener insight in the choice of themes which would have a permanent interest for future generations. He lived on the confines of two epochs, separated from each other by one of those broad lines of demarcation which occur only at intervals of many centuries. He saw the greatness of the crisis; he seized the opportunity; he, and he only, preserved the past in all its phases, in history, in doctrine, in criticism, even in topography, for the instruction of the future.

This is his real title to greatness. As an expositor of facts, or as an abstract thinker, or as a master of style, it would be absurd to compare him with the great names of classical antiquity. His merits and his faults have been already indicated in the criticisms on his several works (pp. 324 sq., 331). His gigantic learning was his master rather than his slave. He had great conceptions, which he was unable adequately to carry out. He had valuable detached thoughts, but he fails in continuity of argument. He was most laborious, and yet most desultory. He accumulated

materials with great diligence; he was loose and perfunctory and uncritical in the use of them when accumulated. His style is especially vicious. At times indeed, when he forgets himself in his subject, as, for instance, in his attack on Marcellus, his language is plain and direct enough; but, when his theme seems to him to demand a loftier flight of rhetoric, as in his *Life of Constantine*, his language becomes hopelessly turgid and unnatural. These two works are especially instructive as examples, because they were written about the same time. Theodorus Metochita (*Miscell.* 17) propounds the theory that all writers who were brought up in Egypt, contracted a harsh style (*τραχύτερον τῷ λέγειν χρῶνται*), and he instances Eusebius, who himself states that he had made a long sojourn in that country (*τοῖς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου πάνυ τι χρονίως συνεφοίτησεν*). But we need not go so far for an explanation. Athanasius, though an Egyptian, can write with point and clearness. On the other hand the connexion of Eusebius with Egypt was very slight after all (*H. E.* viii. 7); and his vicious style, so far as it was not inherent in himself, may be ascribed with much greater probability to Syrian and Oriental influences.

One other point deserves notice. While his writings cover so large an area and are so various in character, he is before all things an apologist. His great services in this respect are emphasized by Evagrius (*H. E.* i. 1 *πείθειν οἷός τε εἶναι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας θρησκεύειν τὰ ἡμέτερα*); and doubtless his directly apologetic writings were much more effective than at this distance of time we can realize. But his part as an apologist does not end with his apologetic works. Whatever subject he touches, his thoughts seem to pour instinctively into this same channel. If he takes up the subject of chronology, a main purpose is to shew the superior antiquity of the Hebrew oracles to the wisdom of the Greeks. If he sets himself to write a history of the Church, he does so because he sees in the course of events a vindication of the Divine Word, in whom the faith of the Christian centres. If he selects a theme so purely mundane as the encomium of a sovereign, he soars aloft at once into the region of theology, for he sees in the subject of his panegyric an instrument used by a higher power for the fulfilment of a Divine economy. If he employs himself on a task so essentially technical as the division of the Gospels into sections, his underlying motive is the desire to supply materials for a harmony, and thus to vindicate the essential unity of the evangelical narratives against gainsayers. This character as an apologist was due partly to the epoch in which he lived, and partly to his individual temper and circumstances. To the epoch in which he lived: for his lot was cast in the great crisis of transition; he stood, as it were, on the frontier line between two ages, with one foot in the Hellenism of the past and the other in the Christianity of the future; and by his very position he was constrained to view them face to face, and to discuss their mutual relations. To his individual qualifications: for he was equally learned in the wisdom of the Greeks and in the teaching of the Scriptures, while his breadth of sympathy and moderation of temper fitted him beyond most of his contemporaries for the task of tracing their conflicts and coincidences.

"The grave accusation under which he lies," writes Dr. Newman (*Arians*, p. 262 sq.) "is not that of Arianizing, but of corrupting the simplicity of the Gospel with an eclectic spirit. While he held out the ambiguous language of the schools as a refuge, and the Alexandrian imitation of it as an argument against the pursuit of the orthodox, his conduct gave countenance to the secular maxim that difference in creeds is a matter of inferior moment, and that, provided we confess as far as the very terms of Scripture, we may speculate as philosophers and live as the world."[m] This grave charge of indifference to truth will be dealt with presently. It is sufficient to say here that the characteristic which is thus made the head and front of his offending, was his strong point as a champion of the faith. Like St. Paul on Mars' Hill, he sought out the elements of truth in pre-existing philosophical systems or popular religions; and thus obtaining a foothold, he worked onward in his assault upon paganism. The Greek apologists of the 2nd and 3rd centuries all, without exception, took up this position. It was the signal merit of the great Alexandrian fathers that they did not treat as a mere dead letter the prologue of St. John's Gospel, in which the evangelist identifies the Word, who in the fulness of time became incarnate, with 'the light that lighteth every man.' Eusebius, through his illustrious spiritual ancestors, Origen and Pamphilus, had inherited this tradition from Alexandria. It was the only method which could achieve success in apologetics in an age when Christianity stood face to face with still powerful forms of heathen worship. It is the only method which can hope for victory now, when once again the Gospel is confronted with the dominant and widespread religions of India and the farther East.

X. *Character.* If we may judge from the silence of his contemporaries—and silence in this case is an important witness—Eusebius commanded general respect by his personal character. With the single exception of the taunt of Potammon, which has been considered already, not a word of accusation is levelled against him in an age when theological controversy was peculiarly reckless and acrimonious. It is difficult to draw with any confidence the portrait of one of whose private acts so little is known. But we seem to see that his character was marked by amiability and moderation. His relations to Pamphilus, more especially, shew a strongly affectionate disposition; and it is more than probable that he was drawn into those public acts from which his reputation has suffered most, by the demands, or what seemed to him to be the demands, of private friendship. His moderation is especially praised, as we have seen (p. 318), by the emperor Constantine; and his speculative opinions, as well as his personal

[m] Dr. Newman adds in a note (p. 263), "In this association of the Eusebian with the eclectic temper, it must not be forgotten that Julian the Apostate was the pupil of Eusebius of Nicomedia, his kinsman," etc. It will fare ill with us all, if we are held responsible for the opinions of the pupils of our brothers and cousins; but there is no reason for believing that Eusebius of Nicomedia was any relation of Eusebius of Caesarea (see above, p. 309).

acts, bear out this commendation. "He seems," writes Dr. Newman (*Arians*, p. 262, 4to. ed.) "to have had the faults and the virtues of the mere man of letters; strongly excited neither to good nor to evil, and careless at once of the cause of truth and the prizes of secular greatness, in comparison of the comforts and decencies of literary ease." If this description had stopped short at the first sentence, it might have been accepted as substantially just; but we may well challenge the fairness of the explanatory clauses. What ground is there for saying that the friend of Pamphilus was not strongly excited to good? How can it be maintained that the laborious apologist of the Gospel, the adversary of Marcellus, was indifferent to the cause of truth? Still less can we accept "the comforts and decencies of literary ease" as the description of a life which was before all things laborious and self-denying. He was not only the most learned and prolific writer of his age; but he administered the affairs of an important diocese, and he took an active part in all the great questions which agitated the Church. Not Athanasius himself was a harder worker in the cause of Christ. From youth to advanced age he laboured with unremitting vigour. The self-sacrifices of the man of letters, if he is true to his calling, are not less in extent than those of the man of action, though they may be different in kind.

The excessive admiration of Eusebius for Constantine will be felt to need some apology. Yet it is not difficult to understand how he was led to this exaggerated estimate. Constantine was unquestionably one of the very greatest of the great emperors of Rome. His commanding personality must have been irresistible; and the impression thence derived would be enhanced by his deference towards the leading Christian bishops. The external circumstances of his reign moreover seemed to stamp it with a peculiar grandeur. He had ruled longer than any other emperor since Augustus, the founder of the empire. He had carried out a change in the relations between the Church and the State incomparably greater than any which had preceded, or than any which would follow. Eusebius delighted to place these two great sovereigns in juxtaposition. During the one reign the Word had appeared in the flesh; during the other He had triumphed over the world. The one reign was the counterpart and complement of the other.

XI. *Theological Opinions.* A discussion of the theological opinions of Eusebius is impossible within the limits of an article like the present. Readers who desire to see what may be said on either side, are referred to Baronius (*ad ann.* 340, c. 38 sq.), Petavius (*Dogm. Theol. de Trin.* lib. i. cap. xi sq.), Montfaucon (*Praelim. in Comm. ad Psalm.* c. vi), and Tillemont (*H. E.* vii. p. 67 sq.), among those who have assailed, and Bull (*Def. Fid. Nic.* ii. 9. 20, iii. 9. 3, 11), Cave (*Hist. Lit.* ii. app. p. 42 sq.), and Lee (*Theophania*, p. xxiv. sq.), among those who have defended, his opinions, from the orthodox point of view. A convenient summary of the controversy will be found in Stein, p. 117 sq. It is clear from the latter list of names (which might be considerably enlarged) that his orthodoxy cannot be hastily denied. Dr. Newman himself, speaking on this point, says that "in his own writings, numerous as they are, there is very little which fixes on Eusebius any charge, beyond that of attachment to the Platonic phraseology. Had he not connected himself with the Arian party, it would have been unjust to have suspected him of heresy" (*Arians*, p. 262). If we except the works written before the Council of Nicaea, in which there is occasionally much looseness of expression, his language is for the most part strictly orthodox, or at least capable of explanation in an orthodox sense. Against the two main theses of Arius, (1) that the Word was a creature (κτίσμα) like other creatures, and (2) that there was a time when He was not, Eusebius is explicit on the orthodox side (*e.g. c. Marc.* i. 4, p. 22, *de Eccl. Theol.* i. 2, 3, p. 61 sq., *ib.* i. 8, 9, 10, p. 66 sq.). He states in direct language that the Word had no beginning (*Theoph.* ii. 3, comp. *de Laud. Const.* 2). If elsewhere he represents the Father as prior to the Son (*e.g. Dem. Ev.* iv. 3. 5, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ προϋπάρχει τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ προϋφέστηκεν), this priority is not necessarily intended to be temporal, and in such a case the meaning of the writer must be interpreted by his language in other passages. Nor again do such expressions as "second existence," "second cause," necessarily bear an Arian sense; for they may be taken to imply that subordination which has ever been recognised by the most thoughtful writers on the orthodox side. But though his language might pass muster, "his acts," it is said, "are his confession." This is the strongest point in the indictment. His alliance with the Arian party is indisputable; but the inference drawn from it may be questioned. His friendships lay much among Arians, and he may have made too great concessions to friendship. His natural temper suggested toleration, and the cause of the Arians was, or seemed to be, the cause of comprehension. He had a profound and rooted aversion to the Sabellianism of Marcellus and others, who were acting with Athanasius; and as it was necessary to take one side or the other, he may have ranged himself with Eusebius of Nicomedia and his allies, as the best means of averting this danger which seemed to him to threaten the truth. Where we have no certain information as to the motives which guided him in his conduct, it seems only fair to accept his own statements as final with respect to his opinions.[n]

[n] "The remark has been made," writes Dr. Newman (*Arians*, p. 263), "that throughout his Ecclesiastical History, no instance occurs of his expressing abhorrence of the superstitions of Paganism," and that his custom is either to praise, or not to blame, such heretical writers as fall under his notice; and in his note he refers to Kestner, *de Euseb. Auctor.* proleg. § 17.

If the reader will refer to Kestner, he will find that the passage assumes a different complexion when read in its own context; but this by the way. Nothing could be more erroneous as a statement of facts, than Dr. Newman's language here. Even if it had been true, that there is no abhorrence of paganism expressed in the *History*, great parts of the *Praeparatio* and *Theophania*, not to mention the *Tricennial Oration* and the *Life of Constantine*, are one continuous and elaborate indictment of the superstitions and horrors of heathendom; so that the comparative silence in the *History* must be explained by the fact that the mention was not suggested, except incidentally, by his theme. On the other point—the attitude

XII. *Posthumous Fame.* While the Arian controversy was still fresh, the part taken by Eusebius was remembered against him in the Greek Church, and the mention of him in orthodox fathers is generally depreciatory. But as the direct interest of the dispute wore out, the tide turned and set in his favour. Hence in the fifth century and onwards we find a disposition to clear him of any complicity in Arian doctrine. Thus Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 21) is at some pains to prove him orthodox, alleging passages out of his works as evidence of catholicity. So again Gelasius of Cyzicus stoutly defends this "most noble tiller of ecclesiastical husbandry," this "strict lover of truth" (ὁ φιλαληθέστατος), as he calls him (*H. S. N.* ii. 1). He assures his readers that if there be any suggestion, however faint, of Arian heresy (μικρόν τι τὰ Ἀρείου ὑπονούμενα) in his sayings or writings, it was due to the inadvertence of simplicity (ἐξ ἀπεριέργου ἁπλότητος), and that Eusebius himself pleaded this excuse in self-defence. Accordingly he represents him, as we have seen (p. 314), as the leading champion of orthodoxy against Arian opponents. But at a later date the tide turned once again. The turning-point was the Second Council of Nicaea. The occasion was the Iconoclastic controversy. The Iconoclasts alleged his authority for their views (see above, p. 344). The opposite party sought to disparage him. If they could only brand him deeply enough with the mark of heresy, the ground was cut from under their antagonists. The opinions of these later ages respecting Eusebius find expression in Photius. "His own books," says this writer, "cry aloud that he is convicted of Arianism" (*Ep.* 73). "In his very repentance," he continues, "he shews himself more plainly to be impenitent." A permanent injury was inflicted on his reputation by dragging him into the Iconoclastic dispute.

In the Latin Church he fared somewhat better. Jerome indeed did his best to damage his reputation. "The chief of the Arians," "the standard-bearer of the Arian faction," "the most flagrant champion of the impiety of Arius"—so he stigmatizes the teacher to whom he was more largely indebted than perhaps to any one else. But, notwithstanding this virulence of language, the eminent services of Eusebius to Christian literature carried the day in the Western Church. Two popes successively threw the shield of their authority over his reputation. Gelasius declined to place his *History* and *Chronicle* on the list of proscribed works (*Decret. de Libr. Apocr.* 4). Pelagius II gives expression to a truly noble sentiment while defending him: "Holy Church," he says, "weigheth the hearts of her faithful ones with kindliness rather than their words with rigour" (*Ep.* 5. 921). It is worthy of notice that neither Gelasius nor Pelagius refers directly to the charge of Arianism. The offence of Eusebius, which seemed to them to require apology, was his defence of the heretic Origen. An unknown Latin writer of a later age, quoted by Valois, doubtless expressing the feeling of his own time, calls Eusebius "the key of the Scriptures and the guardian of the New Testament."

But a more remarkable fact still is the canonization of Eusebius, notwithstanding his real or supposed Arian opinions. In an ancient Syrian *Martyrology* (quoted above, p. 318 sq.), which is translated from the Greek and which can hardly date more than half a century after his death, May 30 is assigned to "the commemoration of Eusebius, bishop of Palestine," where he takes his rank among the honored martyrs and confessors of the church. Nor was it only in the East that this honour awaited him. In the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* for xi Kal. Jul. we find the entry "In Caesarea Cappadociae depositio sancti Eusebii" (Hieron. *Op.* xi. 578). The person intended was doubtless Eusebius the predecessor of St. Basil [EUSEBIUS (24), p. 355 sq.], as the addition "Cappadociae" shews (see Laemmer, *de Martyrologio Romano*, p. 71 sq., Ratisbonae, 1878). But the transcendent fame of the other Eusebius of the other Caesarea eclipsed this comparatively obscure person and finally obliterated his name from the Latin calendars. The word "Cappadociae" altogether disappeared. In Usuard the notice becomes "In Caesarea Palestinae sancti Eusebii historiographi" (with a *v. l.*); and in old Latin martyrologies, where he is not distinctly specified, the historian Eusebius is doubtless understood. Accordingly, in several Gallican service books the historian is commemorated as a saint (see Valois, *Testimonia pro Eusebio*); and in the *Martyrologium Romanum* itself he held his place for many centuries. In the revision of this Martyrology under Gregory XIII his name was at length struck out, and Eusebius of Samosata substituted in his place, under the mistaken idea that the latter had been originally commemorated, and that Caesarea had been substituted for Samosata by a mistake. The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, which contained the true key to the error, had not yet been discovered. [L.]

EUSEBIUS, CHRONICLE OF. This work may be described in words suggested by the author's own account of it at the beginning of his *Eclogae Propheticae*, as "chronological tables, to which is prefixed an epitome of universal history drawn from various sources." The epitome constitutes the first book of the Chronicle, the tables the second. The tables, as will more clearly be seen from the specimen we give farther on, exhibit in parallel columns the successions of the rulers of different nations, in such a way that the reader can see at a glance with whom any given monarch was contemporary. And they are accompanied by notes marking the years of some of the more remarkable historical events, these notes also constituting an epitome of history. The context of a second passage, where Eusebius refers to his Chronicle (*Praep. Ev.* x. 9), accounts very clearly for the interest which Christians felt in the study of comparative

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of Eusebius towards heresies—the account is still wider of the mark. It is difficult to see how language could surpass the expressions which he uses from time to time against different heretics and heresies; *e.g.*, i. 1; ii. 1, 13; iii. 26, 27, 28, 29, 32; iv. 7, 29, 30; v. 13, 14, 16-20, etc., "grievous wolves," "most abominable heresy," "like a pestilent and scabby disease," "incurable and dangerous poison," "most foul heresy, overshooting anything that could exist or be conceived, more abominable than all shame," "double-mouthed and two-headed serpent," "like venomous reptiles," "loathsome evil-deeds," these and similar expressions form the staple of his language, when he comes athwart a heresy.

chronology. If their heathen opponents contrasted the antiquity of their rites with the novelty of the Christian religion, the Christian apologists retorted by proving that the most celebrated Grecian legislators and philosophers were very much junior to the Hebrew legislator, and to the prophets who had beforehand testified of Christ, and who had taught a religion of which the Christian was the legitimate continuation. This argument is the subject of the section of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* to which we have referred; and Eusebius there quotes largely from preceding writers who had proved the antiquity of the Jews; from Josephus, from Tatian, from Clement of Alexandria, and in particular from Africanus. This last writer (see the article on him, Vol. I. p. 56) had made the synchronisms between sacred and profane history his special study, and he published the results in a chronological work which gave Eusebius the model and, to a great extent, the materials for that which is the subject of this article.

A work whose excellence is literary has a vitality which is not affected by the efforts of subsequent imitators; but one the merits of which are scientific is inevitably superseded by the works of later writers, who, having learned from it all that it is able to teach, combine therewith the fruits of more advanced knowledge. Thus the chronology of Africanus has perished, the first cause of its falling into neglect probably being the superior popularity of the work which Eusebius had founded on it. In like manner, the Greek of Eusebius's own work has been lost, and until comparatively recent times it was only known through the labours of successors who had made use of it, in particular of Jerome, who translated it into Latin, enlarging the notices which related to Roman history, and continuing the chronology to his own time. In 1606, Scaliger published an edition of the Chronicle, in which he attempted to restore the Greek of Eusebius, collecting from Syncellus, Cedrenus, and other Greek chronologers, notices which he believed himself able, mainly by the help of Jerome's translation, to identify as copied from Eusebius. In this work he shewed great learning and industry, but over-confidence in his critical sagacity sometimes led him to claim for Eusebius more than really belonged to him; and his restoration of the first book, where he had but little guidance from Jerome, did not inspire confidence at the time, and has since proved to be untrustworthy. It seems over-bold also to pronounce concerning two lost works that the one was little but a transcript from the other; yet this was the judgment which Scaliger confidently expressed concerning the obligations of Eusebius to Africanus. It is very certain that Eusebius owed much to Africanus, but we are not entitled to assume, as Scaliger did, that Eusebius copied Africanus without alteration in every place where he does not expressly state his dissent from him. In closely going over the work of Jerome, Scaliger was strongly impressed by the haste and carelessness with which the Latin translator did his work, trusting too much to the attendants who read to him or wrote for him. The most striking instance is Jerome's creation of a historian, Paradius, out of the two Greek words, παρὰ Διός. He translates Μίνως Κρησὶν ὡς παρὰ Διὸς ἐνομοθέτει, "Minos Cretensibus leges dedit ut Paradius memorat." Scaliger was in consequence led to impute mistranslation to Jerome every time that he found a difference between Jerome's Latin and the corresponding notices in the later Greek chronologers. And though Vallarsi, whose edition of the Chronicle, in vol. vii. of his great edition of Jerome's works, contains much able criticism of Scaliger's work, urges that we have no right to assume that the Greek chronologers simply copied Eusebius without introducing any changes of their own, or that in any difference between them and Jerome they must be pronounced right and he wrong, there remain, after every allowance made, several cases where Jerome cannot be cleared from the charge of having blundered. The objections made by Vallarsi to Scaliger's restoration of the first book, and his opinion that the Chronicle never had contained anything which could properly be described as a first book, need not be considered, the question having been set at rest by the discovery of an Armenian translation of the Chronicle, first published in 1818, which enables us now to state what the contents of the first book really were

The author, at the commencement of his work, deprecates the expectation of too minute accuracy in the investigations on which he enters, and thinks that our Lord's words, "It is not for you to know the times and the seasons," are applicable not only to the end of the world, but also to the knowledge of all times and seasons. He pleads the difficulties, in the case of the Greeks, arising from the comparatively recent beginning of civilization in that nation, concerning which he quotes the saying of the oft quoted story told in the *Timaeus* of Plato, that the Greeks were but children; in the case of the Egyptians and the Chaldeans, arising from the fables of which their early history is full. Even Hebrew chronology is not free from difficulties of its own. He then, in the first section, gives a sketch of Chaldee and Assyrian history, subjoining a table of the succession and lengths of reigns of Assyrian, Median, Lydian, and Persian kings, ending with the Darius conquered by Alexander. The authors whom he employs are Alexander Polyhistor, and, as known through him, Berosus; Abydenus, Josephus, Castor, Diodorus, and Cephalion. He notes the coincidences of these writers with Hebrew history, and he suggests that the incredible lengths assigned to reigns in the early Chaldee history may be reduced by the supposition that the "sari," said to be periods of 3600 years, in reality were far shorter periods. In like manner, the Egyptian chronology may be shortened by supposing that the years of their periods were in reality but months. Africanus had previously mentioned this solution. Another is mentioned farther on in this first book, viz. that some of the Egyptian dynasties may have been, not consecutive, but synchronous. The second section treats of Hebrew chronology, the authorities used in addition to the sacred volume being Josephus and Africanus. He notices the chronological difference between the Hebrew, Septuagint, and Samaritan text, and conjectures that the Hebrews, desirous to justify by patriarchal example their love of early marriages, systematically shortened the intervals between the birth of each patriarch and that of his first son. He gives other arguments which decide

him in favour of the LXX, especially as their version was the only one in use in the Christian church which had received it from our Lord and the apostles. A trifling difference here shews that Scaliger was wrong in supposing that Eusebius slavishly copied Africanus, for he reckons the years from the Creation to the Flood as 2242, instead of 2262, which we learn from Syncellus were counted by Africanus, the difference no doubt arising from a difference of reading as to the years of Methuselah; for in this case there is a well known variation of reading, probably in the first instance arising out of a conjectural emendation made in order to get rid of a chronology which would have made Methuselah survive the Deluge. In the next division of time, from the Deluge to the birth of Abraham, which Eusebius makes the initial point of his own tables, he follows the Septuagint, except that he omits the second Cainan, making the number of years 942; and thus placing the birth of Abraham in the year from the Creation 3184. He notes in his tables that the Hebrew chronology made this interval 1949 years, which agrees within a year with that derived from our copies. Eusebius places the Exodus in the year from the birth of Abraham 505, in which he appears to agree with Africanus, but he differs with him in respect of the next interval, viz. that to the building of Solomon's temple. Josephus counted that interval 592 years, which agrees closely enough with the 450 years assigned to the period of the Judges in the received text of Acts xiii. 20. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 21), as Eusebius notes, does not substantially disagree from the computation of Josephus. Africanus had extended this interval to 744 years. He may have been, as Scaliger supposes, desirous to maintain the then received computation of 5500 years from the Creation to the birth of our Lord, notwithstanding his throwing out of the chronology the 130 years of the second Cainan. For he gained as many years elsewhere, enlarging, for instance, the period of the Judges by counting 30 years for the elders that outlived Joshua, 40 years of anarchy after Samson, and 30 years of peace, arbitrary insertions for which he is censured by Eusebius. The great crux of Scripture chronologers has been how to reconcile the interval of about 600 years between the Exodus and Solomon's temple, which is what most naturally comes out from adding up the years assigned to the Judges, with the statement (1 Kings vi. 1) that the interval was only 480 years. A reconciliation could be effected, and the times of the Judges shortened, by throwing out of the computation the years when the land is said to have served foreign rulers, and considering these as counted in the years of some contemporary judge; if it were not that the authority of the apostle Paul, as already quoted, seems to favour the longer computation. Eusebius is moved to decide in favour of the shorter mainly by the consideration that between Naasson and David there intervened but Salmon, Boaz, Obed, and Jesse. These five generations, then, in a period of, according to Africanus, over 700 years, or, according to Josephus, 600, would give on the lowest computation the inadmissible length of 120 years to a generation. Eusebius therefore counts the interval 480 years, as in 1 Kings. If in Acts xiii. he adopted the reading of the oldest

MSS now extant, he does not found on it any attempt to maintain Paul's chronological accuracy, his line of defence being that the apostle's object was not to teach scientific chronology, but that he merely had occasion, while preaching the saving doctrine of Christ, to make incidental mention of the times of the Judges, in doing which he conformed to the received chronology of the time. The consequence of the shortening of the Hebrew chronology by Eusebius in the period now under consideration was to bring down the place of Moses as compared with the line of Greek chronology. In the preface to his second book, Eusebius states that his predecessors had made Moses contemporary with Inachus, and 700 years earlier than the Trojan War. His own computation made Inachus contemporary with Jacob, and Moses with Cecrops, but he contends that this leaves Moses still nearly 400 years older than the capture of Troy, older than Deucalion's Deluge or Phaethon's Conflagration; older than Bacchus, Aesculapius, Castor and Pollux, or Hercules; older than Homer and the Seven Wise Men of Greece, and Pythagoras the first philosopher.

In the next period, Eusebius counts 442 years from the foundation of the temple by Solomon to its destruction under Zedekiah. He discusses how the 70 years' captivity are to be reckoned, and his conclusion is that there are two prophetic periods of this length. The one begins with the destruction of the temple, and ends with the second year of Darius, son of Hystaspes, and the rebuilding of the temple under Zerubbabel. In so counting, Eusebius claims that he follows Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 21), but Scaliger remarks that this is only true as respects the end of the period. Clement had made his 70 years begin with the captivity under Jeconiah, as the prophecy in Jeremiah xxix. seems to demand. The other prophetic period of 70 years he makes end in the first year of Cyrus (when an altar was set up at Jerusalem, and the foundations of the temple laid), and begin with the first prophesying of Jeremiah in the fifteenth year of Josiah. In the tables, Eusebius gives another way of counting this period, viz. from the third year of Jehoiakim to the nineteenth of Cyrus.

From the second year of Darius, which he counts as the first year of the 65th olympiad, Eusebius counts 548 years to the preaching of our Lord and the fifteenth year of Tiberius, which he reckons as the fourth year of the 201st olympiad; and as the year from the creation of the world 5228. He gives as elements of this part of the calculation the lengths of the years of the Persian kings, of Alexander and his Egyptian successors down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, carrying no the calculation from this point through the Maccabees (with respect to whom he refers again to Africanus) and the Jewish princes who succeeded them. Both in this and in the first part of this book, Eusebius sums up his calculations by giving the total of years down to the Vicennalia of Constantine (325), which is made the closing point of the Chronicle. The third part of the first book contains a sketch of Egyptian history commencing with an extract from Diodorus, but mainly taken from Manetho, from whom large extracts had also been made by Africanus and Josephus. For the history

after the time of Alexander the Great, Porphyry is employed. The fourth part treats of Grecian history. The first authority employed is Castor, who would seem to have drawn up his results in chronological tables, and from them Eusebius takes his history of the kings of Sicyon, accounted the oldest monarchs of the Ionic race, of Argos and of Athens. Eusebius next gives a notice of the foundation of the Olympic contests, considering that with the first olympiad authentic Greek history begins. He gives a list of Olympic victors, which according to the title professes to end with the 247th, but which actually is continued to the 249th. This is the latest that could have appeared in the work of Africanus, so that the breaking off the list here is evidence of the source whence it is derived. Next follows from Diodorus a list of kings of Corinth and Lacedaemon, with a table of the nations who successively held dominion of the sea, with the number of years for which each held it. After this come Macedonian, Thessalian, and Syrian history, the authority of Porphyry being followed in the later history. The tables, must have found this method unsuitable on account of the length of time covered by his tables, which go back more than 1200 years before the first olympiad. And the same objection applied to the use of other celebrated eras which Eusebius does not mention, such as that of Nabonassar or of the Seleucidae. On the other hand, the differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint chronology would have made it inconvenient to date years from the Creation; for when Eusebius has occasion to make such a computation, he gives the result according to both systems of chronology. The important differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint all lie in the period prior to the birth of Abraham; that, accordingly, Eusebius records as the first event in his Chronicle, and makes it the beginning of his era, in respect of their distances from which all subsequent events are dated. The next columns give the successions of the rulers of different nations. Eusebius only counts the chronology of three nations as going back so far as the commencement of his Chronicle, the Assyrians, the Sicyonians,

Abraham.	Heb.	Ass.	Sic.	Ath.	Aeg.	
806	9	23	4	24	4	
		Polypheides 31 years				
807	10	24	1	25	5	Expedition of the Amazons against the Athenians.
808	11	25	2	26	6	
809	12	26	3	27	7	
810	13	27	4	28	8	
		Tautenes 31 years				In his reign Ilium was taken.
811	14	1	5	29	9	
812	15	2	6	30	10	
			Menestheus 23 years			
813	16	3	7	1	11	Minos, making an expedition into Sicily, slain by the daughters of Cocalus.
814	17	4	8	2	12	Atreus reigned at Argos, and Thyestes at Mycenae.

last section of the first book treats of Roman history. He begins with an enumeration of the historians whom he had employed, viz.: Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, Cephalion, Diodorus, as already mentioned; the eighteen books of Cassius Longinus, which go down to the 228th olympiad; the fourteen books of Phlegon, the freedman of Hadrian, which include 229 olympiads; the six books of Castor, from Ninus to the 181st olympiad; the three books of Thallus, from the taking of Troy to the 167th olympiad; and Porphyry, from the taking of Troy to the reign of Claudius. To these is to be added Dionysius of Halicarnassus, from whom all the early Roman history is taken. The work professes to add a table of emperors and of consuls, but the Armenian is here defective. The second book shews that he employed also Philochorus and Palaephatus. In the second book of the Chronicle the lists of successions given in the former book are drawn out in the form of tables, the nature of which will be more easily understood from the specimen we give.

The first column marks the year counting from the birth of Abraham. The use of this era is a speciality of the work of Eusebius. Africanus had marked dates by olympiads, as Greek chronologers had usually done. Eusebius, though he duly registers the olympiads in his and the Egyptians; and he places the first year of Abraham as corresponding to the forty-third year of Ninus, king of Assyria, to the twenty-second of Europs, king of Sicyon, and to the first year of the sixteenth or Thebaean Egyptian dynasty. With the foundation of new monarchies the number of columns increases, rising to as many as eight; diminishing again as kingdoms disappear, until, towards the close of the Chronicle there remains but the single line of Roman emperors. The remaining space in the tables, called by Scaliger the *Spatium Historicum*, contains entries of different historical events. These entries have been liable to much dislocation in the process of transcription, copyists altering their position as the space at their disposal made it convenient. Thus, while the Armenian and Jerome's translation, as a general rule, agree as to the dates of the accession of the kings, they differ perpetually as to the entries in the historical space. We give an example to illustrate the difficulty of recovering with any certainty the chronological system of Eusebius from these entries. Eusebius, as we have already mentioned, had before him a list of the nations who successively held dominion over the sea, with the number of years of the rule of each. This list he worked into his tables, no doubt counting the years back from the crossing of the Hellespont by Xerxes,

which is its final point. But it is now, to all appearance, a hopeless task to recover the arrangement of Eusebius. Thus, the first name on the list is the Lydians, ninety-two years; and these years are given in the Armenian 848–928, by Jerome 842–960. There is but one entry out of seventeen in which the Armenian and Jerome agree. In this case there is no room for doubt that the notes were originally intended by Eusebius to be connected with definite years. But many of the others might from the first have been as well affixed to one year as another, and probably were not at first intended to be connected so much with particular years as with particular decades of years, indicating vaguely as they do the times about which certain events happened or when certain men flourished. It appears to us that these historical notes, incorporated with the tables of reigns, are what Eusebius had in view when, at the beginning of his *Eclogae Propheticae*, he refers to his tables and says that he had joined with them an epitome of history. The word he uses is ἀντιπαραθέντες; if that contained in the first book had been intended, a different word would have been used. There is every reason for thinking that more editions of the Chronicle than one were published by Eusebius in his lifetime. In its latest form it terminates with the Vicennalia of Constantine; but the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, in which the Chronicle is referred to, had been published several years previously. It is possible that the hypothesis that Eusebius himself published different editions of his Chronicle may give the true explanation of the differences between Jerome's version and the Armenian. These are more than can be ascribed to the fault of transcribers. The Armenian version and Jerome's can readily be compared in Schoene's edition, where both are to be found on the same opening of the page, and the comparison is helped by a valuable memoir of Mommsen's on the subject (*Abhandl. der philologisch-histor. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, i. 669). The account which Jerome gives in his preface of his claims to originality is that as far as the taking of Troy his work was a mere translation of that of Eusebius; that from that date on to the point at which the work of Eusebius closes, his work was still but translation, only enlarged by notices, taken from Suetonius and others, relating to Roman history, concerning which Eusebius, as a Greek writing for Greeks, had not been full; and that the conclusion continuing the Chronicle from the point where Eusebius breaks off to his own time was entirely his own. Mommsen finds that in the part of the Chronicle before the time of our Lord the Armenian must have mutilated the work of Eusebius by capricious omissions, there being a multitude of notices absent from it, which are found in Jerome, and which are proved really to belong to Eusebius by being quoted as his by subsequent Greek chroniclers; on the other hand, in the history after Christ, the Armenian appears to have faithfully reported Eusebius, almost everything additional that is found in Jerome being capable of being traced to non-Eusebian sources. Mommsen has expended some pains in tracing the sources of Jerome, and finds that, as indeed had been previously remarked, he is even more indebted to the history of Eutropius, which he does not mention, than to the work of Suetonius, which he does. Mommsen gives several illustrations of the haste and carelessness with which Jerome used his authorities. For instance, Jerome describes the emperor Claudius as "patruus Drusi qui apud Moguntiacum monumentum habet," a strange statement, which is accounted for by a reference to Eutropius, where we find, "patruus Caligulae, Drusi qui apud M. m. habet filius."

Some lengths of the reigns of Roman emperors, which are merely entered in the Armenian by the round numbers of the years are given in Jerome, with the more minute accuracy of months and sometimes of days; and one of Jerome's statements, viz. that Pertinax reigned six months, instead of a year as in the Armenian, is proved, by a Greek quotation, really to have been made by Eusebius. Jerome also gives notices, not found in the Armenian canon, of the places where the emperors died; but the source of these is found in a list of the places and manner of deaths of the emperors, still found in the Armenian, which Eusebius had prefixed to his tables. He had also prefixed a table of the lengths of their reigns, but that has been lost from the Armenian by mutilation, so that we cannot now tell whether there were originally discrepancies which Jerome removed between the list and the entries in the tables, or whether Jerome's version represents a later edition of the work of Eusebius. The succession of the Roman bishops will form the subject of a separate article [ROME, BISHOPS OF]. Suffice it here to say that Jerome's dates for the accessions of the bishops differ from the Armenian in such a way as to suggest that Jerome had exchanged the work of a translator for that of a chronologer, reforming the system of his original by means of an independent list. Jerome's chronology of the Roman bishops approaches much more nearly than the Armenian to that of the later work of Eusebius, his Church History. Appended to Schoene's edition of the Chronicle is a translation, by Roediger, of a Syriac chronicle which goes down to the year A.D. 636, and which epitomizes the work of Eusebius, though possibly, as von Gutschmid conjectures, known to the Syriac writer through the intervention of Anianus. In this there are four cases where the Syriac agrees, as to the lengths of episcopates with Jerome, where he differs from the Armenian, and in three of them from the Church History of Eusebius as well. As it is improbable that Jerome's work could have been known to the Syriac writer, we are led to believe that both used a common source. After what has been said as to Jerome's rough and ready method of working, it seems to us improbable that he took more pains in correcting the chronology of Eusebius by the help of other authorities than he himself lays claim to have done. And it seems to us that the simplest account of the phenomena that have been described is the hypothesis that Jerome worked on a later edition of the Chronicle than that represented by the Armenian translation. We have referred [EVODIUS] to Harnack's theory as to the principle on which the Chronicle dates the accessions of bishops of Antioch. The difficulties in the way of accepting that theory are

stated in the prolegomena to Lightfoot's *Ignatius;* and it may be added here that any theory seems to us to rest on an untrustworthy foundation which requires us to assume that we can rely to a year on the dates given in the *Spatium Historicum* of the Armenian. Take, for instance, the episcopate of Peter, about which it is likely that as much care was taken as in the case of any later episcopate. The Armenian gives its length as twenty years, and the years as 2055–2082; Jerome makes the length twenty-five years, and the years 2058–2084. Jerome places Peter's arrival in Rome in the second year of Claudius, the Armenian two years before that emperor's accession. Now, in addition to Roediger's Syriac epitome already mentioned, there have been published by Bruns, in *Eichhorns Repertorium für bibl. und morgenl. Litteratur*, xi. 273, extracts from another Syriac chronicle. These two witnesses are independent, for the latter agrees with the Armenian in making Peter's episcopate twenty years, the former makes it twenty-five with Jerome. But both agree in entering Peter's arrival at Rome after the accession of Claudius. We conclude therefore that the earlier date of the Armenian has only arisen in an inaccuracy of transcription. It may be noted here that in the later MSS. of Jerome's Chronicle the historical notices are all collected into the right-hand margin, the *Spatium Historicum* of Scaliger; and Jerome's preface as given in the printed editions contained directions for distinguishing by the use of differently coloured inks to what nation each notice belonged. The older MSS. insert the historical notices in two places, between the columns of reigns. The Armenian also gives the notices in two places, the inner and outer margins. Scaliger considered that the directions in the preface which are not found in the older MSS. had been omitted by scribes, who found the use of different inks too troublesome, and he drew the paradoxical inference that the later MSS. contained the oldest text. But Schoene points out that it would be far more laborious for any scribe to separate into two, according to nations, notices which he had found all together than to join together notices which he had found separate; and that the former change, if made at all, must have been made in the 5th century, the archetype of one of the MSS. being traceable to about the year 500. He concludes, therefore, that we may receive the oldest MSS. as giving the oldest text, and rejects the passage in the preface as an interpolation inserted when the method of the later MSS. was introduced.

Enough has been said as to the general chronological system of Eusebius to make it unnecessary to comment at any length on the entries in the tables of the second book. We only mention that he makes the principality of Herod the end of the sixty-nine weeks of Daniel, understanding the prophecy, "after sixty-two weeks the Messiah shall be cut off," as fulfilled in the coming to an end of the line of anointed priestly rulers. He takes notice also of a different way of counting, according to which seventy weeks or 490 years, beginning at the restoration of the temple under Nehemiah end in the reign of Nero, in which reign the last siege of Jerusalem began. It may be mentioned also in confirmation of what has been said as to the liability to dislocation of the Armenian entries, that in the Armenian the crucifixion of our Lord is connected with the sixteenth year of Tiberius and the second year of the 202nd olympiad, although Eusebius connects the year with the statement of Phlegon as to the occurrence of a great eclipse of the sun and of an earthquake in Bithynia in the fourth year of that olympiad, and though we learn from Cedrenus that Eusebius placed the crucifixion in the eighteenth year of Tiberius.

We have next to speak of the method of reducing Eusebius's years of Abraham to years B.C. and A.D. Petavius (*de Doct. Temp.* ix. 1) had maintained that Eusebius's first year of Abraham began Sept. 1, B.C. 2017. The matter has recently been carefully investigated by von Gutschmid (*de Notis Temporum quibus in Chronicis utitur Eusebius*, Kiliae, 1867) who has also co-operated with Schoene in his edition of the Chronicle. Von Gutschmid has found that, as was perhaps to be expected in a work compiled from various sources, different rules must be applied to different parts of it. His method of investigation is to take the dates given in the Chronicle for the accessions of the monarchs of the three great lines, of Persian kings, of Egyptian Lagidae, and of Roman emperors—dates as to which the Armenian and Jerome agree—and to compare these with the historical dates of these events known from other sources. In this enquiry a good deal turns on determining the day on which Eusebius began his years. Every year of the Chronicle is assigned to a definite ruler, so that, when a king died in the middle of a year, the chronicler had to choose whether he would count this the last year of the reign of the deceased monarch or the first of that of his successor. And—what amounts to the same question—in counting the lengths of reigns, he had to choose whether he would throw away odd months or consider them as equivalent to an entire year. The result at which von Gutschmid arrives is that from Cyrus to Ptolemy III. the dates of the Chronicle are made to agree with the true dates by the assumption that the first year of Abraham begins at the summer solstice B.C. 2016; from Ptolemy IV. to Cleopatra, that it begins at the autumnal equinox B.C. 2018; and from Julius Caesar to Pertinax, that it begins at the autumnal equinox B.C. 2019. He gives an explanation, which need not be here repeated, how the different calculation of the middle period is to be accounted for by the use of different sources by the chronicler. Setting this aside, the other two reckonings, which differ by nine months, are best harmonized by the assumption that Eusebius's first year of Abraham begins on Jan. 1, B.C. 2016. Eusebius makes his olympiads begin with the year of Abraham 1240, that is to say, with Jan. 1, B.C. 777, the true date being the summer solstice B.C. 776. The olympiads of Eusebius therefore are only bissextile Julian years, differing by a year and a half from the true olympiads. Jerome makes his olympiads begin a year later than Eusebius, and so brings them into closer harmony with the true.

After the reign of Pertinax there ensues a confusion in the chronology, and the agreement between the Armenian and Jerome as to the dates of the accessions of the emperors ceases. In fact,

Eusebius, who in this part of the history appears to have worked on an Alexandrian table of reigns, in which years are counted from the beginning of the month Thoth, *i.e.* Aug. 29, assigns a whole year to the reign of Pertinax, which lasted only three months, or five if we take in the reign of Julianus; he gives seven years to Caracalla who really reigned only six years two months, and he gives seven years to Philip instead of five and a half years. In this way the time between the deaths of Commodus and of Philip is made three years too long. One of these redundant years is afterwards cast out by the omission of the year that intervened between the resignation of Diocletian and the acceptance of the title of Augustus by Constantine. Jerome partially, but only partially, corrects these errors. It has been thought surprising that Eusebius should go wrong in the part of the chronology which lay near his own time; of this von Gutschmid offers the following ingenious explanation. Among ourselves the change from beginning the year on March 25 to Jan. 1 occasionally leads to a mistake of a year in the dates of events which occurred in the first three months of years before the change of style. Chronological confusion to a much greater extent arose when the genuine olympiads came in different places to be superseded by pseudo-Olympic periods, of four years indeed, but not commencing at the same time as the true. A change in the way of counting the dates could not be made in any history from one period to the other without a breach of continuity at the point of transition. It has been explained (Vol. I. p. 508) what use was made of the period of eight (or twice four) years in counting the Easter full moons. Von Gutschmid tries to shew there was in use in Alexandria such a cycle, in which the summer solstice of the year 284 commenced a period, and a different one at Rome commencing with Jan. 1, 298. His hypothesis is, that with Pertinax the sources from which Eusebius had previously been drawing were exhausted, that he then employed materials in which Alexandrian pseudo-olympiads were used, and later himself employed the Roman way of reckoning. This explanation is too complicated to carry with it complete conviction; and it does not seem to us incredible that Eusebius should have simply blundered in making out his chronology by the help of lists of emperors' reigns. Modern chronology is kept straight by the habitual use of the reckoning A.D., but if we dated events by the years of the reigning sovereign, we should be liable to error every time there was inaccuracy in our information how much each monarch lived to complete of the last year on which public documents shewed him to have entered. The part of history which persons in general know worst is that which immediately precedes their own time. It was much easier for Eusebius to preserve historical accuracy in the early history, where he had the guidance of trustworthy historians, than in the period after the histories which he had been following came to an end, and where he had to make, as best he could, a way for himself. Whatever may be thought of the correctness of von Gutschmid's explanation, it does not affect the value of his rule for turning Eusebian years of Abraham into years B.C. and A.D.; viz. in the period from the first olympiad to the beginning of the vulgar era, that is to say from the year of Abraham 1140–2016, subtract the year of Abraham from 2017, and the remainder gives the year B.C.; thenceforward to Pertinax, viz. from the year of Abraham 2017–2209 subtract 2016, and the remainder is the year A.D.; from 2210–2319, the last year in the Armenian, subtract 2018 in order to obtain the year A.D. Von Gutschmid has also compared the Eusebian with the true date of a number of events entered in the *Sputium historicum*, as to the position of which the Armenian and Jerome agree. He finds that they may be distributed into two classes, in one of which the dates fairly correspond to those obtained by the preceding rule; in the others the dates as given by olympiads in the table will be right if we consider these as true olympiads. Cases of this kind would arise whenever Eusebius copied the dates given in olympiads by older authorities without any attempt to adapt them to his own chronology.

We do not occupy space with an enumeration of editions of the chronicle, because, for the student's practical purposes, previous editions are superseded by that of Schoene, Berlin, 1875, 1866. Full explanation is given as to the mode of using the tables, p. xli. In his prolegomena will be found information as to the labours of previous editors, as also in Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* Harles, vii. 340, and in the preface to Aucher's edition of the Armenian. This version was made from a MS. brought from Jerusalem to Constantinople, of which transcripts were sent to Aucher in Venice in 1790 and 1793; but various hindrances delayed the publication of his translation till 1818. We have not room to speak of the anticipation of this work by Zohrab and Mai in 1815. Petermann, for Schoene's edition, failed in his attempt to make a new collation of the Jerusalem MS., but he was able to compare the transcript of 1793 with a later one made by Aucher himself; and also another MS. closely akin to the Jerusalem MS., but in Petermann's opinion not derived from it, but rather both from a common original. The Armenian version he pronounces to be as early as the 5th century. Some errors in it are obviously to be accounted for as originating in a misreading or misunderstanding of Greek words; other features indicate a Syriac original; and though it is possible that the errors just mentioned may have been introduced by the Syriac translator, yet Petermann's opinion is that there were in Armenia in the 5th century two versions, one made directly from the Greek, the other through the medium of Syriac; and that two or three centuries afterwards these were combined into their present form. Whatever be the languages through which the words of Eusebius passed, some of them certainly have become much disguised in the process. It would require a sagacious critic from the words "Iêandrus primus virtutem ostendit, superabat enim iracundiam," to restore the original Μέανδρος πρῶτον δρᾶμα διδάξας Ὀργὴν ἐνίκα.

Scaliger's edition contained in addition to the chronicle of Eusebius, besides the Latin continuation of St. Jerome an ἐπιτομὴ χρόνων taken from the Paschal chronicle at that time unpublished, the Chronographia of the Patriarch Nicephorus, and what he called ἱστοριῶν συναγωγή which is not an ancient work, but a collection of

historical notices made by Scaliger himself, in some cases even translated by him from Latin into Greek. Subjoined to his Latin chronicles are what Scaliger calls most useful extracts from Eusebius, Africanus, and others turned into Latin, "ab homine barbaro inepto, Hellenismi et Latinitatis imperitissimo." [CHRONICON SCALIGERANUM.] The blunders in it are of such a character that this description is not too severe; for instance: τὸ Ἴλιον ἥλω ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν is rendered "Ille solis confixus est ab Acheis," but the historical matter contained in the notices promises to repay more careful investigation than it has yet received. These excerpts have been newly edited in Schoene's edition from a careful collation with the original MS. at Paris. Schoene's edition also contains the χρονογραφεῖον σύντομον, a work of the year 853, which had been published by Mai (*Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* vol. i.), the first part of which professes to be derived from the labours of Eusebius. The list of Alexandrian patriarchs has traces, in a number of curious alterations, of having been derived from a list in which the Monophysites are treated as the orthodox and the adherents of Chalcedon as heretics. [G. S.]

EUSEBIUS (24), bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, by whom Basil the Great was ordained to the presbyterate. Eusebius was a layman and unbaptized at the time of his elevation to the episcopate A.D. 362. On the death of Dianius, the church of Caesarea was divided into rival factions, nearly equally balanced, and, as in the case of Ambrose of Milan, the choice of a layman universally known and respected and of high character for orthodoxy, was the readiest way out of the dilemma, as involving no acknowledgment of weakness on either side. Eusebius was by no means covetous of the honour thus forced upon him. Military force had to be employed to overcome his reluctance, and to compel the consecrating prelates to fulfil their functions. No sooner were they free than the bishops endeavoured to annul their act and declare the consecration of Eusebius void. But the counsels of the elder Gregory of Nazianzus prevailed. He represented to them that it would have been the more honourable course to have risked their lives by refusing to ordain Eusebius, rather than to have yielded to the dictation of the populace through fear, and then annul their own act. There were dissensions enough in the church, without their adding to them (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xix. 36, pp. 308–9). The election of Eusebius was ratified, to the indignation of the emperor Julian, who grudged the loss of so valuable a servant to the state, and he held the see for a period of eight years till 370. Eusebius proved a very respectable prelate, who would have filled his office with credit to himself and advantage to the church in ordinary times; he shewed himself, however, quite unequal to the circumstances of severe trial in which he soon found himself. He was, writes Dr. Newman (*Historical Sketches*, p. 4), "a bishop of orthodox profession, but had little of the theological knowledge or force of character necessary for coping with the formidable heresy with which the church was assailed." One of the earliest acts of his episcopate was to ordain Basil to the presbyterate. The coldness which grew up between Eusebius and Basil, probably arising from jealousy of the superior knowledge and greater influence of the latter, his insulting conduct towards Basil, leading to Basil's three years' retirement to Pontus, his desire to regain Basil's aid in combating the attack of the Arians under Valens on the church of Caesarea, and the ultimately successful mediation of Gregory Nazianzen with his old friend, are fully narrated in another article. [BASILIUS OF CAESAREIA.] (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xx. §§ 51–53; *Epist.* 19, 20, 169, 170.)

In 366 Eusebius saw Basil return to Caesarea. Each had learnt wisdom from the past. Basil was content to guide the counsels of Eusebius without publicly trenching on his prerogatives, while Eusebius was satisfied with official power and dignity, flattering himself, in Gregory's words, that he himself was ruling while Basil was actually the ruler. (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xx. § 57–59.) The harmony continued unbroken to the death of Eusebius, A.D. 370.

Fleury states that Eusebius is reckoned by some among the martyrs, but why, it would be hard to say (Fleury, xv. 13, 14; xvi. 9, 14, 17). Florentinius thinks that Usuard confounds Eusebius of Cappadocia with Eusebius the historian, whom he notes on June 21. Upon this point see arguments of Papebrochius in *AA. SS.* Boll. Jun. iv. 75; and on the other side, Till. *Mém.* vii. 39. See also EUSEBIUS (23), supr. p. 348 b). [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (25), fourth bishop of Cahors, succeeding St. Ursicinus and followed by Rusticus. He is mentioned in this order in one of the *Vitae* of St. Desiderius, a later bishop of the same see. (*Vit. Desid.* cap. 4 in Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 223 c; *Gall. Christ.* i. 120.) [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (26), bishop of Chalcis in Coele Syria, a zealous man and a staunch Catholic, ordained by Eusebius bishop of Samosata, though in another province, after his return from exile, c. A.D. 378 (Theod. *H. E.* v. 4). He attended the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381 (Labbe, ii. 955). Theodoret narrates a visit paid by him to Marcian the solitary (*Hist. Rel.* c. 3, p. 789). [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (27), ST., bishop of Cibalis, a town and district in Pannonia between the Drave and the Save, subject to the metropolitan authority of Sirmium (*Dict. G. & R. Geog.*). He suffered martyrdom during either the Valerian or the Diocletian persecution. He is the only bishop of this see whose name is known. (Farlati, *Illyricum Sacr.* vii. 574; *AA. SS.* Boll. 28 April, iii. 565; *Mart.* Usuardi, Ap. 28.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (28), bishop of Clazomenae near Smyrna, present at the councils of Ephesus A.D. 431 and Chalcedon A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 729; Mansi, iv. 1216, vi. 1085.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (29), bishop of Como, 512. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 313; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 260.) [A. H. D. A.]

EUSEBIUS (30), bishop of Constantinople; vid. of Nicomedia. [EUSEBIUS (60).]

EUSEBIUS (31), bishop of Cremona, 637, a native of Piacenza; said to have erected the church of St. Antonius, martyr. For an exami-

nation of the inscription in the church, see Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xii. 129. [A. H. D. A.]

EUSEBIUS (32), bishop of Cyzicus, present at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 970.) He is described by Procopius (*Bell. Pers.* i. 25) as a man of overbearing character, and was ultimately murdered by the people of Cyzicus, as Malalas relates, in a conspiracy headed by John of Cappadocia, who was then an exile at Cyzicus. (Jo. Malalas, *Chron.* lib. xviii. p. 480, ed. Dindorf; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 754.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (33), bishop of Doberus on the borders of Macedonia and Paeonia, present at the Latrocinium of Ephesus, A.D. 449, where in the subscription he is called "episcopus Topiritanus," though some MSS. read Dobyritanus. (Mansi, vi. 930; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 77.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (34), bishop of Dorylaeum in Phrygia Salutaris, the constant supporter of orthodoxy against Nestorius and Eutyches alike. About Christmas A.D. 428, when Nestorius was asserting his heresy in a sermon at Constantinople, there stood up in full church a man of excellent character (*ἀνήρ τις τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιεικῶν*), still a simple layman, but distinguished for "not inconsiderable erudition" (*οὐκ ἀθαύμαστος παίδευσις*) and orthodox zeal, and asserted in opposition to Nestorius, that the "eternal Word begotten before the ages had submitted also to be born a second time" (*i.e.* according to the flesh of the Virgin). This bold assertion of the faith caused great excitement and division in the church. Cyril. Alex. *Adv. Nestor.* i. 20 in Migne, vol. ix. p. 41 D; Marius Mercator, pars ii. lib. i.; Patr. Lat. xlviii. p. 769 B.) The "vir probus, adhuc laicus" of this narrative is certainly, as Theophanes (*Chron.* p. 76) expressly says he was, our Eusebius, who has the credit of being the first to oppose the Nestorian heresy. (Evagr. *Hist.* i. 9 in Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. 2445.) He was also the first to protest against the heretical utterances of Anastasius, the syncellus of Nestorius (Theophan. *Chron.* p. 76.) He was at this time a "rhetor" (Evagr. *l. c.*) distinguished in legal practice. (Leont. Byzant. *Cont. Nestor. et Eutych.* lib. iii. in Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. 1389) and an "agens in rebus" to the court, (*Gesta de Nom. Acacii*, cap. i. in Galland, *Biblioth.* x. 667; cf. Tillemont, xiv. note xi. on Cyril of Alexandria.) Theophanes (l. c.) calls him a *σχολαστικὸς τῆς βασιλίσσης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*.

After the sermon of St. Proclus against Nestorius, and before the orthodox had separated from the communion of Nestorius, in consequence of the council of Ephesus, there appeared, fixed in a public place, a document exposing the identity of Nestorius's doctrine with that of Paul of Samosata. This document common opinion attributed to Eusebius (Leontius, *Cont. Nestor. et Eutych.* lib. iii. cap. 43 in Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. 1389 *πρωτεθείσης, ὥς φασι, παρὰ Εὐσεβίου*). In the Greek text of the document (Harduin, *Conc. Ephes.* pars 1ma i. 1271) it is said to be "*παρὰ τῶν κληρικῶν Κωνσταντινουπολέως*," which is clearly wrong, as it is written in the first person singular (we should perhaps read *κατὰ τῶν*, &c.). This public protestation begins by conjuring any one into whose hands it may fall to make its contents known or give a copy of it to all the bishops, clergy and laity in Constantinople. It draws out the parallel between the doctrine of Nestorius and that of Paul of Samosata, who both deny that the child born of Mary was the Eternal Word; it asserts the true faith out of the creed in use at Antioch (whence Nestorius and Anastasius came), adduces the testimony of Eustathius bishop of Antioch, one of the bishops present at Nicaea, and ends with an anathema on him who denies the identity of the Only Begotten of the Father and the child of Mary. Eusebius must have been a priest at the time when St. Cyril wrote his five books against Nestorius (Cyril. *Opera*, ix. 41 D, Migne. So much is implied in the *τελῶν ἔτι ἐν λαικοῖς*), *i.e.* about A.D. 430. He was certainly bishop of Dorylaeum in A.D. 448. We learn from his own statement that he was poor. (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 221 D.) At this date he bestirred himself against the heretical teaching of Eutyches. Common hostility to Nestorius had hitherto united Eusebius and Eutyches; but about this time Eusebius, perceiving the heretical tendencies of his friend, frequently, as he afterwards told the council of Constantinople, visited him, and exhorted him to reconsider his ways. (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 154 D.) Finding him however immoveable and obstinate, Eusebius took the opportunity of a council assembled at Constantinople under Flavian, Nov. 8, 448, apparently for some other purpose (cf. Tillem. xv. 496) to present a "libellus" against Eutyches. In this "libellus," he describes himself as unsuspected of heresy, always fighting against heretics, and defending to the utmost of his power the orthodox faith. Labbe, iv. 151.) He deplores the persistency of Eutyches in error, and demands that he should be summoned before the council to answer the charges of heretical teaching which he made against him. Flavian, who was very unwilling to admit the petition, urged Eusebius more than once to visit and speak to Eutyches in private. Eusebius replied that it was impossible for him to do so again. His petition was accordingly granted by the council, though with unwillingness, and a feeling against the propriety of Eusebius's conduct. At the second session of the council (Nov. 12), Eusebius requested that the second letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius and his letter to John of Antioch should be read in the council as representing the standard of orthodoxy. This led to a profession of the orthodox faith from Flavian, which was assented to by the other bishops. At the third session of the council (Nov. 15) Eusebius asked what reply Eutyches had made when summoned to attend. It was found that he had refused to come, alleging a determination never to quit his monastery, and saying that Eusebius had been for some time (*πάλαι*) his enemy. [EUTYCHES (4).] He was again summoned, with the same result. Only on the third summons was he with difficulty induced to submit to the demand. Meanwhile Eusebius was pressing his point with the council persistently and even harshly; he behaved with such warmth that, as Flavian said, "fire itself seemed cold to him, in his zeal for orthodoxy"; on the discovery of the attempt which Eutyches had made to secure the adhesion of the other archimandrites to his views [FAUSTUS (28)] Eusebius urged that he should be immediately treated with the rigour he deserved. (Labbe, iv. 211.) Flavian still urged patience and moderation.

At last, on Nov. 22, Eutyches appeared with a large monastic and imperial escort, and was examined on the subject of his orthodoxy. Eusebius seems by this time to have become a little afraid of the power of Eutyches: "I am poor," he said, "he threatens me with exile; he has wealth, he is already depicting (ἀναζωγραφεῖ) the oasis for me." Eusebius feared also lest Eutyches should turn round and assent to the orthodox faith—thus causing him to be suspected of making calumnious charges with an evil intention. (Labbe, iv. 221, C, D, E.) The question with which he tried Eutyches was this: "My lord archimandrite, do you confess two natures after the Incarnation, and do you say that Christ is consubstantial with us according to the flesh or not?" To the first part of this question Eutyches could not be got to give assent; he was condemned by all the bishops, and sentence of deposition was passed on him. He at once wrote to pope Leo I. in his own defence (Leo Mag. Ep. xxi. 739), complaining of the "machinations" of Eusebius.

We next hear of Eusebius at the examination of the Acts of the council of Constantinople, which Eutyches had declared to have been falsified. With him were fourteen others from among the bishops who had condemned Eutyches, out of the whole number of thirty-four. This examination was held at Constantinople in April 449. (Labbe, iv. 235.) Eutyches was represented by three delegates; Eusebius[a] and others remonstrated against his not being present in person, but the emperor's orders overruled their remonstrances. During this examination Eusebius made it a special point that all examination into the case of Eutyches, and into any question other than the authenticity of the acts, should be referred to a general council. (Labbe, iv. 268.) The examination of the acts does not seem to have brought to light any inaccuracy of importance.

When Eusebius arrived in Ephesus at the beginning of August, A.D. 449, to attend the council, he seems to have lodged with Stephen of Ephesus (Labbe, iv. 111 D, E), but he was not permitted to attend the meetings of the council. It was urged as a reason for this that the emperor had forbidden it. (Labbe, iv. 145 A, B.) Certainly when Flavian urged that he should be admitted and heard, Elpidius, one of the imperial commissioners, opposed the proposal (Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* ii. 355), and the wish or command of the emperor was urged by Dioscorus at the council of Chalcedon as an excuse for his not being heard. Nor did his name receive a complimentary welcome in the council; for when the passage in the acts of Constantinople was read where Eusebius pressed Eutyches to acknowledge the two natures after the Incarnation, the council burst forth, "Off with Eusebius! burn him! let him be burned alive, let him become two! as he divided, let him be divided!" (Labbe, iv. 224 A.) Finally, sentence of deposition was pronounced against Flavian and Eusebius, Dioscorus, in giving his assent to their deposition, professing to do so on the ground that they had innovated upon, or altered the doctrines of Nicaea, and had been in this way an occasion of scandal to the churches. After the conclusion of the council Eusebius and Flavian were put in prison (Liberat. cap. xii.; Galland, xii. p. 140), and immediately sent into exile (*Gest. de Nom. Acac.* Galland, x. 668). Eusebius escaped and found refuge at Rome, where Leo welcomed him and granted him communion. He was there till April 481 (Leo Mag. *Ep.* lxxix. lxxx. 1037, 1041), for Leo mentions his presence in a letter to Pulcheria at this date and commends to her care his diocese, "which some one who has been iniquitously thrust into his place is said to be laying waste." Liberatus however (*Breviar.* cap. xii. in Galland, xii. 140) says that no bishop was put into the place of Eusebius. Perhaps Leo, whose words are "qui injuste asseritur subrogatus," represents no more than a rumour at Rome. Leo also commends him to the care of Anatolius of Constantinople, the successor of Flavian, as one who for the sake of the faith has undergone many dangers and troubles. Eusebius, of course, left Rome to attend the council of Chalcedon. He had addressed a formal petition to the emperor Marcian against Dioscorus, and he appears in the council as his accuser. His petition to the emperor was the first document read in the first session of the bishops at his own request (Labbe, iv. 95); he complains more than once of the conduct of Dioscorus in excluding him from the council of Ephesus (145, 156). His innocence, with that of St. Flavian, was fully recognized at the close of the first session of the council of Chalcedon (Labbe, iv. 322, 323); but he was not yet satisfied; at the third session, on Oct. 13, he presented a further petition against Dioscorus, addressed to the council, in which he represents himself as speaking on behalf of himself, of Flavian (τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις) and of the orthodox faith. He urges the iniquities of Dioscorus at Ephesus, and begs for complete exculpation for himself, and condemnation for Dioscorus. (For the conduct of the latter and his condemnation, cf. s. v. p. 861; Labbe, iv. 381.) We find Eusebius again in the fourth session of the council, taking a part in the case of certain Egyptian bishops who declined to condemn Eutyches, alleging in excuse that they were bound to follow their patriarch (*i.e.* Dioscorus), and that in so doing they were acting in accordance with the council of Nicaea. Eusebius has but one word to say, "ψεύδονται" (Labbe, iv. 513 A). We find him a little later (fifth session, Oct. 22) siding at first against the imperial officers, and the wishes of the Roman legates for making no addition to the council's definition of faith. (Labbe, iv. 558 D; cf. Bright, *Hist. of the Church*, p. 409.) Afterwards, however, he assisted at the revision which made that definition a completer expression of the doctrine of Leo's tome. In the eleventh session we find him (699 A) voting for the deposition of both claimants, Bassian and Stephen, to the see of Ephesus, on the ground that both alike had been irregularly consecrated. He appears in the fifteenth session (Oct. 23), as signing the much-contested twenty-eighth canon of the council on the subject of the position to be held by the see of Constantinople. [LEO I.] The last time that Eusebius's name appears is in the rescript of the emperor Marcian, June 452. This rescript has for its special object to rehabilitate the memory of Flavian, but it secures also that the condemnation of the robber council should in no way injure the reputation of Eusebius and Theodoret. (Labbe, iv. 866.) Nothing more is known

[a] Eusebius's remonstrance took this shape: εἰ δι' ἐντολεῶς λέγει (ὁ Εὐτύχης) κελεύσατέ με ἀναχωρῆσαι.

of Eusebius. His name indeed appears in the list of bishops signing the decrees of the council at Rome in A.D. 503, but this list certainly belongs to some earlier council. (Cf. Baron. ann. 503, ix.) Comparing him with Flavian we cannot help feeling that there was a want of generosity in his treatment of Eutyches, whose superior in logical power and theological perception he undoubtedly was. But none can deny him the credit of having been a watchful guardian of the doctrine of the Incarnation all through his life, and a keen-sighted and persistent antagonist of error, whether on the one side or the other, who by his sufferings for the orthodox faith may be said to have merited the title of Confessor. [C. G.]

EUSEBIUS (35) EMESENUS, bishop of Emesa, now Hems, in Syria, c. A.D. 341–359. He was born at Edessa, of a noble family. As from his earliest years he was taught the Holy Scriptures, his parents must have been Christians. Eusebius enjoyed all the advantages of a liberal education which, begun in his native city under teachers who resorted thither, was carried on in Palestine, and subsequently at Alexandria. In Palestine he studied theology under the celebrated Eusebius of Caesarea and Patrophilus of Scythopolis, from whom he imbibed the Arian leanings which distinguished him to the end of his life. Jerome terms him "the standard-bearer of the Arian party," "signifer Arianae factionis" (*Chron.* sub ann. x. Constantii), and his Arian tenets are spoken of by Theodoret as too well known to admit question. (Theod. *Eranist.* Dial. iii. p. 257, ed. Schulze.) About A.D. 331 Eusebius visited Antioch. Eustathius had been recently deposed and banished, and the see was occupied by one of the short-lived Arian intruders, Euphronius, with whom he lived on terms of intimacy. His heterodox leanings would thus receive additional strength. Eusebius's high personal character and reputation for learning marked him out for the episcopate. He had, however, no desire to become a bishop, and to avoid being compelled by force to take the office upon him, according to the strange custom of the time, he left Syria and repaired to Alexandria. Here he devoted himself to the study of philosophy in the celebrated schools of that city. When he had made himself fully acquainted with their systems, he returned to Antioch, of which Flaccillus (otherwise called Placillus) was the Arian bishop. Eusebius was received with the honour due to his learning and reputation for piety. Flaccillus received him into his episcopal residence, and admitted him to his friendship and confidence. When the Arian synod met at Antioch A.D. 340, under the predominant influence of Eusebius of Nicomedia, to nominate a successor to the newly deposed Athanasius, the unstained life, attractive eloquence, and popular manners of Eusebius, together with his personal acquaintance with Alexandria and its leading inhabitants, marked him out for the vacant throne. Eusebius, however, was by no means disposed to yield to his namesake's wishes. He well knew how deservedly beloved Athanasius was with the Alexandrians, and he shrank from facing the storm of unpopularity a bishop intruded into his seat would have to meet. He resolutely declined the proffered dignity, and Gregory was chosen in his stead. Eusebius's scruples, however, to the episcopate were by this time overcome, and he allowed himself to be created bishop of the see of Emesa. This city, situated on the river Orontes to the north-east of the Libanus range, some distance to the north of Laodicea, was famous for its magnificent temple of Elagabalus, the Syrophenician sun-god, from which the young priest Bassianus, himself also a native of Edessa, had been chosen by the army as their emperor, assuming the title of the deity whose minister he had been. A report, based on Eusebius's astronomical studies, had reached the excitable inhabitants that their newly chosen bishop was a sorcerer, addicted to judicial astrology. His approach was the signal for a violent popular commotion, before which he fled, taking refuge with his friend and future panegyrist, George, bishop of Laodicea. By his exertions, and the influence of Flaccillus of Antioch, and Narcissus of Neronias, the people of Emesa were convinced of the groundlessness of their suspicions, and he obtained quiet possession of his episcopal see. He was a great favourite with the emperor Constantius, who took him with him as a counsellor and friend on several of his military expeditions, especially those directed against Sapor II., king of Persia. It is singular that, as we learn from Sozomen, the charge of Sabellianism was brought against one whose Arian leanings were so pronounced. The historian attributes the charge to mere malevolence, excited by jealousy of his exalted qualities. His death occurred before the end of A.D. 359. He was buried at Antioch (Hieron. *de Vir. Ill.* 101). His funeral oration was pronounced by George of Laodicea, who ascribed miraculous powers to him.

Eusebius of Emesa was a very copious writer, and his works enjoyed much popularity. Jerome (u. s.) speaks somewhat contemptuously of his productions as merely elegant and rhetorical compositions, written with a view to applause, chiefly studied by those who delight in having themselves clapt (*παρὰ τῶν κρότοις χαιρόντων*). He particularizes treatises against the Jews, the Gentiles, and the Novatians, an exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians in ten books, and a very large number of very brief homilies on the Gospels. The whole of these are lost, with the exception of a *Disputation against the Jews.* Theodoret has preserved two passages on the impassibility of the Son of God, a truth for which he says Eusebius endured many and severe struggles, which he quotes with high commendation in his *Eranistes* (Dial. iii. p. 258, ed. Schulze). Theodoret also speaks of works of his against Apelles (*Haer. fab.* i. 25), and Manes (*ib.* 26). He also wrote a commentary on Genesis, of which Jerome speaks depreciatorily (*Quaest. in Gen.* tom. iii. p. 213), and of which, as well as of his commentaries on the New Testament, fragments occur in the *Catenae.* Three homilies are accepted by some authorities as genuine, and are printed by Migne: (1) on the descent of John the Baptist to Hades and his preaching there; (2) on the treachery of Judas; (3) on the Devil and Hell. Fifty homilies published in Latin by Gagne, Paris, 1547, are a mere cento made up from various Latin fathers. All the extant remains of Eusebius are printed by Migne, *Patrolog.* tom. lxxxvi. i. p. 461 ff. and by Mai, *Biblioth. Nova*, tom. ii. p. 528 ff. See also Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* tom. vii. p. 412 ff. ed.

Harles. (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 9; Soz. *H. E.* iii. 6; Niceph. *H. E.* ix. 5; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* tom. vi. p. 313; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 207; Oudin, tom. i. p. 389.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (36), bishop of Epiphania in Syria Secunda, south-east of Apamea. He was present at the second general council at Constantinople, A.D. 381, as representative of the Syrian church. (Mansi, iii. 568; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 917.) [J. de S.]

EUSEBIUS (37) I., bishop at the Roman synod of 501, described as "Fanestrensis" (Mansi, viii. 299 c). He is believed to have been the third bishop of Fano, between Vitalis and Leo (Boll. *Acta SS.* 18 Apr. ii. 542; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 658), in which case he may be the same as the following. [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (38), bishop of Fano, accompanied pope John I. when Theodoric compelled him to go on a mission to the emperor Justin in 526. See Anonymus Valesianus, *i.e.* the chronicle of Maximian archbishop of Ravenna, according to Waitz and Holder Egger, *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* 1878, p. 273 (ed. Gardthausen, 1873, p. 303). [A. H. D. A.]

EUSEBIUS (39), bishop of Foligno, c. 740 to c. 760 (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, iv. 401). [A. H. D. A.]

EUSEBIUS (40), bishop of Gabala, in Syria, south of Laodicea. He was present at the second general council held at Constantinople, A.D. 381. (Mansi, iii. 568; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 797.) [J. de S.]

EUSEBIUS (41), bishop of Gadara; the only known bishop of Palestine who subscribed the council of Antioch, A.D. 341. (Mansi, ii. 1307; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 597.) [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (42), bishop of Grasse, previously Antibes; vid. of Antibes, Nos. **9, 10.**

EUSEBIUS (43), bishop of Heraclea Pontica, in the province of Honorias, present at the oecumenical council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 573; Mansi, iv. 1213.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (44), bishop of Huesca, signs acts of the eighth council of Toledo, A.D. 653 (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448). [M. A. W.]

EUSEBIUS (45), bishop of Jabruda, in Phoenicia Secunda, north-east of Damascus; mentioned in the Acts of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, by his Metropolitan Theodorus of Damascus, who signed in the name of certain absent bishops. (Mansi, vii. 169; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 845.) [J. de S.]

EUSEBIUS (46), supposed patriarch of Jerusalem; mentioned only in Hugo's Life of Magdalveus (cap. 2, § 28, in Boll. *Acta SS.* 4 Oct. ii. 539), where it is related that this saint, on making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, is honourably received there by the patriarch Eusebius. Le Quien, who discusses the subject fully (*Or. Chr.* iii. 299), places him between Theodorus I. and Elias II. cir. A.D. 772. See also Papebroch on the *Patriarchs of Jerusalem*, in Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. Introd. p. xxxvii. [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (47), bishop of Jubaltiana, in the Byzacene province of Africa. One of the catholic bishops summoned to a conference with the Arians at Carthage, and subsequently sent into exile, where he died, by Hunneric the Vandal king of Africa, A.D. 484 (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 192; *Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 58, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.). [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (48), bishop of Laodicea, in Syria Prima. He was a native of Alexandria, where he became a deacon. In the persecution under Valerian, A.D. 257, when the venerable bishop Dionysius had been banished from Alexandria, Eusebius remained behind in the city, ministering to the confessors in prison, and burying the dead bodies of the martyrs. The faithfulness of his services is gratefully commemorated in a letter of Dionysius (apud Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 11). During the civil strife which followed the death of Valerian, when Alexandria was in revolt, A.D. 262, Aemilianus, who had assumed the purple, was driven into the strong quarter of the city called Bruchium, where he was besieged by Theodotus, the general of Gallienus, and was hard pressed by famine. Eusebius without the entrenchments, and his friend Anatolius within the besieged quarter, strenuously exerted themselves to lessen the horrors of the siege. Eusebius having obtained promise of quarter from Theodotus for all who would surrender themselves, informed Anatolius, who induced the senate, cooped up in Bruchium, to accept the terms for all useless hands. Nearly the whole of the besieged availed themselves of this opportunity of escape, including a large number of Christians, many disguising themselves as women and making their way out by night. The fugitives were kindly received by Eusebius, who supplied them with food and medicine, and carefully tended the sick and suffering. On the summoning of the synod at Antioch, A.D. 264, to consider the charges against Paul of Samosata, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, being unable to be present through age, commissioned Eusebius as his representative. The see of Laodicea was then vacant. The Laodiceans resolved that Eusebius should be their bishop, and when he was about to refuse he was seized and forcibly consecrated. As bishop of Laodicea he sat at the synod when Paul of Samosata was deposed, A.D. 270. He was succeeded by his old friend Anatolius διάδοχος ἀγαθὸς ἀγαθοῦ. (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 11; *ibid.* 32; Tillem. *Mém. Eccles.* iv. 304; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 792; Neale, *Patriarchate of Alexandria*, i. 77; *Patric. of Antioch*, 54.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (49), bishop of Larissa, in Syria Secunda, south of Apamea. He signed the synodical epistle of the province of Syria Secunda addressed to Joannes, A.D. 518. (Mansi, viii. 1049; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 920.) [J. de S.]

EUSEBIUS (50), fifth bishop of Le Puy, following Roricius I. and succeeded by St. Paulianus. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 688; Gams, *Series Episc.* 603.) [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (51), one of the bishops of Macedonia addressed by Innocent I. (Ep. 17, Pat. Lat. xx. 527), and doubtless the one of the same name among the Macedonian bishops whom Chrysostom

thanks for their firm adherence, A.D. 406. (Chrysost. Ep. 163; Pat. Gr. lii. 706.) [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (52), ST., sixth bishop of Mâcon, succeeding St. Justus, and followed by Florentinus; present at the following councils, Mâcon, A.D. 583, Lyons in the same year, and Valentia in the year 584 or 585. He was buried in the church of St. Clement at Mâcon. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 1041 · Mansi, ix. 936, 943, 946.) [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (53), bishop of Magnesia on the Maeander in the province of Asia, one of the Arian seceders to Philippopolis from the council of Sardica, A.D. 347. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 697; Mansi, iii. 139.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (54), bishop of Magnesia, near Mount Sipylus, in the province of Asia, present at the council of Ephesus A.D. 431. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 735; Mansi, iv. 1215.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (55), bishop of Maranopolis, an unknown town in Mesopotamia, subscribing to the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, through his metropolitan, Simeon bishop of Amida. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1007; Mansi, vii. 165.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (56), twenty-second bishop of Milan, between Lazarus and Geruntius, succeeding the former in 449. He was one of the bishops of Milan to whom Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, in the succeeding generation dedicated epigrams in verse. This author calls Eusebius a Greek, who came into those parts from the East out of regard to a people that were strangers to him. At the time of his election to the see he was a deacon at Milan, and Ughelli states, upon what authority does not appear, that he was consecrated by pope Leo the Great. At the period of his accession the controversy was on foot that led to the assembling of the fourth general council, which commenced at Chalcedon on Oct. 8, 451. In anticipation of it Eusebius, at Leo's request, held a synod of his province, in which was considered the important letter which Leo had recently addressed to Flavian patriarch of Constantinople, giving his view of the doctrine in dispute. The letter was entirely satisfactory to the synod of Milan, the particulars of which are known from an extant synodical epistle of Eusebius addressed to Leo, and now printed among the epistles of Leo (ep. 97 in *Pat. Lat.* liv. 945), and in Mansi (vi. 141). Its editorial date is August or September, 451, and it was signed by or on behalf of eighteen suffragans. According to the traditions of the church of Milan, as related by Ughelli and Cappelletti, Eusebius shewed much zeal in restoring the churches which had been ruined by the Gothic invasion of north Italy, and in renewing the service books which had been burnt. An ancient metrical inscription in the church of St. Thecla (given in the note at Ennodius as cited below) commemorates him as the restorer of that church in particular, after its destruction by fire. Ughelli states that Eusebius was present at pope Hilary's synod at Rome, Nov. 17, 465, and that, returning to Milan, he died Aug. 12, 466, and was buried in the basilica of St. Stephen. But in the list of bishops attending the Roman synod his name is not included, nor is Milan represented at all (Mansi, vii. 965), a circumstance which suggests either that the see was then vacant, or that Eusebius was in his last illness. Cappelletti does not accept Ughelli's statement, but believes Eusebius to have died in 465. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 50; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 110, 301; Ennod. *Carm.* lib. ii. carm. 86 in *Pat. Lat.* lxiii. 350.) [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (57), bishop of Miletus; his name is found in the list of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 919; Mansi, ii. 695.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (58), bishop of Nantes, present at the first council of Tours, 461. (Sirmond, *Concilia Galliae*, i. 126; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 797.) [R. T. S.]

EUSEBIUS (59), bishop of Naples, c. 644–650. (*Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, part i. 28, in *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum et Lungob.* 1878, p. 416.) [A. H. D. A.]

EUSEBIUS (60), bishop of Nicomedia. Our knowledge of the character of this prelate is derived almost exclusively from the embittered language of his theological antagonists, and from the hints given by them concerning the extraordinary influence he wielded over the fortunes of some of the great party leaders of the 4th century. The fascination Eusebius exercised over the minds of Constantine and Constantius, the dexterity with which he utilized both secular and ecclesiastical law, in order to punish his theological enemies, the ingenuity with which he blinded the judgment of those who were not alive to the magnitude of the problem then under discussion, and persuaded the unwary into a belief of the practical identity of his personal views with those of the Catholic church, together with the political and personal ascendancy he achieved, reveal mental capacity and diplomatic skill worthy of a better cause. During twenty years his shadow haunts the pages of the ecclesiastical historians of the period, though they seldom bring us face to face with the man, or preserve either his spoken words or his correspondence. Some of the most noteworthy expressions of his thought which have survived have been latterly brought into discredit. The chronology of his life is singularly perplexed, and while studying it we must steer our way through conflicting statements of the only authorities to which we can appeal.

It is difficult to understand the pertinacity and even ferocity with which Eusebius and his party pursued the Homoousian leaders, and to reconcile their sleepless and dogged antagonism to the great Catholic bishops with their well-accredited compromises, their shiftings of front, and their theological evasions. Dr. Newman (*The Arians of the Fourth Century*, p. 272) admits their consistency in one thing, "their hatred of the sacred mystery." He thinks that this mystery, "like a spectre, was haunting the field and disturbing the complacency of their intellectual investigations." Their consciences did not scruple to "find evasions of a test." They undoubtedly compromised themselves by signature, and if they were as unscrupulous as their enemies supposed, might thenceforward have dismissed the controversy from their minds. Yet, as a matter of fact, they did not treat as either insignificant or unimportant that which they were in the habit of declaring to be such; but they set all

the machinery of church and empire in motion to enforce their latitudinarian view on the conscience of the church.

The controversy between the Arian and the orthodox turns on problems and inquiries of which the full solution lies beyond the range of the human intellect. They agreed as to the unique and exalted dignity of the Son of God, they both alike described the relation between the first and second hypostasis in the Godhead, as that which is imaged to us in the paternal and filial relation. They even agreed that the Son was "begotten of His Father before all worlds"—before the commencement of time, in an ineffable manner—that the Son was the originator of the categories of time and place, that "by His own will and counsel He has subsisted before time and before ages, as perfect God, only begotten and unchangeable." (*Letter of Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia preserved by Theodoret*, i. 5.) They agreed that He was "God of God," "Light of Light," and worthy of all honour and worship. The orthodox went further, and in order to affirm that the Deity of the Son of God was absolute and not relative, infinite and not finite, asserted that He was of the same οὐσία with the Father. There Arius and Eusebius stopped, and pressing the significance of the image of Father and Son by materialistic analogies into logical conclusions, they argued that "generation" implied that "there was [a period, rather than a 'time'] when He was not," that "He was not before He was begotten." The one element, said they, which the Son did not possess by his generation was the eternal, absolute οὐσία of the Father. Arius wrote that to say the contrary was an "impiety to which we could not listen, even though the heretics (meaning the party of Alexander) should threaten us with a thousand deaths" (Theod. i. 5). "We affirm," said Eusebius, in his one extant authentic letter, addressed to Paulinus of Tyre (Theod. i. 6), that "there is one who is unbegotten, and that there also exists another, who did in truth proceed from Him, yet who was not made out of His substance, and who does not at all participate in the nature or substance of Him who is unbegotten."* The mind grows dizzy in this exalted region of speculation, and thought trembles as it dogmatizes on the eternal nature of the internal "relations" in the nature of the "absolute" and Infinite God; but if we follow out the logical conclusions that are involved in the denial of the orthodox statement on this transcendental theme, it is more easy to understand the abhorrence with which the dogmatic negations of the Arians were regarded by the Catholic church.

The position taken by Arius and Eusebius involved a virtual Ditheism, and re-opened the door to a novel Polytheism. After Christianity had triumphed over the gods of heathendom, Arius seemed to be re-introducing them under other names. The numerical unity of God was at stake in these speculations; and a schism, or at least a divarication of interests in the Godhead, shewn to be possible. Moreover the 'Divinity' of the Incarnate Word was on this hypothesis less than God; and so behind the Deity which He claimed there loomed another Godhead, between whom and Himself antagonism might easily be predicated. The Gnosticism of Marcion had already drawn such antagonism into sharp outline, and the entire view of the person of the Lord, thus suggested, rapidly degenerated into a cold and unchristian humanitarianism.

The exigencies of historic criticism and of the exegesis of the New Testament compelled the Arian party to discriminate between the Word, the power, the wisdom of God, and the *Son*. They could not escape the conclusion, since God could never have been without His "logos," that the logos was in some sense eternal. They could not honestly apply their negative formulae to the logos, and so took advantage of the distinction drawn in the Greek schools between λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, identifiable with the wisdom, reason, and self-consciousness of God, and λόγος προφορικός, the setting forth and going out at a particular epoch of the divine energy. The latter they regarded as the λόγος which was made flesh and might be equated with the Son. "The external (prophoric) word was a created Being made in the beginning of all things as the visible emblem of the internal (endiathetic) word, and (used as) the instrument of God's purposes towards His creation." (Newman, *l. c.* 199; cf. Athan. *Hist. Conc. Arim. et Seleuc.* cap. ii. § 18.)

The orthodox party admitted the double use of the word λόγος, allowed that it answered to the eternal wisdom and also to the eternal manifestation of God, and discarding the trammels of the figurative expression by which the internal relations of the Godhead can alone be represented to us, they declared that they could not carry the materialistic or temporal accompaniments of our idea of Father and Son into this "generation," and boldly accepted the sublime paradox with which Origen had refuted Sabellianism, viz. the "eternal generation of the Son." To suppose the relation between the Father and Son other than eternal was to be involved in the toils of a polytheistic emanation and Gnostic speculation. As they were compelled to formulate expressions about the infinite and eternal God, they concluded that any formula which divided the essence of God left infinity on the one side, and the finite on the other, *i. e.* that there would be, on this hypothesis, an infinite difference even in majesty and glory between the Father and the Son. This was blasphemy to those who held the Divinity of the Son of God.

The controversy was embittered by the method in which Arius and Eusebius appealed to Holy Scripture. They urged that Godhead and participation in the divine nature were attributed to the Lord Jesus Christ in the same terms in which similar distinctions are yielded by God's will and appointment to other creatures, angelic, human, or physical (Theod. *H. E.* i. 6, 8), and thus the rank in the universe of the Redeemer of the world might be indefinitely reduced, and all the confidence placed in Him ultimately proved to be an illusion. The method of argument had a tone of gross irreverence, even if the leaders can be quite acquitted of blasphemous levity or intentional abuse. It is difficult adequately to appreciate the wrath shewn by Athanasius (*Contra Arianos, Serm.* i. 1; *De Conc. Ar.* &c. cap. ii.) against the metre chosen by Arius for

* This phrase would seem to class him with Heterousians, or even Anomoeans, at that early period of his career.

the composition of his *Thalia*. He and Eusebius doubtless calculated the effect which would be produced by the elephantine joke which roused the ire of the church Fathers. At any rate, we can see that if the angle of the original controversy be almost microscopic to modern eyes, yet the arc subtending the angle may itself become infinite if we follow out to the full its legitimate consequences. Two perfectly parallel lines may apparently correspond with two lines which intersect at a great distance, yet a measureless difference between them will manifest itself if we follow our two pairs of lines out into infinity.

One of the tactics adopted by the Arian or Eusebian party was to accuse of Sabellianism those who did not accept their interpretation of the relation between the Father and the Son. We can easily believe that many Arians, and many Catholics, who were not versed in philosophical discussion, were incapable of discriminating between the views of Sabellius and an orthodoxy which vehemently or unguardedly condemned the Arian position. Eusebius repudiated violently the Pantheistic tendency of the Sabellian doctrine. They dreaded a merely modal Trinity. It was perilous in their opinion to regard Father, Son, and Holy Ghost as merely subjective aspects of the Divine Being. They repudiated an "incarnation of the Logos (which) became little more than a figurative personality of divine power in the life and conduct of a mere man." (Newman.) It was politic of them to charge Athanasius, Eustathius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and others, with Sabellianism, and endeavour to make the world, if not the church, believe that the tables were turned, that they alone held the Catholic faith, and that those who refused to tolerate their negative definitions were "impious heretics."

Eusebius of Nicomedia is the most prominent and most distinguished man of the entire movement. It has been confidently and plausibly argued that Eusebius was the teacher rather than the disciple of Arius. Athanasius himself made the suggestion. At all events, we learn on good authority, that of Arius himself, that they were fellow disciples of Lucian of Antioch (Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 5). It is true that Lucian afterwards modified his views, and became a martyr for the faith, but his rationalizing spirit produced a great effect on the schools of Antioch. Antioch was singularly prepared by Jewish prejudices, and by the remains of the Ebionitic and Essenic spirit which lingered in certain parts of Syria, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia [PAULUS OF SAMOSATA] to receive a rationale of the person of Christ, which was deprived of its mystery and of its authoritative claims. Aristotelian logic was quickening an incipient nominalism, and broad eclecticism was growing rank in the schools of Antioch. Lucian imbibed and consecrated the tendency. Eusebius submitted to his influence before he came into contact with Arius. According to Ammianus Marcellinus,[b] Eusebius was a distant relative of the emperor Julian, and therefore possibly a relative of Constantine.[c]

[b] Hist xxii. c. 9: "Nicomediae ab Eusebio educatus [*Julianus*] episcopo, quem genere longius contingebat."

[c] The Benedictines make conjectures as to this relationship between Julian and Eusebius; Tillemont, however, can see no good ground for them (*Mém.* vi. 741).

We know nothing further of his early history, nor how he came to enter or serve the church. Constantine implies that at one time he was the friend and supporter of Licinius. It may have been through the wife of Licinius and sister of Constantine that he received his first ecclesiastical appointment. This was the bishopric of Berytus (Beirout) in Syria, the port which would be much used by all travellers from Antioch or Damascus to the West. We cannot say under what pretext he was translated to the episcopal see of Nicomedia, a city which since the accession of Diocletian was still the principal seat of the imperial court. The *Encyclical Letter of the Egyptian Council* comments severely on the step: "He left the one see contrary to the law, and contrary to the law invaded the other; he deserted his own see, for he failed in affection, and took possession of another's, though he failed in a plea."[d] In Nicomedia the ambitious spirit of Eusebius, and personal relations with the imperial family, gave him much influence. "He was," says Sozomen (*H. E.* i. 15), "a man of considerable learning, and held in high repute at the palace." The palace and cathedral of Nicomedia were memorable in the history of Christianity [DIOCLETIAN], and here were spun the webs by which the Arian conspiracy for a while prevailed over the faith and discipline of the church. One of the most authoritative documents of Arianism is a letter sent by Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia, when stung by what he describes as his persecution and affliction, following the first suspension of his presbyteral functions at Baucalis, Alexandria, and in which [ARIUS] he reminds Eusebius of their ancient friendship, and briefly states his own views. He boasts that Eusebius of Caesarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregory of Berytus, Aetius of Lydda, and *all the bishops of the East*, if he is condemned, must be condemned with him (Theod. *H. E.* i. 5). There is no subtlety of thought or expression in this letter, but a tone of honest and stupefied indignation that ideas which he regards as fundamental should be assailed by "the impieties" which were subsequently enshrined in the creed of Nicaea. The alarm created by the conduct of Arius and the numerous friends which he appeared to make in high quarters induced Alexander of Alexandria to indite his famous letter to Alexander of Constantinople, which has something of an encyclical character, and which was sent in some analogous form to Eusebius of Nicomedia and to other prelates. Exasperated by its tone, the latter called a council in Bithynia (most likely at Nicomedia itself) of the friends of Arius, who took it upon themselves to address numerous bishops, desiring them to grant communion to the Arians, and requiring Alexander himself to do the like (Soz. i. 15).

Moreover these proceedings drew from Eusebius a written expression of his views, in a letter to Paulinus of Tyre. This epistle is preserved by Theodoret (i. 6). Eusebius at that time believed Alexander of Alexandria to be in doc-

[d] *Apol. against Arians*, p. 23 in *Historical Tracts of Athanasius* of the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*, where this translation of Eusebius is likened to adultery. Cf. the note on translations (*ibid.*).

trinal error, but not so far gone but that Paulinus, if he were to try, might put him right. He made the tacit assumption that the party of Alexandria asserted "*two* unbegotten beings," a position utterly denied by themselves. He repudiated strongly the idea that the Son was made in any sense out of the substance of God. In fact, he declares the Son "to be entirely distinct in nature and power," that the method of His origination is known only to God, not even to the Son Himself. Stress is laid by Eusebius on the use of the verb "created," in Prov. viii. 22–26. The term, he said, could not have been used if the "wisdom" of which the prophet was speaking was ἐξ ἀποῤῥοίας τῆς οὐσίας. "For that which *proceeds* from Him who is unbegotten cannot be said to have been created or founded either by Him or by another." The effect of the *word* "begotten" is reduced to its minimum by saying that the term is used of "things," and of persons entirely different in nature from God. "Men," "Israel," and "drops of dew" are in different scriptures said to be "begotten" of God. Therefore, Eusebius argued, the *term* cannot and does not carry similarity, still less identity of nature.

On the first exhibition of the divergent opinions of Alexander and Arius, the emperor Constantine treated the conflict as if it were one capable of easy adjustment by a wise exercise of Christian temper. In the year 324 he wrote them a joint letter, which he entrusted to Hosius of Cordova (Sozomen, *H. E.* i. 16), in which he called upon the disputants for his sake, and for the sake of peace, to terminate their controversy. The dispute was a "trifling and foolish verbal dispute," and he called on the disputants to regard the problem as secondary, and to urge that any difference of judgment was compatible with union and communion on their part. It is highly probable that the mind of Constantine had been led to this step by the bishop of Nicomedia, while the strong pressure put upon Alexander to receive Arius into communion corresponds with the subsequent and persistent demand of the Eusebians. The effort at mediation failed, although it was conducted by the skilful diplomacy and tact of the venerable Hosius. As the dispute was no mere verbal quibble, but did in reality touch the very object of Divine worship, the ground of religious hope, and the unity of the Godhead, such words of remonstrance poured fresh oil on the flame. Arius was again condemned by a council at Alexandria, the entire East was disturbed, and the well-meant interference of the emperor augmented the acrimony of the disputants. The angry letter of Constantine to Arius, which must have been written after his condemnation by the Alexandrian council and before the council of Nicaea, shews that the influence of Eusebius must now have been in abeyance.[e] Though Constantine was no theologian, he hated a recalcitrant subordinate in church or state, and hence the undoubted vacillation of his mind towards Alexander, Arius, Eusebius, and Athanasius. The next appearance of Eusebius is at the oecumenical council of Nicaea in 325, where he does not hesitate to play the part of the defender of the excommunicated presbyter, and to be the advocate and interpreter of his opinions before the council. We must concede to him some credit for moral courage in risking his position, not only as a bishop, but as a court favourite, for the sake of his theological views, and in opposing himself almost single-handed to the nearly unanimous judgment of the first representative assembly of the Christian episcopate—a judgment now fanned into enthusiasm by the breath of martyrs and monks from the African monasteries, and accepted hurriedly but passionately by the emperor of the world. The courage was of short duration, and made way for disingenuous wiles. He soon displayed an inconsistent and temporizing spirit. Whether he continued to hold that the discussion covered a merely verbal difference, we know not, but it is certain that when the Arian bishops in the council found that the Godhead of the Redeemer was declared by the vast majority to be of the very essence of Christian doctrine, they made every effort to accept the terms in which that Godhead was being expressed by the council, making signs to each other that term after term, such as "Power of God," "Wisdom of God," "Image of God," "Very God of very God," might be accepted because they could use them of such divinity as was "made" or constituted as such by the Divine appointment. Thus they were becoming parties to a test, which they were at the same moment intending to evade. The term *Homoousion*, as applied to the Son of God, rallied for a while their conscience, and Eusebius declared it to be untenable. According to Theodoret (i. 8), the "formulary propounded by Eusebius contained undisguised evidence of his blasphemy; the reading of it occasioned great grief to the audience on account of the depravity of the doctrines; the writer was covered with shame, and the impious writing was torn to pieces." The feebleness and inconsistency of the Arian party is exaggerated by Theodoret, for he adds, "the Arians unanimously signed the confession of faith adopted by the council." This is not precisely the case. There were seventeen bishops (Soz. i. 20),[f] who in the first instance refused their signatures, among them both the Eusebii, Theognis of Nicaea, Menophantus of Ephesus, Secundus of Ptolemais, Theonas, Patrophilus, Narcissus, Maris, and others. Eusebius of Caesarea, after long discussion, signed the symbol, which was in fact an enlargement of a formal creed that he had himself presented to the council in its entirety, on the ground that the negative dogmata of the Arian party, which were anathematized by the council, could not be found in Scripture. Others of his party followed. According to Theodoret (i. 9), they all, with the exception of Secundus and Theonas, joined in the condemnation of Arius, and Sozomen (i. 21) declares explicitly that Eusebius of Nicomedia, with others, "sanctioned" the decision of the synod as to the consubstantiality of the Son, and the excommunication of those who held the Arian formulae; but Sozomen goes on

[e] Tillemont, *Les Ariens*, note 5. The letter is preserved by Gelasius of Cyzicus (iii. 1) in Greek, and given by Baronius in Latin from a MS. in the Vatican. Bar. *Ann.* 319, vi.

[f] Philostorgius mentions twenty-two names, but Hefele, on the authority of Socrates and Sozomen, limits them to seventeen.

to say that "it ought to be known that Eusebius and Theognis, although they assented to the exposition of faith set forth by the council, neither agreed nor subscribed to the *deposition* of Arius." He may have drawn a distinction between anathematizing his supposed views, and consenting to the ecclesiastical and civil degradation of the man. Otherwise these two statements are somewhat inconsistent. Sozomen, apparently, makes this refusal to sign, on the part of Eusebius and Theognis, to have been the reason or occasion of their own exile, and of the filling up by Constantine of their respective sees with Amphion and Chrestus. Philostorgius[g] seems, in the fragments of his worthless history which remain, to have put another colour upon the transaction. He admitted that the whole rank and file of the Arian party, with the exception of Secundus and Theonas, signed the symbol, and adds that they did it deceitfully (ἐν δόλῳ), and with the mental reservation of substituting in their case ὁμοιούσιον (of similar substance), for ὁμοούσιον (of the same substance). He adds, according to his editor, that they did this under the direction of Constantina, the sister of Constantine; and further he relates that "Secundus, when sent into exile, reproached Eusebius for having signed, saying that he did so in order to avoid going into exile, and that Secundus expressed a confident hope that Eusebius would shortly be exiled, an event which took place three months after the council." Moreover Athanasius (*de Decretis Syn. Nic.* cc. 3, 18) expressly says that Eusebius signed the formulary, and made no reference to any reservation of either kind.

Notwithstanding their signature, for a reason which is not cleared up perfectly, Eusebius and Theognis were banished for nearly three years from their respective sees. Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 20) preserves a portion of a letter written by the emperor Constantine against Eusebius and Theognis, and addressed to the Nicomedians. The document displays bitter animosity, and, for so astute a prince, a curious simplicity.[h] Considerable confusion accompanies it, and Baronius has seen fit to assign its composition to a much later period. As it refers to the period of the Nicene council and the feeling then entertained by Constantine towards Eusebius, it is important. Constantine reveals a private grudge against Eusebius for his conduct when Licinius was contending with him, and he professes to have seized the accomplices of Eusebius, and to have possessed himself of damaging papers and trustworthy evidence against him. He reproaches Eusebius with having been the first defender of Arius, and with having deceived him in hope of retaining his benefice. This is coupled with angry reference to the conduct of Eusebius in urging on Alexandrians and others the duty of communion with the Arians. And this pertinacity is suggested by Constantine as the actuating cause and occasion of his exile.

Now Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxviii.)[i] details the circumstances of the union of the Meletian schismatics with the Arians, and the disingenuous part taken by Eusebius in promising his good offices with the emperor, if they in their turn would promote the return of Arius to Alexandria, and would promise inter-communion with him and his party. "I was myself deluded and deceived by Eusebius," said Constantine.[j] "In everything he acted according to the desire of him whose mind is full of evil. . . . I sent orders for the apprehension of certain individuals in Alexandria who opposed our faith (*i.e.* Arians), but those good and excellent bishops who by the clemency of the council had been admitted to penitence (*i.e.* Meletians), not only received them under their protection, but also participated in their evil deeds. Hence I came to the determination of banishing those ungrateful persons to some far distant region." This, doubtless from its connexion, refers to Eusebius and Theognis.

The terms of hatred and disgust with which Constantine speaks of Eusebius in this letter, render his early return to Nicomedia very puzzling. Sozomen (ii. 16) and Socrates (i. 14) both record a letter which in the year A.D. 328. Eusebius and Theognis wrote, not to Constantine, but to "the *Bishops*," explanatory of their views, in which these men say, "We hold the same faith that you do, and that after a diligent examination of the word ὁμοούσιος, we are wholly intent upon preserving peace, and that we are seduced by no heresy. Having proposed for the safety of the church such suggestions as occurred to us, and having certified what we deemed requisite, we signed the confession of faith. *We did not certainly sign the anathemas*, but this was not because we impugned the confession of faith, but because we did not believe the accused to be what he was represented to us, the letters we had received from him and the discourses he had delivered in our presence compelling us to entertain a contrary opinion of him. So far from opposing any of the decrees enacted in your holy synod, we assent to all of them—not because we are wearied of exile, but because we wish to avert all suspicion of heresy. . . . The accused having justified himself *and having been recalled from exile*, &c. &c. we beseech you to make our supplications known to our most godly emperor, and that you immediately direct us to act according to your will." If this letter is a genuine utterance of the mind of Eusebius, it demonstrates the fact of his partial and incomplete signature of the symbol of Nicaea, and that the incompleteness turned on *personal* and not on doctrinal grounds. It vindicates somewhat the character of Eusebius, it assigns the cause of the exile to that inchoate signature, it implies the return of Arius from exile, independently of his personal influence, and reveals what must be granted to be a certain chivalrous regard to the character and safety of Arius. Other statements of Sozomen (ii. 27) are in harmony with it, for he relates that an Arian priest was on terms of intimacy with Constantina (sister of Constantine and widow of Licinius), who represented to her that Arius was the victim of Alexander's personal enmity. Sozomen further

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g Phil. *E. H.* Gothofred. ed. 1643, i. 9.

h The letter is also preserved entire by Gelasius of Cyzicus, and in a MS. said to have been sent by Justinian to pope Vigilius. (Baronius, *Ann.* 329, §§ viii.–xii.)

i See ample discussion of the question, Baronius, *Ann.* 326, § ix.

j Letter of Constantine (Theod. i. 20).

states that she, as a dying request, besought Constantine not to leave good men in perpetual banishment, and that this induced Constantine to permit Arius to draw up an artfully-devised document expressive of his faith, which satisfied a synod of bishops at Jerusalem, and was enough to placate the vacillating mind of the emperor.

There are reasons for hesitating to receive these statements. The part said to be taken by Constantina in the return of Arius is hampered by serious chronological difficulties;[k] but the letter itself is in obvious contradiction with the evidence already offered that Eusebius and Theognis signed the symbol, anathemas and all. If they had not signed, they would have been banished then and there, and not as Philostorgius says, "three months after the council," in Nov. 325. Even Socrates implies it was after the council. The banishment could not have taken place in the midst of the troubles of Athanasius, or he would in his numerous references to Eusebius have mentioned it. De Broglie[l] urges that it would be much more probable that some other influence brought to bear on Constantine should have first secured the return of the bishops, and then that they should have secured the recall of Arius from Illyria. The circumstance that it should have been addressed to the bishops rather than to Constantine is treated as suspicious, because Eusebius had *not* been condemned by *them*, seeing he *had* signed the formularies. The alleged spuriousness of the letter, on the other hand, rests upon the assertions of Philostorgius (i. 9), and Epiphanius (lxviii. 5) that Eusebius *did* join in the anathemas and sign *in toto*. Are we to believe them against the conjoint testimony of Sozomen and Socrates, who expressly give a consistent representation of another kind, and one undoubtedly more favourable to Eusebius? The difficulty about the recall of Arius may be reduced by a statement of Sozomen (ii. 22) that Eusebius and Theognis secured the return of Arius to *Alexandria*, whereas the letter given by Sozomen and Socrates merely refers to his recall from exile.

The most powerful argument of De Broglie and others against the genuineness of the letter, as being written from the exile of Eusebius, is the silence of Athanasius, who never once makes use of the argument it would have put into his hands, as to the identity of the position and sentiments of Arius and Eusebius.

Philostorgius[m] tells us another rumour that after the council Eusebius desired to have his name expunged from the list of signatures, and a similar statement is repeated by Sozomen (ii. 21) as the possible cause of the banishment of Eusebius. The fact may, notwithstanding the adverse judgment of many historians, have been that Eusebius signed the formulary, expressing at the time the view he took of its meaning, and how he discriminated between an anathema of certain positions and the persecution of an individual. It is probable that a signature, thus qualified, may have saved him from immediate banishment, that in the course of three months his sympathy with Arius as a deposed and banished man probed old sores in the mind of Constantine, and his underhand proceeding with the Meletians roused the emperor's indignation and led to his banishment. The probability that Arius was recalled first, as positively stated in what purports to be a contemporary document, is certainly greater than that merely *à priori* probability on which De Broglie insists. Moreover, if Arius had been restored to favour, the vacillating mind of Constantine may have been moved to recall the two bishops. At all events, about 329 we find Eusebius once more in high favour with Constantine (Socrates, *H. E.* i. 23), discharging his episcopal functions, persuading Constantine that he and Arius held substantially the creed of Nicaea.

The course thenceforward pursued by Eusebius was to use his great power at the court, and the ascendancy he had again acquired over the mind of Constantine to blast the character and quench the influence of the most distinguished advocates of the anti-Arian views. He put all the machinery of church and state into operation to unseat Athanasius, Eustathius, Marcellus, and others; and by means which are open to the severest reprehension, he steadily and unscrupulously strove to enforce his latitudinarian compromise on the Catholic church. In the first place, it is not difficult to trace his hand in the letter Constantine addressed to Athanasius, now archbishop of Alexandria,[n] in which Constantine threatened Athanasius with deposition if he did not admit to the church those who were anxious for such communion. Moreover, Athanasius assures us that Eusebius wrote to him personally with the same object in view.

The answers rendered by Athanasius both to Eusebius and to the emperor made it clear that the project could never succeed so long as Athanasius remained at Alexandria. This was the occasion on which the Meletians were encouraged to concoct the earliest of those charges against the honour, sobriety, and loyalty of Athanasius, which for a quarter of a century were almost lifted into *articuli stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae*.

While the charges against Athanasius were in process of incubation, considerable controversy had prevailed between Eusebius of Caesarea and Eustathius of Antioch on the true meaning of the important term Homoousios, and while Eustathius [EUSTATHIUS (3)], in his great zeal for the Nicene faith, had strenuously refused to admit Arians into communion, he laid himself open, in the opinion of Eusebius of Caesarea, to the charge of Sabellianism (Soz. ii. 18). This provided the opportunity for Eusebius of Nicomedia to strike a blow at one of the pillars of the Nicene formulary. Nothing can exceed the treachery shewn by Eusebius on this occasion. His apparently friendly visit to Eustathius, on his way to Jerusalem (Soz. ii. 19; Theod. i. 21), the gathering of his supporters and rallying of the Arian notables, on his return to Antioch, shew the scheme to have been deeply laid. Here, A.D. 330

[k] Ruf. i. 11. Tillemont, *Notes sur le Concile de Nice*, note viii. *Sur les Ariens*, art. xii.

[l] *L'Eglise et l'Empire romain*, ii. 132, note.

[m] In his statement preserved in lib. v. cap. 8 of the *Thesaurus Orthodoxae Fidei*, by Nicetas Choniata.

[n] "Eusebius," says Athanasius, "caused the emperor to write to me." (*Apol. contr. Ar.* 59; Soz. ii. 22; Soc. i. 27.)

or beginning of 331,[o] the council of his friends was held, at which the charge of Sabellianism was, according to Theodoret (i. 21) and Philostorgius (ii. 7), aggravated by the accusation brought by a woman, that Eustathius was the father of her child.

Socrates makes no distinct mention of the latter charge, and it must be remembered that this was not an uncommon device of the enemies of ecclesiastics. We may charitably hope that Eusebius was not a party to the odious incrimination, but it is obvious that some such charge was brought, for Sozomen speaks of the accusation of "unholy deeds," and Eusebius,[p] the historian, appears to confirm it. The upshot was that through this and other vamped-up charges of disrespect to the emperor's mother,[q] the bishop of Antioch was deposed and exiled by the Eusebians.

The letter of Constantine upon the affair, and against heretics generally, brought the controversy to a lull, until the first attack upon Athanasius. The career of Eusebius of Nicomedia during the remaining ten years of his life is so closely intertwined with the romantic sufferings of Athanasius that it is difficult to indicate the part he took in the persecution of Athanasius without reproducing the story of this great hero of the Catholic faith.

The first charge which Eusebius encouraged the Meletians to bring against Athanasius concerned his taxing the people of Egypt for linen vestments, and it turned upon the supposed violence of Macarius, the representative of Athanasius, in the act of reproving (for uncanonical proceedings) Ischyras, a priest of the Colluthian sect, upon the overthrow on that occasion of the altar and the chalice. These charges were all absolutely disproved by Athanasius before Constantine at Nicomedia. On the return of Athanasius to Alexandria he had to encounter fresh opposition. The well-known but preposterous story of the murder of Arsenius, with its grotesque accompaniments, was gravely laid at his door. [ARSENIUS; ATHANASIUS.] To this, at first, he disdained to reply. Eusebius declared even this to be a serious charge, and made much capital out of the refusal of Athanasius to attend the council at Caesarea, which was summoned, among other causes, to investigate it (Theod. i. 28). In 335, at the council of Tyre, Athanasius was compelled to attend, and meet a complicated series of accusations of the most varied character.[r] Though these charges were refuted in the most convincing manner, Athanasius had no chance with his infuriated calumniators, who sat as his judges, and who refused even the evidence of their own senses in favour of the accused prelate, and he fled to Constantinople, to lay his case once more before the emperor. In his absence, the council of Tyre passed a sentence of deposition, which Arsenius, who was said to have been murdered by him, and who had confessed his sin and shame in extant letters to Athanasius, actually signed. Constantine summoned the whole synod of Tyre before him. Eusebius and a few of his party, Theognis, Patrophilus, Valens, and Ursacius, obeyed the summons, and confronted Athanasius. Instead of standing on the veracity of the disproved charges, upon which nevertheless the sentence of deposition rested, Eusebius and his friends met him with new accusations, likely to damage him in the view of the emperor. When Athanasius protested that he was utterly unable to do that which was alleged, viz., prevent the importation of corn from Alexandria to Constantinople, Eusebius thundered him down with the declaration that he was a rich man, and could do what he pleased. Constantine yielded to the apparently malicious invention of Eusebius, and banished Athanasius to Treves, in Feb. 336.[s] The cause of banishment is obscure, as Sozomen says nothing about the delay of the corn-ships, while Athanasius himself (*Apol. c. Ar.*) says that this charge had been raised in Constantine's own letters. The statements of the Apology (§ 9, § 87) are slightly divergent, and twice over (*Ap.* § 87, *Hist. Ar.* § 50) Athanasius declares that Constantine sent him to Gaul in order to deliver him from the fury of his enemies. While Athanasius was in exile, Eusebius and his party aimed a second blow, by impeaching Marcellus of Ancyra for refusing to appear at the Council of Dedication at Jerusalem, A.D. 335, and also for Sabellianism, an implication of heresy to which he exposed himself while zealously vindicating his refusal to hold communion with Arians.[t] [ASTERIUS; MARCELLUS.] Marcellus was deposed by the Eusebians, and not restored to this see till the council of Sardica reinstated him.

Arius was present at the Council of Dedication, at Jerusalem, and having propounded a view of his faith, which was satisfactory to the council, he was received into the communion of the church, and sent by Eusebius to Alexandria, whence, as his presence created great disturbance, he was summoned to Constantinople. There Eusebius had planned his public reception into the church. The tragic end of Arius on the eve of his public reception, A.D. 336, is described by Sozomen (ii. 29, 30) in words quoted from Athanasius. (*De Morte Arii*, *Ep. ad Episc.*) The death of Alexander of Constantinople followed very shortly, in 336, when the effort to elect PAUL in his place (without the consent of the bishop of Nicomedia) roused the ire of Eusebius, who intrigued to secure his first deposition.[u] Eusebius must still have retained the favour of Constantine, as he appears to have administered baptism to the dying emperor, May 337. Jerome says that by this act Constantine avowed himself an Arian. "But all history protests against the severity of this sentence" (De Broglie). Hefele supposes that Constantine regarded Eusebius as the great advocate of Christian unity, and as one who felt it to be right to expel from positions of

[o] Herzog says 331; Tillemont, Newman, and De Broglie, end of 330.

[p] *Vita Const.* iii. 60, gives Constantine's letter, in which he says to the Antiochenes, "You have cast out from you that which defiled, and received in its place sound morality and concord."

[q] Athan. *Hist. Ar.* i. 5.

[r] Soz. ii. 25, and *Encyclical Letter of Council of Egypt*, recounts the whole of them, and the method in which they were disposed of.

[s] Theod. i. 31; Soz. ii. 22, 23–28.

[t] Hefele, *Concilien-Geschichte*, ii. 32.

[u] After his return and second banishment, Paul was strangled. (*Hist. Ar.* § 7; Soz. iii. 3, 4.)

importance and influence in the church those who were stumbling-blocks in the way of his comprehensive charity. Moreover, in the eyes of Constantine, Eusebius was one who had signed the Nicene symbol, and had renounced the negations of Arius. Philostorgius (ii. 1) believed that Eusebius was the Arian priest to whom Constantine entrusted his "will," for presentation to his sons; it is far more probable that this functionary was the Arian priest called by later writers Eustathius, who at sundry important epochs exercised much influence over him. There is reason to think that Constantine before his death had determined to recall Athanasius, and this is the ostensible ground on which Constantine II. (Emperor of the West) took the steps necessary to secure that result. The ecclesiastical historians of the period often differ in their chronology, and perplex us by their divergent statements as to the time when Eusebius was raised to the episcopate of Constantinople. Theodoret (i. 19) accuses Eusebius of unlawful translation from Nicomedia to Constantinople, "in direct violation of that canon which prohibits bishops and presbyters from going from one city to another," and he asserts that this took place on the death of Alexander. There is, however, proof of another kind that Paul, who was twice banished through the influence of Eusebius, was the immediate successor of Alexander.

Paul was nominated by Alexander, but the Eusebian party put forward Macedonius (Soz. iii. 4), and were defeated. The dispute thus occasioned roused the indignation of Constantius, and "through the machination of the enemies of Paul a synod was convened, and he was expelled from the church, and Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, was installed in the bishopric of Constantinople," and with this statement Socrates (ii. 7) agrees. Paul's first occupancy of the see must have been brief and troubled. Differences[v] have been raised as to the time when Paul was first banished, and whether he suffered from the Eusebian charges before or after his elevation to the bishopric. It would seem that he was *bishop* when Athanasius visited Constantinople, and this visit is supposed by Pagi to have been made on his own instigation, from the vehement desire he had to advance the interests of the Catholic party in the Constantinopolitan church. According to him Athanasius must have been witness of the discomfiture of Paul and the steps which led to the election of Eusebius. For a while the education of Julian was entrusted to the courtly bishop, who had unbounded influence over Constantius. Gibbon says that Julian never expressed any gratitude to Eusebius for his instruction. Baronius[w] suggests, with unscrupulous bitterness, that Julian's apostasy may be attributed, in part, to the time-serving spirit of compromise conspicuous in the career of Eusebius. However that may be, the course taken by Constantius was in the main due to Eusebius.

In 340 the Eusebians held a synod at Antioch, at which Athanasius was once more condemned. In 341 (May) the council developed into the celebrated council *in Encaeniis*, held also at Antioch, at which, under the presidency of Eusebius or Placetus of Antioch, and with the assent and presence of Constantius, divers canons were passed, which are esteemed of authority by later oecumenical councils. These two councils are confounded and identified by Socrates (ii. 2), and by Sozomen, and strange complications have arisen from the supposition that what was treated as a true synod by Julius, and was termed by Hilary a *Synodus Sanctorum*, could possibly have passed resolutions condemnatory of Athanasius.[x]

The history of this controversy does not belong to the life of Eusebius. The cruel injustice to which Athanasius was subjected by long exile is freely attributed to Eusebius, as its mainspring and constant instigator.[y] Nevertheless the last thing we are told about Eusebius by Socrates (ii. 13) is that he appealed from the council of Antioch to Julius, bishop of Rome, to give the definitive sentence as to the faults and sins of Athanasius, but that before the sentence of Julius reached him, "immediately after the council broke up, breath went out of his body, and so he died," A.D. 342. He is compared by his theological opponents to Ahab. The courts of many successive emperors are supposed to have suffered from the virus of his influence, and the world to have been permanently damaged by his errors and his spite.

In addition to the authors already cited the following modern works may be consulted. *The Orations of St. Athanasius against the Arians, according to the Benedictine Text, with an Account of his Life*, by William Bright, D.D.; Hefele, *History of the Christian Councils*, translated by Prebendary Clark and Mr. Oxenham, vols. i. and ii.; Möhler, *Athanasius der Grosse und die Kirche seiner Zeit*, 1844; William Bright, D.D., *History of the Church from* 313–451, 1869; Albert de Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire*, 1856, tom. ii.; *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, by J. H. Newman, 4th ed. 1876.

[H. R. R.]

EUSEBIUS (61), bishop of Nilopolis (Melicha) in Egypt. He was present at the third general council at Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1127; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 589.) [J. de S.]

EUSEBIUS (62), bishop of Obba, in the province of Mauretania Tingitana; banished by the Vandal king Hunneric in the year 484 (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 248; *Notitia*, 59, in Victor. Vit. Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.). [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (63), bishop of Olba in Isauria, on the river Lamus. Present at the second general council held at Constantinople, A.D. 381. (Mansi, iii. 570; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1031.)

[J. de S.]

EUSEBIUS (64), twelfth bishop of Orleans, following Dago, and succeeded by Leontius. In his episcopate was founded the abbey of Micy, or St. Mesnin, where the Loiret flows into the Loire, in the diocese of Orleans. His signature is appended to Clovis's charter. (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, iii. 307; Migne, Pat. Lat. lxxi. 1158.) In A.D. 511 he was present at the first council of Orleans, and in 518 we hear of him as burying the body of St. Laurian bishop of Seville at

[v] Baronius, Valesius, and Pagius have discussed it at length. (Baronius, *Pagii Notae*, ann. 340, x. xi. xii.)

[w] *Ann.* 337, lviii.

[x] Cf. Tillemont, *Sur les Ariens*, note 28; Hefele, ii. 56 ff.

[y] Athan. *ad Orthod.*; Baronius, *An.* 342, xvii.

Vatan in the diocese of Bourges, and he lived long enough to celebrate in 520 the funeral of St. Maximin himself. (*Vita S. Maximini*, Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. i. 584; Labbe, *Bibl. Nov.* ii. 414; *Gall. Christ.* viii. 1413, 1527; Mansi, *Conc.* viii. 356.) [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (65), bishop of Osca, *i.e.* Huesca, No. 44.

EUSEBIUS (66), bishop of Palaeopolis, a town of uncertain position in the province of Asia; present at the synod held at Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 731; Mansi, viii. 1146; Gams, *Series Episc.* 444.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (67), an orthodox bishop of Palestine, who signed the Sardican confession of faith, A.D. 343–4. (Athanas. *Apolog. contr. Arian.* c. iii. § 50.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (68), a bishop in Palestine, one of those to whom the synodical of Theophilus bishop of Alexandria in the year 400, in condemnation of Origenism, is addressed. (Jerome, *Ep.* xcii.) [W. H. F.]

EUSEBIUS (69) I., bishop of Paris cir. 555, between Saffaracus and Germanus. But there is much dispute among French writers as to his existence (*Gall. Christ.* vii. 17). [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (70) II., 22nd occupant of the see of Paris, succeeding Ragnemodus, A.D. 591. Gregory of Tours gives the following account of him. Ragnemodus bishop of Paris died: his brother Faramodus, a priest, was a candidate for the office, but one Eusebius, a merchant of Syrian birth, by dint of many presents obtained the see. Made bishop he dismissed the whole *schola* (according to Ruinart, the readers, singers, and others who were under the direction of the archdeacon) of his predecessor, and appointed his fellow-countrymen to the offices of the church. Eusebius, however, did not enjoy his honours long, and on his death he was succeeded by the Faramodus or Faramundus, whom he had disappointed. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* x. 26 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 558; *Gall. Christ.* vii. 22.) [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (71), bishop of Pelusium, between Ammonius and Georgius. He was present at the council of Ephesus in 431 (Mansi, iv. 1127 A, 1219 B, 1366 D, v. 615 C). His contemporary Isidore, abbat of Pelusium, depicts him in the darkest colours. Eusebius, according to this account—which we have no means of checking—was a man of some taste and some ability, an "agreeable" preacher (*Ep.* i. 112; cp. v. 301), but at once hot-tempered (v. 196; cp. iii. 44) and easily swayed by men yet worse than himself (*Ep.* ii. 127; v. 451); his hands were not clear of simoniacal gain, which he employed in the building of a splendid church (i. 37; ii. 246); he "entrusted the flock to dogs, wolves, foxes" (v. 147), "the monasteries to herdsmen and runaway slaves" (i. 262); he was forgetful of the poor, and inaccessible to remonstrance (iii. 260). His confidants were Lucius, the archdeacon, who was said to take money for ordinations (i. 29); Zosimus, a priest, who disgraced his grey hairs by vices which exceeded those of his youth (i. 140; ii. 75, 205, &c.), and took to himself contributions meant for the poor (*Ep.* v. 210); and three deacons, Eustathius, Anatolius, and Maron (*Ep.* i. 223; ii. 28, 29, &c.), with whom Gotthius (*Ep.* ii. 10), Simon, and Chaeremon (*Ep.* v. 48, 373) are associated. The greediness of those who administered the church property was insatiable (*Ep.* v. 79). The offences of these men, or of some of them, were so gross that men cried out against them as effective advocates of Epicureanism (*Ep.* ii. 153, 230), and Isidore had to tell his correspondents that he had done his best (as, indeed, many of his letters shew, *e.g.* i. 140, 436; ii. 28, 39, &c.) to reclaim the offenders, but that the physician could not compel the patient to follow his advice, that "God the Word Himself" could not save Judas (*Ep.* iv. 205), that a good man should not soil his lips by denouncing their conduct (*Ep.* iii. 229; v. 116), and that nothing remained but to pray for their conversion (*Ep.* v. 2, 105, &c.), and in the meantime to distinguish between the man and the office (*Ep.* ii. 52), and to remember that the unworthiness of the minister hindered not the effect of the sacraments (*Ep.* ii. 32). But the fullest account of the misgovernment of the church of Pelusium is given in the story of Martinianus (*Ep.* ii. 127), whom Eusebius had ordained, and made "oeconomus" or church steward. He played the knave and the tyrant, treated the bishops as his tool, was more than once in peril of his life from the indignation of the citizens, went to Alexandria, was menaced by Cyril the archbishop with excommunication, but returned, and imputed to Cyril himself a participation in simony. These things, and such as these, induced many to leave Pelusium in disgust; "the altar lacked ministers" (*Ep.* i. 38); a pious deacon, such as Eutonius, was oppressed by Zosimus (*Ep.* ii. 131), and attacked by the whole clergy, to some extent out of subserviency to the bishop (v. 564).

Eusebius is not mentioned among the fathers of the council of Chalcedon in 451. In 457 he assisted, along with Peter bishop of Majuma, at the ordination of Timotheus Aelurus for the see of Alexandria (Evag. *H. E.* ii. 8), and those who were parties to that proceeding are stated by Theodorus Lector (*H. E.* i. 9) to have been deposed bishops. The epistle of the Egyptian bishops to Anatolius (*Cod. Encyc.* in Mansi, vii. 533 A) represents the two bishops (here unnamed) who ordained Timotheus as having no communion with the Catholic church. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 533; Tillem. *Mém.* xv. 747, 748, 782–788.) [W. B. and C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (72), bishop of Pergamos, one of the Arian seceders to Philippopolis from the council of Sardica, A.D. 347 (Mansi, iii. 139); Le Quien (*Oriens Christ.* i. 715) supposes him to be the same as Eusebius, one of the fifteen bishops who met in synod at Gangra in Paphlagonia, and condemned the heretical asceticism of Eustathius. The date of this synod is disputed. [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (73), fifth archbishop of Rouen, succeeding Severus and followed by Marcellinus. He subscribed two councils, the doubtful one of Cologne in 346, and that of Sardica in 347. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 7; Mansi, ii. 1379, iii. 67.) [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (74), seventh bishop of Saintes, succeeding St. Trojanus, and followed by Emerius. He was present at the second council of Orleans in 533 and the fifth in 549, and according to the life of St. Radegundis by the nun Baudonivia (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxii. 672) he summoned another council in conjunction with Leontius bishop of Bordeaux; but nothing further seems to be known of it. We learn from some verses of Venantius Fortunatus (lib. i. cap. xii., Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 74) that he founded a church in honour of St. Bibienus, which Leontius completed. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 1057; Mansi, *Conc.* viii. 838 ix. 136. [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (75) I., ST., fourth bishop of St. Paul de Trois Châteaux in Dauphiné, between St. Sulpicius and St. Torquatus, lived perhaps about the beginning of the 3rd century. His day of commemoration is March 23. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 705; Gams, *Series Episc.* 619.) [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (76) II., fourteenth bishop of St. Paul de Trois Châteaux, between Victor and Betto. He represented his predecessor at the council of Lyons in A.D. 567. As bishop, he was one of the subscribers of the second council of Valence, in 584 or 585, and, through a delegate, of the second council of Mâcon, A.D. 585. He is said to have died on March 23, and was honoured on that day in his own diocese. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 708· Mansi, *Conc.* ix. 788, 946, 958.) [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (77), bishop of SAMOSATA. Samosata, the capital of Commagene on Euphrates, distant from Caesarea in Cappadocia about three hundred miles of difficult travelling, is interesting to the student of ecclesiastical history as being the early home of Paul, bishop of Antioch, between the years 260–270, whose monarchianism took a purely Unitarian form, denying the divine element in the person of Christ. Samosata is interesting between the years 360–373, as being the seat of the bishopric of Eusebius, the friend alike of Basil the Great, of Meletius, and of Gregory Nazianzen. All that is definitely known of Eusebius is gathered from the epistles of Basil and of Gregory, and from some circumstances detailed in the Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret. The fervent and laudatory phrases in which these divines address their friend might suggest hyperbole if it were not so repeated and constant. We are compelled to admit that his personal character must have been lofty and pure, that he was treated with almost unique reverence, that his singular piety and extraordinary zeal commanded the respect of his enemies. Gregory assures Eusebius that the severe and almost fatal illness which prevented his paying him the respect of a visit when passing through Cappadocia, gave him less pain than the disappointment of not seeing his friend, with much more to the same effect. (*Ep.* xxviii. Greg. Naz. Opp. ed. Prunaeus, Colon. vol. i. 792.) And in another letter (*Ep.* xxix.) he styles him "a pillar and ground of the truth," "a light-bearer to the world," a "gift of God to men," "a rule of faith," "all these things at once and more than all put together." Gregory knew how to utter a panegyric, but this was in a private letter, and it corresponds with the equally exuberant way in which St. Basil of Caesarea rejoices in his presence, deprecates his absence, and extols the effect of his teaching and the enthusiasm inspired by his virtues. He was probably much older than Basil, who speaks of him in 369 in most reverential terms. (*Ep.* xxxiv. Basilii opera, ed. Par. tom. iii. The quotations from Basil are made according to the Paris enumeration of the letters.) We find him bishop of Samosata in the year 361, when he took part in the consecration of Meletius as bishop of Antioch. At this time Meletius was in communion with the Arians, and a coalition of bishops of both parties placed the document affirming the consecration in the hands of Eusebius. Even Tillemont admits that at this time he must himself have been in communion with the Arians. Theodoret (ii. 31, 32), however, represents the election of Meletius as partly due to the ignorance of the Arians who, unaware of the real sentiments of Meletius, imagined that he was an adherent of their party and petitioned Constantius for his appointment. Moreover Theodoret says that Eusebius was a "noble defender and champion of the truth."

Meletius very soon proclaimed in an explicit way his Nicene Trinitarianism, and opened himself to the usual charge of Sabellianism, and was banished by Constantius. Meanwhile Eusebius had "returned to his own city," having in his possession the written pledge of the appointment of Meletius to the see of Antioch. The Arians were anxious to destroy this proof of their complicity with the appointment of Meletius, and persuaded Constantius to demand, by a public functionary, the reddition of the document. Eusebius replied, "I cannot consent to restore the public deposit, except at the command of the whole assembly of bishops by whom it was committed to my care." This reply incensed the emperor, who then wrote to Eusebius commanding him to deliver up the decree, threatening him with amputation of his right hand unless he complied with the injunction. Theodoret says that the threat was only meant to intimidate the bishop, if so, it failed of its effect, for Eusebius stretched out both his hands, exclaiming, "I am willing to suffer the loss of both my hands rather than resign a document which contains so manifest a demonstration of the impiety of the Arians." It is said that the bravery of Eusebius extorted the admiration of Constantius, who, however, shortly afterwards died.

On the accession of Julian many exiled bishops, orthodox and Arian, Donatist and Catholic, were restored to their sees. Among them Athanasius returned to Alexandria, and Meletius to Antioch. But in the interim, the orthodox, who had separated themselves from Euzoius, the Arian interloper, had favoured a separate community in Antioch, and they were unwilling to return to the mother church on the reappearance of the orthodox Meletius.

Eusebius of Vercelli and Lucifer of Cagliari undertook to reconcile the parties and establish concord. But Lucifer was baffled by the pertinacity of the disputants, and made matters worse by ordaining Paulinus over the orthodox separatists, forming a schismatical communion, which retained its separated church life for eighty-five years.

Tillemont hesitates to claim for Eusebius as

many writers have done, the honour of being the Christian confessor in the persecutions under Julian, who, according to Gregor. Naz. (*Orat. c. Julianum*, i. p. 133 B.C.), when suffering on the rack and finding one part of his body not as yet bruised and tortured, complained to the executioners for not conferring equal honour on his entire frame. The persecution under Julian, notwithstanding the details recorded by Theodoret and Gregory (*Orat. c. Julianum*, iii. 7), was not of the character to render this treatment of a Christian bishop very probable. The death of Julian and the accession of Jovian gave liberty to the church, and facilitated the holding of synods at Alexandria and at Antioch in 363. Acacius of Caesarea, who had hitherto been a zealous Arian and anxious to find himself on the winning side, induced his party to declare their adhesion to the Nicene formula, with express acceptance of the great term Homoousios, as one "very well interlaced of the fathers, interpreted and explained with commodious phrases and fit epithets," and as incompatible with the "blasphemous doctrine of Arius." But the last word meant, according to them, "that the Son is born of the substance of the Father, and is in respect of substance *similar* to him.[a] (Socrates, iii. 25.) The synod held at Antioch adopted, with this explanation, the Nicene formula, and the document was signed by Meletius of Antioch, Eusebius of Samosata, Acacius of Caesarea, and twenty-two other bishops. This circumstance seems to suggest that Eusebius up to this time, as well as Meletius, had not sufficiently cleared themselves from Arian proclivities, and were even then somewhat compromised by semi-Arian equivocations.

During and after the temporary lull in the imperial patronage of the Arian party, it is probable that the great exertions of Eusebius took place. He is represented as travelling in the guise of a soldier (Theod. iv. 13) through Phoenicia and Palestine, ordaining presbyters and deacons, and he must thus have become known to Basil, who on the occasion of the death of Eusebius of Caesarea wrote to Gregory, (Bas. *Ep.* xlvii. Paris ed.) the father of Gregory of Nazianzus, advising the selection of Eusebius of Samosata to the vacant bishopric. The Paris editors of Basil plausibly suggest that the letter thus numbered was written by Gregory to Eusebius concerning Basil, rather than by Basil concerning Eusebius. The part which Eusebius did take in the election of Basil is well known, and though the strict interpretation of canonical rules might render such interference in the affairs of Cappadocia unsuitable, yet numerous instances occur of the like eagerness. The efforts made by Gregory the younger and Eusebius were crowned with success. Basil became bishop of Caesarea. The appointment gave Gregory extreme satisfaction, and in a letter (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* xxix.) charged eulogies he dilates on the intense satisfaction with which the visit of Eusebius to Caesarea had diffused through the community. The bedridden had sprung from their couches, and all kinds of moral miracles had been wrought by his presence.

From this time forward the correspondence between Basil and Eusebius reveals the progress of their joint lives, and throws some light upon the history of the church. The two ecclesiastics are passionately eager for one another's society, and appear to have formed numerous designs for mutual interchange of visits, which fell through.

In 372 Eusebius signed, with Meletius, Basil, and twenty-nine others, a letter addressed to the Western bishops, in view of their common troubles from the presence of Arian opponents. The letter is given (Basil. *Ep.* xcii. Paris ed.) at length, and commences with the names of Meletius, Eusebius, Basilius, &c., in an order due to the dignity, character and age of the respective bishops, and a melancholy Jeremiad it is, recounting disaster and disorder, uncanonical proceedings, and Arian heresy. The Eastern bishops feel it some solace to pour out their hearts to their brethren in Italy and Gaul, and trust to receive from them sympathy and advice. Great honour is paid to the unadulterated pristine purity, which the Western churches had preserved intact, while the Eastern churches had been lacerated and undermined, and divided by heretical ideas and unconstitutional acts. Later in the same year Basil entreats Eusebius to meet him at Phargamon in Armenia, where an assembly of bishops was to take place (*Ep.* xcv.). If Eusebius will not or cannot attend the conference, neither will Basil; and in another letter (*Ep.* xcviii.) he passionately urges him to visit him at Caesarea. Letters from Eusebius appear to have been received by Basil, who (*Ep.* c.) once more implores a visit at the time of the festival of the martyr Eupsychius [EUPSYCHIUS], since many things, said he, demand mutual consideration. At the end of the year Basil (*Ep.* cv.) managed to accomplish the laborious journey to Samosata, and to secure from his friend the promise of a return visit. This promise, said he, had ravished the church with joy. In the following year, 373, Basil urged Eusebius to fulfil his promise, and (*Ep.* cxxvii.) assured him that Jovinus had answered his expectations as bishop of Nicopolis. Jovinus was a worthy pupil of Eusebius, and gratified Basil by his canonical proprieties. Everywhere the *θρέμματα* of Eusebius exhibit the express image of his sanctity, *τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς σῆς σεμνότητος*. It appears from other authorities (Tillemont, *Art.* iii.) that the said Jovinus relapsed afterwards into Arianism. The good offices of Eusebius were solicited by Eustathius of Sebaste, who had quarrelled with Basil, in order to bring about a reconciliation. Basil's principle of "purity before reconciliation" convinced Eusebius of his wisdom and moderation.

The date of the council of Gangra is a great puzzle, but it was probably held in the year 372 or 373. At this council Eustathius of Sebaste, in Armenia, was condemned for Arian tendencies, and for hyperascetic practices, which amounted to something like the Manichaean condemnation of matter.[b] There has always been a difficulty in deciding who was the Eusebius mentioned *primo loco* in the heading of the synodal letter, as the see is not mentioned. It is perfectly conceivable that it should have

[a] If this *were* so, and this were all that was intended by the term, the conflict need never have raged over it.

[b] Hefele, *History of the Councils*, ii. 326.

been the bishop of Samosata, and that as Basil entreated his advice with reference to Eustathius, he may have joined him, Hypatius, Gregory, and other of his friends, whose names also occur in this *pronunciamiento*. His age and moral eminence, and the enthusiasm of his friends about him, may have given him this prominent position. The canons of Gangra, twenty in number, are detailed with interesting comment by Hefele, who neither accepts the view of Remy Ceillier that it was held in 376, nor that of the *Ballerini* that it was held between 362 and 370, as this turns on the bare supposition that the Eusebius was no other than Eusebius of (Nicomedia) Constantinople. Hefele thinks the chronology entirely uncertain, and mainly on the ground of the difficulty of this identification. I venture to make the above suggestion, which would throw considerable light on the practical character of the bishop of Samosata.

In the year A.D. 373 by a letter of Basil (*Ep.* cxxxvi.) we learn that Eusebius had successfully interfered in securing the election of a Catholic bishop at Tarsus. In consequence of this success, he was eagerly entreated to visit Basil at Caesarea. He may have done so, and presided at the council of Gangra. It should be said that Tillemont suggests that as Valens was at the time resident at Hierapolis in the valley of Euphrates, the pastor of the flock at Samosata would be unwilling to leave them. This, however, is only a supposition. Eusebius must be credited at this time with eager desires after formal and mutual recognition of church privileges between the East and West. Even Basil (*Ep.* cxx.) has to suggest caution in the matter. An encyclical which Eusebius proposed to send to Italy was not prepared, but Dorotheus and Gregory of Nyssa were induced to visit Rome in the year 374. The Paris editors put at an earlier date, viz. A.D. 368 or 369, the letters (*Ep.* xxvii. xxxi.) descriptive of Basil's illness, and the famine that arrested his movements, but whensoever written, they reveal the extraordinary, almost magical, confidence put by Basil in his brother bishop. He had been in fact personally healed by the intercessions of Eusebius, and now, since all medical aid has failed in the case of Hypatius his brother, he commended him, and sent him to Samosata to be under the care and prayers of Eusebius and his brethren. It is remarkable that Eusebius was allowed to remain undisturbed during the bitter persecutions of the orthodox at the hand of the emperor Valens. At length his hour came, and few pages in the history of the time are more vivid than those which portray the circumstances of his exile.

Valens made a promise to the Arian bishop Eudoxius, who had baptized him, that he would banish all who held contrary opinions. Thus "Meletius was expelled from Antioch (a second time), Pelagius from Laodicea, and Eusebius from Samosata." (Theod. iv. 13.) The imperial summons demanded Eusebius's instant departure to Thrace. (Theod. iv. 14.) Ceillier (v. 3) places this event in 374. The officer who served the summons was bidden by Eusebius to conceal the cause of his journey. "For if the multitude (said Eusebius), who are all imbued with divine zeal, should learn your design they would drown you, and I should have to answer for your death." After the conduct of worship, he took one domestic servant, a "pillow, and a book," and departed in the dead of night. "When he arrived at the banks of Euphrates, which washes the walls of the city, he leaped into a ferry-boat and desired the rowers to convey him to Zeugma, which he reached at break of day." The effect of his departure upon his flock is graphically described by Theodoret. The clamour, the weeping, the pursuit, the entreaties to return to Samosata, and to brave the wrath of the emperor, the humble submission of the bishop to the will of the prince, on the ground of the authority of the Apostle St. Paul, the refusal of costly gifts, the parting of the old man and his people, and the disappearance of the venerable confessor on his long and perilous journey to the banks of the Danube, are all told with a few striking sentences. Eusebius left a deep impression behind him. He had excited a persistent and intense antagonism to the views of the Arians, which assumed very practical forms. The Arian bishop Eunomius was left in complete isolation. He was avoided as if smitten with deadly and contagious pest. The very water he used in the public bath was wasted by the population of the city as contaminated by his use of it. The repugnance being invincible, the poor man, inoffensive and gentle in spirit, retired from the unequal contest. His successor, Lucius, "who was a wolf and a deceiver of the flock," was received with scant courtesy. The children of the city spontaneously burned a ball which the ass on which the Arian bishop was mounted had accidentally trodden upon. Lucius was not conquered by such manifestations of dislike, and took counsel with the Roman magistracy to banish all the Catholic clergy. Meanwhile Eusebius by slow stages reached the banks of the Danube at a time when "the Goths were ravaging Thrace and besieging many cities." On his way through Cappadocia he failed to see Gregory, which was bitterly lamented by his friend, and regarded as a punishment for his own sins.[c] The most vigorous eulogium is passed upon Eusebius for his power to console others. There was scarcely a strip of blue sky in the heavens at the time, but the faithfulness of Eusebius was a joy to the bishops of the East. Basil congratulated Antiochus, a nephew of Eusebius, on the privilege of having seen and conversed with such a man (*Ep.* clxviii.), and Gregory thought his prayers for their welfare must be as efficacious as those of a martyr. Ceillier seems to think that Basil enjoyed a passing interview with his friend. We see no sign of it. While Eusebius was concealed in his place of exile Basil contrived to institute means of communication between him and his old flock. From one of Gregory's letters (*Ep.* xxx.) it would seem doubtful whether the vacant bishopric was filled, but, as we have seen, Theodoret was explicit on this head, and Basil (*Ep.* ccxix.), while approving of the resistance made by the church to the pastoral offices of Eunomius, warned the clergy, with moving words, against internal commotion and dissension. Numerous

[c] *Epp.* xxviii. xxx. Greg. Naz. *Opp.* ed. Prunoeus, vol. i. p. 792; *Ep.* xxx. is identical with *Ep.* clxvi. of the Paris edition of Basil's *Epistles*, and is thought by the Paris editors to be the work of Gregory.

letters passed between Basil and Eusebius more in the tone of young lovers than that of old bishops, and some interesting hints are given as to difficulty of communication. Eusebius was eagerly longing for letters, while Basil protested that he had written no fewer than four, which never reached their destination. The bad roads, the carelessness of the "runners," the illness of Basil himself, were regarded as some explanation of apparent neglect. Grave anxieties had arisen in his mind περὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν, and these he does not venture to commit to paper, but entrusts to a namesake of Eusebius, a reader. Basil (*Ep.* ccxxxvii. dated 376–380) was intending to have sent a letter to Eusebius by the vicar of Thrace,[d] and also by a certain *Praepositus* of Philippopolis, who was visiting his neighbourhood, but the vicar came late in the evening when he was busy at his work and left early in the morning, and so never received the letter. A like calamity occurred on the occasion of the visit of the "Praepositus," and thus, though his heart was bursting with news and with sorrows, he had been compelled to keep them all to himself. The letter went on to speak of the vicar as a favourer of heretics, though he questions whether he was able, from the stress of his occupations and the character of his mind, to understand Christian doctrine. Still, he had taken the active part of summoning an heretical synod in mid-winter in Galatia, and there had deposed Hypsinus on a worthless and unsustained charge, and appointed one Eedicius in his place, and he had moreover endeavoured to force Eustathius of Sebaste on Nicopolis. In another letter to Eusebius (ccxxxix.) he deplores the appointment of Eedicius, complains bitterly of the treatment he received, and lack of fair dealing on the part of the Western church. Antiochus, who had been to see Eusebius in his exile and carry the news of his suffering to the church at Samosata, was among those whom Lucius the Arian bishop exiled, and had to retire to an exile in Armenia. But the darkest hour is that before the dawn. Basil, notwithstanding his intense orthodoxy, was far from happy in his estimate of the sympathy accorded to him by the Western church, and mysterious hints are not unfrequently dropped as to the sentiment entertained at Rome with reference to himself, Eusebius, and Meletius. In the year 377 Dorotheus found that the two latter were, to the horror of Basil, reckoned at Rome among the Arians. Basil (*Ep.* cclxvi.), addressing Peter of Alexandria, condemns the implicit charge with great bitterness, and justly asks whether their present suffering and banishment for their anti-Arian position was not a sufficient proof of the injustice of the accusation. The charge itself appears to have fallen through, and it appears that Eusebius suffered less fear from the barbarian ravages of the Goths than from this momentary assault on his honour.

In the year 378 the persecuting policy of the emperor Valens was brought to a close by his death. The emperor Gratian recalled the banished prelates, and gave peace to the Eastern church. Theodoret (*H. E.* v. 4, 5) expressly mentions the permission to Eusebius to return. Notwithstanding the apparently non-canonical character of the proceeding, Eusebius ordained numerous bishops on his way from Thrace to the Euphrates. Acacius at Beroea, Theodotus at Hierapolis, Isidore at Cyrus, Eulogius at Edessa, were among the number. All these names were appended to the creed of Constantinople. Baronius conjectures that he was empowered by the council of Antioch to take this step. This council of 146 orthodox bishops was held in October of the year 379, at which Eusebius was present, and in the records of which his name follows that of Meletius. But a more plausible explanation is, that his virtue and the reverence he universally inspired, proved mightier than the letter of the canons.

It was when he was engaged in the like work, taking part in the ordination of Maris at the little town of Dolica (Theod. *H. E.* v. 4), that a woman charged with Arian passion hurled a brick, which fell upon his head, and wounded him fatally.

It was not improbable that he had other enemies who were delighted at his tragic fall, at this moment of his triumph. A beautiful incident is recorded by Theodoret, to the effect, that the aged bishop in the bliss of having secured the crown of martyrdom and in the spirit of the proto-martyr, as well as of his Divine Lord, extorted promises from his attendants that they would make no search for his murderess. When the magistrates were ready to prosecute those who had clearly plotted the death of Eusebius, the Catholics earnestly besought pardon for them. The 22nd June is the day on which the Eastern churches commemorate his so-called martyrdom. In the Roman calendar the 21st June is the day chosen for the same purpose. His nephew Antiochus probably succeeded him in the bishopric of Samosata. (Tillem. viii. 326; Ceillier, v. 5.) [H. R. R.]

EUSEBIUS (78) II., bishop of Samosata in the latter part of the 5th century, deposed by the emperor Zeno at the instigation of Peter the Fuller, bishop of Antioch, on the plea that he was favouring the tyrants, but really because he rejected the Henoticon. (Theophan. anno 482; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 936.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (79), bishop of Sebaste (Samaria), who signed the semi-Arian formula at Seleucia, A.D. 359. (Epiphan. *Haeres.* lxxiii. No. 26, p. 874, &c.; Mansi, iii. 324; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 651.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (80), bishop of Seleucia Pieria, who signed the Acacian formula at Seleucia, 359. (Epiphan. *Haeres.* lxxiii. No. 26; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 777; Mansi, iii. 324.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (81), bishop of Seleucobelus, in Syria, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 143 c, 434 c; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 922.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (82), bishop of Siena, at the council of Rome in 465 (Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* iii. 528; Cappell. *Le Ch. d'Ital.* xvii. 373, 557; Mansi, vii. 959). [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (83), bishop of Susicaza, in the province of Numidia, who was amongst those

[d] Vatic. MS. reads, διὰ τοῦ Μακαρίου βικαρίου.

banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 291; *Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 56, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.) [L. D.]

EUSEBIUS (84), ST., first bishop of Sutrium in Etruria, present at the synod of Rome in 465; in 487 the see was held by Constantius. (Mansi, vii. 959 c; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 1274; Capp. *Le Ch. d'Ital.* vi. 224, 267.) [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (85), bishop of Tarragona, from before 610 (?) to about 632; signs among the metropolitans the (disputed) *Decretum Gundemari* in 610 [GUNTHIMAR]. In the letter in which Braulio asks St. Isidore for his *Etymologiae* (ann. 631 or 632, apud *Esp. Sagr.* xxx. 322, 326) he speaks of Eusebius as just dead, and prays St. Isidore to use his influence with the king for the appointment of a suitable successor. Isidore replies (*l. c.*) that he will do his best, but that the king is not favourably inclined to the candidate mentioned by Braulio, and in 633 Audax signs the Acts of Cc. Tol. iv. as metropolitan of Tarragona. To this Eusebius was addressed a curious and much discussed letter from the king Sisebert (612–621), first published by Florez (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 326) but well known to Spanish antiquaries before his day. The king's opening sentences speak in the most violent language of a letter just received from Eusebius, which, "omni contagione pollutam extremis vix attigimus manibus." Eusebius and his friends are accused of being the adherents of worthless causes, "inanium —sectatores causarum," and of having been led away, "miseris hominibus et inflatis." The reproach against Eusebius of having taken part in certain theatrical games and performances "ludis theatriis taurorum (or phanorum)," is universally believed. Who does not see what is so evident? The bishop has ventured to accuse publicly men devoted to divine things. Let him, however, not expect any further indulgence from the king, but at once commit the rule of the church of Barcelona "huic viro qui Deo magis quam miserandis placet hominibus." The matter is to be settled before the forthcoming Easter, so that "de ejus gaudeamus Pontificatu optabili, et de vestra tandem vel eras consensione." This obscure and barbarously written letter was, before Florez, commonly interpreted as containing the deposition of a Eusebius bishop of Barcelona, for participation in the games and spectacles which still in the 7th century maintained themselves all over Spain, and were essentially heathen in form and matter. (On the survival and gradual transformation of the ancient theatre in Spain, see Gams, *K. G.* ii. pt. i. 38–55, 126. Schack, *Gesch. der dram. Lit. und Kunst in Spanien*, Berlin, 1854, I. Amador de los Rios, *Hist. de la Lit. Española*, i. 441.) It is now, however, plain from Braulio's letter and the signature quoted above that Eusebius was metropolitan of Tarragona, and that the king's letter refers to some opposition of his to the election of a certain candidate for the see of Barcelona (probably SEVERUS, q. v.), whom the king was determined to see appointed. The mention of the games is apparently used as a threat to extort submission, and does not of course prove that Eusebius was guilty of the charge. The letter throws valuable light upon the state of episcopal elections at the time, and together with Isidore's letter to Braulio, and other cases, shews that when in the closely following fourth council of Toledo, special care was taken to define and re-affirm the canonical procedure of election by clergy and people; consecration by metropolitan and comprovinciales, and confirmation by the crown (which is not mentioned, but apparently taken for granted—C. Tol. iv. 19), the Spanish church, led by the great Isidore, was defending itself against certain very real, and in these two cases at least, recent abuses of the royal power. (*Esp. Sagr.* xxv. 82; Gams, *K.-G.* ii. pt. 2, 79; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 324.) [M. A. W.]

EUSEBIUS (86), about the year A.D. 600, bishop of Thessalonica; author of a *Letter to Andrew the Monk* and *Ten Books against the Errors of Andrew the Monk*, which works are both lost. An account is given of them by Photius.

In 593 pope Gregory the Great addressed a letter to him, and the bishops of Dyrrhachium, Milan, Nicopolis, Corinth, Prima Justiniana, Crete, Larissa, Sardinia, and Sicily, on the subject of the decree of the emperor Maurice, which had declared all ecclesiastics subject to the rulers of their country, and had given certain instructions about admission to monasteries which Gregory altered.

In 598 the pope again wrote to Eusebius, on the subject of a presbyter named Luke, who with a certain Peter boasted that he did not receive the council of Chalcedon. There was also a letter on the subject of the title of universal bishop, arrogated by the patriarch of Constantinople. In 600 Theodore, reader of the church of Thessalonica, was sent to Rome by Eusebius. For some reason Theodore entrusted the letters he was carrying to a monk named Andrew, with whom he had long been acquainted. The monk, actuated by an excess either of folly or of malice, tampered to such a degree with the letter of Eusebius to the pope, that anybody reading it must have thought the writer a heretic or a fool; besides this he composed several discourses under the name of Gregory highly discreditable to that acute theologian; and committing the blunder of making him speak in Greek. The pope wrote an account of these forgeries to Eusebius, and begged him to suppress the discourses if they fell into his hands; confessing that he did not understand Greek and had never composed any work in that language.

Photius says that the monk Andrew, who belonged to the sect of the Aphthartodocetae, wrote a letter also to Eusebius, begging him for God's sake to read it. Eusebius wrote him a very candid answer, saying that he did not know how to write, had made many blunders, and should never have broken the repose of his monastic life to undertake a duty for which he was so unfit. He then confuted Andrew's chief errors, and exhorted him to retract. Andrew, however, composed a treatise in defence of his propositions, which produced from Eusebius the *Ten Books*. His style is said to have been plain and clear, sufficiently pure, and not without judgment. (Photius, *Biblioth.* 162; Patrol. Graec. ciii. p. 451; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Graec.* Harles. vii. 417; Dupin, *Eccl. Hist.* tom. v.;

Baronius, ad ann. 593, xx., 598, xii.; Ceillier, xi. 527; Greg. Mag. *Epist.* viii. 5, ix. 68, x., 42 in Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 898, 983, 1073.)
[W. M. S.]

EUSEBIUS (87), 40th occupant of the see of Tours, succeeding Albertus and followed by Ostaldus, subscribed the council of Attigny in A.D. 765. He sat, according to some sixteen, according to others, twenty years. (Mansi, xii. 675; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 32.) [S. A. B.]

EUSEBIUS (88), bishop of Trois Châteaux; vid. of Saint-Paul de Trois Châteaux, No. 76.

EUSEBIUS (89), bishop of Tyre, attended the second council of Constantinople, A.D. 553, and signed the acts. His name appears among those who invited pope Vigilius to the council. (Labbe, v. 416, 429, 514, 581; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 809.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (90), bishop of Valentinianopolis, in Proconsular Asia, by whom Antoninus, bishop of Ephesus, was accused in the spring of 400, before Chrysostom and the conclave of bishops sitting at Constantinople, of simony and other scandalous acts of avarice. Chrysostom perceiving that the moving cause of the delation was a personal quarrel between Eusebius and the accused party, endeavoured to induce him to withdraw the written charges, on the promise that he would investigate the case, and if proved, correct it. Eusebius, however, with much vehemence persisting in his accusation and refusing the conciliatory offers of Paul, bishop of Heraclea, presented the libel a second time to Chrysostom within the choir of the cathedral as he was about to commence the eucharistic office, calling on him, by the life of the emperor and other fearful adjurations, to attend to the charges it contained. Chrysostom was too much disturbed by Eusebius's violence to continue the service, and requesting Pansophius, a bishop of Pisidia, to take his place as celebrant, he retired with the rest of the bishops. Service over, he took his seat in the baptistery, and having summoned Eusebius before the conclave and warned him of the responsibility of bringing forward charges of so much gravity, which if once admitted he was bound to prosecute, the indictment was admitted and formally read to Antoninus, who met the several counts by a flat denial of their truth. The importance of the charges led Chrysostom to determine to investigate them on the spot. The intrigues of Antoninus's powerful friends, and the alarm caused by Gainas having prevented Chrysostom from leaving Constantinople, a commission of three bishops was appointed to hold a court at Hypaepae, a town near Ephesus, to examine the charges in conjunction with the bishops of the province. If either accuser or accused failed to appear within two months, he was to be excommunicated. Both obeyed the summons, but only to frustrate the ends of justice. The hollowness of Eusebius's character, and the unreality of the righteous horror he had assumed were revealed when it was discovered that the accused and his accuser had come to terms, and that Eusebius had accepted a bribe from Antoninus to annul the prosecution by feigned delays. At first no witnesses were forthcoming, and when forty days had been granted for their production, instead of employing the time in looking them up, Eusebius went off to Constantinople and kept himself close, that no one might know where he was. The time allotted having expired, and neither Eusebius nor his witnesses appearing, the commissioners sent circular letters to the bishops of Asia pronouncing sentence of excommunication on him as a slanderer and a runaway. In spite of the summer heats, on which Eusebius had relied to drive the commissioners away before the expiration of the time they lingered on at Hypaepae for another month, at the end of which they returned in despair to Constantinople. There they happened to fall in with Eusebius, who, ever ready with an excuse, when upbraided with his conduct, pleaded sickness as the cause of his delay, and promised that he would still produce his witnesses. Meanwhile Antoninus was removed by death from a human to a divine tribunal. The case of the six bishops who were involved in the accusation of simony and the partners in their crime, however, was still prosecuted, and the death of Gainas in January, A.D. 401, having set Chrysostom at liberty, he crossed over to Asia, and arriving at Ephesus conducted the trial in person. The shameless Eusebius again appeared on the scene, declaring that he had been unjustly excommunicated, and claiming to be readmitted to communion. The bishops refusing to allow his claim on the ground of his having failed to substantiate his charges against his brethren, he reasserted their truth, and engaged to bring forward abundant evidence in support of his accusations. The evidence proved overwhelming. The accused, who at first denied their guilt, were driven to a humiliating confession of having obtained the episcopal rank by purchase, and were condemned to be deprived of their sees. They were not, however, excommunicated, and the heirs of Antoninus were required to repay the purchase-money in each case. The after history of this base and shameless man is unknown. (Pallad. *Dial.* pp. 126–140; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 711.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (91), bishop of Valeria (Valera de Arriba, near Cuença) in 633, when he subscribed the acts of the fourth council of Toledo. He signed also the fifth council of Toledo in 636. He precedes thirty-eight bishops in the first case out of sixty-two, and signs fifteenth or fourteenth (?) out of twenty-four in the second (Mansi, x. 642, 657; *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 203; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385). [M. A. W.]

EUSEBIUS (92), bishop of Vence, placed by the Sammarthani in 374; he subscribed the acts of the synod of Nismes in 394. These acts are not to be found in the older collections, but are given by Hefele (*Conc.-Gesch.* b. 8, § 110) from a MS. lately discovered at Darmstadt. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 1213.) [R. T. S.]

EUSEBIUS, (93) ST., bishop of Vercellae (Vertelli), known for his zeal and sufferings in the cause of orthodoxy in the 4th century. He was born in Sardinia, but there appears no record of the date of his birth. He went to Rome, and was there ordained a "reader," and in the year 340 was consecrated bishop of

Vercellae. St. Ambrose, in a letter addressed to the church of Vercellae (*Ep.* 63), gives Eusebius great praise for his devotion, and especially commends him as having been the first bishop in the West who joined the monastic discipline with the discharge of episcopal duties. He took several of his clergy to live with him, and adopted something of a monastic rule for their daily life. In 354 (Jaffé, *Reg. Pontif.* p. 15) he was asked by Liberius the bishop of Rome to go with Lucifer of Cagliari and others to the emperor Constantius, to suggest the summoning of a council, which might pronounce on matters of dispute between the Arians and the orthodox. The council was held in the next year at Milan. At first Eusebius absented himself from it. But he ultimately yielded to the united solicitations of the Arian party which led in the council, of Lucifer and Pancratius, the orthodox delegates of Liberius, and of the emperor Constantius, and took part in its deliberations. The proceedings of the council were somewhat disorderly, and the action of the bishop of Milan [Dionysius (14)] was undecided. The practical question was whether the bishops present should sign a condemnation of Athanasius. Eusebius was so peremptory in refusing to do this as to excite the anger of the Arianizing emperor, who banished him, together with some priests and deacons, to Scythopolis in Syria. Patrophilus, a leading Arian, was bishop in Scythopolis, and Eusebius calls him his "jailer." In the course of his confinement here, two messengers arrived bringing a sum of money and assurances of good will from the churches of Vercellae and other neighbouring places to the exiled bishop. In a reply which he sent back by the hands of the messengers, and which has been preserved, Eusebius gives full particulars of the annoying treatment to which he was subjected at Scythopolis. He was a troublesome prisoner, having twice all but starved himself to death because he would not accept provisions from Arian hands. After a while he was removed to Cappadocia, and thence to Egypt. From the Thebaid in Egypt he wrote a letter, which is extant, to Gregory, a bishop of Elvira in Spain, praising his anti-Arian constancy.

The emperor Julian, who succeeded Constantius in 361, permitted all banished bishops to return to their churches. Eusebius, being one to whom the interests of orthodoxy were paramount, did not hasten home at once, but went to Alexandria to consult with Athanasius. The two bishops agreed to convoke a council, which was held in the year 362 at Alexandria. [Athanasius, Vol. I. p. 197.] One of the objects of the council was to put an end to a schism at Antioch, and when its meetings were over Eusebius went thither as the bearer of a synodal letter or "tome," addressed by the council to the Antiochenes. He found, however, on his arrival that he was too late. Lucifer of Cagliari had preceded him, and had aggravated the schism by the hasty consecration of Paulinus as a rival bishop; and Eusebius immediately withdrew from Antioch. [Meletius, Paulinus.] Lucifer proceeded to renounce communion with Eusebius and with all others who, in accordance with his reconciling decree of the Alexandrian council, were willing to receive back bishops who repented of their connexion with Arian heresy.

Leaving Antioch, Eusebius made a tour amongst the Eastern churches, using his influence to confirm them in the orthodox faith. From the East he passed into Illyria, and so to Italy, which, in the words of Jerome, "put off its mourning on Eusebius's return."

He now joined with the zealous Hilary of Poitiers in endeavours to re-establish orthodoxy in the Western churches. With this view they stirred up opposition to the Arianizing Auxentius bishop of Milan, but they were foiled by a profession of orthodoxy on the part of Auxentius. This was in 364. After this nothing is recorded of Eusebius until his death, which is placed by Jerome in the year 371.

The extant writings of Eusebius are three letters; one a brief answer to Constantius, announcing that he would attend the council at Milan, but would do there whatever should seem to him right and according to the will of God; and the two already mentioned, to the church at Vercellae and to Gregory of Elvira. They are to be found in Galland, *Biblioth. Patrum*, and in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* t. xii. Jerome mentions Eusebius as having translated, with the omission of what was heterodox, the commentaries on the Psalms of his namesake of Caesarea; and he also names him, with Hilary of Poitiers, as a translator of Origen and the same Eusebius; but nothing further is known of these translations. A famous "Codex Vercellensis" is thus described by Tregelles:—"A MS. of the 4th century, said to have been written by the hand of Eusebius bishop of Vercelli, where the codex is now preserved. The text is defective in several places, as might be supposed from its very great age. It was transcribed and published by Irici, at Milan, in 1748. . . This MS. is probably the most valuable exemplar of the old Latin in its unaltered state."

The chief authority for the life of Eusebius is St. Jerome, who gives him a place amongst his *Viri Illustres*, and makes allusions to him in his letters and elsewhere. There are several letters addressed to him by Liberius, and there are allusions to him in the works of Athanasius. Mention of him may be also found in the works of Rufinus, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates. The *Sermones* relating to him preserved in the works of Ambrose are admittedly spurious.

[J. Ll. D.]

EUSEBIUS (94) II., bishop of Vercelli, 520. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiv. 365; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 762.) [A. H. D. A.]

Priests.

EUSEBIUS (95), priests who were martyrs (Nos. 109, 112)

EUSEBIUS (96), Aug. 14, presbyter, confessor, at Rome, A.D. 358, and by some styled martyr. From the earliest times his fame has been everywhere celebrated. A church dedicated to him is mentioned in the first council held at Rome under pope Symmachus, A.D. 498 (Mansi, viii. 236, 237). It was rebuilt by pope Zacharias, cir. 742 (Anastas. *Lib. Pontif.* art. Zacharias, num. 226). The facts of his history are very obscure. His Acts tell the following story

(Baluz. *Miscell.* t. ii. p. 141). Upon the recall of pope Liberius by the emperor Constantius, Eusebius preached against them both as Arians; and since the orthodox party, who now supported Felix, were excluded from all the churches, he continued to hold divine service in his own house. For this act of nonconformity he was arrested and brought before Constantius and Liberius, when he boldly reproved the pope for falling away from Catholic truth. Constantius thereupon consigned him to a dungeon four feet wide, where he continued to languish for seven months and then died. He was buried by his friends and co-presbyters Orosius and Gregory, in the cemetery of Callistus, where they placed over him the simple inscription "Eusebio Homini Dei." Constantius then arrested Gregory for his kindness to the body of his friend, and consigned him to the same dungeon, where he also died, and was in turn buried by Orosius, by whom the Acts of Eusebius profess to have been written. The Bollandist and Tillemont point out some grave historical difficulties in this narration, especially the fact that Constantius, Liberius, and Eusebius never could have been in the city together. Petrus de Natalibus gives us the story of a bishop Equilinus, which may throw some light on this difficulty. He speaks of the zeal of Eusebius, which shone forth against those heretics Constantius and Liberius, and which so annoyed Liberius that at the request of the pope the civil power intervened, and imprisoned the recalcitrant priest. This narrative does not require the presence of the emperor at all. The whole matter is a source of great trouble to Roman Catholic writers, because the saintly character of St. Eusebius, guaranteed by the Roman martyrology as revised by pope Gregory XIII., seems necessarily to involve the fall of Liberius. The Bollandists at great length vindicate the catholicity of Felix II., and of course are equally zealous champions of St. Eusebius. Tillemont, and in the present day Hefele, in his *History of the Councils*, vol. ii. sec. 81 ("Pope Liberius and the Third Sirmian Formula"), are equally decided opponents of Felix. But what then becomes of St. Eusebius, whose orthodoxy and faithfulness are proved by the oldest monuments of the church? Tillemont makes an attempt to separate Eusebius from Felix, and concludes in the following words, which are a plain instance of begging the question: "But notwithstanding the facts told by Ado, the saintship of St. Eusebius appears sufficiently attested by the records of the church to assure us that he could not have been a perjured person, nor a schismatic, nor, consequently, a partisan of Felix," conveniently forgetting that the saintship of Felix himself is equally well attested. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.* Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, Wandalberti; Ferrarius, *Cat. SS.*; *Kal.* Front.; *Sacrament.* S. Gregor.; Baronius, 357, 57; Tillemont, *Mém.* t. vi. 438, 776–778.) The party of Eusebius and Felix must have been very numerous among the populace, as they carried the day at the election of the next pope, eight years later, A.D. 366. Ursicinus was the candidate of the friends of Liberius, Damasus of those of Felix. On one day there were found in the church occupied by Ursicinus, which was stormed by the party of Damasus, the dead bodies of one hundred and thirty-seven men. Damasus at last conquered, and Ursicinus was banished. This triumph may help to account for the early insertion of the names of Eusebius and Felix in the list of saints and martyrs. (Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. c. 3; see also petition of Marcellinus and Faustinus, belonging to the party of Ursicinus, addressed to the emperors Theodosius and Arcadius, in Sirmond. *Opp.* t. i. p. 127; Neander, *E. H.* vol. iii. 313, Bohn's ed.; Milman's *Lat. Christ.* i. 85–89.) [G. T. S.]

EUSEBIUS (**97**), a deposed presbyter, who, in violation of the decrees of the council of Melitene, was reinstated by Elpidius bishop of Satala. (Soz. *H. E.* iv. 24.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (**98**), presbyter, a correspondent of Sulpicius Severus, among whose remains a letter addressed to him has been preserved. The letter unfortunately fails to throw light upon the position or character of Eusebius, unless we are entitled to infer, from his being so eagerly addressed, that he shared the opinions reproved in the letter. It would seem that Severus, who had written a short treatise on the life of St. Martin, and had recorded many of his miracles, had failed to notice that he who had often extinguished fires, by which the lives of others were endangered, had once been in the greatest danger from fire himself. Why it should have been so was the question. Severus reminds Eusebius that of the Lord himself it was said, "He saved others, Himself he cannot save." He shews that the danger in which the saint had been, as in the case of the viper on the hand of St. Paul at Melita, illustrated his glory. Surrounded by fire he came out unharmed.

The letter is that marked I in the edition of the works of Severus by Clericus, Leipsic, 1709, i. 356. [W. M.]

EUSEBIUS (**99**), of Cremona, presbyter, a friend of St. Jerome, and known through the writings of that father. He was with him at Bethlehem in the year 393, and became the unconscious means of extending into Italy the strife concerning Origenism which had been begun at Jerusalem. Epiphanius had written a letter to John bishop of Jerusalem, in vindication of his conduct on his recent visit to Palestine, A.D. 394. [EPIPHANIUS (1), p. 150; JEROME.] This letter was widely circulated and much praised; and Eusebius, not knowing Greek, begged Jerome to translate it for him. This he did in a rapid and cursory manner (Jerome ad Pammachium, *Ep.* 57, § 2, ed. Vall.). The translation is given among Jerome's letters (*Ep.* li. ed. Vall.). This document was stolen from the cell of Eusebius by one whom Jerome calls a Pseudo-monachus, and whom he believed to be in the service of Rufinus, together with another letter in which Rufinus was spoken of with praise (Jer. *cont. Ruf.* iii. 4). Rufinus appears to have sent the translation of Epiphanius's letter to Rome, with accusations against Jerome of having falsified the original in translating it. This accusation Jerome answered in his letter to Pammachius, "on the best method of interpretation" (*Ep.* 57), written two years later. Eusebius remained at Bethlehem till the Easter of the year 398, when he was obliged to return hastily to Italy (perhaps with Pau-

linian, Jerome's brother—*cont. Ruf.* iii. 24). Jerome was at that time recovering from a three months' illness; but at the request of his friend he composed the commentary on St. Matthew as a *sitarcia* or supply of spiritual food for his journey. (Pref. to *Comm. on Matt.* vol. vii. 6.)

Eusebius, on arriving in Rome, became an agent of Jerome's party in the Origenistic controversy. He lived at first on good terms with Rufinus, who, however, afterwards accused Eusebius of having come to Rome "to bark against him." Rufinus, who had gone to Rome the previous year, was at this time engaged in translating the περὶ ἀρχῶν of Origen for the use of his friends, leaving out some of the passages deemed most objectionable. Eusebius obtained a copy of this work and sent it to Bethlehem, where it was denounced by Jerome as a mistranslation. Rufinus replied that Eusebius had obtained an imperfect copy, either by bribery of the copyist or by other wrong means, and that he had also tampered with the MS. after it came into his hands. St. Jerome, however, vehemently defends his friend from these accusations (*cont. Ruf.* iii. 5).

The pope Anastasius being entirely ignorant of Origen and his teaching, Eusebius, together with Marcella and Pammachius, brought before him certain passages from Origen's writings (Anastasius ad Simplicianum in Jerome, *Ep.* 95, ed. Vall.) which so moved him that he at once condemned not the passages only, but Origen himself and all his works. Eusebius being about to return to Cremona in the year 400, the pope charged him with the letter just quoted to Simplicianus bishop of Milan, and he there set forth the same passages of Origen which he had laid before the pope. He was confronted, however, by Rufinus, who declared these passages to be false; and Eusebius continued his journey without having induced Simplicianus to condemn Origen.

After this we hear nothing of Eusebius for some twenty years. But he appears to have remained in Italy supporting Jerome's interests and corresponding with him. At the extreme end of Jerome's life we still find Eusebius writing to him and sending him books relating to the Pelagian heresy (ad Alyp. et Aug. *Ep.* 143), and receiving from Jerome the last of his Commentaries, that on Jeremiah (*Prol. to Comm. on Jer.* in vol. iv. 833). He is spoken of by Ceillier *Auteurs Eccl*és. vol. vii. index) as bishop of Cremona; but in the last-named passage he is still called presbyter, and he is not in the list of the bishops of Cremona.

The *Life of St. Jerome*, under the name of Eusebius of Cremona, printed among the documents at the beginning of Vallarsi's edition of Jerome, and the account of Jerome's death, also attributed to Eusebius, are manifestly spurious. [W. H. F.]

EUSEBIUS (100), presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of Elias in Constantinople, addressed by pope Leo I., A.D. 450, among the other archimandrites (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 71, p. 1012; Migne, *Pat. L.* liv. 895). He signs the address of the archimandrites to the emperor Marcian in 451, and appears in the council of Chalcedon as subscribing the deposition of Eutyches (Mansi, vi. 754, vii. 75). [C. G.]

EUSEBIUS (101), presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of St. Eulogius in Constantinople. This archimandrite Eusebius, contemporary with the foregoing, appears in the Greek (not in the Latin) heading of the address of the archimandrites to Marcian (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 531; Mansi, vii. 75), and as subscribing by his deacon Theodulus the deposition of Eutyches in the council of Chalcedon (Mansi, vi. 754). [C. G.]

EUSEBIUS (102), priest of Jerusalem, who was at Constantinople in the year 536, with the patriarch Mennas, in whose company he was fond of dilating on the reformations that were going forward at Jerusalem under Peter the bishop of that city. Mennas, in his letter to Peter, styles Eusebius "communis frater, imo communis benefactor Deo amantissimus presbyter." (Mansi, *Concil.* viii. 1165; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 536, xciv.) [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (103), cardinal-priest at Rome, who signs a diploma of pope Paul I., A.D. 761, given by Baronius from the original in the convent of St. Silvester at Rome. He occupied the church of St. Laurentius in Lucina. (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 761, xii.) [C. H.]

Deacons and Reader.

EUSEBIUS (104), a deacon of the church of Constantinople, who, happening to be at Rome on ecclesiastical business in A.D. 404, when Theophilus's report of the proceedings connected with the deposition of Chrysostom reached pope Innocent, prevailed upon the latter to wait for fuller information on the other side before he took any decisive step. (Pallad. *Dial.* cap. 1, p. 9, ed. Bigot.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (105), deacon, who, with his companion, the deacon Lamprotatus, had shared the persecutions endured by the aged presbyter Hypatius in behalf of the sufferers at Constantinople after Chrysostom's deposition. Chrysostom, in his letter to Hypatius from Cucusus in 405, praises the two deacons for their zeal and constancy (Chrysost. *Epist.* 180). He may be the deacon Eusebius addressed by Nilus on the subject of Divine Providence in afflictions (Nil. ep. 235 in *Pat. Gr.* lxxiv. 169). [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (106), a reader, who accompanied the bearer of a letter from Basil to Eusebius of Samosata A.D. 375. He had been for a long time eager to visit Eusebius of Samosata, but Basil had restrained him till the weather was milder, on account of the delicacy of his health (Basil, Ep. 198 [263]. [E. V.]

Martyrs.

EUSEBIUS (107), martyrs who were bishops. (Nos. 24, 27, 77.)

EUSEBIUS (108)—Aug. 25. Martyr at Rome with Pontianus, Vincentius, and Peregrinus, under Commodus, A.D. 192. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi; Tillemont, *Mem.* t. iii. p. 59; *Acta SS.* Boll. Aug. v. 115 sq.) [G. T. S.]

EUSEBIUS (109), priest, martyr with Marcellus, deacon, under Valerian. Commemorated Oct. 20. (Baron. *Annal.* ann. 259, xvi.) [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (110)—April 24, martyr under Diocletian. Basil's *Menology* represents him as converted by witnessing the miracles of the megalo-martyr St. George, and as suffering soon after him. [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (111)—March 5, a martyr at Caesarea in Palestine under Diocletian. He suffered apparently at the same time as Pamphilus and others as narrated in Eusebius (*Mart. Pal.* cap. xi.). In the Roman *Mart.* he is connected with Hadrian and Eubulus, mentioned at the end of that chapter. (*Mart.* Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

EUSEBIUS (112) —Aug. 14, priest, martyr in Palestine towards the close of 311 or beginning of 312, when Maximinus made a tour through the provinces subject to him, and in conjunction with Theotecnus devised measures for the persecution of Christianity and the establishment of paganism. Eusebius was brought before the president of the province, Maxentius, and tortured to compel him to sacrifice. He appealed to the sovereign, who was then present, by whom he was beheaded on the next day. (Eusebius, *H. E.* lib. ix. cap. 2–9; Ceillier, ii. 483.) [G. T. S.]

EUSEBIUS (113), a Christian of Gaza, who, with his brothers Nestabis and Zeno, was martyred by the pagan inhabitants of that city in the reign of Julian. (Soz. *H. E.* v. 9.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (114)—Oct. 22, martyr at Adrianople under Julian, A.D. 362. He was tortured and burned with Philip a bishop, Severus a presbyter, and Hermes. (*Martyr.* Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

EUSEBIUS (115)—May 30, martyr with Christina, Romanus, and many others by fire at Nicomedia (Bas. *Menol.*). His memory was specially commemorated in a chapel dedicated to St. Euphemia in Petrium, a district in the northern quarter of Constantinople. (*Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. vii. 237.) [G. T. S.]

Monks.

EUSEBIUS (116), a Scotic monk, said by Dempster to have flourished A.D. 369, and to have written *Translationem Andreae*, and *In Sacras Scripturas aliquid.* (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 255–6; Tanner, *Bibl.* 271.) [J. G.]

EUSEBIUS (117), the third in age of the four Origenist Nitrian solitaries known as the "Tall Brethren." [Chrysostom, Vol. I. p. 525; Dioscorus (4)]. (Soc. *H. E.* vi. 7; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 399.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (118), abbat of Mount Coryphe, in the 5th century. He was brought up by his uncle Marianus, a solitary, and, like him, at first lived a secluded life near Antioch. At the earnest entreaty of St. Ammianus, he quitted his solitude to become abbat of Mount Coryphe, a lofty hill in the same neighbourhood. His life is given by Theodoret. It is recorded of him, among many other austerities, that he chained his neck to his girdle to prevent his eyes seeing the beauties of nature, and that for forty years he looked upon nothing out of doors but the path which led from the monastery to the chapel. He was followed by a multitude of disciples, and appointed heads to many monasteries which he founded. He is mentioned as having taught philosophy to St. Sidonius (Sidon. Apoll. *Epp.* iv. 1). He was commemorated on Jan. 23. (Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* iv. in Patr. Gr. lxxxii. 1339; *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 486; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs ecclés.* x. 53; Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Jan. 23.) [I. G. S.]

EUSEBIUS (119), an anchoret of Asicha in Syria. His austerities are mentioned by Theodoret, who for a long time was the only visitor he would receive. He clothed himself in skins, lived upon peas and beans soaked in water, and is said to have passed seven weeks fasting, having eaten nothing but fifteen figs. He died some time after the year 400. (Theodoret. *Philoth.* cap. 18; *Acta SS.* 15 Feb. ii. 824; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs ecclés.* x. 58.) [I. G. S.]

EUSEBIUS (120), solitary, in the 5th century, a disciple of St. Marcianus, whom, according to the saint's desire, he buried in a secluded and unknown spot. Ceillier suggests that he is identical with the abbat whose Life was written by Theodoret (No. 118), but no connexion of the latter with St. Marcianus is mentioned by either the Bollandists or Baillet (Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs ecclés.* x. 53). [I. G. S.]

EUSEBIUS (121), Syrian monk, one of a large sect nicknamed Βόσκοι, or "Grazers," from their habits. They lived in the open air, ate no bread nor meat, nor drank wine. At feeding-time each took a sickle and wandered over the hills like cattle grazing, cutting and eating herbs. In the intervals they passed their time in praying and singing hymns. (Sozom. *H. E.* vi. 33.) [I. G. S.]

EUSEBIUS (122), a solitary at Carrhae, the ancient Haran, briefly mentioned by Sozomen. (Soz. *H. E.* vi. 33.) [I. G. S.]

EUSEBIUS (123), an abbat of age and piety, suddenly excommunicated by Maximianus bishop of Syracuse. For this the bishop was reproved by Gregory the Great in 592, but when he wished again to enter into communion with the abbat, Eusebius refused, upon which Gregory wrote to him, reproving him for his pride. (Greg. Mag. *Epist.* lib. ii. indict. x. epp. 34, 36, in Migne, lxxvii. 572–574; Ceillier, *Aut. Sac.* xi. 487.) [A. H. D. A.]

Lay Dignitaries.

EUSEBIUS (124), consul with Rufinus the year of the council of Sardica, A.D. 343. He may have been the same as the colleague of Hypatius in 359. (Socr. *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 20; Baron. ad ann. 347.) [W. M. S.]

EUSEBIUS (125), FLAVIUS, May 22, A.D. 359, consul with Flavius Hypatius at the date of the formula of Sirmium and Ariminium (Athanas. *Op.* pars i. p. 576; Socr. ii. 39.)

He was brother of the empress Eusebia, wife

of Constantius II. (Amm. xxi. 6, § 4), and brother of his colleague Hypatius (Amm. xviii. 1, § 1). Both were banished by Valens (probably about A.D. 374) on the charge of aspiring to the empire, but were almost immediately recalled, the emperor still continuing to treat them with the greatest indignity (Amm. xxix. 2, § 9–15). [M. F. A.]

EUSEBIUS (126), eunuch, and grand chamberlain under Constantius II. Socrates (ii. 2, 16) relates that, after the death of Constantine in 337, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea, bestirring themselves on behalf of the Arians, made use of a certain presbyter who had before been instrumental in recalling Arius from exile. This presbyter, having been entrusted by Constantine with his will, was in high favour with Constantius. He persuaded Eusebius the head chamberlain to adopt Arian opinions, and the rest of the chamberlains followed. The united force prevailed on the empress also.

In 354 Eusebius was successful in checking a revolt among some troops at Châlon-sur-Saône (Amm. xiv. 10, § 5). Julian represents the arrest of Gallus as a concession of Constantius to the malice of Eusebius (*Ad. Ath.* 272 D), and this quite agrees with the account of Philostorgius, who tells us that it was owing to the entreaties of the eunuch and his companions that the sentence of exile was afterwards changed for that of death, and also that Eusebius intercepted the messengers whom Constantius, in a moment of compunction, had sent to reverse the sentence (*Hist.* iv. 1; cf. Amm. xiv. 11, § 3). After the death of Gallus in 354, Eusebius was appointed with Arboreus to inquire into the charges against the party of Gallus, and according to Ammianus put them indiscriminately to death (xv. 3, § 2). The same authority informs us that the appointment of the incompetent Sabinianus as prefect in the east, and the consequent revolt of the Persians, was due to his influence (xviii. 5, §§ 4, 5, cf. xx. 2, § 3). Eusebius was the bitter enemy of Julian, and did all in his power to alienate Constantius from him (Jul. *Ad. Ath.* 274 A; cf. Epist. 17, 384 D).

In 359 Eusebius was the mainspring of the plan of Eudoxius and others for dividing the council to be held on the subject of Arianism, making the Western bishops sit at Rimini, the Eastern at Seleucia; part of those in the secret were to sit at each council, and try to gain over their opponents in different ways to Arian views. Eusebius the chamberlain was a dear friend of Eudoxius, and all the other laymen of influence favoured the plan in order to please the chamberlain. (Sozom. *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 16.)

On the death of Constantius in 361 nothing remained for Eusebius but to submit to Julian, since no one else could be made emperor; and accordingly Eusebius tried to curry favour with Julian by assuring him of the loyalty of the east (Amm. xxi. 15, § 4). He was unable, however, to avert what Ammianus and Philostorgius represent as the just reward of his deeds. One of the first acts of Julian was to condemn him to death (Amm. xxii. 3, § 12). Ammianus describes him as the prime mover of all the court intrigues of his day, and sarcastically calls the emperor one of his favourites (Amm. xviii. 4, § 33). [W. M. S. and M. F. A.]

EUSEBIUS (127), vicar of Pontus, uncle of the empress Dominica, who menaced St. Basil with torture and death if he refused to surrender a lady who had fled to his church to escape a hateful marriage. [BASILIUS OF CAESAREA, Vol. I. p. 290 A.] [E. V.]

Miscellaneous.

EUSEBIUS (128), father of St. Jerome. [HIERONYMUS.] [W. H. F.]

EUSEBIUS (129), a magician, born at Myndus in Caria, a disciple of Edesius of Pergamus. [EDESIUS (4).] On the visit of the emperor Julian to the latter, Eusebius seeing his inclination towards the art of magic, persuaded him to go to Ephesus and consult Maximus, who subsequently acquired so great an influence over him. (Eunap. *Vit. Maximi.* in *Vit. Soph.*) [M. F. A.]

EUSEBIUS (130), a young man whom Basil calls his son, in whose behalf he wrote to Sophronius prefect of Constantinople, and to Abargius A.D. 374. Eusebius was implicated in a charge under which a large number of persons had been convicted. Basil requests that he may not be condemned unheard, and that a thorough investigation of his character should be instituted. (Basil, *Ep.* 177, 178 [334, 360].) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (131), a college friend and chamber-companion of Basil at Athens. He came to Caesarea during Basil's temporary absence from home shortly before his death. Basil wrote to express his deep regret at missing the sight of his old friend, and to introduce a presbyter, Cyriacus, to him. (Basil, *Ep.* 271 [11].) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (132), a pagan of advanced years, styled by Gregory Nyssen "a mountain of unbelief," converted by that father during his stay at Constantinople for the council, A.D. 381. (Greg. Nyss. *de Fato*, ii. p. 62.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (133), a friend of Ambrose, wrongly identified with the bishop of Bologna (No. 22), addressed by Ambrose in two letters, 54 and 55. He had a son Faustinus, to whom Ambrose's letter 39 is written; and he had sent some of his grandchildren to Milan to be educated under the care of Ambrose, including an Ambrosius and Ambrosia, as well as a Faustinus the younger. Ambrose's treatise, *de Institutione Virginis*, is addressed to him, the occasion of it being the dedication of Ambrosia as a virgin. [J. Ll. D.]

EUSEBIUS (134) SCHOLASTICUS, an author who, about A.D. 400, wrote a poem in heroic verse in four books, entitled Γαϊανίς, describing the rebellion of Gaianas the Gothic commander against Arcadius, A.D. 399. Of this rebellion Eusebius had been a spectator. (Socr. *H. E.* vi. 6; Niceph. *H. E.* xiii. 6.) [E. V.]

EUSEBIUS (135), a gentleman of Hippo, apparently of the Donatist party, to whom St. Augustine wrote a letter (*Ep.* 34) complaining of the behaviour of the Donatists in respect of a youth who in the midst of violent conduct towards his mother had sought and received baptism from them. He asks whether this had been done with the sanction of the bishop, Pro-

culeianus, and if it be so, as he disliked the notion of a conference of delegates from each party to discuss the matter, he proposes that he should himself discuss it quietly with him either alone or in conjunction with a colleague, or if he objected to him as an opponent, that his own place should be taken by Samsucius bishop of Tunis. In a second letter (35), written apparently in reply to an answer from Eusebius, Augustine mentions cases, of which he says Proculeianus may not be aware, of rebaptism, especially of a subdeacon named Spanianus, and of other men and women guilty of disorderly conduct in the church, and who, on reception into the Donatist community, exceeded their former disorders, and had some of them joined the Circumcellions. He states the rule of the church in receiving persons from the Donatists, viz. to receive them not as heathens, to be baptized for the first time, but as returning penitents, and he inveighs in strong terms against the conduct of these apostates who, he says, being intolerant of discipline, affect a sacrilegious contempt for the church under the pretence of having received a new gift of grace, which is really only a new species of partisan frenzy. After describing his own moderation in the case of a girl whom her father wished to compel by force to return to Catholic communion, he mentions how, at the instigation of one of the Donatist presbyters, he had been publicly assailed with cries of "traditor" and "persecutor." Of these things Proculeianus ought to be made aware, and to restrain the violence of his clergy. [DONATISM, Vol. I. p. 888.] [H. W. P.]

EUSEBIUS (136), brother of Basilissa. On both of them Theodoret composed an epitaph, in which he called them nurselings of the most holy Xoli (Ξωλῶν ἠγαθέων). Hesychius (*Lex.* s. v.) is of opinion that the Xoli were some unknown foreign tribe. They are apostrophized in another of Theodoret's epitaphs (num. 118), ὦ Ξώλων ζαθέων ἱερὸν πέδον! The language seems to suggest a seat of Christian education, perhaps a monastic settlement or episcopal town. In his next epitaph Theodoret commemorates Georgius, a brother of Eusebius and Basilissa. (Theod. *Carm.* lib. iv. sec. 2, num. 121, 122.) [C. H.]

EUSEBIUS (137), an advocate of Constantinople, addressed by Theodoret in 448, at the time that the report began to be spread that through the machinations of his implacable enemy, Dioscorus, he was about to be deposed and banished, A.D. 448. Theodoret requests Eusebius to console his friends with the assurance that he rejoices rather than grieves at the prospect, in view of the reward promised to those who suffer faithfully for Christ, and to tell his enemies that what they hoped would overwhelm him with distress was rather a source of happiness to him. Eusebius being familiar with classical literature, Theodoret quotes the words of Socrates, Thucydides, and Homer on the duty of a man, how much more then a Christian, to bear the evils of life, and even death itself, with composure. His letter concludes with a very clear statement of his belief in the two natures in the one personality of the Son, in answer to those who charged him with Nestorian heresy. (Theod. *Epist.* 21.) [E. V.]

EUSENDUS, bishop of Lerida. [EUREDUS.]

EUSICHIUS. [EUSITIUS.]

EUSIGNIUS, Aug. 5, martyr at Antioch under Julian, in the autumn of A.D. 362. He was originally a distinguished soldier under Constantius, father of Constantine the Great, and was reputed to be 110 years old when Julian arrived at Antioch. Arrested among the very first, he refused to offer sacrifice, and reproved the emperor for his apostasy, after which he was beheaded (Bas. *Men.*; Bar. *Annal.* 362). Concerning Julian's cruelty at Antioch, see Greg. Naz. t. i. *Orat.* 3; Rufin. *H. E.* i. 35, 36; Socrates, iii. 16; Sozomen, v. 7; Theodoret, iii. 11. [BABYLAS.] [G. T. S.]

EUSITIUS (EUSICHIUS, EUSICIUS, USICHIUS, EUTICHIUS, EUSYCHIUS), abbat, born at Périgueux about A.D. 465. His parents being destitute and driven by famine to Berry, they there sold Eusitius to the abbat of Parpecay (Patrici or Perci) on the Cher, in the diocese of Bourges. Here he was educated and eventually admitted as a monk. Preferring solitude however, he obtained permission to become an anchoret. His reputation as a healer of the sick was great, and many flocked to see him. He was visited by Childebert I., when marching towards Spain in 531, and also on his victorious return. On this occasion, at the request of the saint, who refused all presents, Childebert set free his Spanish prisoners.

Afterwards being presented with the ground on which his hermitage stood, he there founded the monastery of Celles in Berry, at the confluence of the Cher and the Sandre, of which he became abbat, receiving also jurisdiction over his old monastery. Here he is said to have died about A.D. 542; he was commemorated on Nov. 27. (Greg. Tur. *Glor. Conf.* cap. 82 in Migne, Patrol. Lat. lxxi. 890.) [I. G. S.]

EUSPICIUS was a priest of Verdun when that city revolted against king Clovis. After a siege, it was on the point of being taken on the night of the death of its bishop, Firminus, A.D. 498. Euspicius was deputed to implore pardon, and prevailed by reason of his venerable age and reputation for sanctity. The king also offered him the vacant bishopric, and on his refusal made him a grant of land, upon which he built the monastery of St. Mesmin de Micy near Orleans, and became its first abbat. (*Acta SS.* 20 Jul. v. 72.) [R. T. S.]

EUSTACHIUS (1), Oct. 12, presbyter in Egypt, and probably a martyr. Some MSS. of *Mart. Hieron.* and Usuardus place him in Syria. (*Acta SS.* Boll. Oct. vi. 9.) [G. T. S.]

EUSTACHIUS (2) (EUSTATHIUS, named PLACIDUS before his conversion), a military martyr, commemorated by the Latins Nov. 2, by the Greeks Sept. 20, with his wife Theopistis, and two sons, Agapius and Theopistus, at Rome under the emperor Hadrian, A.D. 118. Their Acts are evidently spurious, and rejected by Tillemont (*Mém.* t. ii. 226, 685) as unworthy even of discussion. The fact of their martyrdom has strong and early evidence. The feast of St. Eustachius is marked in the *Kal. Allatii* and the

Kal. Frontonianum. There was a celebrated church at Rome dedicated to him. The Bollandist (*Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 106–137) gives a picture of a tablet from it relating the dedication of the church by pope Silvester in honour of the martyr, of the time, as he thinks, of Constantine the Great. (*Mart.* Usuardi, Wandalbert.; Bas. *Men.*; Niceph. Call. *H. E.* lib. iii. c. 29; Joh. Damasc. *de Imag.* lib. 3; Baron. *Ann.* 120 iii. iv.) Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 103. iv.) conjectures he may have been the Placidus mentioned by Josephus (*de Bell. Jud.* lib. iii. c. 4; lib. iv. c. 187; *Vita Jos.* sec. 43, 74) as a celebrated commander under Titus. In that case, at his martyrdom he must have been very old. His Acts are contained in Symeon Metaphrastes and Surius. [G. T. S.]

EUSTACHIUS (3), or EUSTASIUS. According to "Praedestinatus" (i. 16), a bishop of Lilybaeum, in Sicily, who opposed the heresy of HERACLEON. [G. S.]

EUSTACHIUS (4), bishop of Cremona, present at the third and sixth Roman synods under pope Symmachus, A.D. 501, according to the reckoning of Dahn (*Die Könige der Germanen*), who accepts, in this disputed matter, with a slight alteration, the arrangement of Hefele, § 220 (Mansi, viii. 252 and 315). [A. H. D. A.]

EUSTACHIUS (5), bishop of Sufes. [EUSTRATIUS (4).]

EUSTACHIUS (6), abbat of Attalina, near Ancyra, in Galatia. On the Persian invasion in 619 he and his monks were obliged to evacuate their monastery. As they could not take many books with them, Antiochus, a monk of St. Sabas near Jerusalem, wrote, at the request of Eustachius, an abridgement of the Scriptures, containing in one volume all that was necessary for salvation, to supply the loss of his library. (Antiochus Monach. *Epist. ad Eustath.* in Pat. Gr. lxxxix. 1422; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs ecclés.* xi. 697.) [I. G. S.]

EUSTACHIUS. [EUSTASIUS, EUSTATHIUS, EUTHASIUS.]

EUSTADIOLA, abbess. She was the daughter of noble parents, at whose desire she married. After having given birth to a son whom she named Tetradius she was left a widow. She then devoted herself to a monastic life, and founded the "ecclesia medii Monasterii" (Moyen-Moutiers) at Bourges, of which she became abbess. Many miracles are recorded of her, and she was commemorated on June 8. She lived in the 7th century, and died at the age of more than ninety years. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 133.) [I. G. S.]

EUSTASIUS (1), ST., reputed 7th or 8th bishop of Naples, cir. 180, between Agrippinus and St. Euphebius, on the authority of Joannes Diaconus of Naples. (Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* vi. 27; Boll. *Acta SS.* 29 Mart. iii. 768.) [C. H.]

EUSTASIUS (2) (Ambros. ep. 42, p. 970 in Pat. Lat. xvi. 1129 A; *Epist. Decretal.* tom. i. 675), bishop [EUSTATHIUS (12).] [F. A.]

EUSTASIUS (3) (*Gall. Chr.* xii. 806), bishop. [EUTHASIUS.]

EUSTASIUS (4) (EUSTATHIUS, EUSTACHIUS), fifth bishop of Marseilles, succeeding Venerius, and followed by Graecus, in the latter half of the 5th century. He ordained St. Eutropius, who afterwards became the sixth bishop of Orange. Gennadius, who lived towards the close of this century, in his *de Viris illustr.* (cap. 79 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 1103), says that Musaeus, a priest of Marseilles, composed and dedicated to Eustasius a book upon the sacraments. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 634.) [S. A. B.]

EUSTASIUS (5) (EUSTACHIUS), 26th occupant of the see of Bourges. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* x. 26) states that he was a deacon of Autun, who succeeded Sulpicius I. in the see. He died in 607, or according to Le Cointe (*Ann. Eccl. Franc.* a. 602, n. xxviii., tom. ii. 555) in 602, and was commemorated as a saint in his own diocese Dec. 31. His successor was St. Apollinaris. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 15.) [S. A. B.]

EUSTASIUS (6), abbat, born in Burgundy about the year A.D. 560. He belonged to a family of distinction, and was nephew to St. Micetius. When grown up, he embraced a monastic life, and entered the monastery of Luxovium (Luxeuil, in Franche-Comté), under the rule of St. Columbanus. He was appointed head of the school attached to the monastery, and soon made it one of the most celebrated of the age. In 610, St. Columbanus retired from Luxeuil, and Eustasius was chosen to succeed him. As abbat he gained the confidence of Clotaire II., who sent him to Italy to try and induce Columbanus to return. This Columbanus refused to do, but confirmed Eustasius in his appointment as abbat. In 616 and 617 Eustasius was employed in missionary labours, at first in his own neighbourhood among the Varasci inhabiting the basin of the Doubs, of whom some were idolaters and others were infected with the errors of Photinus or Bonosus; and afterwards among the Boii or Bavarians, where he remained but a short time, and then sent other labourers to continue the work. While he was absent, one of his monks, Agrestinus, wishing him to discard the authority of Rome, made a schism in the monastery of Luxovium. Eustasius, returning, expelled Agrestinus, who then inveighed fiercely against the rule of St. Columbanus, and so persistent were his accusations that at length a council on the subject was convened at Mâcon in 623 (Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, March 29). Eustasius, in his speech at this council, cited Agrestinus to appear within the year before the judgment seat of God, there to plead his cause against St. Columbanus, and his opponent was murdered a few months later (Baron. 617, 11). Eustasius died in the fifteenth year of his rule, A.D. 625. Martyrologies vary as to the day on which he was commemorated, some saying March 29, others Oct. 11. Eustasius wrote a life of Columbanus [COLUMBANUS]; his own life was written by his contemporary Jonas of Bobbio, and has been printed by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 786) and by Mabillon (*Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. ii. p. 108). See also Baronius, *Annales Eccles.* A.D. 612, 10, &c.; Ceillier, xi. 617; Cave, *Historia Liter.* i. 575. [I. G. S.]

EUSTASIUS. See also EUSTACHIUS and EUSTATHIUS.

EUSTATHIA, sister of Ambrosia, at Jerusalem, whose acquaintance Gregory Nyssen made during his visit to the holy city, and to whom, together with Basilissa, perhaps the daughter of one of them, Gregory Nyssen addressed a letter after his return home, A.D. 379, indicating the disappointment he felt at the unholy lives of so many who dwelt among the holy places. (Greg. Nyss. *Opp.* vol. iii. p. 659, ed. Morel. 1638; Pat. Gr. xlvi. 1015.) The authenticity of the letter is vindicated by Isaac Causaubon, by whom it was first printed, with a Latin version and notes, in 1606.

[E. V.]

EUSTATHIANI, given by Timotheus, presbyter (Cotelier, *Mon. Ecc. Gr.* iii. 400), as an alternative name for EUCHITES. See EUSTATHIUS (54) OF EDESSA, also EUSTATHIUS (4) OF SEBASTE, and EUSTATHIUS (3) OF ANTIOCH (Soz. vi. 21). [G. S.]

EUSTATHIUS (1), bishop of Parium, on the Hellespont; he is mentioned among the bishops who attended the funeral of St. Parthenius, bishop of Lampsacus, who lived during the reign of Constantine the Great, A.D. 306–337. (*AA. SS. Bolland.* Feb. ii. 42; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 787.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (2), bishop of Arethusa, in Syria Secunda, north of Emesa. He was present at the first general council held at Nicaea, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 693; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 915.) [J. de S.]

EUSTATHIUS (3), bishop first of Berrhoea in Syria, and then of Antioch, c. A.D. 324–331, designated by Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 7) "the Great," ὁ μέγας, one of the earliest and most vigorous opponents of Arianism, venerated for his learning and his virtues, and admired for his eloquence (Soz. *H. E.* i. 2; ii. 19; Theod. *H. E.* i. 20), recognized by Athanasius as a worthy fellow-labourer and fellow-sufferer in the cause of the orthodox faith (Athan. *Hist. Arian.* § 5). Eustathius was a native of Side in Pamphylia (Hieron. *de Vir. Illus.* c. 85). Nothing is known of his early life, but the title of "confessor," given him by Athanasius more than once (tom. i. pp. 702, 812) indicates that he witnessed to, and suffered for, the faith, in the persecution of Diocletian. He became bishop of Berrhoea, and while he occupied that see, the esteem in which he was held is shewn by his being selected as one of the orthodox prelates to whom Alexander of Alexandria sent a copy of his letter, addressed to Alexander of Constantinople, on the subject of Arius and his errors (Theod. *H. E.* i. 4). The date of his translation from Beroea to Antioch is uncertain. Sozomen, however, is decidedly in error in placing it after the Council of Nicaea, and making it the act of the assembled fathers of that synod (Soz. *H. E.* i. 2). Theodoret states more correctly that he sat at that council as bishop of Antioch, and that his election to that see was the unanimous act of the bishops, presbyters, and faithful laity of the city and province (Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 7). According to Theodoret he was the immediate successor of Philogonius; but according to the Chronicle of Jerome, which is supported by Theophanes and others, a certain Paulinus, to be distinguished from Paulinus of Tyre, intervened for a short time (Tillemont. vol. vii. p. 22, note i. p. 646). Eustathius accepted the weighty charge very reluctantly, as if foreseeing the troubles it would bring upon him. At the Council of Nicaea Eustathius occupied one of the first, if not the very first place among the assembled prelates (Facund. viii. 4). Whether he occupied the seat of honour at the emperor's right hand and pronounced the panegyrical address to Constantine is doubtful. The *Allocutio ad Imperatorem* given by Labbe (*Concil.* ii. 633) is certainly suppositious. This fact is asserted by Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 7), but contradicted by Sozomen (*H. E.* i. 19), who assigns the dignity to Eusebius. Eusebius himself maintains a discreet silence, but he evidently wishes it to be inferred that the anonymous occupant of the place of honour mentioned by him was himself (Euseb. *de Vit. Const.* iii. 11). This is accepted by Valesius (not. ad loc.) On his return to Antioch Eustathius used his authority with great decision to check the rising heresy. He banished such of his clergy as were suspected of holding Arian tenets, and resolutely rejected all ambiguous submissions. Among those whom he refused to receive among his clergy were Stephen, Leontius, ὁ ἀπόκοπος, and Eudoxius (who successively occupied his episcopal seat after his deposition), George of Laodicea, Theodosius of Tripolis, and Eustathius of Sebaste (Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* § 5). As well in his published writings as in his sermons, he lost no opportunity of declaring the Nicene faith, and shewing its agreement with Holy Scripture. Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 8) makes special mention of one of his sermons on Prov. viii. 22, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way," &c., from which he gives a long extract. The troubled relations of Eustathius with the two Eusebii may be dated from the Council of Nicaea. At this synod Eusebius of Caesarea and Eustathius felt themselves to be rivals as well in theological views as in favour with the emperor. The elevation of one meant the depression of the other. To one of Eustathius's uncompromising and somewhat old-fashioned orthodoxy, Eusebius appeared a foe to the truth, the more dangerous on account of his ability and the subtlety with which he veiled his heretical proclivities. Eustathius did not shrink from denouncing his departure from the Nicene faith. Eusebius retorted with the charge of Sabellianism, accusing Eustathius of holding one only personality in the Deity (Socr. *H. E.* i. 23; Soz. *H. E.* ii. 18; Theod. *H. E.* i. 21). Their position became more and more one of mutual suspicion and hardly concealed enmity. Eusebius, endowed with far more subtlety and worldly wisdom than Eustathius, was watching his opportunity to overthrow the rival by whose personal and official superiority he was overshadowed. He could reckon on the support of the majority of the neighbouring bishops, especially his namesake of Nicomedia, impatient like himself of the power and influence of Eustathius. The changed feeling of the emperor and the court favour now shewn towards the Arianizing party deprived their enterprise of any risk of compromising themselves with the imperial power. The two Eusebii and their adherents had but to bide their time, concert their mea-

sures skilfully, and seize the first favourable opportunity, and success was certain. The occasion was not slow to present itself. Eusebius of Nicomedia flattered the emperor's vanity by a request to be permitted to visit the magnificent sacred buildings erected by him at Jerusalem. Constantine not only acceded to his petition, but assigned him vehicles and every other convenience for the journey, at the public expense. Theognis of Nicaea accompanied him. Their progress was one almost of royal magnificence. On their passage through Antioch the two prelates had a fraternal reception from Eustathius, and they parted with every appearance of friendship. Their next meeting was of a very different character. His inspection of the sacred buildings over, Eusebius returned to Antioch with a large cortege of partisan bishops — Aetius of Lydda, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Theodotus of Laodicea, and the prime mover of the whole conspiracy, Eusebius of Caesarea. The cabal entered Antioch with the air of masters. The plot had been maturing in their absence. Witnesses were prepared with charges against the bishop of incontinency and other gross crimes. Eustathius was summoned before this self-constituted tribunal, and in defiance of the opposition of the better-minded bishops, and in the absence of any trustworthy evidence, he was condemned on the ground of heresy, profligacy, and tyrannical conduct, and deposed from his bishopric. The deposition of a bishop whom they loved and revered aroused the indignation of the excitable people of Antioch, who took up arms in his defence. Some of the magistrates and other officials headed the movement, and encouraged Eustathius to refuse to obey so unjust a sentence. An artfully coloured and exaggerated account of these disturbances and Eustathius's complicity in them was transmitted to Constantine. His enemies had already poisoned the emperor's mind by reporting that he had given currency to some scandalous tales derogatory to the character of the emperor's mother, Helena. ("Stabulariam fuisse ferunt." Ambros. *de Obit. Theod.* 42.) His fate was sealed. A count, believed to have been Strategus Musonianus, was despatched to quell the sedition and to put the sentence of the council into execution. Eustathius gave an example of submission to constituted authority. Accompanied by a large body of his clergy, resolved to share his fate, he left Antioch without resistance, or manifesting any resentment against the authors of so foul a wrong. (Socr. *H. E.* i. 24; Soz. *H. E.* ii. 19; Theod. *H. E.* i. 21; Philost. *H. E.* ii. 7; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 59.) Jerome states that the place of his banishment was Trajanopolis in Thrace, but he appears to have spent the larger part of his exile at Philippi, where he died, c. 337. The date of his deposition is much controverted. It may be probably placed at the end of 330 or the beginning of 331 A.D. It can hardly be questioned that there is an error in the text of Jerome (*de Vir. Illust.* c. 85) and Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.* § 5), which refers the event to the reign of Constantius instead of Constantine. (See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* vol. vii. note 3; *sur Saint Eustathe*; Wetter, *Restitutio verae chronolog. rerum contra Arian. gest.*; De Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire*, ch. vii.) His body, which in Jerome's time was still buried in the place of his banishment—"ubi usque hodie conditus est" (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. 85)—was brought back to Antioch by Calandio, then bishop of that city, by the permission of the emperor Zeno, and received with the utmost honour by the citizens, c. 482 (Theod. Lect. ii. p. 557; Theophan. p. 114). The deposition of Eustathius was the origin of a lamentable schism in the church of Antioch, which had the effect of dividing the Catholic church into two parties, and creating misunderstanding and discord in the ranks of the orthodox. This schism lasted nearly a century, not being completely healed till the episcopate of Alexander, A.D. 413–420.

Eustathius was a copious writer, and is much praised by early authorities for the eloquence of his language, which, according to Sozomen (*H. E.* ii. 19), had somewhat of an archaic cast, and the grave dignity of his style, as well as for his knowledge of Scripture and power of orthodox interpretation (Hieron. *Epist.* 70 [84], ad Magnum). Of his numerous writings, we possess only one entire work, that named by Jerome *De Engastrimytho adversus Origenem*, printed by Galland. In this work he attacks Origen with great vehemence, ridicules him as a πολυΐστωρ, and controverts his idea that the prophet Samuel was actually called up by the witch of Endor (Galland, *Vet. Patr. Bibl.* vol. iv.) and Migne (Patrol. vol. xviii. p. 614, ff.) Of his other works, we only have a few scattered fragments. Excerpts from his eight books against the Arians, gathered from Photius, Facundus, Gelasius, &c., are given by Galland (*u. s.*), Fabricius (*Biblioth. Graec.* ix. 131 ff. ed. Harles), and Migne (*u. s.* p. 691 ff.). Some passages from his sermon on Prov. viii. 32 and from his exposition of Ps. xv. and xcii. are to be found in the *Eranistes* of Theodoret (Diacl. ii. p. 90; dial. iii. p. 156, &c.). His discourse on Prov. ix. 5 is quoted in the acts of the second Nicene council (Labbe, *Concil.* viii. pp. 1099, 1479). His expositions of Holy Scripture are frequently quoted in the Catenae. Of his innumerable letters, "infinitae epistolae" extant in Jerome's time, not one remains. A liturgy bearing his name, but probably spurious, appears in Renaudot (i. 254) and Migne (*u. s.* p. 698 ff.). A spurious commentary on the *Hexaemeron* bearing his name is also printed by Migne (p. 707 ff.). (Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* vol. ix. p. 131, ff. ed. Harles; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 187; Galland. *Vet. Patr. Bibl.* tom. iv.; Migne, *Patrolog.* tom. ix. p. 131 ff.; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* tom. vii. p. 21 ff.; De Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire*, tom. ii. p. 294 ff.) [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (4), bishop of Sebasteia, or Sebaste (the modern *Siwas*), a town of Pontus, on the northern bank of the Halys, the capital of Armenia Minor (c. A.D. 357–380). Eustathius occupies a more conspicuous than honourable place in the unhappy dissensions between the adherents of the orthodox faith and the various shades of Arian, semi-Arian, and Anomoean heresy which destroyed the peace and retarded the growth of the church during the middle of the 4th century. Originally a disciple of Arius he retained to the last the taint of his early heretical training, proving in Basil's words that "the Ethiopian could not change his skin," and after repeated approaches more or less nearly

to the Nicene faith, and with occasional professions of accepting it, he probably ended his days as a Eunomian heretic. The frequent and rapid transformations his creed experienced are a proof that Eustathius's religious convictions did not rest on any well-grounded dogmatic basis, but that with an underlying tendency in favour of his early Arian teaching, he had no fixed principle to save him, to use Basil's image, from being "carried hither and thither, like the clouds, with every changing wind" (Basil. *Epist.* 244 [82], § 9). Few in that epoch of conflicting creeds and formularies of faith ever signed more and more various documents. Basil enumerates his signature of the formularies of Ancyra, Seleucia, Constantinople, Lampsacus, Nice in Thrace, and Cyzicus, which, if not all directly at variance with one another, were sufficiently diverse to indicate the vagueness of his theology (Basil. *l. c.*). By his frequent changes of opinion Eustathius naturally forfeited the confidence of the rival schools of theology, and was regarded with suspicion by all. He was subjected to repeated sentences of censure and deposition. He was deposed by Eulalius, the bishop who ordained him, and by Eusebius of Constantinople, excommunicated by a synod at Neocaesarea, convicted of perjury at a council at Antioch, condemned by the council of Melitene, deposed and banished at Constantinople, while his hyper-ascetic extravagances were the cause of the summoning of the council at Gangra, where he and his followers were synodically condemned. Lamentable as were Eustathius's vacillations of faith and dogmatic inconsistencies, his personal character appears to have been not only free from reproach, but of so high a standard as to account for the powerful influence he exercised over others. There must have been something more than common in a man who could secure the affection and respect for many years of Basil the Great, "as bearing about him all the marks of a zealous and honest though erring man" (J. H. Newman, *Hist. Sketches*, iii. 20), and in Basil's own strong language, "exhibiting something more than man," μεῖζόν τι ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον (Basil. *Epist.* 212 [370], § 2), and of whom, after the painful dissensions which embittered Basil's later years, that great saint could say that from childhood to extreme old age he had watched over himself with the greatest care, the result of his self-discipline being seen in his life and character (Basil. *Epist.* 244 [82], § 4). His life was one of unsparing austerity. As bishop, he manifested a loving care for the sick and needy, and was unwearied in his exertions in the fulfilment of his episcopal duties. The force of Eustathius's character is evidenced by the rapid success of the system of coenobitic monasticism which was introduced by him into Asia, and which Basil took as his model. This Sozomen attributes to personal influence alone, inasmuch as he was devoid of eloquence. (Soz. *H. E.* iii. 14; Basil. *Epist.* 223 [79], § 3.)

Eustathius was born in the Cappadocian Caesarea towards the beginning of the 4th century. According to Socrates and Sozomen (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 43; Soz. *H. E.* iv. 24), he was the son of Eulalius, bishop of Caesarea. No bishop of that name, however, appears to have held the see at that time, and the statement is probably erroneous. As he was ordained at Antioch about the time that Eulalius was bishop of that city, it is possible that there has been some confusion between a natural and a spiritual father. He studied at Alexandria under the heresiarch Arius (c. A.D. 320) and, according to Basil, was regarded as one of his most genuine disciples (Basil. *Epist.* 223 [79], § 3; 244 [82], § 9; 263 [74], § 3). On leaving Alexandria he repaired to Antioch, where he was refused ordination on account of his Arian tenets by his orthodox namesake, the bishop of that city (Athanas. *Solit.* p. 812). He was afterwards ordained by the Eulalius of whom we have just spoken (c. 331), but was very speedily degraded by him on account of his refusal to wear the clerical dress (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 43, Soz. *H. E.* iv. 24). As the twelfth canon of Gangra (convened, as we have said, at a later period, to correct the extravagances of Eustathius) condemns the wearing of the περιβόλαιον (the rough pallium adopted by philosophers and monks to shew their contempt for luxury) as a mark of superior sanctity, we may reasonably conclude that this, and not the use of the secular garb, was the offence which was thus punished. From Antioch Eustathius returned to his native city of Caesarea, where he obtained ordination from Hermogenes, the orthodox bishop of that city, on declaring his unqualified adhesion to the Nicene faith (Basil. *Epist.* 244 [82], § 9; 263 [74], § 3). On the death of Hermogenes, Eustathius repaired to Constantinople and attached himself to Eusebius, the bishop of the Imperial city, "the Coryphaeus of the Arian party" (Basil. *ll. cc.*). By him he was a second time deposed (c. A.D. 342) on the ground of some unspecified act of unfaithfulness in the discharge of duty (Soz. *H. E.* iv. 24). He retired once more to Caesarea, where, by a careful concealment of his Arian proclivities, he sought to commend himself to the then bishop, Dianius, a man whose love of peace was stronger than his zeal for orthodoxy, of which, moreover, his sense was not very keen. The subsequent period, till he became bishop of Sebaste, is almost a blank in Eustathius's history. We must, however, assign to it the theological argument held by him and his friend Basil of Ancyra with the audacious Anomoean, Aetius, who is regarded by Basil the Great in some sense as Eustathius's pupil (Basil. *Epist.* 123, § 5), in which, according to Philostorgius (*H. E.* iii. 16), they were shamefully worsted, but according to Gregory Nyssen (*In Eunom.* lib. i. pp. 289, 296) obtained a decided victory. However this may have been, Eustathius zealously seconded Basil's endeavours to blacken Aetius's character with Gallus, which were nearly ending in his execution (Philost. (*H. E.* iii. 27). It was certainly during this period that together with his early friend and fellow disciple, the presbyter Aerius [AERIUS] Eustathius undertook an ascetic life, and became the founders of coenobitic monachism in Armenia and the adjacent provinces (Epiphan. *Haer.* 75, § 2). The rule laid down by him for the government of his religious communities of both sexes formed the model of the system subsequently established by Basil the Great, whose good sense cleared it of the extravagances alluded to by Socrates and Sozomen, which are not unlikely to have been the cause, otherwise unknown, of his excommunication by the council of Neo-Caesarea

mentioned by those historians (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 43; Soz. *H. E.* iv. 24). It was while Eustathius was regulating his coenobitic foundations (c. A.D. 358) that he was visited by Basil, who enamoured of the ascetic system, had been travelling far in search of the most perfect example of that life, and found it eventually very near his own home. Basil records the delight with which he saw the coarse garments, the girdle, the sandals of undressed hide, and witnessed the self-denying and laborious lives of Eustathius and his followers. His admiration for such a victory over the world and the flesh dispelled all suspicions of Arian sentiments, and the desire to spread them secretly, which had been rumoured (Basil. *Epist.* 223 [79], § 3). After Basil had retired to the banks of the Iris and commenced his own monastic life, he and his brother Gregory received frequent visits from Eustathius, who would sometimes accompany them across the river to Annesi, the residence of their mother, the sainted Macrina, where they would spend whole days and nights in friendly theological discussion (*Ibid.* § 5).

We are ignorant of the exact date of Eustathius's elevation to the episcopate, but it must have been before A.D. 357, when Athanasius speaks of him as a bishop (Athanas. *Orat. in Arian.* i. p. 290; *Solit.* p. 812). He was made bishop of Sebasteia, according to the same authority, by the influence of the Arian party, who hoped to have in him an able and facile instrument. His early companion Aerius was a candidate for the bishopric, and felt the mortification of his failure very severely. Eustathius shewed the utmost consideration for his friend, whom he ordained presbyter, and appointed manager of a house of refuge for the poor, the foundation of which was one of the first acts of his episcopate. The failure of Eustathius's attempts to conciliate Aerius's wounded pride, the grave but groundless charges brought by him against his bishop, and the final rupture between them, are detailed in another article [AERIUS]. Somewhere about this time we may place his conviction of perjury in the council of Antioch mentioned by Socrates (*H. E.* iv. 24), and his condemnation and deposition by the obscure council of Melitene in Armenia c. A.D. 357 (Basil. *Epist.* 263 [74]).[a] Neither of these untoward events appear to have entailed any lasting consequences. Eustathius was one of the prelates assembling at the semi-Arian synod summoned at Ancyra by George of Laodicea before Easter A.D. 358, to check the alarming spread of Anomoean doctrines, and accompanied Basil of Ancyra and Eleusius of Cyzicus when conveying the synodal letter, equally repudiating the Anomoean and Homoousian doctrines, and declaring for the Homoiousion to the emperor Constantius at Sirmium (Soz. *H. E.* iv. 13, 14; Basil. *Epist.* 263 [74], § 3). When the council met at Seleuceia the next year, Sept. 27, 359, Eustathius occupied a prominent place in its tumultuous and indecisive proceedings, and was the head of the ten episcopal deputies, Basil of Ancyra, Silvanus of Tarsus and Eleusius of Cyzicus being other chief members, sent to Constantinople to lay their report before Constantine. The closing days of the year were spent in stormy discussions, in which Eustathius took the lead on the semi-Arian side as against the pure Arians. He vehemently denounced the blasphemies of the bold Anomoean, Eudoxius, bishop of Antioch, and produced a formulary of faith declaring the dissimilarity of the Father and the Son, which he asserted to be his composition. Eudoxius denied the authorship of the paper, which he said had been drawn up by Aetius. Aetius was summoned by the emperor, and acknowledged the parentage of the document. Eustathius, however, insisted that though Eudoxius might not be the author of this paper, he held all the doctrines contained in it. Constantius declaring that he must proceed on proved facts, and could condemn no one on conjecture, Eustathius adroitly suggested that Eudoxius might clear himself from all suspicion if he would pronounce an anathema on the propositions of Aetius. This pleased the emperor, and Eudoxius, as cowardly as he was profane, after various subtle shifts, was driven, by Constantius's threats of deposition and banishment, to anathematize the views he inwardly held and afterwards openly promoted. To revenge himself on his accusers, Eudoxius, in his turn, demanded that Eustathius and his fellow-deputies should be required to condemn the Homoousion as a term not contained in Holy Scripture. Silvanus of Tarsus succeeded in persuading Constantius that if not actually expressed, it might be established from Holy Writ, and, following up his success, induced Constantius to require of Eudoxius to subscribe a repudiation of the leading Arian propositions. Constantius then proceeded to the personal examination of Aetius, who was successfully encountered by his old opponents, Eustathius and Basil (Theod. *H. E.* ii. 27; Soz. *H. E.* iv. 23). All seemed to augur the triumph of orthodoxy, when the arrival of Valens and Ursacius from Ariminum announcing the subjugation of the Western bishops and the general proscription of the Homoousion suddenly changed the scene. Constantius was overjoyed at the unlooked for attainment of his object, and after a protracted discussion, extending through the last day and night of the year, compelled Eustathius and the other Seleucian deputies to sign the fatal formulary. It was then, in Jerome's words, "ingemuit totus orbis et se esse Arianum miratus est" (Hieron. *in Lucif.* 19). This base concession, however, profited the recreants but little, and when the synod, called by the emperor, of which Acacius was the ruling spirit, met at Constantinople in January A.D. 360, Eustathius was deposed in a violent and tyrannical manner by those who were at the same time accusers and judges, together with Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil of Ancyra, Eleusius of Cyzicus, and other prelates of high consideration. The grounds of deposition were in no case professedly dogmatic. Party spirit and personal hatred were the real causes; but in each instance some old charge of a frivolous nature was reproduced, and made the ostensible plea. Eustathius was not even

[a] Somewhere about this time Meletius, the celebrated bishop of Antioch, was appointed to the bishopric of Sebasteia, which he resigned after a very short trial in consequence of the contumacy of his flock (Theod. *H. E.* ii. 31). It is impossible to decide whether this was subsequent to Eustathius's deposition at Melitene, or at Constantinople. The earlier date is more probable. Blondel (p. 137) places his episcopate before that of Eustathius. (See Tillemont, vol. viii. note ii. S. Melece.)

allowed to defend himself. His former deposition by Eulalius was regarded sufficient (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 41–43; Soz. *H. E.* iv. 24). Constantius confirmed the sentence, sent the deposed bishops into exile, and bestowed their sees on others. The death of Constantius in A.D. 361, and the accession of Julian witnessed the recall of Eustathius to his see with the other banished bishops. He immediately repudiated his signature of the creed of Ariminum, and did all he could to shew his horror of pure Arianism. Sozomen informs us that, together with Eleusius, Sophronius, and others of the same sentiments, he held several synods, in which the partisans of Acacius were condemned, the creed of Ariminum denounced, and the Homoiousion asserted as the true mean between the Homoousion of the West and the Anomoeon of Aetius and his followers (Soz. *H. E.* v. 14). With the accession of Valens in A.D. 364, Arianism once more assumed the ascendency in the East. The semi-Arian party, or Macedonians as they now began to be called, seeing the emergency, by imperial permission, met in council at Lampsacus A.D. 365, under the presidency of Eleusius. Here they repudiated the proceedings of the Acacian council of Constantinople in A.D. 360, and the creed of Ariminum, renewed the confession of Antioch (*In Encaeniis*), and pronounced sentence of deposition on Eudoxius and Acacius (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 2–4; Soz. *H. E.* vi. 7). These proceedings irritated Valens, who refused to confirm their decrees, and required them to hold communion with Eudoxius. On their refusal he sentenced them to fine and banishment, and gave away their sees to others. To escape complete annihilation, the Macedonians determined to send deputies to the Western emperor Valentinian and Liberius, bishop of Rome, who had now recovered from his unhappy lapse in A.D. 357, offering to unite with them in faith. Those chosen to go were Eustathius, Silvanus, and Theophilus of Castabala in Cilicia. Before they arrived Valentinian had left for Gaul, and Liberius at first looked coldly on them, and refused to receive them, as Arians. On their declaring that they had long since returned to the right path, and had condemned the doctrine of the Anomoeans, Liberius required them to give in their written adhesion to the Nicene creed, and their acceptance of the Homoousion. On their doing this, Liberius consented to receive Eustathius and his companions into communion, and gave them letters in his name and that of the Western church to the prelates of the Eastern church, expressing his satisfaction at the proof he had received from their representatives of the identity of doctrine between the East and the West (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 12; Soz. *H. E.* vi. 11). No mention was made of the new Macedonian heresy concerning the Holy Spirit, which was infecting the Eastern church, and of which Eustathius and the other deputies were among the chief promulgators. On the receipt of the papal letters Eustathius and his companions at once repaired to Sicily, where a synod of bishops was summoned by them, which, on the profession of their orthodoxy, gave them letters of communion, with which they returned to their own country. On their return a synod of orthodox bishops was assembled in A.D. 367 at Tyana, to receive the letters of communion from the West and other documents (Soz. *l. c.*; Basil. *Epist.* 244 [82], § 5). Eustathius and his fellow delegates were recognised as true Catholics, and they were acknowledged as the rightful bishops of their sees. The council appointed by their synod to meet at Tarsus, to consolidate the union so happily inaugurated, was prohibited by Valens, who, yielding to his wife's urgency, had committed himself to the Arian party by receiving baptism from Eudoxius, and who now put forth an edict ordering the expulsion of all the bishops, who, having been deposed by Constantius, had been restored by Julian. Eustathius, to save himself, had the contemptible weakness to sign a formula at Cyzicus of Homoiousian character, which also denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Basil says tersely of Eustathius and his party, "they saw Cyzicus and returned with a different creed" (Basil. *Epist.* 244 [82], § 5, § 9; 226 [73]).

On Basil's elevation to the episcopate in A.D. 370, Eustathius exhibited the greatest joy, and professed an earnest desire to be of service to his friend in his new and responsible office. On the plea that Basil would be in want of fellow helpers and counsellors, he recommended persons to his notice, who, as Basil bitterly complains, turned out to be spies of his actions and watchers of his words, interpreting all in a malevolent sense, and reporting his supposed heretical leanings to their chief (Basil. *Epist.* 223 [79], § 3). The subsequent relations of Eustathius and Basil, which so much embittered his episcopate, have been detailed in another article [BASILIUS OF CAESAREIA]. Eustathius not only heaped calumnies on the head of his former associate, openly charging him with Apollinarian and other heretical views and accusing him of haughty and overbearing conduct towards his suffragans and clergy, but also encouraged the clergy of his diocese and province to separate themselves from him, and form a rival communion. Demosthenes, the Vicar of the Prefect, an old enemy of Basil, strenuously forwarded this object. In A.D. 376 he visited Sebasteia among other chief places in the province, for the purpose of crushing Basil's adherents, whom he compelled to undertake onerous and costly public duties, while he loaded the followers of Eustathius with the highest honours (Basil. *Epist.* 237 [264], § 2). Eustathius, seeing Arianism in the ascendant, and orthodoxy everywhere punished, began openly to court communion with those whom he had repeatedly denounced. His deposition by the dominant party at Constantinople remained a fact which the Arians took care to remember, and up to this time they had declined to recognise him as a canonical bishop. As they were now the party in power, it was of the utmost importance to secure their goodwill. This he sought by the most humiliating concessions. He had overthrown the altars of Basilides, bishop of Gangra, as an Arian, and he now supplicated him to admit him to his communion. He had treated the people of Amasea as heretics, excommunicated Elpidius for holding intercourse with them, and he earnestly sought their recognition. At Ancyra, the Arians refusing to recognise him publicly, Eustathius submitted to communicate with them in private houses. When the Arian bishops met in synod at Nyssa he sent a deputation of his clergy to invite them to Sebasteia, and

caused them to be conducted through the province with every mark of honour. On their arrival he shewed them the utmost deference, and allowed them to preach and celebrate the Eucharist in his churches, and withheld no mark of the most intimate communion (Basil. *Epist.* 257 [72], § 3). These humiliations had but tardy and partial success in obtaining his public acknowledgment by the dominant ecclesiastics. The efforts made by Eustathius to secure the favour of the Arian party by repressing the Nicene faith, the effrontery with which he employed his former recognition by Liberius as a means of investing his words and actions with the authority of one in close communion with the great church of Rome, extorted from Basil a vehement letter of remonstrance, addressed to the bishop of Rome, and the other Western bishops, depicting the evils inflicted on the Eastern church by the wolves in sheep's clothing, and requesting Liberius to declare publicly the terms on which Eustathius had been admitted to communion (Basil, *Epist.* 263 [74], § 3). As will be read in the article already referred to (vol. i. p. 292 ff.) all Basil's efforts to obtain this mark of sympathy and brotherly recognition from the West were fruitless. He continued to be harassed by the unscrupulous attacks of Eustathius till his death in A.D. 379 If the see was vacated by his death, and not, as Hefele holds, with much probability, by his deposition at Gangra, Eustathius soon followed him to his great account. In the following year, A.D. 380, Peter became bishop of Sebasteia, and thus, in the words of Tillemont, by a remarkable dispensation of "providence St. Basil's brother was seated on the throne of Eustathius, Basil's most dangerous enemy" (*Mém. Eccl.* ix. 574).

No little uncertainty hangs over the synod of Gangra, which is too intimately connected with the name of Eustathius to be passed over. The question of its date, and the identity of the Eustathius there condemned with the bishop of Sebasteia, which, though affirmed by every ancient authority, has been denied by Blondel (*De la Primauté*, p. 138), Baronius (*Annal.* iii. ann. 361, n. 53), Du Pin (*Nouvelle Bibliothèque*, ii. 339), and called in question by Tillemont (*Mém. Eccl.* ix. note 28, *S. Basile*), has been carefully investigated by Hefele (*Hist. of the Church Councils*, ii. 325 ff. Engl. trans.). He pronounces himself unable to arrive at any certain conclusions as to its date (GANGRA, COUNCIL OF, DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES, i. 709), but regards the notion that another Eustathius is intended as undeserving of any serious consideration. The self-righteous and heretical form of asceticism, professing a higher degree of spirituality and despising church ordinances, condemned in the twenty-one canons or anathematisms of this council is in complete accordance with the account of Eustathius as the founder of the ascetic and coenobitic life in Armenia given by Socrates (*H. E.* ii. 43), and Sozomen (*H. E.* iv. 24), Labbe (*Concil.* ii. 413). Ecclesiastical history is entirely silent as to the after fortunes of this hyperascetical sect. Hefele states that "in accordance with the decisions of Gangra Eustathius is said to have laid aside his peculiarities, and again dressed himself like other ecclesiastics, not as a monk" (*u. s.* p. 337).

[E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (5), bishop of Epiphania, in Syria Secunda; he was a member of the Arian party both at Philippopolis, 343, and Seleucia, 359 (Mansi, iii. 322). At the latter synod he signed the Acacian creed (Epiphan. *Haeres.* 73). He is reported to have died of horror on hearing that during the revival of pagan worship under the emperor Julian the image of Bacchus had been brought into his church with tumultuous revelry, and he was consequently regarded as a martyr (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 917). [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (6), bishop of Pinara in Lycia, present at the synod of Seleucia, A.D. 359, where he signed the heretical creed of Acacius of Caesarea and George of Alexandria. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 975; Mansi, iii. 321.)

[L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (7), a bishop censured by the semi-Arian party (among whom was his namesake, the bishop of Sebaste), at the council of Seleucia in A.D. 359. There were two sentences: (1) deposition, which fell on Acacius and eight others; (2) restriction to the communion of their own churches until they should purge themselves of their errors; which was pronounced on eight besides Eustathius. (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 40, Patr. Graec. lxvii. col. 345; Athanas. *Opp.* pars i. p. 580; Patr. Graec. xxvi. col. 704; Baron. *Ann.* ad ann. 359; Fleury, *Hist. du Christian.* lib. xiv. cap. 17.) [W. M. S.]

EUSTATHIUS (8), bishop of Himmeria in Osrhoene, to whom Basil wrote in A.D. 374 with reference to the persecution the orthodox were enduring from the Arians. He commends him for the care he bestowed, not on his own church only, but on those of the bishops who had been banished for the faith. (Basil. *Epist.* 184 [306].)

[E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (9), a chorepiscopus sent by Eustathius of Sebaste with a letter to Basil. Eustathius deferred for three days delivering the letter, and finally left it at Basil's house late in the evening when he was in bed and asleep, and departed the next morning. This was distorted by Basil's enemies into a charge of his refusing to admit the messengers of Eustathius of Sebaste. (Basil, *Ep.* 226 [75].) [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (10), bishop of Prusa (Theopolis) in Bithynia, present at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 617; Mansi, iii. 572.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (11), bishop of Canna, in Lycaonia, present at the oecumenical council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1083; Mansi, iii. 570.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (12) (EUSTASIUS), a bishop, see unnamed, present at the council of Milan in 390 (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 390, xlvii.). He is probably the bishop Eustathius mentioned without a see at the council of Aquileia in 381 (Mansi, iii. 601 A). The Sammarthani believe him to be the first bishop of Aosta and a suffragan of Ambrose (*Gall. Chr.* xii. 806), but it is incredible that he could have lived, as they suppose, to 451. [EUTHASIUS.] [C. H.]

EUSTATHIUS (13), one of the bishops of Macedonia addressed by Innocent I. (*Ep.* 17, Pat,

Lat. xx. 527), and no doubt the one of the same name among the Macedonian bishops whom Chrysostom thanks for their firm adherence, A.D. 406. (Chrys. *Ep.* 163, Pat. Gr. lii. 706.) [C. H.]

EUSTATHIUS (14), bishop of Attalia, in Pamphylia, A.D. 431. His story is noticeable as a case of resignation of a see. Part of the last day of the council of Ephesus (July 17) was taken up with a consideration of his affairs. He was an old man, and was far from home and friends. He had been canonically elected and consecrated to Attalia, but various hostile parties made numerous accusations against him. It seems that he could easily have acquitted himself, but being timid and confused he wrote a renunciation of his see. The provincial council of Pamphylia thereupon placed Theodorus on his throne. Eustathius, for whose character little respect can be felt, had always intended to keep the name and honours of the episcopate. He therefore presented himself before the council of Ephesus, with tears and lamentations, to demand them, assuring the fathers at the same time that he had no thought of resuming his diocese. The canons did not allow the resignation of a see, so he had been deprived of communion. The council inquired into the charges brought against him, and restored him communion and rank on his promise not to do any episcopal act on his own authority. They permitted the provincial synod of Pamphylia to deal with him still more kindly if they pleased. (*Concilia Generalia*, i. 500, ed. 1628; Ceillier, viii. 59.) [W. M. S.]

EUSTATHIUS (15) I., bishop of Parnasus in Cappadocia, of the party of John of Antioch and the Orientals at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and consequently cut off from the communion of the orthodox (Baluze, *Concil.* p. 507); subsequently he joined the synod held at Constantinople by archbishop Flavian, which condemned Eutyches, A.D. 448 (Mansi, vi. 760). Ten years later, A.D. 458, he subscribed the synodal letter of the second Cappadocia to the emperor Leo (Mansi, vii. 599; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 416; Gams, *Series Episc.* 440). [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (16), bishop of Docimium in Phrygia Salutaris, present at the general council of Ephesus, A.D. 431 (Mansi, iv. 1224), and also at the synod held by Flavian at Constantinople, 448, which condemned Eutyches (Mansi, vi. 760), where his name is written in the acts Eustochius, a corruption found also in some MSS. of the transactions of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, at which also he was present. (Mansi, vii. 157; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 853.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (17), bishop of Aegae, on the seaboard of Cilicia, to whom Theodoret addressed a letter relating to a Carthaginian lady named Maria, who having been taken captive at the sack of Carthage by Genseric, A.D. 439, had been sold as a slave, together with her waiting-maid, to an inhabitant of Theodoret's diocese of Cyrrhus. Some Christian soldiers quartered there hearing of her misfortunes had purchased her freedom, and she was desirous of returning to her native country, where she heard that her father was still alive and holding a magistracy. Theodoret requests Eustathius to put Maria under the care of some of the Western merchants who resorted to the fair at Aegae whose fidelity might be relied on to convey the unfortunate lady safe to her destination. (Theod. *Epist.* 70.) [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (18), bishop of Temnus in the province of Asia, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 168 b; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 707.) [C. H.]

EUSTATHIUS (19), bishop of Sabatra or Savatra, in Lycaonia; in the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon his name was subscribed in his absence by Onesiphorus of Iconium, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1084; Mansi, vii. 165.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (20), bishop of Saracenorum Tribus in Phoenicia Secunda. He was present at the fourth general council at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and also signed the synodical letter to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 127, 163, 559; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 852.) [J. de S.]

EUSTATHIUS (21), bishop of Colonia, in the lesser Armenia, signed the synodal letter which the bishops of that province sent to the emperor Leo concerning the murder of St. Proterius of Alexandria and the faith of Chalcedon, A.D. 458. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 430; Mansi, vii. 589.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (22), bishop of Berytus (Beyrout) in the 5th century. He was one of the time-serving, cowardly prelates attached to the court, who regarded their rank and position as the thing to be secured at all costs, changing their faith with change of circumstances, and bowing the knee to the dominant party. The object he kept steadily in view was the aggrandizement and independence of his see of Berytus, then suffragan to Tyre. For this he curried court favour, and lent himself to the arbitrary and violent acts of the "Robbers' Synod." He was a bishop of some consideration for theological knowledge, and was appointed one of the three commissioners, with Photius of Tyre and Uranius of Himera, by Theodosius II., A.D. 448, to examine the tenets of Ibas of Edessa, against whom serious complaints had been laid by the monastic party as favouring Nestorian heresy, and who had been acquitted at a council at Antioch in consequence of two of his accusers failing to appear. This commission was dated Oct. 26, A.D. 448, and was addressed to Damasus, the secretary of state (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 638). The commission was opened at Berytus, Feb. 1, A.D. 449, in the residence of Eustathius, recently erected by him in the vicinity of the magnificent new church he had built as part of his scheme for the exaltation of his see. The examination was continued for some time. Ibas indignantly disclaimed the blasphemies attributed to him, and produced a document signed by a large number of his clergy, protesting that they had never heard him utter words contrary to the faith (*ibid.* p. 637). The accusation broke down. But the investigation was revived a week or two afterwards at Tyre. Uranius was absent (*ibid.* 635). Eustathius and his brother commissioners succeeded in arranging matters between the contending parties. They drew up a concordat, which was signed, Feb. 25, by

Ibas and his accusers, as well as by Eustathius and Photius, as authenticating it (*ibid.* 632). On the meeting of the second council of Ephesus, the disgraceful "Robbers' Synod," Aug. 8, in the same year, Eustathius was vested with a special authority, together with Eusebius of Ancyra and Basil of Seleucia, as imperial commissioners (*ibid.* 1079). True to his principle of supporting the dominant party he lent all his influence to Dioscorus against the venerable Flavian. Perceiving that a considerable impression had been made on the assembly by the reading of the letters of Cyril on the two natures, which had been accepted as a rule of faith, he brought forward other less definite statements of the same writer with the view of neutralizing their effect (*ibid.* 173), and resolutely refused to accept the expression that the Son of God had taken man in the Incarnation (*ibid.* 189). He voted for the rehabilitation of Eutyches, declaring that he had stated the true faith with such clearness, and in such perfect conformity to the doctrine of godliness, that it deserved to be accepted as the faith of the fathers (*ibid.* 262). The following year, 450, through the influence of pope Leo and his legates at Constantinople Eustathius's name was erased from the diptychs of the church, together with those of the other supporters of Dioscorus, as accomplices in the violent death of Flavian. He and his associates, however, were allowed to retain their episcopal office, in the hope that this leniency might lead them to repentance (Leo Magn. *Epist.* 60). The feeble Theodosius being now replaced by Pulcheria's husband, the senator Marcian, no less remarkable for his orthodoxy than for the vigour of his government, Eustathius found it politic to change his camp, and on the meeting of the council of Chalcedon he lost no time in abandoning Dioscorus. At the first session, he declared his agreement in faith with Flavian, and with exaggerated expressions of penitence asked pardon for his share in the acts of the recent synod (*ibid.* 141, 176, 177). Unfortunately for him, on the reading of the acts of that assembly, some words of his appeared declaring in the strongest terms against the two natures. The heresy was so flagrant that the council exclaimed that it was worthy only of Eutyches and Dioscorus. Eustathius endeavoured to defend the orthodoxy of his words by a mutilated quotation from Cyril (*ibid.* 176), but the imperial officers regarded the matter in so serious a light that they proposed his deposition, together with the chief agents in the late council (*ibid.* 323). Undaunted by this Eustathius presented himself at the second session, apparently alone of his party (*ibid.* 327). Dioscorus, when put on his trial, demanded that Eustathius and his other supporters at the "Latrocinium" should be cited, as involved in the same charge as himself, and when they pleaded the contemptible justification that they had not been free agents, and had been compelled to act against their better judgment, he retorted that they were self-condemned as having trampled on right through fear of man (*ibid.* 390). The abject humiliation of Eustathius and his party prevailed with the orthodox bishops. They pronounced a verdict of acquittal on them as mere tools of Dioscorus, and received them as brothers with every token of perfect union (*ibid.* 508–509).

At a later session of the council, Oct. 20, the point at issue between him and Photius of Tyre was discussed (*ibid.* 539). As a reward for the zeal he had shewn in support of the court party at the "Latrocinium," Eustathius had obtained from Theodosius a decree giving metropolitical rank to the see of Berytus (Lupus, *in Canon.* 950). Flavian's successor Anatolius, together with Maximus of Antioch and some of the court bishops, had consequently taken upon themselves at the close of 449 to dismember the diocese of Tyre, and had assigned five churches to the formerly suffragan see of Berytus (Labbe, iv. 542–546). Photius disregarded this partition, and continued to consecrate bishops for these churches. For this he was in a high-handed spirit excommunicated by Anatolius, and the prelates he had consecrated were deposed and degraded by Eustathius (*ibid.* 530). Photius got frightened, and submitted to this interference on the threat of deposition, protesting at the same time that he did so by constraint. He now required of the council to maintain the ancient prerogatives of the metropolitical see of Tyre, and pronounce the acts of Eustathius null and void. The council on hearing the case decided against Eustathius, and refused to allow the gathering of bishops at Constantinople which had presumed to dismember the bishopric, any right to the title of a church council (*ibid.* 542–550). When at a still later session, Oct. 26, Ibas appeared and demanded restoration, Eustathius and Photius attested the fact of his acquittal at Tyre (*ibid.* 631).

When in 457 the emperor Leo, anxious to give peace to the sorely divided church of Alexandria, and yet wishing to avoid the summoning of a synod, directed letters to the chief metropolitans on the question of the intrusion of Timothy Aelurus, Eustathius was one of those consulted, and joined in the condemnation of the intruding patriarch (*ibid.* 890). A fragment of a defence of the letter of pope Leo against Timothy Aelurus is preserved by Canisius (*Lection. Antiq.* ii. 257), and is printed by Migne (Pat. Gr. lxxxv. 1803). The church built by him at Berytus is described by Zacharias Scholasticus *de mundi opificio.* (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* xv.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 818; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 440.) [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (**23**), bishop of Philadelphia, in the province of Lydia; his name is appended to the letter of the synod of Constantinople to the patriarch John, condemning Severus of Antioch, A.D. 518, which was read in the fifth session of the synod also held at Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536, which condemned Anthimus and Severus. In his subscription Eustathius calls Philadelphia the metropolis of the province of Lydia, as if it set up rival claims to Sardis. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 870; Mansi, viii. 1047.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (**24**), bishop of Perrha, in Mesopotamia, driven out of his bishopric by the emperor Justin I. on account of his adherence to the heresy of Severus, A.D. 518. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 946; Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* ii. *Diss. de Monophys.* § 2.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (**25**), bishop of Anthedon (Agrippias), on the seaboard of Palestine, who was one of the signataries of the synodical letter

of John of Jerusalem to John of Constantinople against Severus, A.D. 518. (Labbe, v. 191; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* iii. 632.) [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (**26**), bishop of Gomphi in Thessaly, mentioned in the petition of Stephen of Larissa to the Roman synod under pope Boniface II., wherein he complains that they and other Thessalian bishops had been summoned to appear before Epiphanius of Constantinople, who had no jurisdiction over them, on an accusation of irregularly ordaining Stephen, A.D. 531. Through mutilation of the records, the decision of the synod is lost. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 115; Mansi, viii. 743.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (**27**), bishop of Tiberiopolis, in Phrygia Pacatiana, present at the synod held at Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 799; Mansi, viii. 1146.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (**28**), bishop of Tholona (Tlos) in Lycia, at the synod of Constantinople, A.D. 536 (Mansi, viii. 974). When an appeal was made concerning a suit between him and Pistus, a deacon of the church of Telmessus, and the judges were in doubt whether it should be decided according to the law as it stood, or as it was at the time of the suit, the emperor Justinian ordered, by his Novella cxv., Theodorus, praetor thoughout the East, that it should be decided by the law as it was at the time of the original pleadings (Kriegel, *Corpus Juris Civ.* pt. iii. p. 490), and that this should form a rule for all future cases. Le Quien (*Oriens Christ.* i. 979) says that the emperor ordered the praetors not to hesitate in correcting the decisions of the bishops. Baronius adduces this case as an instance of Justinian asserting an ecclesiastical jurisdiction disallowed by the canons (*A. E.* ann. 541, xvi.). [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (**29**), bishop of Damascus; present at the fifth general council held at Constantinople, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 174; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 836.) [J. de S.]

EUSTATHIUS (**30**), bishop of Maximianopolis (formerly Impara), in Thracia, near Rhodope; was present as a metropolitan at the fifth general council at Constantinople, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 391; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1200.) [J. de S.]

EUSTATHIUS (**31**) II., bishop of Parnasus in Cappadocia, present at the synod called Trullana, or Quinisexta, held at Constantinople, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 1005; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 418.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (**32**), bishop of Amblada, in Lycaonia, subscribed the canons of the synod called Quinisexta or Trullana, held at Constantinople, A.D. 692. (Mansi, xi. 1004; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1078.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (**33**), bishop of Celenderis (Chelendreh) in Isauria, on the western coast of Cilicia. He was present at the seventh general council held at Nicaea, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 1000 · Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1016.) [J. de S.]

EUSTATHIUS (**34**), bishop of Lamus in Isauria, at the mouth of the river of the same name; present at the seventh general council held at Nicaea, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 150 D; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1018.) [J. de S.]

EUSTATHIUS (**35**), bishop of Hyrcania in the province of Lydia, present at the second Nicene council, A.D. 787. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 888; Mansi, xii. 1102.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (**36**), bishop of Laodicea, the metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana, present at the seventh general or second Nicene council, A.D. 787. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 795; Mansi, xi. 994.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (**37**), bishop of Soli in Cyprus, present at the seventh general council (Nicaea), A.D. 787. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1073; Mansi, xii. 1099.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (**38**), bishop of Erythrae in the province of Asia, opposite Chios, present at the seventh general council (Nicaea), A.D. 787. (Mansi, xii. 996; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 728.) [L. D.]

EUSTATHIUS (**39**), March 29, bishop of Cius, an ancient town of Bithynia, and martyr amid the iconoclastic controversies. (Bas. *Men.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. iii. 790.) [G. T. S.]

EUSTATHIUS (**40**), succeeded Politian as orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, in 801, during the caliphate of Al-Raschid and the patriarchate of Mark over the Jacobite communion. He had been a linen manufacturer, but his life was changed by the discovery of a treasure, hidden in the place where he exercised his trade. He resolved to dedicate himself, with his unexpected wealth, to God, and entering the monastery of Al-Kosairi, was presently raised to its abbacy. In that office he built a church, dedicated to the two apostles, within the walls of Al-Kosairi, and also a room for the use of the bishop.

At the moment of his call to the chair of Alexandria, the recent cessation of the iconoclastic controversy, and the gratitude of the caliph for the service rendered him by Politian, might well have raised the hopes of the orthodox, but the short and uneventful patriarchate of Eustathius brought no change in the slow decline of their power. The Jacobites, on the other hand, were strengthened at this time by their reconciliation with the Barsanuphians, a subdivision of the Acephali, who, at the close of the 5th century, had seceded from the main body in order to uphold the episcopal consecration of Barsanuphius. Eustathius died in 805, and was succeeded by Christopher. (Eutychii *Annales*, Oxon. 1658, tom. ii. 411; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, Paris, 1740, ii. 464; Neale, *Patriarchate of Alexandria*, ii. 136, 137; *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, Paris, 1818, iii. 482.) [F. P.]

EUSTATHIUS (**41**), deacon, by whose hands the elder Gregory of Nazianzus sent a letter to Eusebius of Samosata, cir. A.D. 370, begging him to come to Caesarea and aid in securing the election of Basil to the vacant see. (Basil, *Epist.* 47 [4].) [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (42), deacon, who enjoyed the confidence of Basil, and by whom Basil sent a letter to Eusebius of Samosata, A.D. 372 (Basil, *Ep.* 47 [4]). Later in the year Basil had to nurse Eustathius for two months in an illness, which afterwards attacked the rest of his household and finally himself (id. *Ep.* 136 [257]). [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (43), monk, who was a member of the family of Gregory Nazianzen at the time of his death, and appointed by him one of the guardians of his poorhouse. He was joint legatee with Gregory, the deacon of a farm at Arianzeni. (Greg. Naz. *Testam.*) [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (44), deacon of Macedonia, for whose deposition twenty-three Macedonian bishops, in the course of their synodal letter, petitioned Innocent I. the bishop of Rome, A.D. 414. In his reply, Dec. 13, 414, Innocent declines, on the ground that Eustathius, who had been frequently approved by him, had never been accused of any offence against the faith or of any mortal sin. (Innoc. Ep. 17, c. 7, § 15. Pat. Lat. xx. 536; Ceillier, *Auteurs Sac.* vii. 515.) [C. H.]

EUSTATHIUS (45), an aurifex of Philadelphia in Lydia, A.D. 431, induced by Jacobus, a Nestorian, to abjure Quartodecimanism and petition Theophanes, bishop of Philadelphia, to be restored to communion. He had also subscribed the "symbolum" of Jacobus. (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 675, 678, 683.) [CHARISIUS (1).] [T. W. D.]

EUSTATHIUS MONACHUS (46), a solitary known only from his letter *De Duabus Naturis* to Timotheus Scholasticus against the errors of Severus. It would seem to belong to the age of Justinian in the 6th century. The Greek text was printed by Mai, *Vet. Script. Nov.* vii. 277, and with a Latin translation by Migne, Patrolog. Gr. lxxxvi. 1, p. 901 sq. [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (47), (EUSTRATIUS), presbyter of Constantinople, biographer of the patriarch Eutychius (552–582), and his chaplain. He was a faithful adherent to his superior in misfortune and prosperity, and regarded him as the greatest and holiest of men. The life, written in a turgid and prolix style, was printed by Surius (*de Prob. Hist. SS.* April 6, p. 83); by Henschen, with annotations and introductory observations (Boll. *Acta SS.* 6, Ap. i. 550); by Papebroch in Greek, the name here being EUSTRATIUS (Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. i. Append. p. lix.; and elsewhere). [EUTYCHIUS (18), sub fin.] He is identified with his contemporary Eustratius of Constantinople by Cave (i. 536), Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.* ed. Harles, x. 725, xi. 623), and some others. [EUSTRATIUS (5).] [W. M. S.]

EUSTATHIUS (48), a reader in the church of Caesarea in Palestine, deposed by the bishop Eulogius (No. 5), on the false charge of having corrupted the virgin daughter of a presbyter. Having obtained the bishop's permission to marry the girl, he persuaded her to enter a monastery, where, at the birth of the child, according to Palladius, the innocence of Eustathius was miraculously proved. He devoted himself to an ascetic life, was endowed with extraordinary gifts, and was popularly regarded as a martyr. (Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* c. 141, pp. 1041–1045; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* xi. 518.) [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (49), July 28, a military martyr at Ancyra, in Galatia, under a prefect named Cornelius. (Bas. *Men.*) [G. T. S.]

EUSTATHIUS (50), March 14, otherwise called Eutychius, martyr with many others at the hands of the Arabs, at Carrhae, in Mesopotamia, in the 22nd year of Leo the Isaurian, A.D. 740. (*Acta SS.* Boll. Mart. iii. 355.) [G. T. S.]

EUSTATHIUS (51), a famous philosopher of Cappadocia, whom Basil travelled far in search of shortly after his return from Athens, A.D. 355, and to whom he addressed a letter from Alexandria (Basil, Ep. 1 [165]). [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (52), physician, ἀρχιατρός, to whom Basil addressed the doctrinal treatise which stands among his epistles (Ep. 189 [80]), maintaining the unity of the Divine nature in all three Persons of the Trinity, and asserting the proper divinity of the Holy Spirit. This treatise is also found in a somewhat enlarged form among the writings of Gregory Nyssen (*Opp.* i. 6), but is ascribed by the best authorities to Basil (Tillem. *Mém. Eccl.* ix. 678, "S. Basile," Note 77). [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (53), a domestic in the family of Theodora, a disciple and correspondent of Chrysostom. Theodora had expelled him from her house for some real or alleged misconduct. Chrysostom wrote from Cucusus very earnestly in behalf of Eustathius, saying that if he had been accused wrongfully simple justice required his restoration to favour, and that if he were really guilty Theodora should forgive him as she hoped to be forgiven. (Chrysost. *Epist.* 117.) [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (54) of Edessa, a Messalian condemned at Antioch. (Photius, *Cod.* 52.) The common reading was Εὐστάθιος αἰδέσιμος, and the person intended was supposed to be Eustathius of Sebaste; but according to Bekker this puzzle of a complimentary title given to a condemned heretic originated in a corruption of Ἐδεσηνός written αἰδεσινός. [EUCHITES.] [G. S.]

EUSTATHIUS (55), a quaestor at Constantinople, witness to the inventory presented by Germanus and Cassianus in refutation of the charge against Chrysostom of having made away with the church goods. (Pallad. *Dial.* p. 27.) [E. V.]

EUSTATHIUS (56), translator of Basil's *Homilies* on the Hexaemeron into Latin, cir. A.D. 440. The translation was much praised by Cassiodorus. It was first printed by Nicholas Faber at Paris in his edition of the works of Basil, 1603. (Cassiod. *Divin. Lect.* cap. 2 in Patr. Lat. lxx. 1110; Sigebert, Gembl. *de Scr. Eccl.* cap. 21 in Patr. Lat. clx. 552; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 428.) [C. H.]

EUSTATHIUS (57), of Epiphaneia in Syria, wrote a history from the earliest times to

the twelfth year of the emperor Anastasius. The work itself has perished, but we have citations from it or allusions to it several times in Evagrius, especially for the reign of Zeno (e. g. *H. E.* i. 9, ii. 15, iii. 29, 37, v. 24; Suidas, s. v.; Cave, *Lit. Hist.* i. 466). Nicephorus (*H. E.* iv. 57) speaks of his work as elegant. [M. F. A.]

EUSTATHIUS. [EUSTASIUS, EUTHASIUS.]

EUSTERIUS, bishop of Salernum, cir. A.D. 450; commemorated Oct. 19. He is mentioned in the Roman and other martyrologies. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 436.) [C. H.]

EUSTOCHIUM, third daughter of PAULA (*q. v.*), the friend of Jerome, from whose writings all that is known of her is gathered. [The references given in this article are to the volumes and pages in Vallarsi's edition.]

Her original name, apparently, was Julia (i. 692), her father, Toxotius, tracing his ancestry through the Julian family. The Greek name Εὐστόχιον (implying justness of aim) seems to have been added as a term of endearment. She was still of tender age (i. 184) when her sister BLESILLA died, A.D. 384. We may suppose, therefore, that she was born about 370. She had shewn from her earliest days a readiness to fall in with the ascetic views imbibed by her mother, and was confirmed in these by frequenting the house of Marcella (i. 952). Her uncle Hymettius, with his wife Praetextata (see Thierry's *St. Jérôme*, i. 161), endeavoured to turn her from her purpose by inviting her to their house, changing her attire, and placing her among the mirrors and the flattery of a patrician reception-room (i. 394, 683); but she resisted their seductions. Jerome relates that on the night after this attempt, an angel of threatening countenance appeared to Praetextata, warning her that, if she persevered in her wicked design, she would be bereaved of her husband and children, and that all this came to pass. By this and similar occurrences Eustochium became confirmed in her resolution, and she took the vow of perpetual virginity, being the first Roman lady of noble birth who had taken this step (i. 394). To confirm her in this course, Jerome addressed to her his celebrated treatise *De Virginitate Servandâ* (i. 88), in which his experience as a hermit in the desert, the description of the monks of Nitria, the vision which had caused him to abandon classical studies, and a series of vivid pictures of the condition of Roman society, are made to enforce the superior sanctity of the state of virginity. This treatise, by exciting great animosity against Jerome, was one of the causes of his leaving Rome and returning to Palestine. Paula and Eustochium resolved to go there also, and in the year 385 they embarked at Portus for the East. Eustochium accompanied her mother and Jerome in their journeys through Palestine and Egypt, and in their settlement at Bethlehem. There she took part with her mother in the building and management of the hospice and convent, and, on her mother's death in 404, became head of the establishment till her own death in 418, two years before that of Jerome. Jerome was himself at that time too weak to write her life, as he had written that of his other friends; but many passages in his writings give a picture of her character, and of her manner of life. She was small in stature; but, Jerome says, "In parvulo corpusculo ingentes animos cerneres" (i. 290). She had great courage and decision of character (i. 394). She followed the ascetic teaching of Jerome and her mother with unwavering confidence and enthusiasm (i. 402, 403). She had considerable linguistic power; she spoke Greek and Latin with equal facility, and she learnt Hebrew also so as to sing the Psalms in the original (i. 720). Thierry considers that the incident relative to SABINIANUS (i. 1084) shews that she was deficient in the power of influence, and that the convent degenerated under her. Jerome, however, gives no hint of this. He praises her skill in the training of virgins, whom she led in all acts of devotion (i. 290), and to whom she set an example by undertaking all menial offices (i. 403). She was eager in her wish for the knowledge of the Scriptures, so that to her importunity Jerome ascribes the writing of many of his commentaries, which were dedicated to her in conjunction first with her mother and afterwards with her niece the younger Paula. The letters which Jerome wrote for her instruction were innumerable (ii. 956, Epistolarum ad Paulam et Eustochium, quia quotidie scribuntur, incertus est numerus). She attended her mother with devoted care during her last long illness (i. 721, 723), and, though left after her death in poverty (i. 671), she continued in her vocation to the end. She had as her coadjutors the younger Paula and the younger Melania, and continued with them her convent work and her study of Scripture, so that to them some of Jerome's latest commentaries are dedicated. She is reckoned as a saint in the Roman church, her festival being on Sept. 28. [W. H. F.]

EUSTOCHIUS (1), June 23, presbyter and martyr at Ancyra, in Galatia, under Maximin, A.D. 311. (Bas. *Men.*) [G. T. S.]

EUSTOCHIUS (2), a layman whose slaves had given serious cause of offence to Callisthenes, whose anger Basil deprecates in his letters (Ep. 72, 73 [351, 388]). [CALLISTHENES.] [E. V.]

EUSTOCHIUS (3), sophist of Constantinople, an early friend of Gregory Nazianzen, with whom he appears to have studied at Athens (Greg. Naz. Ep. 61), and to whom he subsequently sent a pupil named Pronoeus (Ep. 111). Nicobulus, the husband of Gregory's niece, having sent his son to study under another sophist named Stagirius, Eustathius was so much offended that he wrote to Gregory complaining of this breach of friendship, and bringing serious charges against his rival. Gregory replied, remonstrating faithfully but affectionately on his unworthy jealousy, which brought reproach on philosophy, and injured his own pupils (Ep. 61). Eustathius took these remonstrances in bad part, and began attacking Gregory himself, who wrote to him that he cared nothing for his insults, but that he had better hold his tongue if he could (Ep. 62). [E. V.]

EUSTOCHIUS (4), ST., fifth archbishop of Tours, between St. Brictius and St. Perpetuus. He was of senatorial rank, and, according to Gregory of Tours, "magnificae sanctitatis vir"

He is said to have built four churches, at Brixis (Brissac in Anjou), Iciodorum (Iseure in Touraine, on the Creuse below Tournon), Luccae (Loches in Touraine), and Dolus, which must be Deols near Châteauroux, and another in Tours itself, for the relics of the saints Gervasius and Protasius. He was at the Council of Angers in 453. He occupied the see seventeen years, and was buried in the church of St. Martin. There is extant a letter (Migne, Patr. Lat. liv. 1239), which, in conjunction with Leo bishop of Bourges and Victorius of Le Mans, he wrote to the clergy of the third province of Lyons, denouncing those of the clergy who had recourse to temporal tribunals. He is commemorated Sept. 19. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 1, 14, x. 31; Mansi, vii. 900; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 11; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 26.) [S. A. B.]

EUSTOCHIUS (5), eighth bishop of Angers, between Eumerius and Adelphius. He subscribed the first council of Orleans in 511. (Mansi, viii. 357; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 547.) [S. A. B.]

EUSTOCHIUS (6), patriarch of Jerusalem, in succession to Peter, and according to Papebroch from A.D. 544 to 556. On the death of Peter, Eustochius, oeconomus of the church of Alexandria but residing at Constantinople, was favoured by the emperor Justinian in preference to Macarius, an Origenist, who had been first elected. At the synod of Constantinople A.D. 553, Eustochius was represented by three legates, Stephanus bishop of Raphia, Georgius bishop of Tiberias, Damasus bishop of Sozusa or Sozytana (Mansi, ix. 173 c); and when the acts in condemnation of Origenism were sent by the emperor to Jerusalem, all the bishops of Palestine except Alexander of Abila confirmed them. But in the monasteries of that province, and especially in that named the New Laura, the partisans of the proscribed opinions grew daily more powerful, notwithstanding the resolute efforts of the patriarch against them. In 555, after eight months of persistent admonition, Eustochius went in person, accompanied by the dux Anastasius, to the stronghold of the opposition and forcibly expelled the whole body of the Neolauritae, replacing them by sixty monks from the principal laura and sixty from other orthodox monasteries of the desert, under the prior Joannes. By these proceedings Origenism was rooted out of Palestine. According to Victor Tununensis Eustochius was removed from the patriarchate, and Macarius restored. (Cyrillus Scythopol. in Coteler. *Monum. Eccles. Graec.* iii. 373; Evagrius, *H. E.* iv. 37, 38; Victor Tunun. in Pat. L. lxviii. 962 A; Theoph. *Chronog.* A. M. 6060; Papebroch, *Patriarch. Hierosol.* in Boll. *Acta SS.* Introd. to vol. iii. of May, p. xxvii.; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 210.) Pagi (ann. 561 iii.) discusses the chronology. See also Clinton, *F. R.* 537, 557. [C. H.]

EUSTOCHIUS (7), bishop of Avila, signs the seventh Council of Toledo, A.D. 646. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 22; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 423.) [JUSTINIANUS.] [M. A. W.]

EUSTOCHIUS (8), of St. Praxedis, cardinal-archbishop, present at the canonization of St. Swithbert by pope Leo III. in the presence of Charlemagne in the church of St. Swithbert at Werda (Kaiserswerth on the Rhine below Düsseldorf), on Sept. 4, 804. (Epistle of St. Ludgerus, cap. 9, in Surius, *de Prob. Hist. SS.* tom. ii. Mart. 1, p. 20, and in Baron. *Annal.* ann. 804, iv.) [C. H.]

EUSTOLIUM, a consecrated virgin of Antioch, whose intimate relations with Leontius, afterwards bishop of that see, having caused scandal, he mutilated himself in order that he might continue to enjoy her society without reproach. (Athanas. *Apolog. pro fuga*, c. 26, p. 718; Socr. *H. E.* ii. 26.) [E. V.]

EUSTOLIUS, bishop of Nicomedia at the council of Ancyra, A.D. 314. (Mansi, ii. 534 d; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 584.) [C. H.]

EUSTORGIUS (1), April 11, presbyter and martyr at Nicomedia (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

EUSTORGIUS (2), named by Ambrose, with the title of confessor, as one of his predecessors in the see of Milan (*Opp.* iii. p. 920). According to Ughelli's *Italia Sacra.*, he was the tenth bishop of Milan. [J. Ll. D.]

EUSTORGIUS (3), bishop of Dios-hieron (Christopolis) near Ephesus; his name was subscribed in his absence to the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, by the order of Stephen bishop of Ephesus, through Hesperius bishop of Pitane, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 723; Mansi, vii. 168.) [L. D.]

EUSTORGIUS (4), bishop of Milan, A.D. 512–518. There is a letter to him from Avitus archbishop of Vienne (Avit. *Epist.* in Patr. Lat. lvii. 227), addressed to him as a bishop. Avitus thanks him for the liberal contribution which he had sent him for the use of the church in Gaul. He is identified as bishop of Milan in a letter of Theodoric to count Adila, enjoining that due care should be taken of the possessions of his see in the Isle of Sicily (Cassiodorus, *Var.* ii. 29). He is supposed to have been the Eustorgius mentioned in the poems of Ennodius (*Carm.* ii. 149). In the epistles of Cassiodorus, among those attributed to Theodoric, but most probably written by himself, there is a remarkable one (*Var.* i. 9) addressed to Eustorgius, respecting the bishop of Augusta (Aosta), unjustly accused by his clergy of treasonable intentions. Theodoric would not punish them himself, but he remitted the case to the bishop of Milan, who he knew would deal with the case according to ecclesiastical usage. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 643; Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* iv. 55; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 113.) [F. A.]

EUSTOSIUS, Nov. 10, martyr at Antioch, with Demetrius a bishop, and Anianus a deacon. (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

EUSTRATIUS (1), Dec. 13, martyr at Sebaste in Armenia, under the prefect Agricolaus in the Diocletian persecution (Bas. *Men.*; *Cal. Byzant.*; Bar. *Annal.* 311, 20); Dec. 12 (*Cal. Armen.*) [G. T. S.]

EUSTRATIUS (2), a kinsman of Gregory Nazianzen. In his behalf Gregory wrote to Olympius, governor of Cappadocia Secunda, begging that he would pardon some unspecified offence (Ep. 177). [E. V.]

EUSTRATIUS (3), count, addressed by FIRMUS bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who commends to his patronage an instrumental performer unsurpassed in skill by ancients or moderns, whose sacred music the count had often enjoyed. For the sake of Firmus and of the church itself this musician should be warmly encouraged. Firm. ep. 39, Pat. Gr. lxxvii. 1508.) [C. H.]

EUSTRATIUS (4), (EUSTACHIUS), bishop of Sufes, near the river Bagrada, in the Byzacene province of Africa, one of the bishops banished by Genseric on the accusation that he had referred to him in his sermons, as Victor Vitensis narrates, in his book *De Persecutione Vandal.*, b. i. c. 7 (Patrol. Lat. lviii. 190). He seems, however, to have returned, as he was summoned to the conference at Carthage, A.D. 484, and subsequently banished by Hunneric. He is mentioned in Bede's *Martyrology*, on 28th Nov. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 288; Patrol. Lat. xciv. 1117). [L. D.]

EUSTRATIUS (5), presbyter of the Greek church at Constantinople, contemporary with the patriarch Eutychius, author of a work variously cited as *De Vita functorum Statu, De Vita functorum Animis, On the State of the Dead.* Photius (cod. 171) mentions the work describing its scope, but citing no formal title. Leo Allatius discovered the actual work and printed it with a Latin translation in his *Agreement of the Churches of West and East about Purgatory*, Rome, 1655, pp. 336 sq. The Latin version alone appeared afterwards in the *Max. Bibliotheca Patrum*, vol. xxvii. 362; Cave, i. 536; Ceillier, xi. 347. This author has been identified with Eustathius, the biographer of Eutychius. [EUSTATHIUS (47).] The treatise argues (1) that the souls of the dead, blessed or accursed, think and act after separation from the body; (2) that the souls which have appeared to men have their characteristic qualities; (3) that prayers for the dead are efficacious. His arguments are a strange medley. [W. M. S.]

EUSTRATIUS (6), bishop of Alba, together with George, bishop of Praeneste, and Citonatus bishop of Porto, consecrated the intruding Constantine as pope July 5, 767. (*Vita Stephani IV. Liber Pontificalis*, Migne, Pat. Lat. cxxviii. 1150; Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* 198.) [A. H. D. A.]

EUSTRATIUS (7), bishop of Apamaea or Myrlea, in Bithynia, present at the seventh general council, A.D. 787. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 657; Mansi, xii. 1096.) [L. D.]

EUSTRATIUS (8), bishop of Methymna, in the island of Lesbos, present at the seventh general council, A.D. 787. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 961; Mansi, xii. 1095.) [L. D.]

EUSTRATIUS (9), bishop of Cotraja (otherwise Cotradus or Costradus) in Isauria. Its situation is doubtful. Eustratius was present at the seventh general council at Nicaea, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 142; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1032.) [J. de S.]

EUSTRATIUS (10), bishop of Debeltum in North-eastern Thracia. Was present at the seventh general council held at Nicaea, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 150; and Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1184.) [J. de S.]

EUSYCHIUS, hermit. [EUSITIUS.]

EUTACTUS. [ARCHONTICI.]

EUTALIUS, bishop of Edessa. [EUTHALIUS (2).]

EUTASIUS, a bishop in Cyprus, one of those to whom the synodical of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria in the year 400, in condemnation of Origen, is addressed. (Jerome, *Ep.* xcii.) [W. H. F.]

EUTERIUS (1), Feb. 22, martyr with thirty-one others at Nicomedia, under Diocletian, A.D. 304. He was a member of the imperial guard. The exaggerations with respect to the martyrdoms at Nicomedia are very great. In the modern Roman Martyrology, on March 18, 10,000 martyrs at Nicomedia are noted. In Greek Menology, at Sept. 4, there are 3628 commemorated, while at Dec. 25 we are told that many thousands of martyrs were there burned in a church. (*Acta SS. Boll.* Feb. iii. 289.) [G. T. S.]

EUTERIUS (2), first abbat of Mauzac in Auvergne, mentioned in a charter of Pippin, citing that Euterius obtained authority for the erection of the monastery from king Theodoric and his son king Clovis, *i.e.* Thierry III. and Clovis III. The tenor of the charter is given by Mabillon (*Annal.* t. ii. p. 204), but the text does not occur in the collections of Pertz and Baluze. See also *Gall. Ch.* ii. 352. [C. H.]

EUTHALIA (1), Aug. 27, virgin and martyr at Leontini, in Sicily, about the year 257. She is said to have been killed by her brother Sermilianus, on becoming a Christian. Her name was inserted in the Roman calendar by pope Paul V. Her acts, which are fabulous, were published by Octav. Cajetanus in his *Vitae SS. Sicul.* t. i. p. 76. (*Acta SS.* Boll. Aug. vi. p. 12; *Men. Graec. Sirlet.* in Canisii *Antiq. Lect.*) [G. T. S.]

EUTHALIA (2), a lady, a correspondent of Chrysostom, to whom he wrote from Cucusus in A.D. 404 and 405, thanking her for her kindness in writing to him, and begging her to continue to do so frequently. He praises her for despising the things of this world, and directing her chief care to her spiritual state. (Chrysost *Epist.* xxxii. 178.) [E. V.]

EUTHALIUS (1), bishop of Byblus in Phoenicia, north of Beyrout. He is mentioned in the Basilian *Menologion* (June 13, Patrol. Gr. cxvii. 496), as having administered baptism to the martyr Aquilina during the persecution of Diocletian. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 821.) [J. de S.]

EUTHALIUS (2), bishop of Edessa, present at the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325 (Mansi, ii. 694, where the name occurs under the forms Ethilaus, Aetholaus, Aetholus. The *Chronicle of Edessa*, cap. 14 (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* i. 394), says he was made bishop in 324, and built the cemetery and the south side of his church. Assemani transliterates the name Aitallahas, which means (Stanley, *East. Church*, p. 104, 4th ed.) "the

brought of God," like the Greek Theophorus. The Syrian writer Amrus (Assem. iii. 588) calls him Rabulas. Moses of Choren (lib. ii. cap. 89) in the French translation of Le Vaillant (p. 373) calls him Euthalius, and in the Italian version of Cappelletti (p. 193) Eutalio. This writer speaks of Euthalius journeying to the council in company with Jacobus of Nisibis and John of Persia. [C. H.]

EUTHALIUS (3), a fellow deacon with Gregory Nazianzen. The civil authorities having endeavoured to compel him to military service after he had attained the presbyterate, Gregory wrote to Amphilochius, then a leading advocate, to use his influence to get him off (Ep. 159). If he was the same person, he was accused by one Philadelphius, a kinsman and brother presbyter, of having imprisoned and beaten him. Gregory wrote desiring a deacon named George, to whom he had given some authority in the church, to bring Euthalius before him to answer to the charge (Ep. 182). [E. V.]

EUTHALIUS (4), bishop of Colophon in the province of Asia, present at the council of Ephesus A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1217; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 726.) [L. D.]

EUTHALIUS (5), a deacon of Alexandria, afterwards bishop of Sulca, for there is no doubt that both designations belong to the same person.

The time at which he flourished has been erroneously stated by Cave as A.D. 396 (*Hist. Lit.* saec. iv.). But this date, mentioned in a short statement on the martyrdom of St. Paul at the close of his prologue to the fourteen Epistles of that Apostle, does not apply to himself, but to one whom, in the course of the Prologue, he had described as "a certain father most wise and most beloved of Christ." Immediately afterwards, however, he gives the date of his own day as sixty-three years later, thus bringing us down to A.D. 459. This date is confirmed by the fact that the works of Euthalius are dedicated to Athanasius the Younger, who was bishop of Alexandria about the middle of the fifth century. At that time Euthalius appears to have been a deacon of the Alexandrian church, and to have turned his attention to the study of the New Testament text. Since he is now best known as the author of the Euthalian Sections, we shall speak first of them.

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the different books of the New Testament were originally written without divisions of any kind, whether of chapters, verses, or words, from their beginning to their close. Such at least is the appearance presented by them in our most ancient MSS.; and, as it can be shewn that these MSS. were copied in their form from old papyrus rolls, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that the characteristic of their structure, of which we are now speaking, belonged to them in their earliest condition, when they issued from the hands of the sacred writers. The inconveniences arising from this must have been manifold and great, but the first steps towards improvement seem to have proceeded less from any desire to remedy these, than from the wish to supply an easy means of reference to the parallel passages of the gospels. This was done by what are known as the Ammonian Sections, together with the Eusebian Canons, any detailed account of which would lead us too far away from our present purpose. It is enough to say that to Ammonius of Alexandria, in the 3rd century, is generally ascribed the merit of having been the first to divide all the four gospels into sections, regulated by the substance of the narratives contained in them. As yet, however, no similar principle of division had been carried into any of the other books of the New Testament. It was Euthalius who introduced a system of division into all the books of the New Testament not yet divided, except the Apocalypse, which proved so acceptable that it spread rapidly over the whole Greek church and has become, by its presence or absence, a valuable test of the antiquity of a MS.

Euthalius was not indeed really the first to suggest the whole of that scheme of division associated with his name. As far as the Epistles of St. Paul are concerned, he himself tells us that he only adopted the scheme of the "father" already alluded to. The name of this father is nowhere given, and Mill's conjecture (Prolegomena N. T. p. 78) that it was Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose name was concealed, because he was at that time under censure of the church, has hardly sufficient positive ground to rest on. But, whoever he may have been and however Euthalius may have been stirred up by his example to independent exertion, there seems to be no doubt that the latter, by means, in all probability, of his other labours, and of the further critical apparatus, of which we have yet to speak, procured for them the acceptance which they soon obtained. It will give some idea of the length of these capitula if we observe that in the Epistle to the Romans there were 19; in that to the Galatians 12; in that to the Ephesians 10; in First Thessalonians 7; in Second Thessalonians 6; in Hebrews 22; in the Epistle to Philemon 2; and so with the other Epistles.

In themselves these sections possess no value. Their whole value arises from the fact that they were very widely adopted throughout the church, and that transcribers of manuscripts were in the habit of using them, and marking them on their parchment. Their presence or absence becomes thus a valuable aid in determining the antiquity of a manuscript. If they are marked on it, and that in a manner which shews them to be of the same age, it is of course a proof that that manuscript cannot be older than about the time of Euthalius. If, again, they are wanting, while at the same time the Ammonian Sections, with their numbers in the Eusebian Canons, are marked, the evidence is almost irresistible that the manuscript falls between the time of Eusebius and the early part of the 5th century. Where our evidence as to antiquity is often at the best defective, every consideration that can render the least help is to be valued; and thus this simple arrangement has preserved the name of Euthalius when all his other labours might have failed to do so. Of these labours we have now to speak.

They relate mainly to three points in connexion with the text: the Larger Sections or Lessons, which Euthalius was the chief instru-

ment of leading the Greek church to adopt upon a uniform plan; the smaller divisions, or στίχοι as they were called, to which, if he did not introduce them, he at least gave a greater currency than they previously possessed; and his plan of collecting and noting the quotations from the Old Testament in the New. We will remark upon each of these.

(1) The Lessons. Fixed lessons to be read in public worship had been known even in the synagogue, and there can be little doubt that they passed into the Christian church, at least as soon as the canon was settled. But up to the time of Euthalius there seems to have been little or no uniformity in them. Individual churches, for the most part, had divisions of their own. The scheme proposed by Euthalius, however, so commended itself that it speedily became general wherever the Greek tongue was spoken. The whole of the New Testament, except the Gospels and the Apocalypse, was divided by it into fifty-seven portions, some certainly very different in length from the others. In Acts there were 16; in the Pauline Epistles 31; 5 in Romans; 5 in First Corinthians; 4 in Second Corinthians, &c.; in the Catholic Epistles, 10; 2 in James; 2 in First Peter; 1 in Second Peter, &c.; in all 57. Of these, 53 were for the Sundays of the year, which seem alone to have been provided for in the Alexandrian *Synaxes*, and it is supposed by Mill that the other four were for Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and Epiphany. (Proleg. in N. T. p. 90.)

(2) The smaller divisions. These are the well-known στίχοι, that is lines, in Latin *versus*, each containing either a few words complete in themselves, or as much as it was possible to read without effort at one breath. Like that of the sections or capitula formerly spoken of, the plan of these "verses" was not introduced by Euthalius. It had already been adopted in the case of some of the poetical books, and even in some of the poetical parts of the prose books of the Old Testament. The Septuagint had occasionally employed it. It had been sanctioned by Origen. The Vulgate had used it, and it is found in the psalms of the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts, both as old as the time of which we speak, if not even older. Nay, the idea had also been partially applied to the New Testament, for Scrivener refers to Origen as speaking of the 100 στίχοι of the second and third epistles of St. John, of the few of St. Paul's Epistles, of the "very few" of 1 John; while Eustathius of Antioch, in the 4th century, is said to reckon 135 from John viii. 59 to x. 31 (Introduction to Codex D, p. 17). It is clear, however, from the figures thus quoted, that many of these divisions cannot have been στίχοι in the strict sense of the term. They must have been of very unequal length, and for the most part considerably larger than those divisions to which the term properly belongs. The credit due to Euthalius lay in this, that what was before partially and imperfectly done, was now extended upon better principles and with greater care. His work thus forms an important step in the process by which punctuation, so invaluable to the ordinary reader of the Bible, was at last reached.

But it was hardly as a system of punctuation, however imperfect, that the divisions to which we refer were at first designed. Euthalius, in describing his labours on the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles, makes no mention of this. He speaks only of increased facility of reading, and more especially of the meet expression which his labours afforded to that love and admiration of scripture which ought to lead to its being adorned in ever-increasing measure by successive students (p. 409). In the Epistle to the Romans he made 920 such στίχοι; in Galatians, 293; in Ephesians, 312; in First Thessalonians, 193; in Second Thessalonians, 106; in Hebrews, 703; in Philemon, 37; and so on.

(3) Still a third part of the labours of our author was expended upon enumerating all the quotations from the Old Testament, and even from profane writers, to be found in those books of the New Testament to which his attention was turned. These he numbered in one catalogue; assigned to the various books whence they were taken in a second; and quoted at length in a third.

The points of which we have hitherto spoken refer to the outward arrangements of the sacred text; but, if we may look upon the *Argumenta* which are published as a part of the works of Euthalius as his own, and not as the production of a later hand, he went also into the substance and meaning of the books edited by him. These *Argumenta* contain short summaries of the books to which they are prefixed, and convey a simple and excellent idea of their contents. It has indeed been contended by Zacagnius, their editor, that they must belong to a later time than that of Euthalius, inasmuch as they present discrepancies from statements in other parts of his works as to the places where the Epistles were written (Praef. p. 60). Thus the *Argumentum* to First Corinthians states that it was written from Ephesus (p. 589); but in the collected statement as to the cities whence all the epistles were written, Philippi is said to have been the place (p. 546). The argument is by no means conclusive. It may be urged with equal, if not more probability, that the general statement is the interpolation, and that it is extremely unlikely that at a date later than that of Euthalius, any one could have been found to depart from the long-standing tradition of the church.

However this may be, it is not without interest to observe that both Euthalius himself and his patron Athanasius had wonderfully correct ideas of the manner in which such a work as one on the text of the New Testament should be set about; for when the patriarch, interested by his deacon's success with the Pauline Epistles, urged him to undertake a similar task with the Acts and Catholic Epistles, we are told that he immediately set out to Caesarea in order that he might there have the best opportunity of comparing the famous MSS. of Origen and of Pamphilus the martyr, which had been collected by Eusebius, bishop of that city. At the close of his work on these latter books, he expressly states that he had done this. (Works, p. 513.)

Beyond the critical labours of which we have spoken, it does not appear that Euthalius attempted much. He wrote indeed a short life of St. Paul, which forms the first part of his work on the fourteen epistles of that apostle. But it

is so bald and meagre that it is altogether undeserving of notice. Besides this, it has been said that he wrote comments on the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel of St. Luke; and that in an ancient catena on the epistle to the Romans fragments of his writings were to be found. None of these statements seem to be correct. Zacagnius, at all events, tells us that he had searched everywhere for the commentaries spoken of, but in vain. (Praef. p. 71.)

We have seen that Euthalius began his labours as a deacon of the church, and it was in this capacity that he earned the distinction which has handed his name down to posterity. In later life he was appointed to a bishopric, and he is known as Episcopus Sulcensis. Scrivener observes that Sulci in Sardinia is the only see of that name that he can find (Intr. p. 53, n. 1). Possibly that may be the place; yet it is unlikely that one who had belonged to the church at Alexandria, and who had earned his promotion at the hands of its bishop, would be sent all the way to Sardinia. Zacagnius thinks that Sulca may have been the same name as Psilca, a city of the Thebaïd near Syene, and that there, in recognition of his labours, Euthalius was honoured with the episcopate; but Galland throws doubt on the conjecture. It is unnecessary to inquire further into a point of this kind, on which it is almost impossible to throw any light.

The works of Euthalius remained long unknown. Cave had spoken of them as hidden away somewhere, but obviously without any notion where they might be. At last, however, in A.D. 1698, they were edited and published at Rome by Laurentius Alexander Zacagnius, praefect of the Vatican Library, in the first volume of his *Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum Ecclesiae Graecae ac Latinae*. The edition has prefixed to it a long preface by the editor, in which different questions relating to Euthalius are discussed with much care. It has been printed in Galland (*Biblioth. Pat.* x. 197) and in Migne (Pat. Gr. lxxxv. 621). Notices of Euthalius will also be found in the Prolegomena of the New Testaments of Wetstein and Mill, and in Scrivener's Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament. [W. M.]

EUTHARIC, an Ostrogoth, belonged to the stock of the Amali. He was an indirect descendant of Ermanaric, and grandson of Berismund, who had wandered from the Ostrogoths to the Visigoths (Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, ii. 115, 116). He married Amalasuntha, the only daughter of Theoderic. Their son Athalaric was born ann. 518. Theoderic allowed his son-in-law to be adopted by Justinian ("factus est per arma filius" Cassiod. *Var. Epist.* viii. 1 in Migne, lxix. 733). Eutharic was consul in 519, and though he was hostile to and severe upon the Catholics, by the magnificence of his games and his genial bearing he conciliated the people of Rome. He died a few years before Theoderic. (Jordanis, ed. Closs 168; *Excerpta Valesiana*, i.e. the chronicle of Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna, ed. Gardthausen, 1875, p. 301; Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, ii. 176.) [A. H. D. A.]

EUTHASIUS (EUSTASIUS), bishop of Augusta Praetoria (Aosta), represented by a presbyter, Gratus, at the council held under Eusebius of Milan, in A.D. 451. (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 97, 1083, in Pat. Lat. liv. 948 B.) He is identified in *Gallia Christiana*, xii. 806, with a bishop Eustasius or Eustachius, who was present at a council in A.D. 381 at Aquileia (S. Ambros. *Opera*, 786. 1), whom *Gall. Christ.* and Gams (*Series Episc.* p. 828) call "Saint," and who is identified, without much ground, with a Eustachius mentioned in the "de laude sanctorum," published among the *Acta S. Victricii* (see Ghesquière, *AA. SS. Belgii*, i. 420, § 11). [EUSTATHIUS (12).] [C. G.]

EUTHERIUS (1) (ETHERIUS), subscribed the council of Sardica, A.D. 347 (Athan. i. 132. Patr. Graec. xxv. 337). [W. M. S.]

EUTHERIUS (2), bishop of Tyana, an earnest Nestorian, and an acknowledged leader of that party both in the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and for some time afterwards. Before the assembling of that council he was in active correspondence with John of Antioch, on the subject of the alleged Apollinarianism of Cyril of Alexandria and his adherents (CYRIL (7), vol. i. 764 A; Theodoret. Ep. 112; Migne, Patrologia Gr. lxxxiii. 1310). He was one of the 68 who demanded that the council should not be opened until John's arrival (*Synodicon adv. Tragoed. Irenaei*, Migne, Patrol. Gr. lxxxiv. 566). The appeal of Nestorius after his deposition to the emperor is signed by Eutherius, as are also the sentences of deposition pronounced in the synod convened by John of Antioch at his lodging (*Acta Conciliab.* u. s. 598). On July 1 Cyril and his party wrote to the emperor to complain of the proceedings of John and his friends, among whom they name Eutherius (*Act. Co. Eph.* Labbe and Cossart, *u. s.* 746–751). On July 18, John of Antioch and his adherents were deposed and excommunicated, and Eutherius among them (*Act. Co. Eph.* acta v. *u. s.* 654). Both parties now issued circulars to the churches relating what they had done, and those issued by John were signed by Eutherius. Towards the end of the month a letter arrived from the emperor, commanding all to return to their homes in peace. This was addressed to fifty-one bishops by name, and among them Eutherius. Eutherius would seem to have at once obeyed the imperial injunction, as shortly afterwards we find him in friendly correspondence with his neighbour, Firmus of Caesarea, notwithstanding that Firmus had taken part in his excommunication, on the subject of a lawsuit which was pending between two members of their several flocks. (Firm. ep. 23; Patrol. Gr. lxxvii. 1498.) But before the end of the year, deposition of Eutherius at Ephesus had been confirmed at Constantinople.

Soon after this Firmus was sent to Tyana, to ordain a successor to Eutherius, and met with great opposition on the part of the citizens, who were evidently much attached to their bishop. Longras also, the imperial officer who was in command of the Isaurian troops stationed in the city, interfered; and both Firmus, and the person whom he had ordained in spite of the opposition with which he met, were compelled to flee. The newly ordained bishop soon renounced his orders, and seems to have returned to lay life. (Theodoret, *Ep. Hypomnesticon Alex. Hierapolis Synodicon.* c. 45, *u. s.*)

When negotiations were opened for reconciliation between the rival patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, one of the conditions upon which John and his adherents at first most strenuously insisted was the restoration of, among others, the deposed bishop of Tyana (Theodoret, *ad Himerium* ap. Mar. Mercator.; Migne, Patrol. xlviii. 1081). In the meanwhile, Eutherius and his fellow sufferers had written to Cyril, to Maximian the newly appointed successor of Nestorius, and also to Xystus bishop of Rome, to protest against the extreme measures of which they were the victims. (Cyril, ad *Donat.* ep. 45, ol. 42; Migne, Patrol. Gr. lxxvii. 250, and *Act. Co. Eph.* pt. iii. c. 38.) In their letter to Xystus they not only complain of Cyril, but they also charge him with having introduced "novelties." At the same time they express their painful astonishment that John should have so far yielded to Cyril as he had done, and pray the intercession of Xystus with the emperor in their behalf. (*Synodicon*, c. 117, *u. s.* 727; and Migne, Patrol. i. 594). After the reconciliation had been effected, Eutherius wrote to John to remonstrate with him on his inconsistency and want of loyalty to what he once contended for, but says nothing of his having abandoned his friends, and left them to their fate. (*Synodicon*, c. 73, *u. s.* 681.) He also wrote to Alexander of Hierapolis, who was equally opposed to the reconciliation, a long letter in which he ably defends the position which they and others were still determined to maintain (*Synodicon*, c. 201, *u. s.* 815); and to Helladius bishop of Tarsus, who had also written to Alexander, to encourage him in his opposition to it, expressing his great joy at what he had done. (*Synodicon*, c. 74, *u. s.* 684.) Eutherius was ultimately banished to Scythopolis, and from thence to Tyre, where he died. (*Synodicon*, c. 190, *u. s.*).

Eutherius is the author of a treatise in seventeen chapters, with a prefatory letter addressed to Eustathius bishop of Parnassus, which Photius ascribed to Theodoret (Phot. *Biblioth.* c. xlvi. Migne, Patrol. Gr. ciii. 79), and which has since been attributed by some to Maximus the Martyr, and by others to Athanasius (Garner's notes on Marius Mercator in Patrol. L. xlviii. 759, 1086, 1087; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* ed. Harles, viii. 304), in which he subjects the "Scholia" of Cyril of Alexandria, 'de Incarnatione Unigeniti' (Mar. Mercat. *u. s.* 1066) to elaborate and searching criticism. This treatise is still published with the works of Athanasius, but among the "Dubia," under the title of "Confutationes quarundam Propositionum" (Athanas. *Op.*; Migne, Patrol. Gr. xxviii. 1337, *v.* Praef. to the *Dubia*, p. 1287, and cf. the titles of chapters 8–24, inclusive of the "Libri" read by Photius with those of the seventeen chapters of the "Confutationes"). Gams infers from the prefatory letter that Eutherius published this treatise before his banishment. [T. W. D.]

EUTHERIUS (3), bishop of Stratonicia, in the province of Lydia. His name is appended to the protest signed by several bishops against the opening of the Council of Ephesus before the arrival of John of Antioch; nevertheless, he attended the first session, which was held on the day of the protest, A.D. 431. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 893; Mansi, iv. 1224; Baluz. *Synod.* c. 7, *Concil.* 698.) [L. D.]

EUTHERIUS (4), (AETHERIUS), bishop of Sardis, the metropolis of the province of Lydia, received a letter from the emperor Leo, ordering him to collect his province, and to inquire about the murder of St. Proterius of Alexandria, and about the faith of Chalcedon, A.D. 458. The synodal letter sent in answer to Leo is extant. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 862; Mansi, vii. 523, 571.) [L. D.]

EUTHERIUS (5), a person whom pope Gregory the Great styles "magnificae memoriae," and for whose death he writes to console Clementina Patricia. From some misapprehended allusion to episcopal duties in the letter Eutherius has been conjectured to have been a bishop. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. i. ind. ix. ep. 11; Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 458.) [C. H.]

EUTHERIUS (6), bishop of Chartres. [ETHERIUS (2).]

EUTHIMIUS or Euthymius, deacon and martyr at Alexandria. He died in prison. (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

EUTHONOMUS, an Italian bishop who suffered martyrdom in Bithynia, A.D. 311. (Baronius, *Annal.* 311, 18.) [G. T. S.]

EUTHORIC, king of the Visigoths. [EURIC.]

EUTHYMIUS (1), a convert at Milan, cir. A.D. 390. During the struggle between the empress Justina and Ambrose at Milan, Justina offered high dignities and rewards to anyone who would withdraw Ambrose from the church and conduct him into banishment. Euthymius purposely took a residence near the church, and kept a carriage in readiness. At the end of a year, however, and on the very day in which he had hoped to take Ambrose by surprise, he was himself apprehended, and was taken into banishment in the very carriage which he himself had provided. Euthymius, reflecting upon the workings of Providence, was himself converted. (Paulin. *in Vit. Ambros.* sec. 12.) [F. A.]

EUTHYMIUS (2), a presbyter of Constantinople, who with Philip presided over the schools in that city, from which office they were deposed on account of their adherence to the cause of Chrysostom, and the freedom with which they had condemned the proceedings of his persecutors. Chrysostom wrote to Euthymius from Cucusus in A.D. 404 to console him under his trials, and to encourage him to persevere. (Chrysost. *Epist.* 318.) [E. V.]

EUTHYMIUS (3), the youngest of the four Nitrian solitaries known as "the Tall Brethren." [CHRYSOSTOM; DIOSCORUS.] [E. V.]

EUTHYMIUS (4), abbat in Palestine. He was born in 377, at Melitene in Armenia. His parents' names were Paulus and Dionysia, and his birth was considered an answer to prayer made at the shrine of the martyr Polyeuctes. His tutor was Acacius, afterwards bishop of Melitene. He was placed at an early age under the direction of Otreius, bishop of that town. After his ordination to

the presbyterate he was placed in charge of all the monasteries in and near the place.

Finding this care too great an interruption to his meditations, in his twenty-ninth year he escaped to Jerusalem, to visit the holy places, and settled at the dwelling of a community of separate monks called Pharan, six miles from Jerusalem.

Having made a particular friendship with another hermit, named Theoctistus, he used to take long walks with him into the desert of Cutila at sacred seasons. On one of these occasions, in the fifth year of his stay at Pharan, they came to a tremendous torrent, with a cavern on one of its banks. Here they determined to live lost to the world. They were, however, after a time discovered by some shepherds, who were at first terrified by their appearance, but afterwards sent them gifts from their village. The fathers of Pharan also found them out, and came at times to see them. About 411 Euthymius began to receive disciples. They turned the cavern into a church, and built a monastery on the side of the ravine where it was situated. Theoctistus had charge of it.

In 420 he erected a laura, like that of Pharan, on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho. The fathers of this place and his own disciples were allowed to come to consult him on Saturdays and Sundays, and his advice was always given with captivating sweetness and humility. In A.D. 428 the church of his laura was consecrated by Juvenal the first patriarch of Jerusalem, accompanied by the presbyter Hesychius and the celebrated Passarion, governor of a monastery in Jerusalem.

A new turn was given to the life of Euthymius by a cure which he effected for Terebon, son of Aspebetus, prince of the Saracens. The biographer Cyril had obtained the details from many of the fathers, but the most authentic edition of the story was given to him personally by another Terebon, grandson of the subject of the cure. Prince Aspebetus, the Saracen, was tributary to the Persians, but came under the supremacy of Rome in the following manner. Towards the end of the reign of Isdegerdis, king of Persia, a persecution was aroused against the Christians. Officers were appointed on all the roads to prevent the escape of a single believer. One of these was Aspebetus. The sufferings and meekness of the Christians touched his heart; he did not hinder one from flight, and even gave them help. Accused before king Isdegerdis he took his son Terebon, his family, and all his goods, and passed over to the Romans. Anatolius was then prefect of the East; he received him kindly, and made him prefect of all the subjects of the Empire then living in Arabia. The son Terebon, who was not yet grown up, had for some time suffered from some kind of paralysis, which had withered his right side from head to foot. The boy is said to have had a dream indicating the abode of Euthymius and Theoctistus. At any rate, the sheikh Aspebetus brought him to that gloomy retreat. When they arrived with a large train of followers, they were refused admittance to Euthymius because it was neither Saturday nor Sunday. The sheikh, however, took Theoctistus by the hand, and silently pointed to his afflicted son. Terebon, too, himself made an eloquent appeal. Theoctistus reported the scene to his superior; Euthymius did not care to disobey what was said to be a heavenly vision, and came down to the party below. His prayers are narrated to have restored health to the patient, and the whole company believed on the Lord Jesus. Euthymius ordered a little recess for water to be hollowed out in the side of the cave, and baptized them on the spot. The sheikh took the name of Peter. His brother-in-law Maris refused to leave the place, and joined the community of anchorets, bestowing all his wealth for the enlargement of the buildings. The report spread over Palestine and the neighbouring countries, and Euthymius was besieged with applications for medical assistance and prayer.

Mindful of his former untroubled tranquillity, he meditated a flight to a still more secluded place, which is called Ruba in the narrative. Theoctistus, however, divined his intention, and collecting all the brethren, made them fall on their knees around him until he promised to remain. But in spite of this, some few days later he set out with a disciple named Domitian, and took up various stations on the barest peaks of the awful solitudes near the Dead Sea, in some cases founding small settlements of monks amongst the ruins left by Amorites or Moabites.

The next event of importance is the visit of Peter, bishop of the Saracens, on his way to the council at Ephesus, A.D. 431. Euthymius exhorted him to unite with Cyril of Alexandria, and with Acacius of Melitene, and to do in regard to the creed whatever seemed right to those two prelates.

When the council of Chalcedon issued its decrees (451) two of his disciples, Stephen and John, who had been present, carefully brought them to their master, to see whether he approved of them. The report of his sanction spread through the desert, and all the recluses would have followed his example but for the influence of the monk Theodosius, whose life and doctrine appear to have been equally unsatisfactory, who even did his utmost to persuade Euthymius himself to reject Chalcedon, but without success.

The empress Eudoxia, an energetic Eutychian, next crosses the path of Euthymius. After the death of her husband in 450, she went to Jerusalem, alleging a vow as the cause of her journey. She does not seem to have been satisfied with her religious position, and being urged by her brother Valerius to become reconciled to the Catholic church, she determined to have the opinion of the celebrated anchoret of Palestine. Knowing that he would never set foot in a town, she built a tower about four miles south of his laura, on the highest part of the great waste. She sent to him Cosmas, guardian of the so-called True Cross at Constantinople, and Anastasius a bishop. He came; and after giving his blessing to the empress, advised her that the violent death of her son-in-law Valentinian, the irruption of the Vandals, the captivity of her daughter Eudoxia, and of her grandchildren, might all be viewed in connexion with her Eutychian opinions. She should abjure her schism, and embrace the communion of Juvenal, patriarch of Jerusalem. The empress obeyed Euthymius as if she had heard the voice of God, and her example was followed by a multitude of monks and laymen. A celebrated anchoret, also,

named Gerasimus, owed his separation from Eutychianism to Euthymius.

Euthymius died in A.D. 473; his obsequies were celebrated by the patriarch Anastasius and a large number of clergy, among whom are mentioned Chrysippus, Guardian of the Cross, and a deacon named Fidus.

These and other details are furnished by Cotelier's edition of the *Vita Euthymii* by Cyrillus Scythopolitanus (Cot. *Eccl. Graec. Monum.* iv. 1, Paris, 1692). [W. M. S.]

EUTHYMIUS, patriarch. [EUPHEMIUS (4).]

EUTHYMIUS (5), bishop of Sardis. He was a strong opponent of the iconoclastic emperors. He was present at the Nicene council, A.D. 787, in which he took an active part, and read the confession of faith in the name of the council at the fourth session. He was banished by the emperor Nicephorus, and, according to the Bollandists, ultimately suffered martyrdom under the emperor Theophilus. He is commemorated Dec. 26 (*Cal. Byzant.*) and on March 11. (Mansi, xii. 994, 1016, 1039, 1088, 1148, xiii. 135, 171, 366, 382; *AA. SS. Boll.* 11 Mart. ii. 73, 3 April, i. 263 in the Life of Nicetas; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 862.) [L. D.]

EUTHYMIUS (6), bishop of Sozopolis in Thrace, present at the council held at Nicaea, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 149, 372, 397; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1182.) [J. de S.]

EUTICHIANUS or Eutychianus, Nov. 13, martyr, with his brother Paschasius and two others, in the Arian persecution, raised by the Vandals against the Catholics in the 5th century. Ado notes them on Nov. 12, and records how faithfully they maintained their faith against Sigeric king of Vandals. He tortured and killed them. (Prosper. *Chron.* A.D. 437; Ruinart in *Hist. Persecut. Wandal.* p. 431, A.D. 441; Tillemont, *Mém.* xvi. 500; *Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

EUTICHIUS (1)—May 21. A deacon and martyr, with Polius and Timotheus, at Caesarea in Mauritania. (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*, *Mart.* Hieron., Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

EUTICHIUS (2), hermit. [EUSITIUS.]

EUTICIUS (1), Oct. 5, martyr in Sicily, with Placidus and thirty others. (*Mart.* Hieron., Adon., Usuard., Raban.) [G. T. S.]

EUTICIUS (2), Dec. 11, martyr in Spain. (*Mart.* Hieron., Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

EUTICUS (1), Sept. 19, martyr, with St. Januarius, bishop of Beneventum. [JANUARIUS.] [G. T. S.]

EUTICUS (2), Sept. 29, martyr, with Plautus, at Heraclea in Thrace. (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuardi, Rabani.) [G. T. S.]

EUTICUS (3), Dec. 28, presbyter and martyr at Ancyra, in Galatia. He suffered with a deacon, Domitianus. (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

EUTIGHERN (ECTIGERN, EICTIGERN). In the Irish annals reference is made to a sacrilegious act of special enormity, which took place at Kildare, the true year probably being A.D. 762 (*Ann. Tig.*). The entry in the *Four Mast.* (by Donovan, i. 358–59, A.D. 755) is:—"Eutighern (Eictighern, *Ann. Ult.*, and Ectigernus, *Ann. Tigernach*), a bishop, was killed by a priest at the altar of St. Brighit, at Kildare (as he was celebrating mass, *Ann. Clon.*), between the crocaingel and the altar: from whence it arose that ever since a priest does not celebrate mass in the presence of a bishop at Kildare." In the *Ann. Ult. and Tigernach*, this is said to have taken place in a dertheach or duirtheach, ath Dertaigh Cilldara which, in the former, O'Conor interprets as "in hospitio pauperum Kildariae," and in the latter as "in domo poenitentiae monasterii Cildarensis," but evidently the "derteach" was the oratorium or church (Petrie, *Round Towers of Ireland*, 343–58; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* ii. 255, iv. 99). [J. G.]

EUTO, bishop. [ETHO.]

EUTONIUS, one of the fourteen bishops who met at Diospolis (Lydda) to condemn Pelagianism. (Aug. *Contra Julian.* lib. i. cap. 5, § 19, in Pat. L. xliv. 652.) [ELEUTHERIUS (3).] [C. H.]

EUTRECHIUS, prefect of the East, A.D. 447. Theodoret addressed a letter of congratulation to him on his appointment, containing expressions of affection for him, and his assurance that it was reciprocal (Theod. *Epist.* 57). Theodoret wrote to him again in 448, after the machinations of Dioscorus had prevailed with the feeble Theodosius II. to issue an imperial edict forbidding him to leave his diocese of Cyrrhus, as a disturber of the public peace. Theodoret expresses his surprise that Eutrechius had given him no intimation of the plots laid against him, and his regret at the failure of his hopes that Eutrechius's appointment would have calmed the tempest in the church. He was worse treated than murderer and adulterer, in not having any opportunity of answering the charges. (*Epist.* 80.) Eutrechius seems to have replied with assurances of friendship. Theodoret answers that he does not question his affectionate feeling, and begs that he will endeavour to find out who are the real movers of this persecution, and represent to the emperor how unjust it is to condemn him unheard. (*Epist.* 91.) [E. V.]

EUTROPIA (1), martyr. [EUPREPIA (1).]

EUTROPIA (2), wife of the emperor Maximianus (Herculius). Her full name, Galeria Valeria Eutropia, is preserved on an ancient medal (Goltz). She was a native of Syria (Victor. *Chron.* sub voc.). By a former marriage she had a daughter Flavia, whom Herculius espoused to the emperor Constantius. By Herculius she was mother of Maxentius, the usurper, and of Fausta, the wife of Constantine I. A letter of Constantine seems to shew that she embraced Christianity, for he tells the bishops of Palestine that his pious mother-in-law (ἡ ὁσιωτάτη κηδεστρία) had reported to him the desecration of Mamre. (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 52; cf. Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. 4, § 6.) [M. F. A.]

EUTROPIA (3), third daughter of the emperor Constantius I. by his wife Theodora, and therefore half-sister to Constantine the Great. She was the mother of Nepotianus, the usurper (Zosim. ii. 43), with whom, according to St. Athanasius, she was put to death in 350 (Apol. *Ad. Imp. Const.* cap. 6). Her husband was probably the Popilius Nepotianus who was consul in 301. (Cf. Du Cange, *sub voc.*, and Tillemont, *Hist. Emp.* Constantine, art. iii. *ad fin.*) [M. F. A.]

EUTROPIA (4), Dec. 14, virgin, martyr at the hands of the Vandals, A.D. 407. She was sister to Nicasius bishop of Rheims, who suffered in the same invasion. St. Jerome (*Epist.* ii. *ad Ageruchiam*) describes the ravages of the Vandals on this occasion. [NICASIUS.] [G. T. S.]

EUTROPIUS (1), the first bishop of Saintes. According to Gregory of Tours, he was said to have been sent to Gaul by Clement, bishop of Rome, who first consecrated him to the episcopate. Here he preached the gospel until after a time the heathen rose against him, and by a blow upon the skull he met with a martyr's death. The continuance of the persecution prevented his body receiving honourable or Christian burial, but more than one legend affects to trace the ultimate destination of his remains. Gregory tells us that at the close of the 6th century they were solemnly interred by St. Palladius in a church dedicated in their honour, the fatal wound being still visible upon the skull. And from another source we learn that there was a church at Saintes called by Eutropius's name, which Leontius restored when almost in ruins. He is commemorated on April 30. His successor in the see was St. Bibianus. His *Acta* are to be found in the Bollandists, but they are admittedly not genuine. (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Mart.* i. 56; Venant. Fort. *Misc.* i. 13; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxviii. 76; Boll. *Acta SS.* April, iii. 733; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 1054; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 95, vii.) [S. A. B.]

EUTROPIUS (2), bishop of Adrianopolis. [EUPREPIUS (3).] [J. de S.]

EUTROPIUS (3), one of the orthodox bishops in Macedonia thanked by Chrysostom, A.D. 406, for their adherence. (Chrys. Ep. 163; Pat. Gr. lii. 706.) [C. H.]

EUTROPIUS (4), bishop of Evaza, a town of uncertain position in Asia Minor, one of the speakers who pronounced in favour of the letter of St. Cyril, and subscribed the deposition of Nestorius at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1151, 1217; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 731.) [L. D.]

EUTROPIUS (5), bishop of Etenne (Trisenna) in the first Pamphylia, spoke in favour of the two letters of Cyril to Nestorius at the oecumenical council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1003; Mansi, iv. 1149.) [L. D.]

EUTROPIUS (6), bishop of Adada, in Pisidia, present at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. He signed too the letter of the synod of Pisidia to the emperor Leo, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 157, 571; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1053.) [L. D.]

EUTROPIUS (7), bishop of Pergamos, voted for the decrees of Dioscorus at the Latrocinium Ephesinum, A.D. 449 (Mansi, vi. 853, 932); his name was subscribed in his absence to those of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, by Hesperius bishop of Pitane, at the instance of Stephen bishop of Ephesus. (Mansi, vii. 168; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 715.) [L. D.]

EUTROPIUS (8), bishop of Aureliopolis in Lydia, signed the synodal decree of Gennadius of Constantinople against the Simoniaci, A.D. 452. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 896; Mansi, vii. 917.) [L. D.]

EUTROPIUS (9), twenty-sixth bishop of Mainz, between St. Aureus and Adalbertus. He is said to have sat twenty-three years, and to have died in 477 (*Gall. Christ.* v. 435), or according to Le Cointe, 474 (*Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 474, tom. i. p. 106). [S. A. B.]

EUTROPIUS (10), bishop of Orange (Arausio), which was at that time in the realm of Burgundy.

Authorities.—A letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (vi. 6) assigned by Ceillier (*Aut. Sacr.*) to the close of the year 473 or 474, after the retreat of the Visigoths from Auvergne; a Life by Verus, a later bishop of Orange (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 699); Ado and Usuard, under May 27.

He enjoyed a high reputation for spirituality, and for the power of awakening it in others. Sidonius begs that he may be permitted to experience the influence of the great gifts possessed by Eutropius, inasmuch as for his own part he is deeply conscious of a state of spiritual famine and ignorance. The above date gives us the time when this honoured prelate flourished; but we do not know anything further concerning him. [J. G. C.]

EUTROPIUS (11), eleventh bishop of Angers, between St. Albinus and Domitianus. He lived about the middle of the 6th century, and is said to have consecrated the monastery and churches of Glanfeüil on the Loire. He also transferred the body of his predecessor to the church of St. Germanus, which thenceforth was called after him. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 548; *Vita S. Albini*, 21, *Vita S. Mauri*, 48, in Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. i. p. 112, 292, Paris, 1668–1701.) [S. A. B.]

EUTROPIUS (12), a monk, irregularly consecrated bishop of Ephesus by the imposition of the hand of the dead bishop, Procopius, c. A.D. 560. Like Procopius, he adhered to the heresy of the Julianistae or Incorrupticolae; he ordained ten bishops to various sees, including those of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, for the dissemination of his heretical views. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 682; J. S. Assemanus, *Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 86–8.) [L. D.]

EUTROPIUS (13), bishop of Valencia in Spain, towards the end of the 6th century, originally abbat of the monastery of Servitanum, the site of which is now doubtful. Most writers, including Florez (*Esp. Sagr.* viii. 57) place it near the ancient Saetabis (Xativa), while Gams (*K. G. von Spanien*, ii. 2, 57) inclines to a more southernly position near Olleria. It was founded by St. Donatus, an African monk, who fled to Spain at the time of an incursion, "barbararum gentium" (Ildefons. *de Vir. Ill.* cap. 4),

A.D. 560, and was according to Ildefonsus the founder of Spanish monasticism. Eutropius was the successor of Donatus. Joannes Biclarensis mentions him first under the year 584. In 589 Eutropius, already with Joannes Biclarensis the most famous of Spanish abbats, assisted St. Leander in drawing up the acts and directing the proceedings of the third council of Toledo—the conversion council under Reccared (Joan. Bicl. *Chron.* in Pat. L. lxxii. 867, 869; *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 387). Ximeno in his *Noticia Preliminar de los mas antiguos Escritores de Valencia*, p. ix. rightly dwells on the great position he must have attained to have been thus associated with the most distinguished of Spanish ecclesiastics, in such an important piece of work, in preference to any bishop. Gams thinks that he was one of the abbats sent by Reccared to Gregory the Great with letters requesting the pallium for Leander (*K. G.* ii. 2, 31, 59), and points to the superscription of one of his two extant letters to Peter bishop of Arcavica, *Ad Petrum papam, de districtione monachorum et ruina monasteriorum directa Romae.* The first letter to bishop Peter is concerned with the *eight* vices, gastrimargia, fornicatio, philargyria, ira, tristitia, acedia, cenodoxia, superbia. The second is in answer to one from Peter, who seems to have remonstrated with Eutropius on the too harsh rule of Servitanum. Eutropius replies in words of fiery vindication of his own views, which, if they were penned at Rome, seem to shew the immediate influence of Gregory and Benedict. We know from St. Isidore alone (*de Vir. Ill.* cap. 45) that he was bishop of Valencia and that he wrote while still abbat of Servitanum another letter, now lost, to Licinian of Cartagena on the subject of the administration of the chrism to children in baptism. His episcopal career must have been very short, as in 589 Celsinus was bishop of Valencia, and in 610 Marinus, on the faith at least of the *Decretum Gundemari* [GUNTHIMAR]. Between these dates we have still to take out his journey to Rome, if the journey itself is to be accepted.

St. Martin of Braga, Donatus, Eutropius, Joannes Biclarensis, St. Emilian and St. Fructuosus were the heads of Spanish monachism in the sixth and seventh centuries. Under the head ST. MARTIN of Braga is discussed the much vexed question of the rule or rules observed in the Gothic monasteries. (*Esp. Sagr.* viii. 166–169; Castro R. de *Bibl. Español*, ii. saec. vi. p. 279; the two letters, apud Migne Patr. Lat. lxxx.) [M. A. W.]

EUTROPIUS (14), the heathen umpire in the disputations of ADAMANTIUS. [G. S.]

EUTROPIUS (15), March 3, a Cappadocian by birth, and martyr at Cyzicus, on the Hellespont, under Maximin, either A.D. 307 or 311. He was tortured and crucified by the president Asclepius, together with Cleonicus and Basiliscus. (Bas. *Men.*; Bar. *Annal.* 311, 19.) [G. T. S.]

EUTROPIUS (16), author of the *Breviarium Historiae Romanae* from the founding of the city to the death of Julian, dedicated to the emperor Valens. He is said to have been secretary to the emperor Constantine, and to have accompanied Julian in his Parthian expedition. (*Brev.* x. 16.) He was not a Christian, but a fair-minded heathen like Ammianus. Cf. l. c. on Julian "gloriae avidus ac per eam animi plerumque immodici, religionis Christianae insectator, proinde tamen ut cruore abstineret." For further details, see the *Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Biography.* [J. W.]

EUTROPIUS (17), a man of high character and literary attainments, proconsul of Asia, 374, a correspondent of Gregory Nazianzen. That he was the same person with Eutropius the historian, though maintained by Valesius, is a pure conjecture, embarrassed with chronological difficulties. Gregory Nazianzen having occasion to visit the province of Asia during his proconsulate, Eutropius received him with much distinction as a man of letters and begged him to write to him. Eutropius fell into trouble through suspicion of complicity in the supposed plot of Theodorus against Valens, A.D. 374, but escaped, no evidence having been found against him. Having ceased to be proconsul, he visited the neighbourhood of Nazianzus, and wrote to request a visit from Gregory, who replied, expressing his deep regret at being prevented going to him by illness. If he is the same who became prefect of the East in A.D. 381, the anticipations of his future elevation expressed by Gregory were fulfilled. (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 137, 138; Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 29.) [E. V.]

EUTROPIUS (18), a young reader and singer of the church of Constantinople, of great personal beauty and of the most spotless purity of life, who was tortured to death after the expulsion of Chrysostom, in the vain hope of extracting from him the names of the authors of the mysterious conflagration which immediately followed his departure. Eutropius was examined before the prefect Optatus, who treated him with the most merciless barbarity. He was severely scourged, the flesh of his sides and his face was lacerated with iron combs until his bones were laid bare, and his eyebrows were torn off; lighted torches were applied to the tenderest parts of his body, and he was cruelly racked. But young and delicate as he was, his tortures elicited no confession. He was therefore taken to prison, and his feet set in the stocks, where he died. Some presbyters of Arsacius's party, fearing lest his mangled body should be seen by others, gave him a hasty interment by night. The pious imagination of his fellow-sufferers conceived that heavenly mourners accompanied the young martyr to the grave, and that the funeral chant was sung by celestial voices. Sozomen records the story of a vision of St. Stephen the protomartyr, seen by Sisinnius, the bishop of the Novatians, declaring that after long search he had found but one good man in Constantinople, and that one was Eutropius. Sisinnius, on waking, sent one of his presbyters to discover this one righteous person, whom after a search through all the prisons, he found at last at the point of death, and having made known the bishop's dream besought him to pray for him. (Pallad. *Dial.* cap. 20, p. 198, ed. Bigot.; Soz. *H. E.* viii. 24; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 404, liii.) [E. V.]

EUTROPIUS (19), a presbyter who headed a division among the Macedonians on account of a difference of opinion between him and Carterius. (Socr. *H. E.* v. 24.) [E. V.]

EUTROPIUS (20), eunuch and chief adviser of the emperor Arcadius. He may be the eunuch of this name whom Theodosius I. sent on a confidential mission to the monk John in the Thebaid (Soz. vii. 22, § 7), but this is doubtful.

We acquire our knowledge of his previous history from Claudian, who composed two poems of abuse against him. Claudian tells us that he was born in Armenia (in Eutrop. i. l. 47), that he was the slave of a soldier named Ptolemy, who gave him to the general Arinthoeus (l. 61), who in turn gave him to his daughter on her marriage (l. 104). When too old for further service he came to court (l. 143), where by the influence of Abundantius he was raised to high positions (l. 154). These he abused by peculation and avarice (l. 191), but in spite of this became successively judge (l. 231), general (l. 235 foll.), and consul (l. 297).

One of his first acts under Arcadius (A.D. 395) was to persuade the emperor to marry Eudoxia, thereby giving a check to Rufinus, who had intended his daughter to enjoy that honour (Zosim. v. 3). After the murder of Rufinus by the soldiers at the instigation of Gainas, Eutropius set himself to supplant Timasius, who had now become his most dangerous rival. He persuaded a certain Bargus to act as his accuser, and having used him successfully for the purpose, and procured the banishment of Timasius, afterwards had him put to death (Zosim. v. 8, 9, 10). He was now practically master of the Eastern empire, as Stilicho was of the Western, Arcadius being simply a tool in his hands (*κυριεύων Ἀρκαδίου καθάπερ βοσκήματος*, Zosim.). His next act was to get his former benefactor Abundantius banished to Sidon. He then proceeded to procure a decree of the senate pronouncing Stilicho a public enemy (Zos. ch. xi.). By securing the adherence of Gildo he transferred the province of Africa from the Western to the Eastern empire, but this Stilicho soon recovered. The account of the avarice of Eutropius given by Claudian is fully borne out by Zosimus. The best men in the state found life under such rule intolerable. Accordingly Gainas formed a plot with Tribigildus to invade the empire. Eutropius was entrusted by the emperor with the chief management of affairs. He appointed as general Leo, a favourite of his own and utterly incompetent, and Gainas, who secretly favoured the rebellion. Had it not been for the exertions of a volunteer named Valentinus, the plot must have been successful (Zos. v. 13–16). In 398 he was raised to the rank of patrician, and was appointed consul for 399. He comes before the notice of the church historians as an active supporter of the election of Chrysostom to the see of Constantinople, A.D. 397 (Soc. *H. E.* vi. 2, 11; Soz. *H. E.* vii. 2, 20). For a time they were supposed to be on terms of great intimacy (Soc. vi. 5, 2), and the discourses of the bishop after his fall also imply this. He represents himself as having been originally a friend of the eunuch, but estranged by his pride and avarice. His fall was as rapid as his elevation was unprecedented. The same year, 399, which saw him consul, witnessed his downfall. Two reasons are given to account for it. Sozomen (*H. E.* viii. 7, 3) and Philostorgius (xi. 6) say that he was accused of insulting the empress, while Zosimus (v. 17) attributes it to Gainas. Considering how great had been the influence of the eunuch with the emperor, Gainas would probably not have been able to bring about his downfall had it not been for the co-operation of the empress. She was a bold and ambitious woman, and had probably been long jealous of Eutropius. The emperor sent for him and deprived him of all his honours. Thereupon he fled for refuge to the altar of the Christian church, although he had himself just helped in passing a law which took away the right of sanctuary. Himself the first victim of his own impiety, his case afforded a striking instance of the working of retributive justice (Soz. *H. E.* viii. 7, 6; Soc. *H. E.* vi. 5, 4, Chrysost. in Eutrop. 3; cf. Eunap. apud Suid. sub voc.). The emperor sent to arrest him, but the bishop refused to give him up, and on the following day delivered the homily which is still extant, pointing the moral of the instability of human fortune by the spectacle of the late favourite cowering beneath the holy table. Zosimus tells us that the emperor violated the right of sanctuary, dragged him from the church, and banished him to Cyprus. St. Chrysostom, however, plainly tells us that had he remained in the church he would have been safe (“*οὐχ ἡ ἐκκλησία αὐτὸν ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀφῆκεν*,” *de Capto Eutrop.* 1). The banishment, at all events, is certain. Gainas was not satisfied with this, and fresh charges were laid against him. He was accused of aspiring to the pomp of the emperor at the time of his entering upon the consulship (Philost. xi. 6), recalled, tried, convicted, and finally beheaded at Chalcedon (Soz. *H. E.* viii. 7, 5; Soc. *H. E.* vi. 5, 7). St. Chrysostom made his conviction the occasion of a second discourse, which is still extant, under the title *De Capto Eutropio*. After his death his name was erased from the list of consuls, and the law which he had passed as to the right of asylum was annulled. He was the first eunuch who ever attained consular rank. (Soc. *H. E.* vi. 5, 3.) All the historians agree in their estimate of his character, and single out his avarice as his distinguishing feature. Nothing can more strikingly prove the weakness of Arcadius than that such a man should have been able to gain so great an influence over him.

A marble slab has recently been found in the neighbourhood of the ancient Chalcedon, not far from the little church of St. John Chrysostom, bearing the following inscription:—

Εὐτροπίου τάφος εἰμὶ περίφρονος· ἦ γὰρ ἀληθές
οὔνομα τῆς ἀρετῆς εἶχεν ἀειδόμενον.
Ἄτροπε μοῖρα τιὴ τί τὸν εὔτροπον ἥρπασας ἄνδρα,
ὃς φέρεν ἓξ μονάδας, τρεῖς δ' ἐτέων δεκάδας;
Πέτρος δὲ γνωτὸς σταθερὴν πλάκα τήνδε χαράξας
στῆσεν ἀποφθιμένῳ τοῦτο γέρας παρέχων.

The place is still called the harbour of Eutropius, and the letters are said to be of the character of those of the 4th century A.D. The inscription may therefore be a memorial of the subject of this article. (*Köln. Zeitung*, April 26, 1878.)

[M. F. A.]

EUTROPIUS (21), a Gallic priest of the 5th century, who, according to Gennadius (*de Viris Illustr.* xlix.; Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 1087), wrote two letters or consolatory treatises to two sisters, handmaids of Christ, who had been dis-

inherited by their parents for their devotion to celibacy and love of religion. The letters have not survived to us, but, according to the same author, they were elegant and clear in style, and reason and Scripture were alike employed to fortify the argument. It has been suggested, and is not impossible, that he was identical with the bishop of Orange (No. 10). [S. A. B.]

EUTROPIUS (22), layman addressed by Sidonius Apollinaris in the 5th century.

Name.—This name, though it has not descended to modern times, was a common and popular one during the period embraced in this work. It is one of the long list, coined after the fashion recommended by Horace respecting new terms, which will be accepted, says the poet *Ars Poetica*, 52, 3), "si Graeco fonte cadant parcè detorta"; *εὔτροπος* (*versatile, active*, and thence secondarily *well-disposed*) being of course its base.

1. *Authority.*—Two letters of Sidonius Apollinaris (lib. i. ep. 6; lib. iii. ep. 6 in Sirmond, vol. i. and in Migne, Pat. Lat. lviii.).

Sidonius, being on a visit to Rome, where he believed that he had been supernaturally cured of a fever, while praying in the c[illegible] of the Apostles (meaning St. Peter's), w[illegible]es to his friend Eutropius, urging him that he should try to obtain some dignity worthy of his birth. If Eutropius acts on this advice, Sidonius is prepared to help him to the very best of his ability. This Eutropius was evidently a layman. Sidonius appears to respect him, and to regard him as one unduly neglected by those in authority, though such neglect may partly arise from indolence or backwardness on his own part, as the following passage seems to indicate: "Munere Dei tibi congruit aevi, corporis, animi vigor integer: dein quod equis, armis, veste, sumptú famulicio instructus, solùm (nisi fallimur) incipere formidas." We do not know the date of the birth or death of this Eutropius, but he was probably somewhat younger, or at least not older than his distinguished correspondent. The duty specially suggested to him by Sidonius was that of militia palatina, on which Du Cange may be consulted (iv. 6). [J. G. C.]

EUTROPIUS (23), the father of St. Benedict of Nursia. (Pet. Diac. *Vir. Ill.* cap. 1, *Pat. Lat.* clxxiii. 1011 A, where the reading is Euproprius.) Another reading appears to be Eutropius. (Ceillier, *Histoire des Auteurs eccles.* xi. 156.) [I. G. S.]

EUTULANUS. [ENDULUS.]

EUTUUINUS, an Anglo-Saxon king mentioned in one of the hymns attributed to Alcuin (Hym., iii. Alc. *Opp.* ii. 549, ed. Frob.). The editor there supposes he may have been a West Saxon subregulus, or else identical with Eoswine. But the poem, which says of him, "Qui primum imperium Saxonum ritè regebat," and makes him to be succeeded by Caedwalla, negatives both these suppositions. The name is evidently a corruption of Centwine, which king is accurately described in the poem. [CENTWINE.] [C. H.]

EUTYCHES (1), bishop in Africa, eighteenth in Tit. Cyp. Ep. 57, Syn. Carth. ii. de Pace. [E. W. B.]

EUTYCHES (2), a Christian of Cappadocia taken prisoner by the Goths, c. A.D. 260, and with some of his fellow captives suffered martyrdom for the faith after having sown the seeds of the gospel in the land of their captivity. (Philost. *H. E.* ii. 5.) The body of Eutyches was sent to Basil c. 372, at the instigation of Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica, for which that saint sent him a letter of warm thanks. (Basil, *Epist.* 165 [339].) [E. V.]

EUTYCHES (3) (EUTICES), April 15, martyr with Maro and Victorinus in Italy. They were exiled at first to the island of Pontia, and afterwards executed in the persecution of Nerva. [DOMITILLA.] (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

EUTYCHES (4) and **EUTYCHIANISM.** Eutyches was archimandrite of a monastery near Constantinople. For seventy years (as he told pope Leo) he had lived a monastic life, and during thirty out of those seventy he had presided over his 300 monks. This life-long education in a monastery helps to explain the character attributed to him. He was an honest and pious, but narrow-minded man; full of fiery zeal against Nestorianism, and ready to discern heresy in language different from the dogmatic phraseology he had accepted; an "imprudent and not very learned man," and led into the error called (after him) Eutychianism by his "want of learning rather than by subtlety of thought" (Leo). He was known among his contemporaries as a staunch upholder of the views and conduct of Cyril of Alexandria; the archbishop had even sent to him, as a special mark of favour, a copy of the Acts of the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. He enjoyed high favour at court through the influence of the eunuch Chrysaphius, at that time minister, and his own god-child. But neither powerful ecclesiastical and political patronage nor his own passionate energy against Nestorianism availed him when suspicion rested upon his own opinions. By whom he was first accused, whether by Theodoret in his *Eranistes*, or by his former friend Eusebius of Doryloeum, or by Domnus of Antioch, it seems difficult to decide (cp. Hefele, ii. 319; Martin, 75–78); but it is clear that to Eusebius is due the definite charges first brought against him at Constantinople in 448.

Flavian, who succeeded Proclus in 447 as archbishop, convened a synod in Constantinople on Nov. 8, 448, to consider some questions between the metropolitan of Sardis and two of his suffragan bishops. Eusebius was present, and, at its conclusion, handed in a complaint against Eutyches. Eusebius as a layman had twenty years before exposed and opposed Nestorianism; he was now the first to make an attack upon the extreme errors of an opposite kind. He complained that Eutyches "defamed the holy Fathers and himself, a man who had never been suspected of heresy"; and alleged himself prepared to convict Eutyches of being undeserving of the name of orthodox, and of being untrue to the orthodox faith. Flavian listened to the document in astonishment, and suggested that Eusebius should first privately discuss with Eutyches the points in dispute. Eusebius retorted that he had already several times privately, and as an old friend, remon-

strated with Eutyches, but unsuccessfully; he, therefore, implored the synod to summon Eutyches before them, not only to induce him to give up his views, but to prevent infection spreading further. The sitting concluded after further debate by the nomination of two deputies, a priest and a deacon, who were instructed to read to Eutyches the complaint laid against him, and to invite him to attend the synod. The synod met again on the 12th of Nov. Eusebius began by renewing his assertion that Eutyches had propagated his errors widely. He then moved, first, the recital of (*a*) Cyril's first letter to Nestorius, (*b*) the approbation of that letter by the council of Ephesus, and (*c*) Cyril's letter to John of Antioch; and secondly, that every one present should express their acceptance of these documents as true expositions of the Nicene creed. Flavian and the bishops present accepted these propositions, and a resolution to the same effect was sent to the absentees for their approval and signature. The synod thus professed its belief in "Jesus Christ the only-begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and body subsisting, begotten before all ages, without beginning; of the Father according to the Godhead, but in these last days for our sake and for our salvation born of the Virgin Mary, according to the manhood; consubstantial with the Father, as touching His Godhead, and consubstantial with the mother, as touching His manhood." "We confess," they stated, "that Jesus Christ, after the Incarnation, was of two natures in one Hypostasis and in one Person; one Christ, one Son, one Lord. Whosoever asserts otherwise, him we exclude from the clergy and the church" (Mansi, vi. 679). The third session took place on Nov. 15, when the deputies announced the result of their interview with Eutyches. He refused to appear before the synod, on the ground that he had made a resolution, as early as the beginning of his monastic life, never to leave the cloister. Further, he wished to inform the synod that Eusebius had long been his enemy, and, in this instance, had grossly slandered him; for that he (Eutyches) was ready to assent to and subscribe the statements of the holy Fathers at Nicaea and Ephesus. Certain expressions used by them were, in his opinion, mistakes; but he would not blame the one nor press the other. In such cases he turned to Holy Scripture, which he considered a safer guide than the fathers. After the Incarnation of the Word—that is, after the birth of the Lord Jesus Christ—he (Eutyches) worshipped one nature, and that the nature of God made flesh and incarnate (*μίαν φύσιν προσκυνεῖν, καὶ ταύτην Θεοῦ σαρκωθέντος καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος*). Reading from a little book which he fetched, Eutyches had then, according to the deputies, first protested against a statement falsely ascribed to him—viz. that the Logos had brought His body from heaven—and next asserted his inability to find anywhere in the writings of the Fathers their belief that our Lord Jesus Christ subsisted of two Persons united in one Hypostasis; adding, that even if he did find such a statement, he must decline to accept it, as not being contained in Holy Scripture. In his belief, He who was born of the Virgin Mary was very God and very man, but His body was not of like substance with ours. Eusebius struck in, "This is quite enough to enable us to take action against Eutyches; but let him be summoned a second time." Two priests (Mamas and Theophilus) were now sent. They were instructed to tell Eutyches that his replies to the deputies had given great offence, and that he must come and explain them, as well as meet the charges originally brought against him. They took with them a note to the effect that if he persisted in refusing to appear, it might be necessary to deal with him according to canonical law, and that his determination not to leave his cell was simply an evasion. During their absence, Eusebius brought forward a further charge. Eutyches, he asserted, had written and circulated among the monks a little book on the faith, to which he had requested their signatures. The statement was evidently an exaggeration; but it was of sufficient importance to deserve verification. Priests and deacons were at once sent to the neighbouring monasteries to make inquiries. In the meantime Mamas and Theophilus returned. They reported that they had encountered many obstacles. The monks round the door of the monastery had affirmed the archimandrite to be ill; one Eleusinius had next appeared reporting himself the representative of Eutyches; and it was only on the assurance that the letter, of which they were the bearers, contained neither hard nor secret messages that they at last procured an audience. To the letter Eutyches had replied that nothing but death should make him leave his monastery, that the archbishop and the synod might do what they pleased, and that they had much better spare themselves the trouble of summoning him a third time. In his turn, he wished them to take a letter; and, on their refusal announced his intention of sending it to the synod. Eusebius at once broke out, "Guilty men have always some excuse ready; we must bring Eutyches here against his will." His coadjutors were more reasonable, and, at the desire of Flavian, two priests (Memnon and Epiphanius) and a deacon (Germanus) were commissioned to make another effort. They took with them a letter exhorting Eutyches not to compel the synod to put in force canonical censure, and summoning him before them two days later (Nov. 17). The synod met on Nov. 16. During the session, information was brought to Flavian that certain monks and deacons, friends of Eutyches, and Abraham, archimandrite of a neighbouring monastery, requested an audience. They were at once admitted. Abraham informed the archbishop that Eutyches was ill, and had deputed him to wait upon the archbishop and speak for him. Flavian's reply was paternal and conciliatory. He regretted the illness of Eutyches, and, on behalf of those present, expressed their willingness to wait till he was restored to health. "Let him remember," he continued, "that he is not coming among strangers, but among men who would receive him with fatherly and brotherly affection, and many of whom have hitherto been his friends. He has pained many, and must defend himself. Surely if he could leave his retirement when the error of Nestorius imperilled the faith, he should do as much when his own orthodoxy is in question. He has but to acknowledge and anathematize his error, and the past shall be forgiven. As regards the future he must give

assurance to us that he will only teach conformably to the doctrines of the Fathers." The archbishop closed the audience with words replete with significance, "You (monks) know the zeal of the accuser of Eutyches'. Fire itself seems to him cold in comparison with his burning zeal for religion. God knows I have besought him to desist; but, as he persisted, what could I do? Do you suppose that I have any wish to destroy you, and not rather gather you together? It is the act of an enemy to scatter, but the act of a father to gather."

The fifth session opened on Wednesday, Nov. 17, with Memnon's report on their mission to Eutyches. The archimandrite, he stated, received their letter with the remark that he had sent Abraham and the others to declare to the archbishop and the synod that he (Eutyches) assented to the definitions of Nicaea and Ephesus, and to all that Cyril had spoken. Eusebius started up with the interruption: "If Eutyches assents now and from compulsion, that does not put me in the wrong. My charge against him has to do with the past and not with the future." The archbishop calmed him, and Memnon was allowed to proceed. Eutyches had assured him that he had sent Abraham on account of his own illness. "I pressed him, nevertheless," said Memnon, "to appear personally before you; but first he wished to await Abraham's return, and next—when we offered to remain with him till then—he begged us to request you not to command his attendance this week, and added that he would (God willing) attend on the following Monday." Before any decision was pronounced upon this request, the deputies who had been sent by the synod to the various monasteries were asked to make their report. They stated that they had been to several monasteries. Martin, archimandrite of the first, told them that he had received a document from Eutyches on Nov. 12, which he had been requested to sign; that on his objecting that "definitions of the faith should emanate from bishops and not from him," Eutyches had answered, "If you do not support me, the archbishop, after he has destroyed me, will destroy you." Martin had not read the document, but Eutyches had informed him that it contained what the council of Ephesus and Cyril had taught. A second archimandrite had told them that the monks who had brought him the paper for his signature, had assured him that it contained the definitions of the fathers at Nicaea and Ephesus; but that his request to be allowed to compare it, previous to signing it, with the acts of those councils, had not been accepted, and the monks had departed, seemingly displeased. Other abbats disclaimed all knowledge of paper or request from Eutyches. Such as it was, the evidence was enough for Eusebius. "The charge is proved," he cried, "and we can proceed against him. Moreover, the man is a liar; at one moment he tells us that it is his determination not to come out. At another he promises to come." More rational counsels prevailed. Eutyches was informed that he would be expected on Nov. 22, and that in the event of his failing to appear, he would be deprived of his clerical functions and monastic dignity.

The bishops met for a sixth session on Saturday, Nov. 20, and agreed that Eutyches might be accompanied on the Monday following by four of his friends. The indefatigable Eusebius then rose. He had been given to understand that when Mamas and Theophilus had visited Eutyches, the archimandrite had made use of expressions which had not been reported to the synod, but which threw great light on his opinions. At the request of the bishops, Theophilus narrated what had occurred. Eutyches, he said, had wished to argue with them; and in the presence of several of his monks he had put these questions:—"Where, in Holy Scripture, is there any mention of two natures? Which of the Fathers has declared that God the Word has two natures?" Mamas had replied to the effect that the argument from the silence of Scripture was insufficient. "The word ὁμοούσιος does not occur in Holy Scripture; we owe it to the definitions of the Fathers. And similarly we owe to them the affirmation of the two natures." I (Theophilus) then asked Eutyches if he believed that God the Word was "perfect (τέλειος) in Christ." "Yes," he answered; and he gave the same answer to my next question:—"Do you believe that the man made flesh was also perfect (in Him)? Whereupon I urged, "If in Christ be perfect God and perfect man, then do these perfect (natures) form the one Son. Why will you not allow that the one Son consists of two natures?" Eutyches replied: "God forbid that I should say that Christ consists of two natures, or dispute about the nature of God. Let the synod depose me, or do what they please. I will hold fast by the faith which I have received." Mamas substantiated the truth of what Theophilus had stated, adding that what led to the discussion was the remark made by Eutyches:—"God the Word became flesh to restore fallen human nature," and the question which he (Mamas) had at once put:—"By what nature, then, is this human nature taken up and restored?" It was a natural question on the part of Flavian to ask, why this conversation had not been reported before: it was a lame, but thoroughly Oriental answer to reply:—"Because we had been sent, not to question Eutyches about his faith, but to summon him to the synod. We gave you his answer to the latter point. No one asked us about the former, and therefore we held our peace."

The synod met in its seventh, last, and weightiest session on Monday, Nov. 22. Eutyches eventually presented himself, accompanied by a multitude of soldiers, monks, and others, who refused to allow him to enter till assurance had been given that he should depart as free as he entered. A letter from the emperor (Theodosius) was presented. "I wish," it said, "for the peace of the Church, and steadfast adherence to the orthodox doctrines of the fathers at Nicaea and Ephesus. And because I know that Florentius the patrician is a man approved in the faith, I desire that he should be present at the sessions of a synod, which has to deal with matters of faith." The synod received the letter with shouts, "Long live the emperor! His faith is great! Long live our pious, orthodox, high-priest and emperor (τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ βασιλεῖ)." Florentius was conducted to his seat, the accuser (Eusebius) and the accused (Eutyches) took their places in the midst of the assembly, and the session began by the recital of all the papers bearing on the point between them. Cyril's letter to John of Antioch was again read; but,

after the words—"We confess our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . Consubstantial with the Father, according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood; for a union of the two natures was made; wherefore, we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord. And in accordance with the perception of the unconfused union (*τὴν τῆς ἀσυγχύτου ἑνώσεως ἔννοιαν*), we confess the Holy Virgin *θεοτόκος*, because God the Word was made flesh, and became man and united to Himself by conception the temple taken from her." Eusebius exclaimed, "Certainly, Eutyches does not acknowledge this, he has never believed it, but taught the very opposite to every one who came to him." Florentius desired that Eutyches himself should be asked if he assented to these documents or not; but again Eusebius broke in, "If he does so *now*; then, Eusebius, shall appear to be a calumniator, and I shall lose my office." Eutyches, he asserted, had already threatened him with banishment; Eutyches was a rich man, and possessed plenty of influence, while he (Eusebius) was poor and possessed nothing. Flavian and Florentius succeeded in calming Eusebius, and the former turned to Eutyches with the question: "Do you confess union out of two natures?" "I do," he answered; but when Eusebius put the question in a more precise form: "Do you confess the existence of the two natures *after* the Incarnation, and that Christ is consubstantial with us according to the flesh?" Eutyches replied, "I have not come here to dispute, but to testify what I think. My opinion is contained in this paper. I pray you command that it be read." Read it himself, he would not; and to Flavian's very natural remark: "If it is your own profession of faith, what was the need of a paper?" he continued: "This is my belief. I worship the Father with the Son, and the Son with the Father, and the Holy Ghost with the Father and the Son. I acknowledge that the bodily presence of the Son arose from the body of the Holy Virgin, and that He became perfect man for the sake of our salvation. This is my confession before the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and before your Holiness." Further questions followed. The archbishop put the plain one:—"Do you confess that Christ is of two natures?" Eutyches answered, "I have never yet presumed to dispute about the nature of my God; that He is consubstantial with us, have I never said. I readily admit that the Holy Virgin is consubstantial with us, and that our God was born of her flesh." Flavian, Florentius, Basil of Seleucia, and others, pressed upon him: "If you admit that Mary is consubstantial with us, and that Christ took His manhood from her, it naturally follows that He, according to His manhood, is consubstantial with us." Eutyches answered: "I do not say that the body of man has become the body of God; but in speaking of a human body of God I say that the Lord became flesh of the Virgin. If you wish me to add that His body is consubstantial with ours, I will do so; but I cannot use the word consubstantial in such a manner as to deny that He is the Son of God." Flavian's retort was just: "You will then admit this from compulsion, and not because it is your belief." Florentius again appealed to Eutyches: "Do you believe or no[t] that our Lord who was born of the Virgin is consubstantial with us, and—after the Incarnation—has two natures?" and the answer came: "I acknowledge that our Lord before the union (of the Godhead and manhood) had two natures; but, after the union, I confess but one." Finally the synod desired Eutyches to make a full explanation, and to pronounce an anathema on opinions opposed to the documents which had been recited. Eutyches replied that he would, if the synod desired it, make use of language (viz. consubstantial with us, and of two natures) which, in his opinion, was very much open to question; "but," he added, "inasmuch as I do not find such language either in Holy Scripture or in the writings of the Fathers, I must decline to pronounce an anathema on those who do not accept it, lest—in so doing—I should be anathematizing the Fathers." Once more Florentius interposed: "Do you acknowledge two natures in Christ, and His consubstantiality with us?" "Cyril and Athanasius," answered Eutyches, "speak of two natures before the union, but of one nature after the union." "If you do not acknowledge two natures after the union," persisted Florentius, "you will be condemned. Whosoever refuses the formula 'of two natures' and the expression 'two natures' is unorthodox;" to which the synod responded with the cry, "and to receive this under compulsion (as would Eutyches) is not to believe in it. Long live the emperor!" The sentence was pronounced: "Eutyches, formerly priest and archimandrite, hath proved himself affected by the heresy of Valentinus and Apollinaris, and hath refused—in spite of our admonition—to accept the true faith. Therefore we, lamenting his perverseness, have decreed, through our Lord Jesus Christ, blasphemed by him, that he be excluded from all priestly functions, from our communion, and from his primacy in his monastery." Excommunication was pronounced upon all who should consort with and abet him, and the sentence was signed by thirty-two (? twenty-eight) bishops, and twenty-three archimandrites. Eutyches left the council-chamber muttering an appeal to Rome.

Action was at once taken by both parties. The monks rallied round Eutyches, and the influence of Chrysaphius was exerted in his behalf. Eutyches himself wrote to the emperor and to many of the bishops, and placarded notices about Constantinople, protesting against his sentence, and justifying his teaching. Of these letters the most important is that to pope Leo. In it he accuses Eusebius of acting at Satan's bidding, not in the interests of orthodoxy, but with the intention of destroying him. He repeats that he could not accede to the demands of the synod, acknowledge two natures in Christ, and anathematize all who opposed this doctrine, because Athanasius, Gregory, Julius, and Felix had rejected the expression "two natures," he himself having no wish to add to the creed of Nicaea and Ephesus, nor to define too particularly the nature of God the Word. He adds that he had desired the synod to lay the matter in dispute before the pope, promising to abide by his decision; but that this favour not having been accorded to him, and being in great danger, he now implored the pope to give an unprejudiced judgment upon the points in dispute, and to extend protection to him.

Flavian, on his part, circulated the decree of excommunication. He charged the monks to obey it, he communicated it to the emperor, to the pope, and the bishops in the provinces; but his interviews with the emperor were painful to himself, and marked by great suspicion on the part of the emperor; and his letter to Leo was forestalled by that of Eutyches, and required a second, more explanatory of the synodal acts, and refuting the mis-statements of Eutyches, before the pope was satisfied. Leo eventually gave Eutyches his answer in the celebrated "epistola dogmatica ad Flavianum."

It was soon evident that court favour inclined to Eutyches; and early in 449 a commission was appointed by the emperor to examine a charge of falsification of the acts of the late synod of Constantinople, proffered by Eutyches against Flavian. The revision of the proceedings brought to light no such material differences as Eutyches alleged, and the commission had no choice but to confirm the sentence pronounced by the synod; but an agitation was thereby advanced, which was productive of the greatest misery.

A council had already been summoned by the emperor Theodosius to meet at Ephesus. Eutyches and Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, had demanded it,and their position had been supported by Chrysaphius. This conjunction was, in itself, ominous; it more than justified Flavian's openly expressed conviction that a council convened under such patronage could do no good. Chrysaphius was notoriously opposed to Flavian; the eunuch could bear no rival at court, and (if the story be true) he had never forgiven Flavian's election in preference to Eutyches, or the archbishop's rebuke of his cupidity. Dioscorus retained the traditional jealousy of the see of Constantinople, and—in defiance of all canonical law—had admitted Eutyches to communion, and declared him reinstated in his functions as priest and archimandrite.

The imperial summons was couched in the names of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., and was dated May 30, 449. It stated the cause of the summons to be due to the doubts and disputes which had arisen concerning the faith; it invited Dioscorus to present himself with ten metropolitans and ten bishops at Ephesus on August 1; and it extended the invitation to other bishops, Theodoret of Cyrus (Kars) being exempted unless specially summoned by the council. A second letter to Dioscorus appointed the Syrian abbat, Barsumas, representative of the Eastern priests and archimandrites, evidently with the intention of considering and composing certain Nestorian disputes. The imperial instructions to the commissioners, Elpidius and Eulogius, charged them to repress all unruliness at the sessions, to preserve order, and carry through the business carefully and quickly. One sentence was especially significant: "The bishops who, at Constantinople, had passed judgment upon Eutyches were to attend the proceedings at Ephesus, but were not to be allowed to take part in them, because their own already expressed opinions were to be examined anew." Proclus, the proconsul of Asia, was ordered to support the commissioners. Two further imperial decrees remain to be noticed. The first appointed Dioscorus president of the synod, with Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Thalassius of Caesarea, as special assessors, in order to check the move made by certain Nestorian bishops to invite Theodoret; and the wish was expressed that no consideration should be shewn for any who added to or diminished from the Nicene Creed; the second was addressed to the council itself, and, directly blaming Flavian for his actions towards Eutyches and his (alleged) unwillingness to let drop the matters in dispute between them, desired the council to go into the subject thoroughly, to root out the errors, to expel the followers of Nestorius from the Church, and fix the true faith on a firm and irremovable basis.

The synod—the "Latrocinium" or "Robber-synod," as posterity was taught to call it by Leo—met for the first time on August 8, 449.[a] It was a synod at which "Flavian was presented as an oppressor, and Eutyches as a victim, and terrible was the day on which it opened. The true faith received in the East a shock from which it has never completely recovered since. The Church witnessed the separation from herself of nations which have never returned to her, and perhaps never will" (Martin).

Leo was not present: Julius, a bishop, Renatus, a priest, and Hilary, a deacon, accompanied by a notary, appeared as his legates. They brought with them the famous tome, or doctrinal letter, to Flavian, and letters to the emperor, to Pulcheria (his sister), to the archimandrites, to the council, and to others. In his letter to Theodosius (June 13, 449) Leo expresses his regret that "the foolish old man" (Eutyches) had not given up opinions condemned by the synod of Constantinople, and intimates his wish that the archimandrite should be received again if he would keep his promise to the pope, and amend what was erroneous in his views. In the letter to Pulcheria (same date), the pope considers Eutyches to have fallen into his error "through want of knowledge, rather than through wickedness;" in his letter to the archimandrites of Constantinople, he states his conviction that they do not share the views of Eutyches, and exhorts them to deal tenderly with him should he renounce his error; and in his letter to the synod he quotes the confession of St. Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (St. Matt. xvi. 16), as embodying belief in the two natures, and argues that if Eutyches had rightly understood these words, he would not have swerved from the path of truth. In most of these letters Leo refers to the tome as containing the true teaching of the Church.

That tome was indeed presented at the synod; but a synod "bought with gold and packed with brutal men" (Eusebius of Doryl.), described by the empress Eudoxia as "tumultuous and disastrous," and stigmatized by Leo himself, "as no court of justice, but a gang of robbers," was not likely to permit the recital of a document condemnatory of the man (Eutyches) they were pledged to acquit. It was presented, but shelved.

[a] On this synod cp. G. Hoffmann's paper, "*Verhandlungen der Kirchenversammlung zu Ephesus*," in vol. xx. (1873) of the *Schriften der Universität zu Kiel*; Abbé Martin, *Le Pseudo-Synode connu sous le nom de Brigandage d'Éphèse* (1875, Paris); S. G. F. Perry, *The Second Synod of Ephesus, Acts*, English version with notes; and *Secunda Synodus Ephesina, Excerpta e Codicibus Syriacis*, MSS. in Mus. Brit. (1877).

The history of the synod, in its relation to Eutyches, is discussed elsewhere [DIOSCORUS]. The Christian world was rent in pieces by its proceedings. Egypt, Thrace, and Palestine, ranged themselves with Dioscorus and the emperor; Syria, Pontus, Asia, Rome, protested against the treatment of Flavian, and the acquittal of Eutyches. Dioscorus excommunicated Leo, Leo excommunicated Dioscorus. Theodosius applauded and confirmed the decisions of the synod in a decree which denounced Flavian, Eusebius, and others, as Nestorians, forbad the elevation of their followers to episcopal rank, deposed them if already bishops, and expelled them from the country. Leo wrote letters to the emperor Theodosius, to the church at Constantinople, and to the anti-Eutychian archimandrites. He asked for a general council; he interested the emperor Valentinian III., who with his wife (Eudoxia) and his mother (Galla Placidia), happened to be at Rome on the feast of St. Peter's chair (Feb. 22, 450); and he appealed to Pulcheria, whose letter to him—intimating how erroneous she considered the views of Eutyches—especially gladdened him. The letters of Valentinian and Leo were answered by Theodosius, in a strain which left no doubt as to his intentions; "the synod at Ephesus had been perfectly unfettered; they had come to conclusions entirely consonant with orthodoxy; Flavian had been justly deposed on account of his innovation on the faith." He desired Leo to recognise Anatolius, an Alexandrian whom Dioscorus had consecrated to Constantinople, and (at that time) a partisan of Eutyches; a request which Leo met by the stipulation that Anatolius must first prove his orthodoxy, by formulating a confession of faith on the lines laid down by Cyril, the council of Ephesus, and his own letter to Flavian.

The wrangle was suddenly silenced by the death of Theodosius (July 450). Pulcheria raised her husband, Marcian, to the throne, and orthodoxy triumphed again: "Eutychianism, as well as Nestorianism, was conquered" (Leo). Marcian assented at once and cordially to the pope's request for a council; Anatolius convened a synod of such bishops, archimandrites, priests, and deacons as were at Constantinople, and in the presence of the Roman legates subscribed the tome, and, together with the whole assembly, anathematized Eutyches, Nestorius, and their followers. Pulcheria wrote to confirm the news, and added that Flavian's body was to be brought to Constantinople and buried in the Basilica of the Apostles, and that the exiled bishops were to be recalled. Leo's joy was sincere, but his wish for a council was not now so urgent. The danger which existed when Theodosius was emperor had passed away. Eutychianism and Nestorianism had been anathematized; his own tome had been everywhere accepted; of more immediate importance, in his opinion, than discussions upon matters of doctrine, was the practical question, how best and most speedily to reconcile the penitent and to punish the obstinate. The war in the West, the invasion of Gaul by Attila, would prevent the bishops of the West from attending a council in Italy, where he wished it to be. Nestorianism was still powerful among the bishops of Syria, and would unquestionably bias the views of many, should a council be called in the East, as the emperor desired. He feared that the men who would unite for the condemnation of Eutychianism, would, out of that very condemnation, find means for a triumph of Nestorianism over orthodoxy.

Leo pressed his views respectfully and firmly; but, in deference to the emperor's convictions, he did not insist upon them. He consented to send representatives to the future council, while he urged that no fresh discussion should be allowed whether Eutyches was heretical or not, or whether Dioscorus had judged rightly or not, but that debate should turn upon the best means of reconciling and dealing mercifully with those who had gone wrong. For a similar reason he urged Pulcheria to cause the removal of Eutyches from the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and to place an orthodox abbat at the head of his monastery; the one step would check the existing means of intercourse, the other would free the community from false teaching. That the last piece of advice was needful seems clear from the appeal made about this time to Marcian by one Faustus and other archimandrites. Eutyches, they urged, had many followers, and especially among his own monks. These persons had paid no attention to the summons to obedience addressed to them by Anatolius and his synod. Therefore, urged the petitioners, let them be proceeded against according to monastic rule, and let fresh archimandrites be appointed to see that the imperial enactments be enforced.

The fourth great council of the church, originally summoned to meet at Nicaea on Sept. 1, 451, met—after various inevitable delays and change of locality—at Chalcedon, on Oct. 8. Its general history is given under DIOSCORUS; here one or two points only need be considered which have special reference to the subject of this article.

During the first session the secretaries read the documents descriptive of the introduction of Eutyches at the synod of Ephesus (the Latrocinium) and the reading of his paper. Eusebius of Dorylaeum interrupted them when they came to words which attributed to Eutyches the statement, "The third general council (that of Ephesus, 431) hath directly forbidden any addition to the Nicene creed." "That is untrue," exclaimed Eusebius. "You will find it in four copies," retorted Dioscorus. Diogenes of Cyzicus urged that Eutyches had not repeated the Nicene Creed as it then stood; for the second general council (that of Constantinople, 381) had certainly appended (against Apollinaris and Macedonius) to the words, "He was incarnate," the words "by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary," though he considered the appended words an explanation rather than an addition; but the Egyptian bishops present disclaimed (as Cyril had previously done) any such revised version of the Nicene confession, and greeted the words of Diogenes with loud exclamations of disapproval. Angry words were again interchanged when the reader continued: "I (Eutyches) anathematize all who say that the flesh of Our Lord Jesus Christ came down from heaven." "True," interrupted Eusebius, "but Eutyches has never told us whence Christ did take His manhood;" and Diogenes and Basil of Seleucia affirmed that Eutyches, though pressed upon this point at Constantinople, had refused to speak out. Dioscorus now, and to his honour, protested: "Let Eutyches

be not only punished, but burnt, if he holds heterodox opinions. I only care to preserve the Catholic faith, not that of any individual man;" and then he turned upon Basil for having said one thing at Constantinople and another at Ephesus. "I did so," pleaded Basil, "out of fear of the majority. Before a tribunal of magistrates I would have remained firm even to martyrdom; but I did not dare oppose (a tribunal of) the Fathers (or bishops)." And his appeal for pardon on that ground was caught up by the others. "Yes, we all sinned (at Ephesus); we all implore forgiveness."

At the fourth session (Oct. 17), eighteen priests and archimandrites, headed by Faustus, were admitted to the presence of the Council. They were questioned about a petition (perhaps a counter-petition to their own) addressed to Marcian previous to the opening of the council, by Carosus and other Eutychians, who styled themselves archimandrites. Faustus replied that only two of the petitioners (Carosus and Dorotheus) were archimandrites, the rest were men who lived in martyries (chapels dedicated to martyrs), or were unknown to them, and he demanded their punishment for the assumption of a title which was not theirs. The commissioners commanded that Carosus and the others should be summoned. They came, to the number of twenty. The quick eye of Anatolius discovered among them two men who had been already condemned for heresy; and all present shrank with horror from one man in the company—Barsumas. The petition was read. It was an impassioned appeal to the emperor to prevent an outbreak of schism, to summon a council, and in the meantime forbid the expulsion of any man from his church, monastery, or martyry. The reading had hardly finished when Diogenes denounced Barsumas as the man who had killed Flavian; and cries of "Out with the murderer!" prevented for some moments the recital of another paper which the Eutychians had addressed to the council. In this second document the Eutychians excused themselves for not having previously attended the council, on the ground that the emperor had forbidden it; and they now proffered the request that "his holiness the archbishop Dioscorus and his bishops should be invited to attend." Angry exclamations burst forth on all sides; "Anathema to Dioscorus! Christ hath deposed him. Turn out these men, and blot out the insult they have offered us. We will not listen to a petition which calls the deposed Dioscorus a bishop." The commissioners had the courage to insist that the paper should be read through. "The emperor," it proceeded, "had assured them that at the council the creed of Nicaea only should be established, and that nothing should be undertaken previous to this." It urged that the condemnation of Dioscorus was inconsistent with the imperial promise; he and his bishops should therefore be again called to the council, and the present schism would be removed. Should however, the council decline to act thus, they (the Eutychians) declared that they would hold no communion with men who opposed the creed of the 318 fathers at Nicaea. At the same time, to prove their own orthodoxy, they appended their own signatures to that creed and to the Ephesian canon which confirmed it. Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople, now reminded these petitioners that church discipline required monks to accept from the bishops instructions in matters of faith; he pointed out to them that all those present held the confessions of faith approved at Nicaea and Ephesus as firmly as themselves, that the writings of Cyril and Leo were not to be taken as superseding, but as explaining the faith; and he called upon them to say out boldly whether they would assent to the present council or not. The commissioners joined in the explanation and appeal. Carosus fenced with it: "I have no need to anathematize Nestorius. I have spoken as much against him over and over again." "Then anathematize Eutyches," cried Aetius. "It is written," said Carosus, "judge not, and ye shall not be judged;" and then he turned upon Aetius, "Why are you talking, and the bishops sitting still?" Aetius persisted, "In the name of the council, I ask you, 'Do you assent to their decision or not?'" "I abide by the creed of Nicaea," answered Carosus; "condemn me and send me into exile. Paul hath taught me, 'If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be anathema' (A.V. accursed) (Gal. i. 8). If Eutyches doth not believe what the Catholic church believes, let him be anathema."

The appeal of Faustus and other anti-Eutychian archimandrites to the emperor already mentioned, was now ordered to be read. The Eutychian archimandrite, Dorotheus, immediately asserted the orthodoxy of Eutyches. The commissioners retorted, "Eutyches teaches that the body of the Redeemer is not of like substance to ours. What say you to that?" Dorotheus avoided a direct answer by quoting the language of the Constantinopolitan creed in this form, "Incarnate of the Virgin and made man," and interpreting it in an anti-Nestorian sense; but he declined to attest the language used on this point by Leo in his tome. The commissioners were now on the point of passing judgment, when the Euytchians, who had refused a space for consideration of two days, asserted that the emperor had promised them an opportunity of fair debate with their opponents in his presence. It was necessary to ascertain the truth of this, and the sitting of Oct. 17 ended.

On Oct. 20 the bishops and commissioners met again. Alexander, the priest and periodeutes ("visitor," see Suicer, *Thesaur.* i. n.), who had been deputed to see the emperor, informed the council that he and the decurion John had been sent by the emperor to the monks, with a message to the effect that, had he (the emperor) considered himself able to decide the point in dispute, he would not have convened a Council. "I now charge you," continued the emperor, "to attend the Council and learn from them what you do not yet know. For what the holy general council determines, that I follow, that I rest in, and that I believe." The imperial language was greeted with loud acclamations, and the more impetuous spirits present wished to enforce at once against Carosus and the Eutychians, the fourth and fifth canons of the Council of Antioch (341) which deposed bishop, priest, and deacon found guilty of persistent disobedience or of schismatic worship. This the commissioners rightly refused. The Eutychians were granted

thirty days' consideration, at the end of which time, should they still remain contumacious, they would be deprived of ecclesiastical rank and office. The matter does not appear to have been brought before the council again, but from Leo's correspondence (*Epp.* 136, 141, 142) it would seem that Carosus and Dorotheus persisted in their views and were ejected by Marcian from their monastery.

On Oct. 22, in the fifth session, the memorable "Definition of faith agreed upon at the council of Chalcedon" was recited and received with the unanimous cry, "This is the faith of the Fathers; this is the faith of the Apostles. We all assent to it. We all think thus." It was signed by the metropolitan and by the imperial commissioners, and instructions were given that it should be laid before the emperor.

The bearing of this "definition" upon Eutychianism may be briefly noticed. After declaring "the sufficiency of the wise and saving creed" of Nicaea and Constantinople, inasmuch as that creed taught "completely the perfect doctrine concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and fully explained the Incarnation of the Lord to those who received it faithfully," it goes on to admit that some "dare to corrupt the mystery of the Lord's Incarnation, others (*i. e.* the Eutychians) bring in a confusion and mixture (*σύγχυσιν καὶ κρᾶσιν*), and absurdly imagine the nature of the flesh and of the Godhead to be one, and teach the monstrous doctrine that the Divine nature of the Only-Begotten was a commixture capable of suffering." "Therefore the present holy, great, and oecumenical Council . . . has added for the confirmation of the orthodox doctrines, the letter of Leo written to Flavian for the removal of the evil opinions (*κακονοία*) of Eutyches. For it is directed against those who attempt to rend the mystery of the Incarnation into a duad of Sons: it repels from the sacred congregation those who dare to say that the Divinity of the Only-Begotten is capable of suffering; it is opposed to those who imagine a mixture or confusion of the two natures of Christ: it drives away those who fancy that the form of a servant which was taken by Him of us, is of an heavenly or any other substance; and it condemns those who speak of two natures of the Lord before the union, and feign one after the union."

"We then," was the conclusion, "following the holy Fathers, all with one consent teach men to confess one and the same Son, one Lord Jesus Christ; the same perfect in Godhead and also perfect in manhood: truly God and truly man, of a reasonable soul and body; consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood; in all things like unto us without sin; begotten before all ages of the Father according to the Godhead, and in these latter days, for us and for our salvation, born of Mary, the Virgin Mother of God, according to the Manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-Begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures, inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably (*ἐν*[b] *δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον*), the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one person and one hypostasis, not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-Begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ, as the prophets from the beginning have declared concerning Him, and the Lord Jesus Christ Himself has taught us, and the creed of the holy Fathers has delivered to us."

"Writing, composing, devising, or teaching any other creed" was declared unlawful, with the following penalties: "bishops and clergy were to be deposed, monks and laymen anathematized."

On Oct. 25, Marcian, accompanied by Pulcheria and the court, opened and closed the sixth session. In his address he explained that he appeared in person, as Constantine had done before him, not to overawe and coerce any, but to strengthen and confirm the faith: his efforts and his prayers were alike directed to one end, that all might be one in true doctrine, hold the same religion, and honour the true Catholic faith. The archdeacon Aetius recited in his presence the confession of faith approved at the previous session, and the question then put by the emperor: "Is the opinion of all expressed in the formula just read?" was answered by a shout from all sides, "This is the belief of us all! We are unanimous, and have signed it unanimously! We are all orthodox! This is the belief of the Fathers; this is the belief of the Apostles; this is the belief of the orthodox; this belief hath saved the world! Long live Marcian, the new Constantine, the new Paul, the new David! Long live Pulcheria, the new Helena!"

Three ordinances brought by the emperor, and referring to the conduct and treatment of refractory monks (such as the Eutychian), were afterwards incorporated in the canons of the council (iii. iv. lxx.); and they, together with canons viii. and xxiii. were probably found sufficient to repress for a time monks who went "to the royal city of Constantinople, and remaining there for a long time, raised seditions and disturbed the ecclesiastical state (xxiii.).

Imperial edicts followed speedily after the close of the council (Nov. 1). One dated March 13, 452, was especially directed against the Eutychians. They had persisted in disseminating their "foolishness," in spite of the council and the emperor. Marcian now warned them that their contumacy would be sharply punished, and this warning was presently carried into effect. On July 28, Eutychians and Apollinarians were deprived of their priests, they were forbidden to hold meetings, or to live together in monasteries; they were to be considered incapable of either inheriting property under a will or devising such property to their co-sympathizers; they were to be reckoned unfit for military service. Eutychian priests who had seceded from their post in the church and the monks from Eutyches' own monastery were banished from Roman territory. Their writings were to be burnt, and the composer and circulator of such works was to be punished with confiscation of goods, and with exile. Dioscorus and Eutyches were exiled, but the latter died probably before the sentence was carried into effect.

"With none of those who have been the authors of heresies among Christians, was blas-

[b] Cf. Hefele's exhaustive note, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii. 470, n. 1 (ed. 1875).

phemy the first intention; nor did they fall from the truth in a desire to dishonour the Deity, but rather from an idea which each entertained, that he should improve upon his predecessors by upholding such and such doctrines." These words of the church historian, Evagrius (i. ch. xi.) follow his account of the second (*i.e.* the Robber) synod of Ephesus, which restored Eutyches. They express the belief of a judicially-trained mind within little more than 100 years after the events in question, and they are in substance reproduced by "judicious" Hooker (*Eccl. Pol.* v. ch. 52). Cyril "had given instance in the body and soul of man no farther than only to enforce by example against Nestorius, that a visible and invisible, a mortal and an immortal substance, may united make one person." Eutyches and his followers took those words of Cyril, "as though it had been his drift to teach, that even as in us the body and the soul, so in Christ God and man make but *one nature*. . . . He became unsound (in belief) by denying the difference which still continueth between the one and the other nature." It was "real, though erring reverence" which led him, in the first instance, to broach his opinions. His "narrow mind, stiffened by seclusion, and bewildered by harassing excitement" (Bright) was in no state in the day of his trial before the synod of Constantinople, to perceive to what his teaching logically conducted, nor to accept the qualifications or paraphrases kindly offered. He passed away, but Eutychianism exists still (Pusey, *Councils of the Church*, p. 25). It never has and never will yield to edicts like those of Marcian. The right faith has been defined by the great council which opposed both it and Nestorianism. "We must therefore," in teaching ourselves and others, "keep warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of Persons, wherein Nestorius went away, and also this latter confusion of natures, which deceived Eutyches" (Hooker).

Consult Mansi, *Sacr. Conc. Collectio*, vi. vii.; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, &c. xv.; Bright, *History of the Church* (313–451); and works mentioned in preceding notes. [J. M. F.]

EUTYCHETAE. [ENTYCHITAE.]

EUTYCHIA, April 1, confessor at Thessalonica, in the Diocletian persecution. She was brought before the president Dulcetius, with six other women. These last were all put to death by burning. She, being pregnant, was remanded to prison. Their Acts are extant in Symeon Metaphrastes, and Ruinart *Acta Sincera*, p. 392. [G. T. S.]

EUTYCHIANISTAE. Monophysites are so called by the emperor Justinian, in an edict dated "xv. kal. April." A.D. 541 (*Novell.* cxxxi. 14). The edict enacts that if any one of these heretics should dare to erect a place of worship, (speluncam suae incredulitatis) it should be taken possession of by the holy church of that place as its own property. The name is also applied to them elsewhere (*e.g.* Timotheus Presbyter, *de Receptione Haeret.* Migne, Patrol. Gr. lxxxvi. pt. i. 41). [T. W. D.]

EUTYCHIANUS (1), Numidian bishop, addressed Cyp. Ep. 70; Ep. Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. de Bapt. Haer. 1. [E. W. B.]

EUTYCHIANUS (2), saluted by the martyr bishops in the mines, Cyp. Ep. 79. [E. W. B.]

EUTYCHIANUS (3), bishop of Rome from January A.D. 275 to December A.D. 283, during a period of 8 years 11 months and 3 days, and buried in the cemetery of Callistus. These are the facts about him given in the Liberian catalogue, and comprise all that can be relied on. The truth of the record has been confirmed by the discovery by De Rossi (*Rom. Sot.* ii. 70), in the papal crypt of the cemetery of fragments of a slab inscribed EYTYXIANOC EΠIC (Eutychianus episcopus). In the *Liber Pontificalis* he is said to have been martyred, and as a saint and martyr he is honoured on Dec. 1 in the Roman Calendar. But his claim to the latter title is disproved by the silence on the subject of the earliest known recension of the Lib. Pont., the Felician catalogue, and by his name occurring in the Liberian Depositio Episcoporum, not in the Depositio Martyrum. The Felician catalogue speaks of him as "nacione tuscus, ex patre marino," and says that he appointed the blessing of fruits upon the altar, and that he buried 462 martyrs. The later editions of the Pontifical record add that it was beans and grapes only that he ordered to be blessed upon the altar, that it was with his own hand that he buried so many martyrs, and that he ordered that no martyr should be buried without a dalmatic or a purple colobium. Two spurious decretals are attributed to him. One is to the Bishops of Baetica, directing the offering at the altar, and benediction there, of grapes and beans, but of other fruits at the house of the priest, and containing a long disquisition about the two natures in Christ. The other is to the Church of Sicily, regulating and controlling accusations and proceedings against the clergy, with a view to their protection and immunity. Ten decreta also appear as his in the collections of Gratian, Ivo, and others. [J. B—y.]

EUTYCHIANUS (4), the first bishop of Basti (Baza) of whom any record remains; signs the acts of the Council of Eliberi, A.D. 305. The see of Basti, one of the ancient suffragans of Toledo, may probably claim almost equal antiquity with that of Acci. The two towns are only twenty-six miles apart, and were in 1489 made one bishopric by Ferdinand and Isabella. The last bishop of Basti under the old order whose name remains is Servandus in the 10th century. (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 84; Aguirre-Catalani, ii. 30.) [M. A. W.]

EUTYCHIANUS (5), bishop of Amasea. [EUTYCHIUS (6).]

EUTYCHIANUS (6), a monk who had his abode in the mountain range of Olympus separating Phrygia from Bithynia, and who gained there a great reputation, owing to the many miracles he was said to perform. He lived in the time of Constantine, and, though an adherent of the Novatian party, he appears to have enjoyed the confidence and respect of that emperor. Socrates, in his *Eccl. History* (i. 13), has preserved one of his famous deeds, which illustrates the growth of that influence by which the clergy came at last to assert their superiority to the civil power. One of the imperial bodyguard had

entered into a conspiracy against the emperor, and being detected had taken to flight. He was apprehended in Mount Olympus, and put in prison with a view to execution. The people of the neighbourhood, compassionating his sufferings, flocked to Eutychianus, entreating that he would procure the prisoner's release. He at once promised to set out for Constantinople. It was represented to him that the sufferings of the prisoner were so great that he was in danger of death before he could be either executed or released. Eutychianus sent to the gaolers, requesting that the prisoner might be set free. He was answered that it could not be done except at the peril of their lives. Hereupon he took a friend with him, a young Novatian priest, the same who afterwards told Socrates the story, went to the prison, and demanded the prisoner. He was refused; then the gates of the prison spontaneously opened, and when Eutychianus and his friend Auxanon entered, the fetters immediately fell from the prisoner. Eutychianus set out without delay for Constantinople to represent what had happened, and the emperor, for the great reverence he owed him, "granted him his request with a willing mind."

[W. M.]

EUTYCHIANUS (7), bishop of Patara in Lycia, celebrated for its temple of Apollo; one of the forty bishops who at the synod of Seleucia, 359, signed the heretical formula of faith drawn up by Acacius of Caesarea and George of Alexandria. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 977; Mansi, iii. 321.) [L. D.]

EUTYCHIANUS (8), prefect of the praetorian guards at Constantinople and prefect of the East, in which capacity an edict was addressed to him by Arcadius, July 13, 399, commanding him to take measures for the destruction of any pagan temples still remaining in Phoenicia (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 10, c. 16, p. 283). This ordinance was obtained through the influence of Chrysostom. (Theod. *H. E.* v. 29.) The name of Eutychianus appears among the witnesses authenticating the correctness of the inventory of the church goods presented after the conflagration by Germanus and Cassianus. (Pallad. *Dial.* p. 27.) An edict was addressed to Eutychianus, dated Nov. 18, A.D. 404, commanding him to expel from the churches all those who refused to communicate with Arsacius, Theophilus, and Porphyry, and to prevent their meeting for worship elsewhere. (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. c. 4, c. 6, p. 103.) [E. V.]

EUTYCHIANUS (9), bishop of Epiphania in Syria Secunda. He was present at the fourth general council at Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vi. 570; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 917.) [J. de S.]

EUTYCHIANUS (10), bishop of Baris, a town of uncertain position in the ecclesiastical province of the Hellespont. In the sixth session of the Council of Chalcedon, 451, Diogenes of Cyzicus, his metropolitan, subscribed his name in his absence to the definition of the faith. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 769; Mansi, vii. 164.) [L. D.]

EUTYCHIANUS (11), first bishop of Daras or Anastasiopolis; also called Justiniana Nova, in Mesopotamia, near the confines of Persia. In 506 Thomas bishop of Amida having been employed by the emperor Anastasius in fortifying Daras, set some of his clergy to superintend the works, and among them the presbyter Eutychianus, who became the first bishop of the city. He was succeeded by Thomas of Rhaesina. (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* ii. 58, from the Syriac *Eccles. Hist.* of Zacharias of Melitene in Armenia; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 998.) [C. H.]

EUTYCHIANUS (12), a cleric of the episcopal church of Adana in Cilicia, one of the household, and a constant companion of St. Theophilus, the oeconomus or vice-dominus of that church A.D. 538. There is attributed to him a *History of the Repentance and Conversion of St. Theophilus*, the Greek MS. of which is described by Lambecius among those in the imperial library of Vienna (Lambec. *Comment. de Biblioth. Caes. Vindob.* ed. Kollar. lib. viii. cod. 11, num. 9, p. 156). Lambecius bestows much pains in sustaining the genuineness of the work, which has been doubted. A Latin translation by Paulus Diaconus of Naples is given by Surius and the Bollandists (Sur. *de Probat. Hist. SS.* tom. i. Feb. 4, p. 39; Boll. *Acta SS.* 4 Feb. i. 483; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 519). [C. H.]

EUTYCHIUS (1), bishop of Melitene. [EUPSYCHIUS (2).] [L. D.]

EUTYCHIUS (2) I., sixteenth bishop of Syracuse in the third century, between Abraham and Arthemius. He died, and was buried at Palermo (Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, i. 600). [C. H.]

EUTYCHIUS (3) II., eighteenth bishop of Syracuse, between Arthemius and Chrestus III. cir. A.D. 303. He is said to have administered the Eucharist to the celebrated St. Lucia of Syracuse at her martyrdom (Pirri, *Sic. Sacr.* i. 601). [C. H.]

EUTYCHIUS (4) III., twenty-fifth bishop of Syracuse, between Julianus and Januarius, cir. 500 (Pirri, *Sic. Sac.* i. 605). [C. H.]

EUTYCHIUS (5), bishop of Seleucia Ferrea in Pisidia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 695; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1053.) [L. D.]

EUTYCHIUS (6) (EUTYCHIANUS), bishop of Amasea, in the district of Helenopontus, in the province of Pontus Polemoniacus, A.D. 325; present at the council of Nicaea. (Mansi, ii. 694 d; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 525.) He is especially connected with the martyr-bishop of Amasea, his predecessor, Basilius or Basileus [BASILIUS, Vol. I. p. 298], who in his last letter to the church of Amasea (Baronius, 316, xxii.) had expressed a hope that Eutychius the son of Callistratus should be named his successor. [F. A.]

EUTYCHIUS (7), bishop of Smyrna, one of the fathers of Nicea, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 695 a; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 741.) [C. H.]

EUTYCHIUS (8), bishop of Satala. [EVETHIUS.]

EUTYCHIUS (9), bishop of Philippopolis in Thracia. Signed the epistle of the Eusebian bishops to the African church, A.D. 344. (Mansi, iii. 139, and Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1156.) [J. de S.]

EUTYCHIUS (10), a bishop of an unnamed see who signed the acts of the council of Sardica, A.D. 347 (Athanas. *Apolog. adv. Arian.* c. iii. § 50.) [E. V.]

EUTYCHIUS (11), occurs in the *Chronicon* of Jerome, sub ann. 349, as the first of the bishops intruded by the Acacians into the see of Jerusalem after the deposition of Cyril by Acacius. He is mentioned by no other authority. Tillemont (*Mém. Eccl.* vi. 425) suggests that he may have been the same with Eutychius, bishop of Eleutheropolis [EUTYCHIUS (13)]. See Tillemont's note on the intruded bishops of Jerusalem, viii. 782. [E. V.]

EUTYCHIUS (12), a bishop deposed at the same time as Acacius, by the semi-Arian faction at Seleucia, A.D. 359 (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 40). [E. V.]

EUTYCHIUS (13), bishop of Eleutheropolis (Hebron), in Palaestina Prima. He succeeded Theophilus on his translation to Castabali in Cilicia. Eutychius had been brought up in the orthodox faith under Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, but the enmity he conceived for Maximus's successor, Cyril, led him to attach himself to Cyril's bitter enemy, Acacius of Caesarea, and to profess his theological views. At the synod of Seleucia, 359, he signed Acacius's semi-Arian formula (Mansi, iii. 322). After the condemnation of Athanasius by the Eusebian synod at Milan, 535, Eusebius of Vercellae, one of the three bishops who nobly refused to sign the sentence, was banished to Eleutheropolis, where he was subsequently joined by his fellow confessor to the truth, Lucifer of Cagliari, whose original place of exile had been Germanicia. Eutychius is charged with having treated both the bishops with violence and contumely. It is asserted that when Lucifer was celebrating the holy communion with a handful of orthodox believers, the doors being closed, Eutychius forcibly broke the door down, and interrupted the sacred rite, carrying off the sacred vessels and books, and dispersing the communicants. (Marcell. et Faustin. *Liber Precum ad Theodosium*, p. 89.) Epiphanius charges him with being a Catholic at heart, but concealing his belief for the sake of retaining his bishopric. This he seems to have done till his death, although he was excommunicated and deposed by the party opposed to him at Seleucia. In A.D. 363 he signed the synodal letter of the bishops assembled at Antioch, including Meletius, Acacius, and Eusebius of Samosata to the emperor Jovian, on the consubstantiality of the Divine Word. (Socr. *H. E.* iii. 25; Labbe, ii. 828.) Jerome speaks of Eutychius having been one of Epiphanius's hearers "in monasterio," while the latter was still a presbyter, *i.e.* before A.D. 368 (Hieron. *Epist. ad Pammach.* 61; i. 660; Epiphan. *Haeres.* lxxiii. No. 23–27). [EUTYCHIUS (11).] [E. V.]

EUTYCHIUS (14) (TYCHICUS), bishop of Erythrae in the province of Asia, present at the council of Ephesus A.D. 431. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 727; Mansi, iv. 1156, 1215.) [L. D.]

EUTYCHIUS (15), bishop of Hadrianopolis in Vetus Epirus, present both at the second council of Ephesus, "the Latrocinium," A.D. 449 (Mansi, vi. 929), and at the oecumenical council of Chalcedon, 451. (Mansi, vii. 124; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 141.) [L. D.]

EUTYCHIUS (16), bishop of Trani, present at the fifth and sixth Roman synods under pope Symmachus in 503 and Oct. 504, according to the reckoning of Dahn (*Die Könige der Germanen*), who accepts, with a slight alteration, the arrangement of Hefele, § 220. See Mansi, viii. 299 and 315. All subscriptions to the fifth synod must be received with caution. [A. H. D. A.]

EUTYCHIUS (17), bishop of Como, 525. Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 525; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 260.) [A. H. D. A.]

EUTYCHIUS (18), ST., patriarch of Constantinople. His biography, composed by his chaplain Eustathius, has been preserved entire. [EUSTATHIUS (4).]

Eutychius was born at Theium in Phrygia circ. A.D. 512. His father Alexander was a general under Belisarius; his mother's name was Synesia. It is not clear whether it was to Constantinople or to Augustopolis, an episcopal city in Phrygia, that he went at the age of twelve to study under the care of his grandfather Hesychius, a presbyter and the treasurer of the cathedral. After his education was finished, he thought of becoming a monk; but the bishop of Amasea, in Helenopontus, hearing of it entered him among his clergy, and made him pass through all the degrees of the ministry, intending him even for the episcopate. The bishop afterwards changed his mind, and Eutychius assumed the monastic habit at Amasea, at the age of thirty, circ. A.D. 542.

At some council that was being held at Constantinople, towards the end of the patriarchate of Mennas, Eutychius, then archimandrite, attended as apocrisiarius for the bishop of Amasea, who was ill. Eustathius calls this council the fifth of Constantinople; but that did not commence until 553, when Mennas was dead. Perhaps we are to understand some preliminary gathering held in preparation for it. The archimandrite had the honour of being lodged at the palace of the patriarch, and so won his esteem that Mennas begged him never to leave him, and pointed him out to his clergy with the words, "That man will be my successor." Eutychius earned the admiration of the emperor also. One day, in a conference before Justinian, the question was discussed whether the living could pass sentence on the dead. Eutychius supported the affirmative by quoting the example of Josiah, who dug up the bones of the worshippers of the golden calf and burnt them. This opinion suiting the emperor and clergy, Eutychius was loaded with honour, and became an intimate of the imperial court. Mennas died in 552, probably on August 25, and while his body lay in state Justinian nominated Eutychius to an assembly of the senate and clergy for the patriarchate.

At the beginning of 553 Eutychius wrote to pope Vigilius who was then at Rome, making his profession of the catholic faith, declaring his acceptance of the four councils and the letters of St. Leo, and requesting Vigilius to preside over the council that was to be held on the question of the Three Chapters. Vigilius refused,

and Eutychius shared the first place in the assembly with the patriarchs Apollinarius of Alexandria and Domninus of Antioch. In conjunction with these he even went so far as to invite Vigilius again to the second session, but the pope excused himself on the ground of ill-health. The subscription of Eutychius to the Acts of this synod, which sat from May 5 to June 2, 553, is a summary of the decrees against the Three Chapters.

The next important event in the patriarchate of Eutychius was his violent collision in 564 with Justinian, when this emperor adopted the tenets of the Aphthartodocetae. Eutychius, in a long address, demonstrated the incompatibility of that theory with Scripture; but Justinian insisted on his subscribing to it, and finding him uncompromising, ordered his arrest.

On Jan. 22, 565, Eutychius was celebrating the feast-day of St. Timotheus in the church adjoining the Hormisdas palace (cf. Du Cange, *Cpolis. Chr.* lib. ii. p. 96, lib. iv. p. 93, ed. 1729) and was at the holy table, engaged in the communion service, when an officer with a band of soldiers broke into the patriarchal residence, and at length entered the church, and carried the patriarch away. Eutychius was first taken to a monastery called Choracudis, and on the following day to that of St. Osias near Chalcedon.

The eighth day after this outrage, Justinian called an assembly of princes and prelates, to which he summoned Eutychius. The charges against him were trifling and absurd: that he used ointments, that he ate delicate meats, that he prayed long. Cited thrice, Eutychius replied that he would only come if he were to be judged canonically, in his own dignity, and in command of his clergy. Condemned by default, he was sent to an island in the Propontis named Principus. He landed at night in a storm, and was comforted in the morning by the circumstance that the first thing on which his eyes rested was a cross painted on the wall with the inscription, "Christ is with you: stand firm," as a charm against earthquakes. He was next sent to his old monastery at Amasea, where he spent twelve years and five months.

Eustathius relates many wonderful works performed by Eutychius in his exile, all acts of healing, and possibly both the diseases and the cures are true but exaggerated.

On the death of Joannes Scholasticus, whom Justinian had put in the patriarchal chair, the people of Constantinople loudly demanded the return of Eutychius. Justinian was dead, Justin II. had succeeded, and had associated with himself the young Tiberius. The emperors immediately sent an honourable deputation to Amasea to bring back Eutychius, even if he were unwilling; but his joy was great, and, having blessed the monastery and people, he returned to Constantinople. There an immense concourse met him, shouting aloud, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," and "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace." In questionable imitation of our Lord he entered the city on an ass's colt, over garments spread on the ground, the crowd carrying palms, dancing and singing. The whole city was illuminated, public banquets were held, new buildings inaugurated. Next day he was met by the two emperors with conspicuous honour at the church of the Virgin in Blachernae. He then proceeded to the Great Church, which was filled from end to end, mounted the pulpit, and blessed the multitude. He afterwards distributed the communion during the space of six hours, as all wished to receive the elements from his own hands. The date of his restoration was October, 577.

On Sept. 26, 578, in the lifetime of Justin, Tiberius was crowned by Eutychius (Zonar. *Annal.* lib. xiv. § 11; Du Cange, *Fam. August.* p. 85), and on Oct. 5 Justin died. Theophanes makes the mistake of describing Eutychius as offering prayer on the occasion of the association of Tiberius in the empire, whereas he was not recalled till afterwards.

Towards the end of his life Eutychius maintained in a book on the resurrection, now lost, that after the resurrection the body will be more subtle than air, and no longer palpable. Gregory the Great, then residing at Constantinople as delegate of the Roman church, felt himself bound to oppose this opinion. Gregory leant on Luke xxiv. 39, "Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." Eutychius said this was a sign granted to prove the Resurrection to the Apostles. Gregory replied that it would be a curious sign if it was to give us a doubt. Eutychius answered that though the Body might be palpable then, it grew more subtle after. Christ being raised dieth no more, rejoined Gregory (Rom. vi. 9). Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God, answered Eutychius (1 Cor. xv. 50). Flesh, responded Gregory, has two meanings in Scripture, human nature, and sin's corruption. The result of the discussion was that each adhered to his own opinion. The emperor Tiberius talked to the disputants separately, and tried to reconcile them; but the breach was persistent. Finally, the emperor ordered the book to be burnt. It happened immediately afterwards that both Eutychius and Gregory fell ill. Gregory recovered, but Eutychius died. He was visited by the emperor on his deathbed, and gave him his blessing. He breathed his last quietly on Sunday after Easter Day, April 5, 582, at the age of seventy. Some of his friends told Gregory that, a few minutes before his end, he touched the skin of his hand, saying, "I confess that in this flesh we shall rise again." This was probably compatible with his previous view, but at any rate Gregory availed himself of this excuse to leave the matter alone (Paul. Diac. *Vit. Greg. Mag.* lib. i. capp. 9, 27–30; *Vit. Greg. ex ejus Script.* lib. i. cap. 5, §§ 6–8; Greg. Mag. *Moral.* xiv. § 72–74).

The chronology of his life here followed is that fixed by Henschen in his introductory argument to the life by Eustathius (Boll. *Acta SS.* 6 Ap. i. 550).

The literary remains of Eutychius are his Letter to pope Vigilius already mentioned, printed in Greek and Latin by Mansi (ix. 186), and by Migne (*Pat. Lat.* lxix. 63; *Pat. Gr.* lxxxvi. 2401), and some fragments of a *Discourse on Easter and the Holy Eucharist.* One portion of this, in Greek, was first published by Mai in his *Classici Auctores* (x. 488); two more, in Greek, afterwards appeared in his *Script. Vet. Nova Collect.* (ix. 623). The set of fragments, which Mai also discovered in a *Catena* on St.

Luke by Nicetas, he collected under the above title, adding a Latin translation, in his *Biblioth. Nov.* (t. iv. p. 54), and this was reprinted by Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* lxxxvi. 2391). In this treatise Eutychius argues against the Quartodecimans, against the Hydroparastatae who used water only instead of wine at communion (he says that the only apostolic tradition is the mixture of both), against certain schismatic Armenians who used only wine, and against some Greeks and Armenians who adored the elements as soon as they were offered and before consecration. The lost work of Eutychius was a discourse on the manner of existence of reasonable natures in space, a sort of physical theory of the future life. It is mentioned in a treatise of Eustratius of Constantinople (*De Vita Functorum Statu*, cap. 14), who says the object of the work was to prove that the soul is not liable to corruption. The title, which is all that survives, runs, *περὶ τῶν ἐν τόπῳ κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον οὐσιωδῶς γινομένων λογικῶν καὶ νοερῶν*, which Allatius translates *De iis qui secundo modo natura sua fiunt in loco, notione videlicet et sola mente praeditis.* The Greek and Latin are to be found in Leo Allatius (*De Utriusque Ecclesiae de Purgat. Consens.* p. 433), and the Latin alone in La Bigne, *Max. Bibl. Patr.* xxvii. 433.

The Life by Eustathius was in the Venetian Library, and was edited by Lipomanus, Surius, and Petrus Franciscus Zinus. Another copy was in the possession of Queen Christina of Sweden, and had belonged to Paulus Rhamnusius.

Eutychius was celebrated as a saint by the Greeks on April 6. His name is found in the Metrical Ephemeris and in the Muscovite Tables. The emperor Basil's *Menology* has a short biography of him. Molanus mentions him in his *Auctarium Usuardi.*

(*Patr. Graec.* lxxxix. §§ 2270–2389; Bolland. *AA. SS.* Ap. i. 548; *Ib.* App. p. lix. in Greek; Surius, *de Prob. Hist. SS.* Apr. p. 82; Evagr. iv. 37; Theoph. *Chronogr.* 193, 201, 202, 203, 210, 211, 212, 213; Cave, i. 527.) [W. M. S.]

EUTYCHIUS (19), bishop of Tyndarium (on the north coast of Sicily), is encouraged by Gregory the Great (Lib. iii. indict. xi. *Epist.* 62, Migne, lxxvii. 659), to persevere in the conversion of "quosdam idolorum cultores atque Angeliorum dogmatis." [A. H. D. A.]

EUTYCHIUS (20), bishop of Melos in the Aegean, present at the sixth general council, A.D. 680. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 945; Mansi, xi. 616.) [L. D.]

EUTYCHIUS (21), Aug. 24, legendary disciple of St. John the Apostle. He was born at Sebastopolis. Basil's *Menology* strangely represents Eutychius as joining St. Paul and suffering with him after the death of St. John. According to the same, he was flung into a furnace, from which he escaped unhurt, and after visiting St. John's flock at Ephesus, returned to his own city, where he died, according to Molanus, by a martyr's death. [G. T. S.]

EUTYCHIUS (22), presbyter and martyr, by some commemorated on April 15, by others on May 15, and by them named Eutitius. He lived at Ferentinum, an ancient episcopal city of Etruria, where he suffered, either about A.D. 269 or else during the Diocletian persecution, in company with the bishop Dionysius. His memory has been celebrated by Gregory the Great in his *Dialog.* lib. iii. c. 38, where it is related how the martyr appeared to Redemptus bishop of Ferentinum and foretold the horrors of the Lombard invasion. St. Gregory assures us that he had this story from St. Redemptus himself, who lived in his own time. The vision appeared in 560. The Lombard invasion took place in 566. Gregory wrote his *Dialogues* in 593. (*Rom. Mart.* Apr. 15; Boll. *Acta SS.* Ap. ii. 378.) J. S. Assemani in his *De Sanctis Ferentinis* (1745) has an exhaustive dissertation on this saint, his name, church, and festival, distinguishing him from other saints of the same name. [G. T. S.]

EUTYCHIUS (23), Feb. 4, martyr at Rome under Maximian, A.D. 304. He was buried in the cemetery of Callistus, where his tomb was afterwards ornamented by pope Damasus, cir. 384. [DAMASUS.] In *Acta SS. Boll.* Feb. i. 458, will be found a copy of an inscription on a marble tablet, erected to the memory of the martyr in the church of St. Sebastian, wherein Damasus laid down a marble pavement. (Ferrarius, *Catal. SS.*) [G. T. S.]

EUTYCHIUS (24), son of Polyeuctus of Melitene, an Armenian martyr under the president Antiochus, A.D. 311, Maximian being emperor. (Baron. *Annal.* 311, xxi.) [G. T. S.]

EUTYCHIUS (25), Jan. 20, martyr with Bassus, Eusebius, and Basilides, in the Diocletian persecution. They held a high position in some one of the imperial households, where they were so impressed by the courage and steadfastness of a martyr, Theopemptus, that they too embraced the faith, for which they suffered in various ways. Eutychius was bound to four stakes, which being allowed to rebound, tore him into pieces. (Bas. *Men.*) [G. T. S.]

EUTYCHIUS (26), A.D. 356, subdeacon of Alexandria, martyred by the Arians in the persecution of the Alexandrian church. This account is given of him by Athanasius: "Imitating the Scythians, the Arians seized Eutychius, a subdeacon, who honourably served the church; and when they had got him beaten on the back with bulls' hides almost to the point of death, they demanded that he should be sent to the mines; not any mere chance mines, but in particular those that are called Phaeno, where a condemned homicide would be unable to live more than a few days. And, what is still more extraordinary, they would not allow him even a few hours to be healed of his wounds, but got him sent out on the road forthwith, saying, that if that were done all would tremble and join them. But he had not gone far when, prevented by the pain of his wounds from reaching the mines, he died on the way. He died rejoicing, for he had gained the glory of martyrdom; but the impious persecutors not even then were touched with shame, but as it is written, 'having cruel bowels,' after accomplishing this crime, again devised a deed of Satanic darkness. For when there came suppliants from the people to beg pity for Eutychius, they ordered four excellent men of free birth to be arrested, one of whom was Hermias, who used

to wash the feet of beggars; these the general ordered to be heavily scourged and thrown into prison. But the Arians, more heartless even than Scythians, seeing that they did not die of the pain of the beating, began to expostulate and threaten. We shall write, cried they, to the eunuchs, and tell them that you did not flog them to our taste. Frightened at these words, he was obliged to scourge them again. During the punishment, knowing why they were beaten, and of whom they had been slandered, 'It is for the truth,' they said, 'that we are beaten; we do not communicate with heretics; flog on as you will, you will be judged by God for this.' That was all they said. The persecutors wished them to be imprisoned till death released them; but the people of God, watching their opportunity, begged mercy for them; and after seven days or more they were dismissed." (Athanas. *Opp.* pars 1, p. 300 in Patr. Graec. xxvi. 765; *AA. SS.* Bolland. 26 Mart. iii. p. 620.)

[W. M. S.]

EUTYCHIUS (27), a Spaniard by birth, and a martyr A.D. 437 with three others, Arcadius, Probus, and Paschasius, during the Vandal persecution in Africa. Refusing to join in communion with the Arians, they were put to death. (Prosper. Aquit. *Chron.* p. 746. Patr. Lat. li. 597; Baronii *Annal.* A.D. 437, i.)

[G. T. S.]

EUTYCHIUS (28), a leading person among the Quartodecimans of Philadelphia in Lydia, prevailed upon in 431, by the Nestorian Jacobus, to seek from bishop Theophanes a restoration to church communion. He also signed the symbolum of Jacobus. (Labbe, *Conc.* iii. 675, 678, 686.) [CHARISIUS (1).] [T. W. D.]

EUTYCHIUS (29), one of the ἀρχιμανδρῖται ἐλάχιστοι, as they called themselves, who, headed by Carosus, made an appeal to the emperor Marcian in the Eutychian interest in A.D. 451, asking for a general council (Labbe, iv. 524). The orthodox archimandrites, sitting in the council of Chalcedon before their Eutychian brethren were summoned, would not recognise him as an archimandrite, but described him as belonging to the Basilica of Celerius or Celestius. (Labbe, iv. 518.) [C. G.]

EUTYCHIUS (30), of Constantinople, founder of a sect. [EUNOMIEUTYCHIANI.]

EUTYCHIUS (31), a holy man in the district of Nursia, who was called to be abbat of a monastery in his neighbourhood. For a quaint and amusing story of him and his friend Florentius see Greg. Magn. *Dial.* lib. iii. cap. 15; Migne, lxxvii. 249. (Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.* i. 120.)

[A. H. D. A.]

EUTYCHIUS (32), a prefect, bearer of a letter of pope Gregory the Great, who calls him "vir magnificus," to Ciridanus, May 602. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. xii. ind. v. ep. 34; Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 1244.) [C. H.]

EUTYCHIUS (33), the last known exarch of Ravenna. His predecessor Paul, who had been directed by the emperor to take or kill the pope on account of his resistance to the Iconoclastic decrees, had been killed, A.D. 727, in an engagement at Ravenna between his own followers and the supporters of image worship. The emperor then sent the patrician and eunuch Eutychius (who had been formerly exarch according to Anastas. *Liber Pontif.* Greg. ii. § 185, but it does not appear when) to Naples to carry out his designs against pope Gregory II. Eutychius sent a subordinate to Rome to take the pope's life, who was discovered, and whom the Romans desired to kill, but the pope restrained them. They then anathematized the exarch, and told him that they would willingly die for their pope. Eutychius tried to bribe the Lombard king Liutprand and the dukes to combine with him against the pope, but in vain. After this he probably went to Ravenna. The chronology of the events is here uncertain, but probably, before 729, Ravenna was attacked by Liutprand, Classis destroyed, and the town ultimately taken by his nephew Hildebrand and Peredeus duke of Vicenza. The exarch fled to Venice, and Gregory II. wrote to the doge Ursus, and to Antoninus patriarch of Grado, in the following remarkable words, "ut ad pristinum statum sanctae Reipublicae in Imperiali servitio dominorum filiorumque nostrorum Leonis et Constantini magnorum Imperatorum ipsa revocetur Ravennatum civitas." A Venetian fleet under the doge at once went to Ravenna. Hildebrand was captured, Peredeus killed, and Eutychius reinstated. At this time we are told the army of Ravenna and the Venetians, in the fervour of their faith as image-worshippers, would have elected another emperor if the pope had not forbidden them. (*Andreae Danduli Chronicon*, iii. 2–5 in Muratori, SS. xii. 135; *Johannis Chron. Venetum* in Pertz, *Monum.* vii. 12; Paulus Diaconus, vi. 54.)

In 729 Eutychius entered into friendly relations with Liutprand, and they combined for an expedition to the south, Eutychius to take Rome, Liutprand to subdue the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto. The dukes submitted, and the combined forces appeared before Rome. At this critical moment Gregory appeared in Liutprand's camp, and induced him to submit to the church. At the king's request the pope consented to be reconciled to the exarch, and when Tiberius Petasius, an usurper, rebelled against the empire in Tuscany, the pope sent assistance with the forces of Eutychius against him. Tiberius was defeated, and his head sent to Constantinople. (*Vita Greg. II.* in *Liber Pontificalis*, Migne, cxxviii. 981–983.)

With Gregory III. (731–741) the next pope, Eutychius was on friendly terms, and sent him six columns of onyx. These were placed in St. Peter's, and adorned with figures of Christ, the Apostles, and other saints; doubtless as a protest against the Iconoclasts. In 743 Liutprand began pressing upon the exarchate, and when he was preparing to besiege Ravenna, Eutychius and John the archbishop sent to ask help from pope Zacharias. The pope sent an embassy to Liutprand in vain, went to Ravenna where he was warmly received by the exarch and the people, and then went on to the court of Pavia. The king submitted, and agreed to restore to the empire the conquests he had made. After this we have no further certain knowledge of Eutychius. In 749 king Rachis is pressing upon the Pentapolis, and in 751 king Astolph dates a diploma at the palace of Ravenna; 751 is therefore the approximate date of the fall of the exarchate, and it is generally assumed, though without any special evidence, that Eutychius was

exarch to the end. (Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* No. 645, iv. 382; *Vita Greg. III.* and *Zach.* in Anast. *Liber Pontificalis* in Pat. Lat. cxxviii. 1025, 1051-1057; Ersch und Gruber, *Encycl.* "Exarch und Exarchat," xxxix. 1, pp. 325-327; Gregorovius, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom.* ii. 232, 247, 259.) [A. H. D. A.]

EUTYCHIUS (**34**), martyr. [EUSTATHIUS (52).]

EUXITHEUS, bishop of Thessalonica, addressed on September 1, A.D. 457, by pope Leo the Great, in his 150th letter (formerly 119th). He urges him and three other bishops to be courageous against the Eutychians, assuring them that such conduct will confirm the goodwill of the emperor Patricius. (Leo Mag. *Epist.* cl. Patr. Lat. liv. 1119; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 34; Ceillier, x. 233.) [W. M. S.]

EUZOÏUS, Arian bishop of Antioch, appointed by the influence of Constantius after the deposition of Meletius, A.D. 361. Euzoïus was the companion and intimate friend of Arius from an early age. He was one of the eleven presbyters and deacons of that church, deposed together with Arius by Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, *c.* A.D. 320 (Socr. *H. E.* i. 6; Soz. *H. E.* i. 15; Theod. *H. E.* i. 4; ii. 311; Athanas. *de Syn.* p. 907). He was again condemned and banished, together with Arius, by the council of Nicaea, A.D. 325. When Arius was recalled from banishment, and summoned to the emperor's side in A.D. 330, he was accompanied by Euzoïus, who by this time had been advanced to the presbyterate. They both regained the emperor's confidence by an evasive declaration of their faith and a professed acceptance of the creed of Nicaea (Socr. *H. E.* i. 25, 26; Soz. *H. E.* ii. 27). He accompanied Arius to Jerusalem at the great gathering of Eusebian bishops for the dedication of the church of the Anastasis, Sept. 13, A.D. 335, and with him was received into communion by the council then held (Soz. *H. E.* ii. 27; Athan. *de Synod.* p. 891). In A.D. 361 Constantius, having banished Meletius bishop of Antioch, summoned Euzoïus from Alexandria, and commanded the bishops of the province to consecrate him. Athanasius, who calls him by the opprobrious name of "the Canaanite" (Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* p. 858), states that he was subsequently deposed. If so, the deposition took no effect (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 44; Theod. *H. E.* ii. 27; Philost. *H. E.* v. 5; Athan. *de Syn.* p. 907). A few months later Constantius, having while in the east been seized with the fever which put an end to his life, on Nov. 3, A.D. 361, summoned the newly-appointed bishop Euzoïus to his bedside, and received from his hands the sacrament of baptism. Whether this took place at Antioch or at Mopsucrene, in Cilicia, is uncertain (Athan. *de Synod.* 907; Philost. *H. E.* vi. 5). On the accession of Valens Euzoïus was urged by Eudoxius to convene a synod of bishops at Antioch to take off Aetius's sentence. Euzoïus replied that it was the part of Eudoxius himself to take the initiative. He, however, ultimately yielded to Eudoxius's importunity, *c.* A.D. 364 (Philost. *H. E.* vii. 5). On the death of Athanasius in A.D. 373, Euzoïus was, at his own petition, despatched by Valens with Magnus the imperial treasurer, and a force of troops to instal the imperial nominee, the Arian Lucius of Samosata, in the room of Peter the duly elected and enthroned bishop. This commission was carried out with shameless brutality and persecution of the orthodox (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 21; Theod. iv. 21, 22). Euzoïus's death is placed by Socrates in A.D. 376, and is said to have taken place at Constantinople (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 35). Jerome (*in Lucif.* c. vi. p. 144) seems to assert that he lived into the reign of Theodosius. This is improbable, and the passage is probably corrupt. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 713; Baron. *Ann.* ad ann. 325. lxxix.; 335, xlix.) [E. V.]

EUZOÏUS, bishop of Caesarea in the latter half of the 4th century. On the death of Acacius, A.D. 366, Cyril of Jerusalem had influence enough to secure the appointment of his nominee, Philumenus, to the vacant see. A rival bishop, however, was speedily appointed by Cyril's bitter enemy, Eutychius of Scythopolis, called by Epiphanius (whose historical statements must be received with caution) Cyril "the Elder." Philumenus having disappeared from the stage, Cyril nominated his sister's son, Gelasius, to the bishopric, who in his turn was forced to make room for Euzoïus, appointed by semi-Arian influence. (Epiphan. *Haeres.* lxxiii. No. 37.) Euzoïus held his see against his rivals during the reign of Valens, but was deposed on the accession of Theodosius, A.D. 379, and Gelasius was restored. We are informed by Jerome (*de Vir. illust.* c. 113) that Euzoïus had been originally educated at the city of which he afterwards became bishop under Thespesius, the rhetorician, having Gregory Nyssen as a fellow student. While bishop of Caesarea, he exerted himself to restore the library collected by Origen and Pamphilus. (Hieron. *Epist.* 141 *ad Marcellam.*) According to Jerome, Euzoïus was a copious and popular writer, "feruntur ejus varii et multiplices tractatus quos nosse perfacile est," the whole of which have perished. [E. V.]

EUZOÏUS. In the Latin list of the fathers of the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, occurs the name INZUS bishop of Corna in Lycaonia, which is most probably a corruption for Euzoïus. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1085; Mansi, iii. 570.) [L. D.]

EVA (**1**), martyr. [DATIVUS.]

EVA (**2**), the fourth abbess of Gloucester. She like her predecessor, Eadburga, is said to have been a widow of Wulfhere king of Mercia. According to the *Historia Glouc.* (ed. Hart, i. 7) she was blessed by Wilfrid of Worcester in 735 and died in 767, after which time the rule of abbesses was discontinued. She is called in the same work, in another place, Gaffe. She seems to be a creature of legend. (*Ib.* p. 4.) [S.]

EVAGORAS (**1**), an Egyptian bishop, who signed at the council of Sardica, A.D. 347. (Athanas. *Opp.* pars i. 133.) [J. W. S.]

EVAGORAS (**2**), bishop of Iluza (Eluza) in Phrygia Pacatiana; his name was subscribed in his absence by his metropolitan, Nunechius of Laodicea, to the definition of the faith that was read before the emperor Marcian at the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 165; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 811.) [L. D.]

EVAGRIUS (1), bishop of Heraclea, near M. Lyncus in Macedonia, present at the council of Sardica, A.D. 347. (Mansi, iii. 38; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 81.) [L. D.]

EVAGRIUS (2), bishop of Mitylene in Lesbos, one of the seceding bishops at the council of Seleucia. He signed the Arian creed of Acacius of Caesarea and George of Alexandria, and was consequently ejected from his bishopric by a decree of the council, A.D. 359. (Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 40; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 955; Mansi, iii. 321.) [L. D.]

EVAGRIUS (3), one of the bishops who subscribed the synodal letter at Antioch to the emperor Jovian, A.D. 363 (Soc. *H. E.* iii. 25). His designation is Evagrius Sicelorum (Σικελῶν). Siceli, remarks Valesius on this passage, was an oriental town of site unknown. (Patr. Graec. lxvii. 454 E.) [C. H.]

EVAGRIUS (4), orthodox bishop of Constantinople for about two months during 370, between Paul and Gregory of Nazianzus; chronologically, his episcopate occurs during that of the heterodox Demophilus. In the year 370 died Eudoxius, the heterodox bishop of Constantinople, after holding the see nineteen years. Valens happened a short time previously to have left Constantinople for Antioch, so that the election was sure, in such excited times, to take place without consultation with him. Arianism was in great force at the capital of the East; the Arians at once chose Demophilus. The Catholics, or, as Socrates calls them, the Homoousians, thinking it a favourable opportunity to get a bishop of their own (they had not had one at Constantinople since the death of Paulus, twenty years before), chose Evagrius, a person otherwise unknown.

Socrates states that he was consecrated by Eustathius bishop of Antioch, supposed to be then in hiding at Constantinople. But Valesius (note 55 on Soc. iv. 14) shews that this prelate must have been dead before the end of the reign of Constantius, for Julian, and after him Jovian, recalled all the exiled bishops to their sees. The age of Eustathius would now have been between 90 and 100, and therefore remarkable enough to be mentioned. Both Victor Tununensis and Theodorus Lector state that Eustathius died at Philippi, evidently in exile. However that may be, Evagrius, by whomsoever consecrated, had a short term of office. His appointment was the signal for an outburst of persecution from the Arians. The news of the ecclesiastical turmoil quickly reached the emperor Valens on his travels. He feared that a tumult might be raised such as would endanger the safety of the empire. He ordered troops to be despatched from Nicomedia to the metropolis, and banished both the new prelate and the consecrating bishop. The latter, who may have been some other Eustathius, was exiled either to Bizya or to Cyzicus, Evagrius to some other place.

The authority for the duration of his episcopate is Eutychius of Alexandria, in his Annals, translated into Latin by Pococke.

(Socr. *H. E.* iv. 25; Sozom. *H. E.* vi. 13; Niceph. *Chronog. Brev.* in Patr. Graec. c. p. 1046; Eutychius Alexandrinus, 491, 492, Patr. Graec. cxi. p. 1018; Baronius, *A. E.* ann. 370. xxv.; Theoph. *Chronogr.* 49, Patr. Graec. cviii. p. 180; *Acta SS.* Aug. 1, p. 22.)

Evagrius is believed to have been the author of some comments on St. Luke, which Nicetas, deacon of Constantinople, afterwards bishop of Serrae, included in his *Catena Patrum* on that evangelist, and which Mai printed in the 9th volume of his *Scriptores Veteres*. See also Ceillier, vi. 333. [W. M. S.]

EVAGRIUS (5), commonly known as Evagrius of Antioch (his birthplace and the chief sphere of his work) to distinguish him from others of the same name, and more especially from Evagrius the historian. The dates of his birth and his death are uncertain; but he is known to have been consecrated bishop over one of the parties in Antioch in A.D. 388 or 389, and he must have lived until at least A.D. 392.

Authorities.—Socrates, *H. E.* v. 15; Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 15; Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 23; Hieronymus (St. Jerome), *de Viris Illustribus*, cap. 25; Ambrosius, *Epist.* lvi. Notices of Evagrius may be found in Trithemius (*de Script. Eccles.* c. 85), in Fabricius (*Bibl. Graec.* tom. vii. p. 434, tom. x. p. 137, ed. Harles), in Tillemont (*Mémoires ecclésiastiques*, tom. x. pp. 235, 536, &c., ed. Paris, 1705), and in other modern critics, to whom reference is made below.

Life.—Evagrius was the son of a citizen of Antioch named Pompeianus. He appears to have been of full age by A.D. 362, and was probably already ordained presbyter when we find him about that date travelling to Italy with Eusebius bishop of Vercelli [EUSEBIUS (93)]. On the death of Eusebius in A.D. 370, Evagrius returned to Antioch in company with Jerome. He was certainly at that time a presbyter. Some identify him (e.g. Stephen in his *Life of Chrysostom*, but see Fabricius *ubi supra*, tom. viii. p. 455) with the ascetic who trained Chrysostom in monastic discipline. This identification is probably correct, though it is remarkable that Chrysostom received ordination, first as a deacon from St. Meletius, and then as priest from Flavian, the bishops of that party in Antioch which stood opposed to the one subsequently headed by Evagrius.

For the history of the dispute in Antioch the reader must be referred to the authorities given above, more particularly Theodoret, and to the articles, FLAVIANUS, MELETIUS, PAULINUS. In this place it must suffice to comment upon two points, one involving a general question, the other having special reference to Evagrius. The first point relates to the contest at Antioch. This, though originally springing out of the Arian controversy, soon became a question partly personal and in part connected with the influence, if not the actual jurisdiction, of the Roman see. Indeed St. Jerome (among whose high and noble gifts judicial fairness cannot be reckoned) wrote a letter (No. 15, ed. Ben.) of impassioned partisanship to his friend Damasus [DAMASUS], which seems to imply that the bishop of Antioch who is accepted at Rome must of necessity be the right one, and that Meletius, with all others not so accepted, must be counted as profane. History has not in anywise sanctioned the view taken by Jerome in this affair. Meletius, as has been already observed, ordained St. Chrysostom; and, though he may have died

out of communion with Rome, has been always allowed, both in the West and in the East, to have been orthodox in doctrine, most blameless in life, and in short one whose name is fully entitled to the honourable prefix of saint. It would be needless to mention this, had not the passage from St. Jerome been cited in controversy (*e.g.* in Dr. Newman's *Essay on Development*, p. 279) as if it expressed the general sentiment of the church of his age.

The second point concerns Evagrius. Our information concerning him is not sufficiently ample to enable us to use very positive language concerning his conduct and character. His consecration to the episcopate by Paulinus was, as Theodoret (*l.c.*) and St. Ambrose (*l.c.*) both assert, in many ways uncanonical. Paulinus, even if his own position had been wholly unimpeachable, had no right to make another man bishop without consultation of the other bishops of the province, nor to give solitary consecration in the teeth of the famous fourth canon of the Nicene council, which required the co-operation of at least two assisting bishops.

There is a *primâ facie* case against anyone who accepts advancement, as Evagrius did, under such circumstances. It is, however, reasonable to bear in mind the strong influence exerted in all ages, even on good men, by the violence of party spirit, when a contest is still at its height. The fact that the combatants had no longer any doctrinal point at issue (*καίπερ οὐδὲν περὶ τὸ δόγμα διαφερόμενοι*, as Theodoret has it), in all probability rather increased than diminished the bitterness of the rivalry. One who is described even by Jerome (*l. c.*), as Evagrius is, a man *acris ac ferventis ingenii*, may easily have been persuaded by Paulinus that he was doing good service to the church of Christ by accepting the post of successor. The Nicene canon was understood to be indeed a matter of order, but not such a rule as actually to invalidate a consecration once effected (on the principle *fieri non debuit, factum valet*), and the rival bishop Flavian had broken a solemn promise made by himself that he would never aspire to the see. St. Ambrose (*l.c.*) takes a western view of the matter, and recommends an appeal "to our holy brother, the bishop of the Roman church," but he finds even more fault with the conduct of Flavian than with that of Evagrius, and describes each of the rivals as stronger in the attack than in the defence—*uterque alienae magis ordinationis vitiis quàm suis* [*bonis*][a] *fretus*. If excuses can be made for Flavian by charitable critics (*e.g.* Stephen in his *Life of Chrysostom*), it seems undeniable that the course pursued by Flavian must also have created in the minds of the large party which accepted Evagrius the impression that he too had a colourable case, and that the primal irregularity of his consecration might be condoned. On the death of Evagrius, which appears to have been sudden, no successor was appointed, and Flavian, mainly through the influence of Chrysostom (who highly eulogized him as a worthy successor of St. Meletius), succeeded in healing the division.

[a] This insertion, suggested in the *Ed. Ben.*, seems fully warranted by the context. The word occurs in the very next sentence.

Writings.—Evagrius of Antioch, while still a presbyter, read to his friend St. Jerome (Jerom. *l. c.*) treatises on various topics (*diversarum hypotheseôn tractatus*). These were not yet published when Jerome wrote, and if they were subsequently made public, they have not come down to us. Jerome's tone concerning them implies some admiration. He adds that Evagrius translated into Latin (*in nostrum sermonem*) the life of St. Antony from the Greek of Athanasius. Whether we do or do not possess this translation is a matter of considerable controversy. It depends in some degree upon the decision of the previous question, whether we have or have not got the actual biography of St. Antony which St. Athanasius composed. The point has already been discussed in this dictionary. [ANTONIUS, ATHANASIUS.] If we accept the position therein maintained (which is that of Du Pin, Newman and others) that the biography ascribed to Athanasius is substantially his, we have then to discuss whether the translation given to us as that of Evagrius of Antioch by the Benedictine editors of Athanasius (tom. i. pars 2da p. 785 *et seq.*) and by the Bollandists (*Act. Sanctor.* for Jan. tom. ii. p. 107) is genuine and authentic.

Cave (*Historia Literaria*, vol. i. p. 283, ed. Oxon, 1740) rejects it; and Oudin (*de Script. Eccles. antiq.* tom. i. pp. 358 *seqq.* 882) follows and supports Cave. To the present writer the arguments of these distinguished critics appear to resolve themselves into one only; namely, that the Life of Antony by Athanasius is spurious, and that consequently the translation ascribed to Evagrius is also spurious. To dogmatize where such considerable authorities are at variance would be rash. But we believe that most modern critics would consider it all but certain that the author of the Latin biography ascribed to Evagrius had before him a copy of the Greek essentially identical with that which we now possess. It is true that his version is often a very lax one. This is fully admitted by the Benedictine editors, who indeed perhaps overstate the laxity in the following words:—"Evagrii versionem quod spectat, usque adeò libera illa est, ut saepenumerò verborum Athanasii nihil pensi habuisse videatur, immò ab ejus scopo frequentissimè aberrat, soletque brevius Athanasiana exprimere quàm in Graecis enarrentur." But the notion of preserving precise strictness in the translation of a biography of some length is a comparatively modern one. What strikes us is the amount of agreement between the Greek and the Latin in the texts cited from Holy Scripture. This is surely a crucial test, as the passages in question are for the most part merely illustrative; and it would be most improbable that two independent authors should select the same. Jerome assures us that Evagrius did translate this work of Athanasius: and we incline to the belief that the translation before us is that to which he referred.

The late Professor Ramsay (*Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*, art. EVAGRIUS OF ANTIOCH) mentions the existence of a MS. in the library of Worcester Cathedral, described in the *Catal. MSS. Angliae et Hiberniae* (vol. ii. p. 17) as containing a life of St. Antony written by Evagrius and translated by St. Jerome. He justly re-

marks that there probably is some error in the MS. itself or in the description of it.
[J. G. C.]

Pompeianus, the father of Evagrius, was, according to Jerome (*Chronic.* anno 2, Aurelian), a descendant of the general officer of the same name who commanded in the campaign of Aurelian against Zenobia, circ. 273. Evagrius belonged to the Eustathian division of the orthodox church at Antioch, of which he became a presbyter. After the unhappy schism at Antioch had been perpetrated by the rash act of the headstrong Lucifer in consecrating Paulinus, Evagrius left Antioch, and accompanied Eusebius of Vercellae to Italy, A.D. 363 or 364. Here he zealously co-operated with Eusebius in restoring peace to the churches distracted by the results of the disastrous council of Ariminum, and re-establishing orthodoxy on the terms laid down by the synod of Alexandria of A.D. 362. He also afforded pope Damasus important aid in getting the better of his rival Ursicius and his faction, A.D. 367. At Milan he resolutely withstood the Arian bishop Auxentius. A lady of Vercellae having been capitally condemned on the false charge of adultery, Evagrius made a hasty journey into Gaul to obtain the remission of her sentence from the emperor Valentinian. (Hieron. *Epist.* xlix.) After nine or ten years spent in these labours and contests in the cause of the orthodox faith, he returned to the East, with the view of healing the schism that still divided the church of Antioch. Jerome was the companion of his journey. On his way Evagrius stopped at Caesarea to visit Basil. This was in the autumn of A.D. 373. He found Basil suffering from an attack of ague fever, for which he had visited the hot springs without benefit. The visit of Evagrius must have proved anything but cheering to the invalid, for he was commissioned by the Western bishops to return to Basil the letters he had sent them, probably relating to the Meletian schism, as unsatisfactory, and to place in his hands terms dictated by them, which he was to embody in a fresh letter to be sent into the West by some duly authorized commissioners. So and so only would the Western prelates feel themselves warranted in interfering in the affairs of the Eastern church, and making a personal visit. (Basil, *Epist.* 138 [8].) On his return to Antioch, Evagrius wrote in harsh terms to Basil, accusing him of a love of strife and controversy, and of being unduly swayed by personal partialities. If he really desired peace let him come himself to Antioch and endeavour to re-unite the Catholics under one head. If he could not come he should at least write to them, and use his influence with Meletius to put an end to the dissensions that were rending the church. The letter Basil sent in reply is a model of courteous sarcasm. If Evagrius was so great a lover of peace, why had he not fulfilled his promise of communicating with Dorotheus, the head of the Meletian party? Deeply seated evils could not be cured by light measures. A single letter would effect nothing. Much mutual conference and discussion was required. Even if the season had not rendered the mountains impassable, he was in too feeble a state of health to travel to Antioch. Still he would write, if Evagrius desired it. As regarded the deputation to the West, he had no one qualified to undertake the duty. It would be far better for Evagrius to depute some one from Antioch, who would know the parties to be approached, and the form the letters should take. (Basil, *Epist.* 156 [342].) On the death of Paulinus, A.D. 388, Evagrius manifested the hollowness of his professed desire for peace by becoming himself the instrument of prolonging the schism. He was ordained by the dying bishop Paulinus, in his sick chamber, without the presence or consent of any assisting bishops, in direct violation of the canons of the church. Flavian, it will be remembered, had been consecrated by the other party on the death of Meletius, A.D. 381. Thus the hope of healing the schism which had long been so great a scandal to the Christian world, and had caused dissension between holy men agreed on all else, was again frustrated. (Socr. *H. E.* v. 15; Theod. *H. E.* v. 23.) The Christian world being still divided, a council was summoned at Capua, A.D. 390, to determine whether Flavian or Evagrius was the lawful bishop of Antioch. At this council Evagrius appeared, but Flavian declined to attend, telling the emperor that he would rather resign the bishopric into his hands than engage in any public controversy. The bishops assembled at Capua found the question too knotty for them to solve, and after declaring their readiness to admit all orthodox bishops to communion, relegated the decision to Theophilus of Alexandria and the Egyptian bishops. In fact, the case of each was so bad that it was almost impossible to distinguish between them. Each, in the words of Ambrose, depended more on the defects of his competitor's ordination than on the validity of his own, so that if Flavian had reason to fear the trial of his cause, Evagrius had no reason to press it. (Ambr. *Ep.* 9, p. 150.) It was not long, however, before the death of Evagrius deprived Flavian of his rival. It is not certain when this happened; but it was not before A.D. 392, in which year Jerome speaks of him as still alive. (*De Vir. illustr.* c. 125.) Jerome records the acuteness and fervid character of his intellect, and speaks with praise of treatises on various subjects, which he heard him read while still a presbyter, but which he had not yet published. (*Ibid.*) Evagrius was the owner of the village of Maronia, twelve leagues from Antioch, rendered famous as the dwelling place of St. Malchus. (Hieron. *Vit. Malchi*, p. 255.) Palladius, although a partisan of the Meletian side, praised Evagrius for the many contests he endured in his labours for the church. (Pallad. *Dialog.* p. 51.) Notwithstanding the doubts as to the validity of his consecration, the church of Antioch enrolled the name of Evagrius in her diptychs as one of her bishops, and he stands in the list of the orthodox bishops of Antioch given by Theodoret at the end of his Ecclesiastical History. [E. V.]

EVAGRIUS (6), African bishop attending the council of Carthage against Pelagius, A.D. 416. (Aug. *Epp.* 175, 181; Innoc. *Ep.* 26 in Patr. Lat. xx. 564.) [H. W. P.]

EVAGRIUS (7), bishop of Soli, in Cyprus; present at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, at the seventh session of which he supported Rheginus, the archbishop of Salamis, in the claim he brought before the council for the independence of Cyprus from the patriarchate of

Antioch; this claim was allowed and confirmed by the council. (Mansi, iv. 1465; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1072.) [L. D.]

EVAGRIUS (8), bishop of Valentia in Phrygia Pacatiana, or of Nova Valentia in Osrhoëna, a town to be identified in the latter case with Balia, near Nicephorium or Callinicum, on the Euphrates. In the subscriptions he is called bishop of Balentia. He was a supporter of Nestorius at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, signed the protest against the opening of the council before the arrival of John of Antioch, as also the synodal decrees and letters of the Orientals, and was consequently cut off from communion by the orthodox (Baluz. *Concil.; Synodicon*, c. 7 and 13, pp. 699, 706). Some suppose two bishops of this name, but are not supported by the subscriptions. (Gams, *Series Episc.* 437, 446; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 817, ii. 985.) [L. D.]

EVAGRIUS (9), a monk to whom is addressed an epistle, found among the works of Gregory Nazianzen, as his "Oratio xlv." *περὶ θεότητος*. This ascription has been generally regarded as erroneous by the best critics, on the ground of the inferiority of its style. It has been attributed by Galland and others to Gregory of Nyssa on the authority of the Panoplia of Euthymius, and several MSS. (Tillemont, ix. p. 709, S. Greg. de Nazianze, note 28; Ceillier, v. 241; vi. 125.) [E. V.]

EVAGRIUS (10), FLAVIUS, consul, together with Flavius Eucherius, when Gregory Nazianzen made his will. (Greg. Naz. *Test.*) [E. V.]

EVAGRIUS (11), a deacon of Nazianzus, mentioned by Gregory Nazianzen in his will in grateful terms as the partner of his labours and his cares. In testimony of his affectionate gratitude, Gregory bequeathed some articles of apparel and thirty gold pieces. (Greg. Naz. *Testam.*) [E. V.]

EVAGRIUS (12) PONTICUS, anchoret and writer, born at Ibora in Pontus Galaticus, according to Tillemont, in 345. Jerome (*Epist. ad Ctesiphont.*) styles him *Hyperborita*. Valesius thinks this is an error of the copyist for *Hyborita*. But it is more probably a contemptuous play on the word *Iborita*, such as Jerome was fond of employing when dealing with his theological adversaries. The father of Evagrius was a presbyter. If, as Tillemont thinks not impossible, Gregory Nazianzen's 153rd epistle has reference to Evagrius of Pontus, his father bore the same name as himself, and he himself received instruction in rhetoric, and the first principles of religion from Basil's friend. However this may be, it is certain that he was ordained reader by Basil, and deacon by Gregory Nyssen, who took him with him to the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. For this we have the authority of Palladius (*Hist. Lausiac.* c. 86, p. 1010), who was his pupil. Both Socrates (*H. E.* iv. 23) and Sozomen (*H. E.* vi. 30) state that it was Gregory Nazianzen by whom he was ordained, and whom he accompanied to Constantinople, and that he became his archdeacon. But this is an error (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* ix. 430, x. 794; Valesius ad Sozom. vi. 30). Gregory Nyssen had so high an opinion of the powers of Evagrius as a theologian and dialectician that he left him behind in Constantinople to aid the newly appointed bishop, Nectarius (who it will be remembered before his consecration was a layman destitute of theological training), in dealing with heretics. The imperial city proved a dangerous home for the young deacon. The eloquence of his sermons, commended by the graces of a very handsome person and a scrupulous care in dress, attracted crowds of listeners, including many ladies of rank. One of these, the wife of an ex-prefect, conceived a guilty passion for him, which he returned. The husband's jealousy was awakened, and Evagrius only escaped assassination by a timely flight. It was said that he was warned of his peril by a dream (Soz. *H. E.* vi. 30). Jerusalem was the place of his retreat. Here he was hospitably received by Melania the elder, by whom he was nursed during a severe attack of fever, and who, perceiving the weakness of his disposition, availed herself of his sickness to lead him to give up the world altogether and embrace an ascetic life as the only safeguard against the temptations to sensual pleasure to which he had more than once almost become the prey. On his recovering Evagrius went to Egypt, the home of the ascetics, where, after two years spent in great austerities in the Nitrian desert, he plunged still deeper into the solitude, and practised severer mortifications in the cells of Scetis. Here he had the two Macarii as his instructors and models in the ascetic life. After enduring many terrible temptations, recorded by Palladius, and having obtained mastery over his bodily passions, he became qualified to be the instructor of others in asceticism. Palladius became his companion and disciple in 391. Among his other disciples were Rufinus, and Heraclides of Cyprus, afterwards bishop of Ephesus (Soz. *H. E.* viii. 6). Palladius gives several anecdotes illustrative of the height of ascetic virtue attained by Evagrius and his fellow hermits. On one occasion he threw into the fire a packet of letters from his parents and other near friends lest the perusal of them should entangle him in worldly thoughts once more (Cassian, v. 32; Tillemont, x. 376). His reputation for wisdom and piety led Theophilus, the metropolitan of Alexandria, to desire to make him a bishop, and Evagrius was forced to flee to resist his importunities (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 23).

Evagrius passed the remainder of his life in the cells of Scetis, where he died worn out with austerities in the seventeenth year of his recluse life, A.D. 398, at the age of fifty-four, "signis et prodigiis pollens" (Gennad. *Illust. Vir.* c. xi.). Evagrius was a zealous champion of the doctrines of Origen, for which he fell under the lash of Jerome, whose enmity towards him had been excited not only on theological grounds, but as having been the instructor of Rufinus during his sojourn in Egypt, and having enjoyed the patronage of Melania. Jerome speaks in contemptuous terms of his writings (*Ad Ctesiph.*), especially of his book *περὶ ἀπαθείας*, when combating the tenet ascribed to the Origenists that a man could raise himself to a superiority to temptation (*i. e.* as Jerome says, "becoming either a stone or god"), and live without sin. He also charges him with being a precursor of Pelagius (*in Pelag.* p. 260). Jerome accuses Evagrius of

including in his book "*de monachis*" many who never were monks at all; and those who were were Origenists, and had been condemned by their bishops. Evagrius was a very copious writer, and Jerome himself (*u. s.*) bears witness to the celebrity of his works, which, he tells us, were widely read not only in the East in the original, but also in the West, having been translated into Latin by his pupil Rufinus, as afterwards by Gennadius. Sozomen (*u. s.*) speaks in high terms of his learning, and eloquence, and the persuasive power of his writings. The existing remains of his writings are printed by Galland, Bibl. Patr. vii. 551–581, and Migne, Patrolog. vol. 86.

We obtain the following list of the writings of Evagrius from Socrates, Gennadius, Palladius, and Suidas, *sub voc.* "Macarius."

(1) *Monachus*, περὶ τῆς πρακτικῆς, on "active virtue," in 100 chapters. Of this work Socrates gives two fragments (*H. E.* iii. 7, iv. 23), and the whole treatise is printed by Cotelerius (*Mon. Eccl. Graec.* tom. iii. p. 70). (2) *Gnosticus*, "ad eas qui cognitionis munere donati sunt," in 50 chapters. A fragment is given by Socrates (*H. E.* iv. 23). It was translated into Latin by Gennadius. (3) *Antirrheticus*, a collection of passages of Scripture, with comments, distributed under eight heads, against the eight divisions of evil thoughts. This was also translated by Gennadius. It was published in Greek and Latin by Bigot, together with Palladius's Life of Chrysostom, Par. 1680, 4to, and in Latin only, Bibl. Patr. Lugd. 1677, tom. 27. (4) A *Century of Prayers*. (5) 600 *Gnostic Problems*. (6) A *Letter to Melania*. (7) A book, περὶ ἀπαθείας. (8) 100 *Sentences for the use of Anchorets living simply*. (9) *Short Sentences*, translated by Gennadius, who describes them as being of great obscurity, only intelligible to the hearts of monks. (10) Στιχηρά, in two books, one of them addressed to monks, and the other to a virgin dedicated to God (printed without the author's name), Bibl. Patr. *u. s.*, and among the works of Nilus (ed. Suares, pp. 613–626). (11) *Liber de rerum monachalium rationibus* (Coteler. *u. s.* iii. 103). (12) *Scholion de tetragrammato Dei nomine* (*ibid.* p. 116). To these may be added the passages in the various *Catenae* under the name Evagrius, on Job, Proverbs, and other books of the Old and New Testament. Combefis, in his *Bibliotheca Concionatoria*, gives two such passages, one in the Catena on "the good Samaritan" (vol. v. p. 353), the other on the Parable of the Pounds (vol. viii. p. 812), which he ascribes to our author (vol. i. p. 11). (Oudin, i. 883; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* x. p. 368 ff.; Fabr. *Bibl. Graec.* ix. 284, ed. Harles; Dupin, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 1; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 275.) [E. V.]

EVAGRIUS (13) (Evetius), prefect of Egypt in the reign of Theodosius I. We hear of him in connexion with the disturbances at Alexandria, arising from the desecration of the heathen temples by the bishop Theophilus (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 15; Soc. *H. E.* v. 15, 16, 17). This event is placed by Socrates and Sozomen during the time of the emperor's visit to Rome, which was in 389. The pagans made an obstinate resistance, taking up a position in the temple of Serapis, but were finally dislodged. There is a law of Theodosius against the pagans dated June 17, 391, addressed to Evagrius, so that he seems to have been prefect for three years. He is mentioned by Eunapius (*Vit. Aedes.*) as prefect at the time of the disturbances at Alexandria, where, however, the common reading is Evetius. [M. F. A.]

EVAGRIUS (14), presbyter and monk under St. Martin of Tours, after whose death he betook himself to Sulpicius Severus, with whom he was living in 405. (Sulp. *Dial.* iii. 1, 2.) He is proved by Ceillier to have been the author of a dispute between Theophilus, a Christian, and Simon, a Jew (mentioned by Gennadius, *de Viris Illus.* cap. i. and printed by Martene in 1717), and of Deliberations between Zaccheus, a Christian, and Apollonius, a philosopher, which in an ancient MS. of the abbey of Vendome precedes the former work, and is plainly by the same author. Both works are to be found in Patr. Lat. vol. xx. (See Ceillier, viii. 424.) [R. T. S.]

EVAGRIUS (15), philosopher, the friend and fellow-student of Synesius, by whom he was converted and induced to accept the doctrines of the resurrection of the dead and eternal retribution. (Tillemont, xii. 527.) [E. V.]

EVAGRIUS (16). (Baron. *Ann.* s. a. 535, lxxvii.), a Tritheïte heretic. [Eugenius (24).] [T. W. D.]

EVAGRIUS (17), an ecclesiastical historian of the 6th century, who wrote a church history in six books, embracing a period of 163 years, from the council of Ephesus A.D. 431, to the twelfth year of the emperor Mauricius Tiberius, A.D. 594. He was born at Epiphania in Coele Syria, A.D. 536 or 537. His parents seem to have been Christians, for he tells us himself that they were among the multitudes who, at a time when they were expecting destruction at the hands of Chosroes, hastened to Apamea, a city not far distant from Epiphania, that they might there embrace the wood of the true cross, and thus if possible escape the fate with which they were threatened, or at all events be strengthened for their departure to a better world (iv. 25). Evagrius was a child at school at the time, but was taken with his parents to Apamea for this purpose. The incident can hardly be said to throw any particular light upon his training; but it illustrates the feelings of the age, and enables us better to understand how one who gives in his works many tokens of sobriety and judgment should have been the credulous gatherer of legends that he was. From Apamea Evagrius would seem to have gone to Antioch, the capital of Syria, and there to have entered the profession of the law. He must have prosecuted the profession with success, for he received the surname of Scholasticus, a term then applied to lawyers (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v.), gained great favour with Gregory bishop of Antioch, and was chosen by him to assist him in his judgments. At the same time he seems to have won the esteem and goodwill of all classes, for on the occasion of his marriage, a second one, the city was filled with rejoicing, and great honours were paid him by the citizens.

The relations of Evagrius with Gregory appear, as far as this world goes, to have been among the most fortunate circumstances of his life. He accompanied that bishop to Constantinople,

and advocated his cause when he was summoned to answer there for heinous crimes. The defence was successful. He also wrote for him a book containing "reports, epistles, decrees, orations, disputations, with sundry other matters," which must have been highly thought of, for he tells us that, in consequence of it, he was preferred by Tiberius Constantinus to the honour of quaestor, and by Mauricius Tiberius to that of mastership of the rolls, "where the lieutenants and magistrates with their monuments are registered" (vi. 23). This, his own account of his promotion, is more to be trusted than the insinuation contained in Gibbon's sneer that, in his praise of Maurice, he had been "so wisely indiscreet that the emperor knew and rewarded his favourable opinion" (*Decline and Fall*, ch. 45).

The year of his death is not known. It must have been subsequent to A.D. 594, at which date, the twelfth year of Maurice's reign, he wrote his history at the age of 58 (iv. 28).

It is the history of Evagrius that chiefly interests us, for his other works have perished. That history was intended to be a continuation of the histories of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. These historians had brought down their accounts of the church to the early part of the reign of Theodosius the Younger. Evagrius had been greatly delighted with their narratives, seeing in them, in their account of the incarnation and ascension of the Saviour, in the famous Acts of the Apostles, and in the struggles and persecutions of the holy martyrs, the most powerful persuasives to the Christian faith. But as the events which followed appeared to him nothing inferior to what went before, he desired to continue their labours. With this view he applied himself to all the sources of information at his command, to the writings of Eustathius the Syrian, Zosimus, Priscus, Joannes Rhetor, Procopius of Caesarea, Agathus, and other good authors. He saw that the information to be found in them was too scattered to permit of its full value being felt; and he resolved to gather it together, as previous historians had done, to the end "that the famous deeds which slumbered in the dust of forgetfulness might be revived; that they might be stirred with his pen, and presented for immortal memory; that not only every man might know what had happened until that age, when, where, in what sort, against whom, by what men, but also that no worthy act, by reckless security and languishing slothfulness the sister of oblivion, might be put clean out of remembrance" (Preface to his Hist.).

These words of his own preface indicate well not only his object but the spirit in which he pursued it, while at the same time they illustrate the unnecessarily inflated style in which perhaps his very sense of the importance of his work not unfrequently led him to indulge. It is fair, however, to allow that he largely attained his end. He is a warm, often an enthusiastic writer, orthodox in his sentiments, and if eager in his denunciations of prevailing heresies, yet not more eager than was demanded by the feelings of the time. Jortin indeed has condemned him as "in points of theological controversy an injudicious prejudiced zealot" (Jortin, *Remarks on Eccl. Hist.* ii. p. 120); but we cannot forget that Evagrius was a lawyer, not a theologian, and that we must look from him for the popular rather than the learned estimate of the theological controversies urged with such keenness in his time. It is not so much in this respect that his judgment fails him as in the credulous enthusiasm which led him to accept too easily the legends of the saints then constituting the spiritual nutriment of Christians. Evagrius in other respects shews many of the best qualities of a historian. He had probably learned from Eusebius the importance of quoting original documents; and not a few such, decrees of councils, supplications to emperors, letters of emperors, and bishops, &c., are preserved in his pages, forming most important authorities for the events to which they relate. He took great pains in collecting his materials, and sometimes made happy use of them. Goss (in Herzog) especially praises his defence of the Emperor Constantine against the slanders of Zosimus.

In his general arrangement he follows the reigns of the emperors of the East from Theodosius the Younger to Maurice; but the arrangement of details is faulty, and in the loose heaping together of his materials, as well as in the failure to place much that he refers to in the light of any general aim, we see the want of the artistic skill of a historian. There is often, however, great spirit in the narrative, of which we have an excellent specimen in his account of the council of Chalcedon (ii. 18). The work is chiefly valuable in relation to the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, and the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. The style, as may be gathered from the extract already given from the preface, is frequently turgid, but upon the whole it is good.

The *History of Evagrius* was first published by R. Stephens (Par. 1544); but the best edition is that of Valesius, with notes (Par. 1673). Still later, in 1720, it was reprinted at Cambridge in the 'Hist. Eccl. Scriptores cum notis Valesii et Reading.' There is a fair English translation by Meredith Hanmer, London, 1619, along with a translation of Eusebius and Socrates. [W. M.]

EVAL, ST. (UVELUS), the patron saint of St. Eval in Cornwall. The parish feast is on the Sunday nearest Nov. 20. The Celtic names are planted thickly on this part of the coast, and the dates of the parish feasts have been mostly preserved, while on the eastern side of Cornwall the dates have been in many cases lost (see Cressy's *Church History of Brittany*, ix. 19, 1). [C. W. B.]

EVALDUS, bishop of Vienne. [EOALDUS.]

EVANCIUS. [EVANTIUS.]

EVANDER (1), a bishop of Nicomedia, invented by "Praedestinatus" (i. 17) as an opposer of the Ophites. [G. S.]

EVANDER (2), bishop of Ursinum (Ajaccio), in Corsica, one of the nineteen bishops appointed by Constantine to hear the case submitted to him by the Donatists, A.D. 313. (Optatus, *de Schism. Don.* i. 23; Aug. *Opp.* vol. iii. 773; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xvi. 307; Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* iii. 493.) [H. W. P.]

EVANDER (3), one of the solitaries of the diocese of Nazianzus, highly extolled by Gregory

Nazianzen as rich in the gifts of God, exceeding in purity of soul the whiteness of his grey hairs. (Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 47, p. 108.) [E. V.]

EVANDER (4), bishop of Dioclia in Phrygia Pacatiana, a town known only from the records of the councils; present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 824; Mansi, vii. 157). Gams (*Series Episc.* 393, 446), following Farlati, supposes another Evander at this council, bishop of Dioclea on the coast of Epirus, the modern Antivari, in Albania (Farlati, *Illyricum Sacr.* vii. 1). [L. D.]

EVANDER (5), bishop of Cnidus or Stadia, the well-known town on the peninsula of Caria; present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 917; Mansi, ix. 395.) [L. D.]

EVANDRIUS, an Eastern bishop of the 5th century, addressed by Firmus archbishop of Caesarea, in his 15th letter. Firmus invites him to attend a commemoration of certain saints in Argocni. In the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, occurs an Evander bishop of Dioclia in Phrygia [EVANDER (4)]; but it has been thought that Dioclia would be too far from Caesarea for such an invitation. (Firm. Caes. Episc. *Epist.* xv. Patrol. Graec. lxxvii. 1492.) [W. M. S.]

EVANGELICUS, bishop of the Scythians, reckoned as "pontifex et praepositus" of the churches among that people (*Vitae Patrum*, cap. 16 in Pat. Lat. lxxvii. 404 c). Le Quien makes him first bishop of Tomi in the time of Diocletian, Philius being his successor (*Or. Chr.* i. 1211). [C. H.]

EVANGELUS (1), a presbyter, known through two letters of Jerome to him (73 and 146, ed. Vall.). Vallarsi thinks he was of Africa, and was the Evangelus bishop of Assurae mentioned in the *Gesta Collationis Carthaginensis* [EVANGELUS (2)], and also the Evangelus to whom Anianus Celecensis dedicated his translation of Chrysostom's Homilies (see Migne's Patrologia Lat. xxi. 1176). The first letter was caused by questions relating to Melchizedek. The second by an assertion, which Evangelus reported, that deacons and presbyters were originally equal. This leads Jerome to develop his well-known views on the three orders of the ministry. [W. H. F.]

EVANGELUS (2), bishop of Assurae in proconsular Africa, present at the conference before Marcellinus, A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. de Don.* Oberthür, p. 399; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 86; DONATISM, 893.) [H. W. P.]

EVANGELUS (3) the only known bishop of Pautalia (*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. 559A), also called Pantalia (Παντελεία, Procop. *de Aedif.* iv. 1), in Dacia Mediterranea (Wiltsch, *Handbook*, i. § 88). He was sent for by the emperor Anastasius, who was a zealous Eutychian, A.D. 516, in the hope that he might prevail upon him to renounce the communion of the Catholics. But, notwithstanding that Evangelus steadfastly refused to consent to the emperor's wish, he was allowed to return to his see in peace, Anastasius, it is said, being afraid of the Illyrian soldiers who were quartered at Pautalia and seem to have been greatly attached to their bishop. (Marcellin. Com. *Chron.* o. a. 516; Farlati, *Illyr. Sacr.* viii. 77; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 307.) [T. W. D.]

EVANGELUS (4), deacon of Sipontum, who in 593 complained to Gregory the Great that his daughter had been seduced by his bishop's nephew [FELIX (154)]; and that, having been a captive of war, he was in debt for his ransom money. Gregory directed that the bishop should discharge this debt from the property of the church if the means of Evangelus were insufficient, and that the seducer should either marry the girl or be confined in a monastery. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. iii. ind. xi. epp. 41, 43.) [C. H.]

EVANTHIUS (1), one of the judices appointed by the emperor Constantius to hear the defence of Photinus (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxi. 1. Pat. Gr. xlii. 375 b). [C. H.]

EVANTHIUS (2), ST., seventh bishop of Mende, succeeding St. Hilarius. He was present at the fourth council of Orleans in A.D. 541. His successor was Parthenius. (Greg. Tur. *Vit. Patr. de S. Gallo.* c. iv. Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 1032; *Gall. Christ.* i. 87; Labbe, *Conc.* v. 1371.) [S. A. B.]

EVANTIUS (1), ST., seventh bishop of Autun, in the first half of the 5th century. He appears in the *Auctaria* of Grevenus and Molanus to Usuard on Sept. 13, on which day he is commemorated. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 337; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 21.) [S. A. B.]

EVANTIUS (2), ST., 27th occupant of the see of Vienne, succeeding Philippus and followed by St. Verus III. He was present at the first council of Mâcon (A.D. 581), the third of Lyons in 583, the second of Valentia in 584, and the second of Mâcon in 585. There is extant a letter on the subject of abstinence from the blood of animals which was long attributed to this Evantius, but was probably written by an archdeacon of Toledo of the same name (see the following article). He died in 586, and is commemorated by some Jan. 13, by others, including the Bollandists, Feb. 3. (Mansi, ix. 936, 943, 945, 957; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* viii. 39; Ado, *Chronicon*, aetas sexta (575) in Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 111; *Gall. Christ.* xvi. 27.) [S. A. B.]

EVANTIUS (3), mentioned as archdeacon of Toledo about the year 720 by Isidorus Pacensis (§ 49), who speaks in high praise of him and of his contemporaries, Frodoarius bishop of Guadix and Urban precentor (probably) of the cathedral of Toledo, three men who by their learning, wisdom, and sanctity were a great support of the church. The "doctrina" and "sapientia," of which Isidorus speaks, were displayed in a letter to the Judaizing Christians of Saragossa, who refused to eat the blood of animals (conf. Adrian's letter to Egila, art. EGILA). The letter is printed by Aguirre (*Coll. Max. Conc. Hisp.* iii. 87), by Migne (Pat. Lat. lxxxviii. 719), Canisius (*Thesaur. Monum.* tom. i. p. 522), La Bigne (*Max. Bibl. Pat.* tom. xi. 1092). Cave (*Lit. Hist.* i. 540, cf. Ceillier xi. 852) and Fabricius call the author of this letter a Spanish abbat, and he is so called in the title of the letter,

but there is no ground for "abbas" in the letter itself, and Aguirre proves that it belongs to the archdeacon. It may possibly be to this letter, or at any rate to the followers of Evantius that Egila refers, when he complains to pope Adrian that certain persons in Spain stigmatize those who refuse to eat blood or things strangled as *rudes aut ineruditi*. Evantius and Urban are also mentioned by Cixila in his life of St. Ildefonsus (*Esp. Sagr.* v. p. 507) as his authorities for the miracles there described. Cixila implies that he heard from them all that he narrates, but he does not expressly say that they were eye-witnesses as Bayer reports (*l. c.*). Indeed, as St. Ildefonsus died in 667, and Isidorus Pacensis places the deaths of Urban and Evantius under the era 775 (A.D. 737) this, although possible, is not very probable. Isidore speaks of them as "viri doctores et sanctimoniae studio satis pollentes," an indirect testimony to the tolerance and mildness of the early Mohammedan rule.

[M. A. W.]

EVANTIUS (**4**), son of Dynamius Patricius, slain at Carthage, A.D. 589, while prosecuting an embassy to the court of Constantinople (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* x. 2). [C. H.]

EVARESTUS—Dec. 23. An inhabitant of Heraclea in Crete, martyred with several others under Decius. (Basil. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

EVARIC (**1**), king of the Visigoths. [EURIC (1).]

EVARIC (**2**), one of the tribe of the Rugii, who had accompanied Theodoric into Italy and always kept themselves distinct from the Ostrogoths. He was elected king by his own people after the murder of Ildibald, whom the Ostrogoths had chosen as king when Vitigis was carried prisoner to Constantinople. The Ostrogoths, however, were thoroughly discontented with the inefficiency of Evaric, and called Totila, nephew of Ildibald, to be their head, ann. 541. But Evaric entered into secret negotiations with the emperor Justinian to betray Italy to him, and receive the title of patrician. During the absence of his messengers Evaric was murdered by the Goths after a five months' reign, and Totila became sole king. His life illustrates one of several phases of disunion which existed among the followers of Theodoric after his death. (Procopius, *de Bell. Goth.* ii. 2, ed. Bonn. ii. pp. 287–290 · Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, ii. 227.) [A. H. D. A.]

EVARICUS. [EBARCIUS.]

EVARISTUS (called ARISTUS in the Liberian catalogue), bishop of Rome at the beginning of the 2nd century. With respect to the exact date and duration of his episcopate, as well as the names and order of succession of his predecessors [LINUS, ANACLETUS, CLEMENT], ancient accounts are greatly at variance. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 34, iv. 1) gives Clemens as his immediate predecessor, the third year of Trajan (101) as the date of his accession, and nine years as the duration of his episcopate: but in his Chronicle he makes the latter seven years. (*Chron.* iv. 1.) Irenaeus, an older authority, who probably got his information when at Rome in the time of Eleutherus towards the end of the century, also makes Clemens his predecessor, but gives no dates (*Adv. Haeres.* iii. 3, 3). The Liberian (A.D. 354) and subsequent Roman catalogues, as well as Augustin and Optatus, represent him as succeeding Anacletus, and the former authorities give A.D. 96 as the commencement of his episcopate (thus beginning, according to them, in the reign of Domitian), and between thirteen and fourteen years as its duration. These discrepancies, and the absence of dates from the earliest notice by Irenaeus, suggest the conclusion that Evaristus is to be ranked in the group of early heads of the Roman church, of whom no authentic tradition was preserved. The conflicting accounts that have come down to us of his three predecessors seem certainly to imply a hazy tradition of their period; and that of Evaristus may be taken as partaking of the same dimness, it not having been till later in the 2nd century that, along with the more complete organization of episcopal government, official records of the bishops began to be preserved. Lipsius (*Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe*) takes this view, and adduces the fact that Irenaeus, in his letter to Victor about the observance of Easter, refers to the practice of Telesphorus and Xystus only, as evidence of the absence of any distinct tradition before the earlier of these two bishops, who succeeded the successor of Evaristus. In the Felician catalogue (530) Evaristus is described as a Greek of Antioch (his father being a Jew of Bethlehem), is said to have assigned titles (or parishes) to the presbyters of the city, to have appointed seven deacons to attend the bishop when preaching, and to have been buried near the body of St. Peter in the Vatican. Later accounts, unsupported by Irenaeus, who assigns the crown of martyrdom to Telesphorus alone among the Roman bishops before his own day, make him a martyr; and as such he is venerated now on Oct. 26.

Two decretal epistles are assigned to this bishop by the Pseudo-Isidore, both addressed to the bishops of Africa: one containing the direction about seven deacons attending the bishop when preaching, and also regulations about marriage; the other comparing the bond between a bishop and his diocese with the indissoluble one between husband and wife, providing against undue accusations of bishops, and reserving to the see of Rome the power of terminating all cases arising from such accusations. [J. B.]

EVARIX (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* ii. 25), king of the Visigoths. [EURIC (1).] [C. H.]

EVASINUS, bishop of Asti, c. 775. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiv. 87.)

[A. H. D. A.]

EVASIUS (**1**) I., ST., first bishop of Asti cir. A.D. 265, martyr under the praeses Astubalus, with Projectus a "levite" and Mallianus deacon. They suffered under either Gallienus or Diocletian, near the town of Sedulum, the modern Casal di S. Vaso in Liguria near the Po, and were commemorated on Dec. 1. Only two bishops of Asti of this name are recognised by Ughelli, but Cappelletti reckons three additional ones between them, belonging respectively to the years 364, 389, 419. (Ug. *Ital. Sac.* iv. 336;

Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xiv. 86; *Mart. Rom.* Dec. 1.) [C. H.]

EVASIUS (2) II., bishop of Asti, c. 740. Troya (*Cod. Dipl.* iv. 119) gives a record of a donation by king Liutprand to St. Evasius (ann. 743). There is some doubt as to the donation and as to its date. It seems possible that it was made to this bishop in memory of the earlier Evasius, bishop and martyr. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xiv. 87; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 336.) [A. H. D. A.]

EVASIUS (3), one of the apparitors of the imperial authorities at the conference at Carthage, A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. de Don.* Oberthür, D, p. 344, E, p. 466; DONATISM, 893.) [H. W. P.]

EVASIUS (4), Donatist bishop of Girbis in opposition to Quodvultdeus the Catholic, at the conference at Carthage, 411. (*Mon. Vet. de Don.* p. 448; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 171.) [H. W. P.]

EVE, GOSPEL OF. A book called the Gospel of Eve is said by Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxvi. p. 84) to have been current among some Gnostic sects; and from it apparently are taken two extracts which he proceeds to give. We are probably to take as mere sarcasm of Epiphanius his statement that this gospel was called after her from her having found the fruit of "knowledge" through the revelation of the serpent who spoke with her. It is more likely that we are to look for illustration to the Peratic use of the name of Eve "the mother of all living" (Hippol. v. 16, p. 134), and to the Ophite doctrine concerning the "first Woman" (Iren. i. 30, p. 109). [G. S.]

EVELLIUS—May 11. He was a member of Nero's council. Converted by the sufferings of St. Torpes, he was baptized, and therefore beheaded by the tyrant. This martyrdom is lacking in early and genuine authorities. (*Mart.* Rab., Notker.; Ferrarius, *Catal. SS.*; Bar. *Annal.* A.D. 69, num. 44.) [G. T. S.]

EVEMERUS (EMERIUS), said to have been sixteenth archbishop of Treves, succeeding Jamblichus and followed by St. Marus about A.D. 480. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 379.) [S. A. B.]

EVEMERUS. [EUMERIUS.]

EVENTIUS. See also EUENTIUS.

EVENTIUS (1) (*Vet. Rom. Mart.* Sept. 12), bishop of Pavia. [JUVENTIUS.] [C. H.]

EVENTIUS (2), bishop of Ticinum (Pavia); who joined with Ambrose in condemning Palladius and Secundianus at the council of Aquileia, A.D. 381. (Ambrose, *Opp.* iii. pp. 838, 843.) He also added his signature to a letter addressed by Ambrose and a synod of Milan to Syricius, applauding his condemnation of Jovinianus and others. (*Ibid.* p. 1044.) [J. Ll. D.]

EVENTIUS (3), bishop of Vienne. [EVANTIUS (2).]

EVENTIUS (4), deacon of Milan, bearing a letter of Constantius, bishop of that see, to pope Gregory the Great, and the latter's reply, A.D. 599. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. ix. ind. ii. ep. 53. Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 992.) [C. H.]

EVERGISLUS of Cologne. [EBREGESILUS.]

EVERGISUS of Tongres. [EBREGISUS.]

EVERILDIS, virgin in England, assigned to the 7th century and the kingdom of Wessex. Her story is mixed up with the times of both Birinus and Wilfrid, but she is probably fictitious (Boll. *Acta SS.* 9 Jul. ii. 713). [C. H.]

EVERIUS, ST., second bishop of Catana (Catania), succeeding St. Beryllus, in the time of Valerian and Gallienus. He built the church of St. Mary of Bethlehem at Catana near the tomb of the poet Stesichorus. He was commemorated on Nov. 16. (Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, i. 516, from the ancient records of the church of Catana.) [C. H.]

EVERMARUS, martyr cir. A.D. 700, commemorated on May 1. He is said to have been a Frisian and of noble family. He longed for martyrdom in early life, and was a constant visitor of the tombs of the martyrs. He was on his way to the tomb of Servatius at Trajectum (Maestricht), when he was murdered in a wood known as Rutis, near that city. The authority for his Acts is a MS. of the church of St. Saviour at Utrecht. (Boll. *Acta. SS.* Mai. i. 120.) [T. W. D.]

EVETHIUS. See also EUETHIUS.

EVETHIUS (1), a Bithynian bishop at the council of Nicaea in 325. His name appears in the list as "Evethius Hadrianopolis, Hadriaensis" (Mansi, ii. 696 b). Le Quien understands two bishops. of Hadrianople and Hadriani respectively (*Or. Chr.* i. 577, 625). [C. H.]

EVETHIUS (2), bishop of Satala in Lesser Armenia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. The name is written Eutychius in some MSS. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 431; Mansi, ii. 694.) [L. D.]

EVETHIUS (3), bishop of Ephesus, an adherent of the Macedonian heresy; one of the thirty-six bishops of that party who attended the council of Constantinople A.D. 381, and retired without making any concessions. (Phot. *Biblioth.* cod. 257, p. 477; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 675; Socrates, *H. E.* iv. 12, 22, where his name is mentioned first in the letter of pope Liberius to the Macedonian bishops.) His name does not appear among the subscriptions to the council (Mansi, iii. 568). [L. D.]

EVETHIUS (4), a presbyter of Caesarea, sent by Pharetrius the bishop to arouse Chrysostom in the middle of the night, that he might escape from the Isaurians, who were hovering about the city (Chrysost. ep. 14, § 3, Patr. Gr. lii. 615). Chrysostom wrote to him from Cucusus in terms of affection and gratitude, and begs that he may often hear from him (*Ep.* 173). [T. W. D.]

EVETHIUS (5), a presbyter who joined Chrysostom in his exile at Cucusus (Chrysost. *Ep.* 114; Patr. Gr. lii. 670.) He may possibly be the same as the preceding, but probably not. [T. W. D.]

EVETHIUS (6), bishop of Cyzicus, the metropolis of the Hellespontic province, received letters, along with the other metropolitans from the emperor Leo I., ordering him to assemble his

province in synod, and to take its opinion about the murder of St. Proterius, bishop of Alexandria, and about the faith of the council of Chalcedon. Evethius despatched a synodal letter in answer to the emperor, which is extant, A.D. 458. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 753; Mansi, vii. 523, 584.) [L. D.]

EVETIUS, prefect. [EVAGRIUS (13).]

EVILASIUS—Sept. 20. A palace official entrusted with the execution of the virgin martyr Fausta, converted by her patience, and executed with her. (Bar. 311. xvii. xix..) [FAUSTA (2).] [G. T. S.]

EVILLA, invoked among the holy virgins and widows in the *Dunkeld Litany* (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, pp. lxi. 335). [J. G.]

EVIPPUS, bishop of Neocaesarea (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 504). In the synodal of the province of Pontus Polemoniacus to the emperor Leo I. in 458 Evippus signs as metropolitan (Mansi, vii. 605). His name however does not occur in the extant lists of the metropolitans whose communications Leo had invited (Mansi, vii. 523, 788). As far as now known, the suffragan sees of Evippus's province were Comana, Polemoniacum, Cerasus, all three represented in the synodal, and Trapezus, which had a bishop at the council of Chalcedon, 451. The sees of Rhizaeum and Pityussa are found later. [C. H.]

EVODIUS. See also EUODIUS.

EVODIUS (1), according to early tradition, first bishop of Antioch. (Euseb. *Chron.* ann. Abr. 2058; *H. E.* iii. 22.) The episcopate of Evodius has indirectly the older testimony of Origen, who speaks of Ignatius as the second bishop after Peter (*in Luc.* Hom. 6, vol. iii. p. 938; see also Euseb., *Quaest. ad Steph. ap.* Mai, *Scr. Vet.* i. p. 2). This tradition has all the appearance of being historical. Ignatius early acquired such celebrity that it is not likely the name of an undistinguished person would have been placed before his, if the facts did not require this arrangement. The language used about episcopacy in the Ignatian epistles agrees with the conclusion that Ignatius was not the first at Antioch to hold the office. As time went on, the fitness of things seemed more and more to demand that Ignatius should not be separated from the Apostles. Athanasius (*Epist. de Synodis*, i. 607) speaks of Ignatius as coming after the Apostles without mention of any one intervening; Chrysostom makes him contemporary with the Apostles (*Hom. in Ignat.* vol. ii. p. 593); the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 46) have recourse to the expedient adopted in the parallel case of Clement of Rome, the hypothesis of a double ordination, Evodius being said to have been ordained by Peter, Ignatius by Paul. Theodoret (*Dial.* I. *Immutab.* iv. 82, Migne) and others represent Ignatius as ordained by Peter. The authorities on the subject are given at length by Zahn (*Patres Apostol.* ii. 327). Malalas, x. p. 252 (325), has a circumstantial story how Peter, happening to pass through Antioch at the time of the death of Evodius, ordained Ignatius in his room, and how about the same time Mark was succeeded in the episcopate of Alexandria by his disciple Anianus, as the learned chronologer Theophilus related. He further ascribes to Evodius the giving to the disciples the name of Christians. The Theophilus here mentioned is doubtless he who was bishop of Antioch, A.D. 170. We are not warranted in believing more on the testimony of Malalas than that Theophilus mentioned the episcopate of Anianus; an interesting fact, from which we may probably infer that he gave an account of the succession of bishops, not only at Alexandria but also at his own see, Antioch.

There is reason to believe that the earliest tradition did not include an ordination even of Evodius by Peter; for the chronicle of Eusebius places the departure of Peter from Antioch three years, or according to St. Jerome's version, two years before the ordination of Evodius. The chronology of the early bishops of Antioch has lately been investigated by Harnack (*Die Zeit des Ignatius*). He notices that the chronicle of Eusebius does not, as in the case of the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, accompany the name of each bishop of Antioch with a note of the length of his episcopate; but on the other hand that it does not abstain from assigning a date for the accession of each, as in the case of the bishops of Jerusalem, where Eusebius owns to having no chronological information. He infers that the earliest list must have contained only names of bishops of Antioch without any note of lengths of episcopates, but still that Eusebius must have had the work of some preceding chronologer to guide him. He tries to prove that this work was the chronicle of Africanus, and also that Africanus had without any real chronological information put down dates for the accession of each bishop on the old traditional list, according to an arbitrary scheme of his own. Harnack's supposed discovery of the principle of this scheme may be rejected as a mere ingenious fancy (see Hilgenfeld's review, *Zeitschrift*, 1878, p. 409); but we may well believe that Eusebius got his chronology of early bishops of Antioch from Africanus, to whom he acknowledges his obligation, and whose chronicle has generally been believed to be the basis of that of Eusebius. If the belief had been entertained at the beginning of the 3rd century that Evodius had been ordained by Peter, it is unlikely that Africanus would have omitted to mention the name of any ordainer, and incredible that he would have assigned a date to the event which absolutely excludes an ordination by Peter. It deserves to be remarked that the Clementine Recognitions do not mention Evodius, though his ordination by Peter would have been the natural termination of the work if the author had heard of any such tradition; and also that Tertullian (*de Praescrip.* 32) is silent about it in a place where we might have expected him to mention it. The explanation of the date assigned by the chronicle of Eusebius to the accession of Evodius is revealed, on inspecting it in the form given by Jerome, where we find three consecutive entries in three consecutive years, giving the assumption by Peter of the episcopate of Rome, and the appointment of Mark and Evodius respectively to the bishoprics of Alexandria and of Antioch. It is apparent that these dates have no historic value, and that their order merely expresses the order in dignity of the three sees in the time of the chronologer. Thus, while we accept the episcopate of Evodius as a historic fact, we have

no data for fixing the time of his accession; but we may safely say that it was considerably later than the year 42. [G. S.]

EVODIUS (2), ST., seventh bishop of Le Puy, succeeding St. Paulianus and followed by St. Scrutarius. He transferred the episcopal seat from Ruessium (urbs Vellavorum) to Anicium (Le Puy) (cf. Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 557, n). Here he built a church, and dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin, and later was buried there. His popular name is St. Vosy, and he is commemorated on Nov. 11 and 12. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 689; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* a. 508, n. vi. tom. i. p. 240.) [S. A. B.]

EVODIUS (3), bishop of Uzalis in proconsular Africa, not far from Utica. (Aug. *Civ. D.* xxii. 21.) Born, as well as St. Augustine, at Tagaste, he became intimate with him at Milan, A.D. 385 or 386, and the friendship thus begun lasted through life. He was at first a soldier, but left the army on becoming a Christian, in which all-important change he preceded his friend. Having determined to return to Africa the two friends proceeded together as far as Ostia, where Monica, the mother of Augustine, died. Augustine relates how, after her death, Evodius took the lead among the assembled company in chanting Ps. ci. (Aug. *Conf.* ix. 8, 12.)

In the course of their subsequent lives, Augustine and Evodius frequently exchanged letters, and in two treatises written in the form of dialogues, the latter is represented by Augustine as the interlocutor with himself. One of these dialogues, *De Quantitate Animæ*, was written A.D. 388, the other, *De Libero Arbitrio*, begun about the same time, was not finished till 395. Four letters of Evodius to Augustine are extant, numbered in the list 158, 160, 161, 163, all written about 414, and one is mentioned as having failed to reach its destination. No. 158 gives an account of the edifying death in the monastery in which Evodius was then living, of a youth, his secretary, the son of Armenus, a presbyter of Melonita, and of an apparition of him after death to a widow named Urbica. Upon this last he propounds to Augustine various speculative questions concerning the condition of the departed. In his reply to this (*Ep.* 159) Augustine declares his inability to solve all his friend's questions, and refers him to his twelfth book, *de Genesi*, which he was intending to republish. He appeals, however, to the experience of many persons as to the reality of apparitions, especially mentioning one which occurred to a young physician named Gennadius, whose doubts concerning the future life had been removed thereby. In No. 160, Evodius proposes to Augustine an abstruse metaphysical question as to the priority in time of reason or of the Deity. We cannot understand about God, he says, without the aid of reason. Therefore reason seems to be anterior in time to God, and as reason helps to demonstrate the being of God, so the Son's existence demonstrates the being of the Father. In No. 161 he propounds further questions concerning the Incarnation, and finds fault with certain expressions used by Augustine in a letter to Volusianus, which he had plainly misunderstood. (*Ep.* 137.) In his reply to these letters (*Ep.* 162), Augustine complains mildly of his friend for overloading him with hard questions, some of them so difficult as scarcely to be understood even by such men as Evodius, still less by many who will read the replies to them. He refers him to books of his which he supposes he must have forgotten, explains his language in the letter to Volusianus (137), and points out the fallacies of his friend's illustrations of the points proposed by him. The treatises referred to appear to be the following: Aug. *de Animae Quantitate*, i. 1035–1080, A.D. 388; *de Libero Arbitrio*, i. 1222–1310, A.D. 388–395; *de Vera Religione*, vol. iii. 122–171; *de Genesi*, iii. 174–485, A.D. 389, 390; *de Trinitate*, viii. 821–1098, A.D. 400–416. In No. 163, Evodius asks Augustine for his opinion concerning the "spirits in prison" of 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, and on other points. In his reply (*Ep.* 164), Augustine says that it cannot be denied that our Lord descended "ad inferos," and released some who were there from suffering of some kind, of these no doubt Adam was one, though Scripture is silent on this point. He also replies (*Ep.* 169) to questions put by Evodius concerning the Trinity and the dove descending on our Lord at His baptism, and mentions in this letter books which he had addressed to St. Jerome and Orosius on other subjects.

It is evident that Evodius was a warm friend, but remarkable more for activity of mind than for soundness of judgment. In a letter to Proculeianus, Donatist bishop of Hippo, Augustine mentions a discussion which took place between him and Evodius, in which the latter had shewn some heat of temper, which he requests Proculeianus to forgive. (*Ep.* 33, A.D. c. 395.)

He is mentioned, together with a person named Comes, in a letter of Paulinus to Alypius, in reference to a MS. of the history of Eusebius. Paulinus had borrowed the MS. from St. Domnio, and requests that Evodius and Comes will transcribe it in order not to deprive him of his book. (Aug. *Ep.* 24, A.D. 394.)

Evodius took part in the council of Carthage, A.D. 401, in which the delinquencies of Equitius bishop of Hippo Diarrhytus were condemned, and he was appointed, in conjunction with Augustine, Theasius, and eighteen other bishops to take steps for removing him and appointing a successor. At the same council and at a subsequent one held at the same place in 404, various decrees were passed concerning Donatists, and in this last named year Evodius and Theasius were deputed to request Honorius that the laws against the Donatists should be enforced, and that Equitius should be punished. (See i. 891.) The part taken by Evodius and his colleague appears to have aroused intense hatred among the Donatists, by whom they were stigmatized as habitual persecutors and murderers. (*Mon. Vet. de Don. Hist.* (Oberthür), p. 523.) In 408 he was sent with other bishops on a mission to the pagans and heretics of Africa, by which last term the Donatists may probably be understood. In this undertaking Restitutus and Florentius lost their lives through violence, and Evodius, Theasius, and Victor suffered personal injury. (Bruns. *Cod. Eccl. Afr.* 106. pl. i. p. 188.) In 416 he joined with Augustine and other bishops in a remonstrance against the Pelagians addressed to Innocent, bishop of Rome (Aug. *Epp.* 177, 183). In 425 he is mentioned by Augustine as a trust-

worthy witness to the miracles said to have been performed at Uzalis by the relics of St. Stephen. (Aug. *Serm.* 323, 324, vol. v. p. 1446; *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. S. U. vol. vii. p. 768.) About 426 we find him appealed to by Valentinus, abbat of a monastery at Adrumetum to settle some disputes among the brothers, but they declined to accept his mediation. Part of his answer, discovered by Sirmond, is printed in a note to the letter (216). A treatise *De Fide*, against the Manichaeans, printed in the works of St. Aug. vol. viii. p. 1140–1154, has been attributed to Evodius. [H. W. P.]

EVODIUS (4) (EVODUS), ST., bishop of Rouen, placed by the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (xi. 9), on the authority of the oldest catalogues, tenth on the list, following Innocentius and succeeded by Silvester, about the middle of the 5th century. But some put him about a century later, relying on the *Acta* (given in Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iv. 246), which make him contemporary with Clotaire. The *Acta*, however, are probably spurious. He is said to have died at Andelys, and was buried in the church of St. Mary at Rouen, but his remains were later transferred to the church of St. Remigius, afterwards called St. Yved after him, at Braine, in the diocese of Soissons. He is commemorated Oct. 8. [S. A. B.]

EVODIUS (5), bishop of Sauma, who signed the synodal letter of the council of Chalcedon to Leo I. (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 90, 1105, Migne). Baluze and subsequent editors of *Acta Conciliorum* read EVOLTIUS bishop of Zeugma. [C. G.]

EVODIUS (6) (ENNODIUS), to whom Sidonius Apollinaris writes a letter (iv. 8) sending him an epigram to be inscribed upon a silver basin which Evodius intends to present to Ragnahilda, wife of Euric, king of the Visigoths. (Ceill. x. 397.) [R. T. S.]

EVODIUS (7), fifteenth bishop of Troyes, following Lupus II., and succeeded by Modegisilus, in the first half of the 7th century. Le Cointe identifies him with a bishop Evodius, who made an exchange of some lands with St. Desiderius of Auxerre. He is omitted from Gams's list. (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 631 n. xvi. tom. ii. 843; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 487; Gams, *Series Episc.* 643.) [S. A. B.]

EVODIUS (8), a martyr at Antioch under Galba or Otho. Commemorated May 6. (*Mart.* Us.) [T. S. B.]

EVODIUS (9) (EVODES), Dec. 22, martyr in Bithynia with his mother Theodota in the Diocletian persecution under Leucadius the prefect. (Basil. *Menol.*; Aug. 2, *Mart.* Us.) [G. T. S.]

EVODIUS (10), martyr at Syracuse with Hermogenes. Commemorated April 25. (*Mart. Hier.*; Mart. Usuard.) [T. S. B.]

EVODUS. See also EVODIUS.

EVOLDUS, bishop of Vienne. [EOALDUS.]

EVOLESUS—May 15. Monk and martyr with Abdas and Ebedjesus, A.D. 375. [ELIABUS.] [G. T. S.]

EVOLIUS, bishop of Avignon. [EBULUS.]

EVOLIUS (*Gall. Chr.* ii. 500), bishop of Limoges. [EUBULUS.]

EVOLTIUS (EUORCIUS), bishop of Zeugma in the Syrian province of Euphratesia. His name appears also as Evolcius, and in Greek as Εὐόρκιος. The name of his see appears also on coins as Ζευγματέων (Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.* s. v.) Present at the council of Antioch in A.D. 448 (Harduin, *Concil.* ii. 515 B), and at Chalcedon in 451. He signs the synodical letter of the latter council to Leo I. (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 98, 1105, Migne), but here his name appears as Evodius, bishop of Sauma, *q. v.* [C. G.]

EVOPTIUS, a native of Cyrene, succeeded his elder brother Synesius, as bishop of Ptolemais, the chief city of the Libyan Pentapolis, c. A.D. 430. He was one of the leading prelates at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431 (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 285), and was one of the seven bishops deputed by the Cyrillian party to lay their case before the emperor. (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 784.) He sent Cyril Theodoret's condemnation of his anathematisms, for which courtesy Cyril thanked him in a gracious letter. (*Ibid.* iv. 887, 490; Liberat. c. ix. p. 41.) [E. V.]

EVORIC, king of the Visigoths. [EURIC.]

EVORTIUS (EVURTIUS, often in the English Calendar ENURCHUS), bishop of Orleans, appearing in one Martyrology as a martyr, but in all other records as confessor. The question of his date depends on his identification with Eortius, whose name is subscribed to the acts of the council of Valence A.D. 374. The Bollandist biographer argues at great length against this identification, and places Evortius under Constantine; but the other opinion is maintained by Tillemont. The acts of this bishop, assigned by the Bollandist to the 6th, by Tillemont to the 8th century, are so filled with fables that nothing trustworthy can be extracted from them. (*Acta SS.* Sept. 7; Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 555; Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 592.) [R. T. S.]

EVOTUS. [SARAGOSSA, MARTYRS OF.]

EVREMUND. [EBREMUND.]

EVRESIUS, bishop of Termessus in the second Pamphylia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1019; Mansi, ii. 695.) [L. D.]

EVRICHORIUS, bishop of Lagania. [ERECHOREUS.]

EVROU, ST. [EBRULFUS.]

EVURTIUS. [EVORTIUS.]

EWA, ST., gave name to the Cornish parish of St. Ewe, west of Mevagissey. John of Tinmouth, Capgrave's predecessor in collecting the lives of the saints, spells the name "Iwy" (see appendix to Ritson's *Arthur*, p. 166). The church sometimes has the prefix "Lan" (Prynne's *Records*, iii. 202, "Langewe in Poudreshire"), which seems to be prefixed in Domesday to most of the Cornish parishes of British origin that are mentioned there. [C. W. B.]

EWAIN, EWEN. In the short prose chronicle which precedes the metrical in the *Chronicon Elegiacum* (Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 177), the following obits are given of kings of the Scots in direct lineal succession, viz., Ewain, A.D. 741; Murezaut, A.D. 744; Ewen, A.D. 747; Hed (Abbus), A.D. 777; Fergus, A.D. 804. From this chronicon they appear to have been inserted in the *Chronicle of Melrose* (Gale, *Hist. Angl. Scrip.* t. i. pp. 136–7). But with the names more or less altered they appear in the other Scotic Chronicles (Skene, *ib.* 130, 149, 171, 287, 305). Allowing for the uncertainty of dates and nominal forms, these are evidently Eocha (Achy, Eocoidh, Eugenius) III. c. A.D. 706–733; Muredach, c. A.D. 733–736; Eogan (Achy, Eugenius), c. A.D. 736–739; Aodh Fin or Edfin (latinized Etfinus, by translation Hed Albus, erroneously Abbus), c. A.D. 739–769; and Fergus, c. A.D. 769–772. [J. G.]

EWAL (Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Britt.* ix. 19, 1), Cornish saint. [Eval.] [C. H.]

EWALD. [Hewald.]

EWEN, in the anonymous fragment which forms the earliest extant life of St. Kentigern, and is acknowledged to have been the basis of Jocelin's fuller narrative, is the name of the seducer of St. Kentigern's mother, and the father of St. Kentigern. He is there called "Ewen filius Erwegende nobilissima Brittonum prosopia ortus"; and again, "In gestis historiarum [histrionum?] vocatur Ewen filius regis Ulien" (Bp. Forbes, *S. Nin. and S. Kent.* 245). Jocelin gives no name. *Brev. Aberd.* has "patre Eugenio Eufureñ." This Ewen or Eugenius is evidently Owain, son of Urien Rheged, whose name is so familiar in the Welsh poetry of Taliessin and other bards (Skene, *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, pass.); he is the Ywaine, Ewen, Owen, Owain, of the Romances and Welsh Triads, in both of which he is represented as a bold warrior, with his father Uriance, and at last slain in battle by Flamddwyn, *i.e.* Theodric king of Bernicia (A.D. 580–587). Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Hist.* i. c. 1) calls him Eventus, and represents him as the honoured friend of king Arthur, as the nephew of Angusel, king of Albania, and of Lot, the ruler of Lothian, and as himself the ruler of Moray by special gift from Arthur. It is probably from this bardic and legendary source that the anonymous writer in the time of Herbert, bishop of Glasgow ventured to name Ewen as the father of his saintly patron and literary hero. (*See* Ritson, *Metr. Rom.* iii. 225 sq.; Williams, *Emin. Welsh*, 366; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 261.) [J. G.]

EWINUS, ST., or Uni, brother of St. Ia and St. Ercus, and patron saint of Uny-Lelant, in the Hayle estuary, where St. Ia landed. His feast-day was Feb. 1 (eve of the Purification), and the parish feast of Lelant is still on the Sunday nearest to Feb. 1, the tendency having been to move the feasts on to the next Sunday. Lelant (a corruption of Lanant) is the mother church to St. Ives (Ia) and Towednack, and St. Uni has chapels in several of the neighbouring parishes (see Leland, *Itin.* iii. p. 10; Oliver's *Monasticon Dioec. Exon.* p. 75, 440, 442; Whitaker's *Cathedral of Cornwall*, ii. p. 4 and 99). William of Worcester says "Sanctus Vuy (misprint for Uny), frater sancti Herygh, jacet in ecclesia parochiali Sancti Vuy prope villam Lalant super mare boriale per tria miliaria de Mont-Myghell; ejus dies agitur die primo Februarii." [C. W. B.]

EXACIONITAE. [Exocionitae.]

EXARNUS, bishop of Ossonoba, who signed the acts of the council of Merida, 666, in the eighteenth year of Rekesvinth. (Mansi, xi. 89; Loaisa, *Concil. Hisp.* ff. 523; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 219; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 207.) [M. A. W.]

EXCALCEATI, superstitious people classed as heretics by Philaster (81), followed by Augustine (68). They counted it a duty to walk barefoot in obedience to God's command to Moses (Ex. iii. 5), and in imitation of Isaiah (xx. 3). [G. S.]

EXCOMMUNICATION (*excommunicatio*) strictly construed = the judicial act excluding individuals or churches from communion, or participation in the sacrament of the Eucharist. It is thus stronger than ἀκοινωνησία, which is, in fact, its effect; and more specific than ἀφορισμὸς or ἀνάθεμα, though it is implied in both. For nobody was ever cast out of the church or placed under anathema who was admissible to communion; yet people were constantly refused communion without being anathematized or cast out of the church as well. Higher privileges might be suspended without involving the loss of the lower; but forfeiture of the lower presupposed that of the highest. The highest privilege to which the church could admit was the sacrament in which Christ was given and received. None with the best dispositions could be admitted to it who had not been baptized: nor any that had been baptized, but were living in unrepented sin. Probably there is no recorded instance of excommunication, as such, in the New Testament unless the command, τῷ τοιούτῳ μηδὲ συνεσθίειν (1 Cor. v. 11), interpreted by xi. 29, may be supposed one: and probably the first recorded of it in ecclesiastical history was supplied by Pope Victor in his dispute with the churches of Asia Minor about Easter—ἀκοινωνήτους ἅρδην πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἀνακηρύττων ἀδελφούς (Euseb. *E. H.* v. 24). This is the more curious, as the Latin word for it has really no Greek equivalent. Hence St. Athanasius, in affirming the same thing of the bishops who met at Seleucia, has to use the same phrase—'Ακοινωνήτους πεποιήκασιν 'Αστέριον, Εὐσέβιον, &c. (*de Syn.* § 12), there being no such word in use as ἀκοινωνεῖν. The Greeks had a delicacy, no doubt, in associating ecclesiastical censure so directly with a subject of so much awe. This is, however, the point of view to which our attention should be confined here; viz. exclusion from the sacrament, and its effects, so far as they are spiritual, and concern the soul; according to the teaching of the Fathers. For explanations of the term in church-law, where it is commonly taken in a much wider sense, as Albaspinaeus has shewn (Observ. Eccl. i. 1; comp. Marii Alter. *de Cens. Eccl.* lib. i. disp. ii. c. 1); and for the ritual and penal consequences at different times connected with it in either sense, see the Dictionary of Antiquities and of the Bible, s. v

Heathen, says Morinus (*Exerc.* ii. 1), had many ways of expressing fellowship or communion with each other in their various mysteries: Christians have but one. Their fellowship with each other is founded, and wholly depends, on their communion with Christ, that is, on His abiding presence within them. Thus the Eucharist is, spiritually, the bond of bonds that holds them together: hence called τὸ τέλειον in the Ancyran canons (4–6), τὸ ἀγαθόν by St. Basil (*Ep.* can. i. 4), and "pax" by St. Cyprian (*Ep.* liv. ed. Ben.). Persons with no bar between them and the Eucharist were said to be in full communion of the church—laity when they were free to receive: clergy when they were free to administer as well as receive. He that administered, and he that received communion, without let or hindrance of any kind, in his parish church, was in living communion with Christ, and, through Him, with the church militant throughout the world, and with the church triumphant in heaven. This was the realization of the true Passover—"in unâ domo comedetur"—as the Fathers say, from St. Cyprian downwards (*Ep.* lxxvi. ed. Ben.). There was no more favoured condition on earth than his. But, when either clergy or laity were refused communion by their bishop, or when their bishop was refused communion by his compeers, or metropolitan, or by a general council, this happy condition was always obscured, and for the most part impaired —*not* always impaired: for in case communion was refused on unjust grounds by any that had the power of refusing it, living communion with Christ was not held to be interrupted, though outward participation in His sacrament was for a time denied. The principle, that God has not limited His power to the sacraments, was older than the sacraments themselves; but so far as the ecclesiastical sentence was concerned, it remained in force, till it had been removed by the power inflicting it, or by a superior power. Now, what were its effects supposed to be, when it had been inflicted with justice? "Sacramentum fidelium agnoscunt fideles," says St. Augustine (*Serm.* cxxxi. § 1, ed. Ben.). And as they know what they get in it, so they know, likewise, what they lose, when they are refused it on just grounds, or absent themselves from it with deliberate purpose. It was this universal instinct, doubtless, that influenced the authors of the primitive liturgies everywhere to order the recital of the Lord's Prayer by all, before communion was given; and gave rise to the tradition mentioned by pope Gregory I. (*Ep.* lib. ix. 12) that the apostles employed no prayer in the breaking of bread but that one: the daily bread for which they asked in that prayer being, *preeminently*, "the bread from heaven," which they received then. It was intended to be the daily food of the soul, in their opinion, as what they ate and drank was of the body. Thus St. Cyprian: "Panis vitae Christus est . . . et quo modo dicimus *Pater noster*, quia intelligentium et credentium Pater est, sic et panem *nostrum* vocamus, quia Christus eorum, qui corpus Ejus contingunt, panis est. Hunc autem panem dari nobis *quotidiè* postulamus, ne qui in Christo sumus, et Eucharistiam quotidiè ad cibum salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abstenti et non communicantes a celesti pane prohibemur, a Christi corpore separemur: Ipso praedicante et monente: 'Ego sum panis vitae, Qui de coelo descendi. Si quis ederit de Meo pane, vivet in aeternum. Panis autem, quem Ego dedero, caro mea est pro seculi vitâ'... Quandò ergò dicit in aeternum vivere, si quis ederit de Ejus pane, ut manifestum est eos vivere, qui corpus Ejus attingunt, et Eucharistiam jure communicationis accipiunt: ita contrà timendum est et orandum, ne dum quis abstentus separatur a Christi corpore, procul remaneat a salute: comminante Ipso et dicente: 'Nisi ederitis carnem Filii Hominis, et biberitis Ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis' . . . Et ideò Panem nostrum, id est, Christum dari nobis quotidiè petimus, ut qui in Christo manemus et vivimus, a sanctificatione Ejus et corpore non recedamus" (*de Orat. Dom. ad Verba*). Such was the general view taken of this petition in primitive times, and irrespectively of the explanations given to the word ἐπιούσιος. This, according to St. Cyril of Jerusalem = ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς καταστασόμενος (*Catech.* xxiii. 15). It was rendered by the Latins in general "quotidianus," whence St. Isidore, "panis quotidianus, qui vel animae, vel carni tribuitur, hìc exposcitur" . . . (*Eccl. Off.* i. 15): and St. Augustine, "non miremur, si nominato pane, et cetera necessaria intelligantur" (*Serm.* lviii. § 5, ed. Ben.); but then he adds: "Ergò, *panem nostrum*, &c. quid est? Sic vivamus, ut ab altari tuo non separemur." And in another sermon (lix. § 6), he asks, in reference to the next petition: "Quid est quod oramus, nisi ne malum aliquid admittamus, unde a tali pane separemur." . . . Thus excluding a man from the Eucharist was thought in those times equivalent to depriving him of the daily bread of his soul: and this St. Cyprian tells Pope Cornelius should never be lightly done, shewing from two subjoined cases what his own practice was. The first was that of the lapsed. "Statueramus jampridem, frater carissime, participato invicem nobiscum consilio, ut qui in persecutionis infestatione supplantati ab adversario, et lapsi fuissent . . . agerent diu penitentiam plenam: et si periculum infirmitatis urgeret, pacem sub ictu mortis acciperent." . . . What he meant by "pacem" is shewn in the next case: viz. of those who had stood firm. "At verbi non infirmis, sed fortibus *pax* necessaria est: nec morientibus, sed viventibus, *communicatio* a nobis danda est: ut quos excitamus, et hortamur ad praelium, non inermes et nudos relinquamus: sed *protectione sanguinis et corporis Christi* muniamus. Et cùm ad hoc fiat Eucharistia, ut possit accipientibus esse tutela, quos tutos esse contra adversarium volumus, *munimento Dominicae saturitatis* armemus. Nam quomodò docemus aut provocamus eos in confessione nominis sanguinem suum fundere, si iis militaturis Christi sanguinem denegamus? Aut quomodò ad martyrii poculum idoneos facimus, si non eos priùs ad bibendum in ecclesiâ poculum Domini jure communicationis admittimus?" . . . He allows, indeed, that his tenderness might be abused: *e. g.* "Si, quod Dominus avertat a fratribus nostris, aliquis lapsorum fefellerit, ut pacem subdolè petat, et impendentis praelii tempore communicationem non praeliaturus accipiat, se ipsum fallit et decipit, qui aliud corde occultat, et aliud voce pronuntiat. Nos, in quantum nos et videre et judicare conceditur, faciem singulorum videmus: cor scrutari et mentem

perspicere non possumus." . . . (*Ep.* liv. ed. Ben.). It was in this spirit that the 2nd canon of the fifth council of Orleans, A.D. 549, was conceived: "Ut nullus sacerdotum quemquam rectae fidei hominem pro parvis et levibus causis a communione suspendat: praeter eas culpas pro quibus antiqui Patres ab ecclesiâ arceri jusserunt committentes" (*ap. Cabass. Notit. Eccl.* p. 261, with the note). And by the 5th Nicene canon councils were directed to be held in every province twice a year, expressly to prevent bishops abusing their powers (*Ib.* p. 111). Further, in these passages we have the "ancient and canonical law of the church, as it is called in the 13th Nicene canon, on communicating all persons *in extremis* (*Ib.* p. 115), paraphrased and it is acted upon everywhere to this day: notwithstanding that another law of equal antiquity, and founded on the same principle, has been so widely departed from, that its contradictory may seem to have become the rule. "All the faithful," says the 7th apostolic canon (v. Cotel. *ad l.*), "who enter God's holy church and hear the sacred scriptures read, yet wait not for the communion office, nor for holy communion, are to be cast out (ἀφορίζεσθαι), as causing disorder in church." Theodore, Amalarius, and Zonaras all acknowledge the drift of this canon, though it had become a dead letter in their day, and make no attempt at reconciling it with non-communicating attendance. The practice of communicating infants, also founded on the same principle, has been laid aside with more reason. But there can be no doubt that, in the mind of the Fathers, all adults who refrain from communicating when they have the opportunity, and nothing in conscience to excuse their act, commit a sin worthy of excommunication, and incur an actual loss of grace in proportion, each time they thus stay away. Nor was every sin held to justify non-communicating. Daily sins arising from infirmity which we cannot help, were held to be cancelled by the daily saying of the Lord's Prayer—"quotidiana nostra mundatio," as St. Augustine therefore calls it (*de Nupt. et Conc.* i. 33; comp. *de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 27; *de Pecc. Mer. et Rem.* iii. 13: and *Op. imp. c. Jul.* ii. 112), if said from the heart. Sins of graver cast, as being due to deliberate purpose, required sterner discipline: not indeed because they could be resisted even by the baptized without grace: but because grace was not forced upon the baptized against their will, and even when obtained by their prayers, it left their will free. "Quid tam in libero arbitrio constitutum," asks St. Augustine, "quàm quod lex dicit, non adorandum idolum, non moechandum, non homicidium perpetrandum? Ista autem sunt, atque hujusmodi crimina, quae si quisquam commiserit, a corporis Christi communione removetur." This context shews he is speaking of the baptized alone: those for whom the Lord's Prayer was made in the sense explained by St. Cyprian. "Ait enim: 'Dicimus, *sanctificetur nomen Tuum*, non quòd optemus Deo ut sanctificetur orationibus nostris, sed quòd petamus ab Eo ut nomen Ejus sanctificetur in nobis. Ceterùm a quo Deus sanctificatur, Qui Ipse sanctificat? Sed quia Ipse dixit, Sancti estote, quoniam et Ego sanctus sum: id petimus et rogamus, ut qui in baptismo sanctificati sumus, in eo quod esse coepimus perseveremus.' . . . Numquid iste sanctus tam memorabilis ecclesiarum in verbo veritatis instructor, liberum arbitrium negat esse in hominibus, quia Deo totum tribuit quòd rectè vivimus? Numquid legem Dei culpat, quia non ex ipsâ justificari hominem significat: quandoquidem quod illa jubet, a Domino Deo precibus impetrandum esse declarat?" . . . (*C. Ep. Pelag.* iv. 9). The baptized had only to ask for grace to be kept from sin. They were, therefore, considered to be doubly responsible before God, whenever they sinned by choice; and to be barred from the Eucharist by every such sin till it had been forgiven. How, then, was forgiveness of such sins to be had? By "the ministry of that reconciliation," as the apostle calls it (2 Cor. v. 18–19), wherewith "God had reconciled the world to Himself in Christ," committed by Christ to His church. As Theodoret has paraphrased his meaning: *Ἐδωρήσατο τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὴν ἄφεσιν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας τῆς εἰρήνης ἐχειροτόνησεν.* Or as St. Cyril has paraphrased our Lord's (John xx. 21–3): "Summing up the institution of the apostleship in a few words, He tells them, that He sends them as the Father had sent Him: that they might thus feel it to be their duty to call sinners to repentance, and heal those that were diseased in mind or body, and ever seek in their ministry, not their own will, but the will of Him who sent them, and do their utmost to keep the world in His teaching." . . .

It was in the spirit of this injunction that a system of canonical discipline was gradually framed for those who had fallen into such sins as should exclude them from the Eucharist: for those to whom there could be no doubt those words of the apostle would apply: "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." Such sacrilege the church owed it to herself, as well as to her members, to prevent. "Quod non statim Domini corpus inquinatis manibus accipiat, aut ore polluto Domini sanguinem bibat, sacerdotibus sacrilegus irascitur," says St. Cyprian of the lapsed of his day. And again, more fully: "Quandò occurrat Scriptura Divina, et clamet et dicat: 'Omnis mundus manducabit carnem: et anima quaecunque manducaverit ex carne sacrificii salutaris, quod est Domini, et immunditia ipsius super ipsum est, peribit anima illa de populo suo' (Lev. vii. 19, 20). Apostolus item testetur et dicat: 'Non potestis calicem Domini bibere, et calicem demoniorum: non potestis mensae Domini communicare, et mensae demoniorum' (1 Cor. x. 21). Idem contumacibus et pervicacibus comminatur et denuntiat, dicens: 'Quicunque ederit panem aut biberit calicem Domini indignè, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini' (*Ib.* xi. 27): spretis his omnibus et contemptis, ante expiata delicta, ante exomologesim factam criminis, ante purgatam conscientiam sacrificio et manu sacerdotis, ante offensam placatam indignantis Domini et minantis, vis infertur corpori Ejus et sanguini: et plus modò in Dominum manibus atque ore delinquunt, quàm cùm Dominum negaverunt" . . . (*De Laps.* circa med.). Public opinion sided unanimously with the church in putting a bar between all such offenders and the church's holiest rite: and was content that the church should decide what that bar should be. Public opinion went with the priest in all ages, though

discipline might vary from age to age, when turning to the people with the sacrament ready for distribution in his hands, he proclaimed "Sancta, sanctis," meaning that such as were leading unholy lives had no right to be there, but came thither at their peril. For his words implied both a warning on the part of God, and an inhibition on the part of the church. A warning, in the words of St. Augustine: "Quàm multi de altari accipiunt, et moriuntur: et accipiendo moriuntur. Unde dicit Apostolus: 'Judicium sibi manducat et bibit.' Non enim buccella Dominica venenum fuit Judae. Et tamen accepit: et cùm accepit, in eum inimicus intravit. Non quia malum accepit, sed quia bonum malè malus accepit. Videte ergò, fratres, Panem coelestem spiritalitèr manducate, innocentiam ad altare apportate" (*In Joan. Tract.* xxvi. § 11). An inhibition, in the words of St. Ambrose: "Apostolus docet ut separemus nos ab omni fratre inquietè agente. Percutiamus eum gladio spirituali, qui est Verbum Dei. Non fratris, non propinqui accipiamus personam: sed omnem immundum a Christi secernamus altaribus, ut emendet et corrigat lapsus suos, quò ad sacramenta Christi redire mereatur" (*De El. et Jejun.* § 82). As he told the emperor Theodosius to his face: "I dare not offer the sacrifice, should you elect to be present: for how can what is unlawful for the slayer of one innocent person be conceded to the slayer of many?" . . . (*Ep.* 51, ed. Ben.). "Or how will you extend hands reeking with blood unjustly spilt to receive the Lord's body: or approach the mouth, that illegally sanctioned the slaughter of so many persons in wrath, to His precious blood? Withdraw, then: and far from endeavouring to aggravate one crime by another, accept the sentence which God, the Master of all things, confirms: its whole design being to promote your cure' . . . (Theodor. *E. H.* v. 18). Even when soldiers were sent by Valentinian, in the Arian interest, to occupy his church, his orders were: "ut abstinerentur a communionis consortio" (*Ep.* i. § 20). For, as he says elsewhere: "Sequestrari oportet gravitèr lapsum, ne modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpat. . . . Et benè dicit 'expurgandum,' non projiciendum: quod enim expurgatur, non totum judicatur inutile. Ideò enim purgatur, ut utili ab inutili separetur. Quod autem projicitur, nihil in se utile habere creditur" . . . (*De Poen.* i. 15). And there was yet a further limitation which was always implied: viz. that nobody should be so debarred for offences that were not either proved or owned. The acts of Theodosius, and of the soldiers of Valentinian, were public acts that proved themselves. Bishops might use too much precipitation in cases that were less obvious. "Et ita fit," as Origen says (in Lev. xiv. 3), "ut interdum ille qui foras mittitur, intus sit: et ille foris, qui intus retineri videtur." . . . Accordingly St. Augustine was most explicit on this point. "Nos a communione prohibere quenquam non possumus," he says (*Serm.* cccli. § 10), quamvis haec prohibitio nondum sit mortalis, sed medicinalis, *nisi aut sponte confessum*, aut *in aliquo*, sive saeculari sive ecclesiastico, *judicio nominatum* atque *convictum*. Quis enim sibi utrumque audeat assumere, ut cuiquam ipse sit et accusator et judex." One effect of this caution on the part of the church would of course be, that three parts of the crimes committed would escape punishment, if not observation, unless voluntarily confessed: and thus every person would be left judge, in most cases, of his own fitness to communicate — in most cases: in all cases, that is, where the sin committed was not one of those proscribed in the canons, and for which consequently no canonical penance was incurred. Offenders of this sort naturally formed a limited class: and all belonging to it understood themselves to be debarred, *ipso facto*, not merely from communicating, but from worshipping with the faithful in any way, till they had performed their penance to the satisfaction of their bishop, which, of course, could not be done without making known their sin, and during the whole period under consideration this was a public act, and there was a set time for performing it. As St. Eligius, bishop of Noyon (A.D. 640) has it in the first of his homilies on Maundy Thursday: "Ut igitur audivit vestra dilectio, haec omnis pedum lotio nostrorum peccatorum est purgatio: unde non incongruè hâc ipsâ die, sicut ecclesiae tenet consuetudo, penitentium fit reconciliatio. Ut enim ante nos dictum est a Patribus, cum tanta est plaga peccati atque impetus morbi, ut medicamenta corporis et sanguinis Domini differenda sint, auctoritate antistitis debet se quisque ab altario removere ad agendam penitentiam, et eâdem auctoritate reconciliari. Lectum quippe modò est: 'Qui manducat et bibit indignè,' &c. Hoc enim est indignè illud accipere qui accipiat eo tempore, quo debet penitentiam agere. Unde mihi ad vos, O fratres, nunc habendus est sermo, quos mater sancta praesens ecclesia nostro officio hodiè reconciliat Deo. . . . In reconciliatione autem vestrâ, nolite nos episcopos attendere ut auctores, sed ut ministros: nam quis sit auctor manifestat idem egregius gentium doctor . . . 'Omnia autem ex Deo, Qui reconciliavit nos sibi per Christum.' Ecce per Quem fit reconciliatio: scilicet per Christum. . . ." (ap. Migne, *Patrol.* lxxxvii. 610.) However, even such offenders might at times honestly doubt whether they had actually sinned to the extent contemplated in the canons: as, for instance, where their sin had been committed under compulsion or without full purpose, or had gone no further than thought or word, or been but half executed. And for the greater number of sins by far, there would be no external standard of any sort to gauge their precise gravity. In all such cases the church was content to insist on the general duties of self-examination and repentance, leaving, or rather committing, the execution of both to the individual conscience, where consciences were willing and strong enough to act for themselves, but always giving everybody the option of having recourse to her ministers for the exercise of those powers with which they had been entrusted by Christ. For sometimes it would happen that people were more severe with themselves in particular cases than was required, or were possessed by a morbid feeling of their general unworthiness and needed to be reassured; of such St. Ambrose says, "Severiores in se judices sunt qui poenam praescribunt sibi, declinant remedium" (*De Poen.* ii. 9). This remark he applies in another place to himself: "Debeo Illum semper accipere, ut semper mihi peccata dimittantur. Qui semper pecco, semper debeo habere medicinam" (*De Sacr.*

iv. 6). Besides, the invitation was to all, as Theodoret says: "He calls the Lord's sacrament the Lord's Supper, as being partaken by all equally, whether rich or poor, slaves or masters, rulers or subjects . . . open to all alike is the Lord's table" . . . (In 1 Cor. xi. 20); and St. Chrysostom: "The Lord's Supper," that is, "the Master's, ought to be common to all. For what belongs to the master is not the property of one servant more than another, but is shared by all alike (*Ib.* v. 21). Again, why should he remind us of that time, of that evening, when Christ was betrayed? Was it not that extra compunction might be excited in us from such remembrance? For let a person be a very stone, yet he could not think of Him on that night, first sorrowful with His disciples, then betrayed, bound, led away, condemned, and tormented to the extent He was, without feeling himself melt inwardly like wax, and becoming dead to the things of this world (*Ib.* v. 23). If, then, you would approach for the Eucharist, see that you do nothing derogatory to the same, whether by affronting your brother, turning away from the hungry, drinking to excess, or exhibiting a want of respect to the church. You come to return thanks for all the mercies you have received; behave then accordingly, and be at one with your neighbour . . . (*Ib.* v. 24). Consider how the apostles employed themselves, whenever they partook of that holy feast; what time they devoted to prayer and psalm-singing; how they kept holy vigil . . . ; and do you come fasting to communion merely that you may appear in some sort fit to receive; but when you have received, instead of continuing your moderation, let it all go. Whereas, it is not of equal moment to be sober after and before, for you should be sober in both; but, of the two, most after having received the Bridegroom. You should be sober before receiving, in order to become worthy to receive; and after, in order not to appear unworthy of what you have received. What then? Should you fast after you have received? I don't say that. I would not force; I would not enjoin it on you, though good it would be. I merely exhort you not to give way to excess . . ." (*Ib.* v. 27). But "let a man prove himself." As he says in his 2nd Epistle: "Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove yourselves" (2 Cor. xiii. 5): not as we do now; influenced rather by the time of year, than by zeal of heart. For our thought is not to prepare ourselves so that we may come filled with compunction and purged from all our sins, but so that we may come on great festivals, and when everybody else comes. Such, however, was not the teaching of the apostle, whose one season for coming to communion was a pure conscience. For a festival, according to His teaching, was a manifestation of good works, uprightness of mind, and irreproachable conduct; possessed of these, you will be able to keep festival at all times, and to come to communion at all times too. It is for this reason he says: "Let a man prove himself, and so let him come," in other words, he bids each man not to have recourse to another, but to prove himself, directing the tribunal to be without publicity and the proof without witnesses" . . . (*Ib.* v. 28). As Theodoret has it: "Be your own judge, and take accurate account of all the acts of your life; examine your conscience, and so receive the gift" (*Ib.*). One possible result of this teaching, of course, would be that the bad might frequently communicate side by side with the good. So they might, replied the Fathers, but it would be no more than Judas had done at the outset. *Οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἕνδεκα ἀποστόλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ προδότῃ, τοῦ τιμίου μετέδωκε σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος*, as Theodoret says of our Lord on that occasion (*Ib.* v. 23–25), and St. Augustine was at no loss to discriminate between what each got by communicating. "Numquid Judas," he asks, "Magistri venditor et traditor impius, quamvis primum ipsum manibus ejus confectum sacramentum carnis et sanguinis Ejus cum ceteris discipulis, sicut apertius Lucas evangelista declarat, manducaret et biberet, mansit in Christo aut Christus in eo? Tam multi denique qui vel corde ficto carnem illam manducant et sanguinem bibunt, vel cùm manducaverint et biberint, apostatae fiunt, numquid manent in Christo aut Christus in iis?" . . . (*Serm.* lxxi. § 17). For the Fathers, as they recognised two distinct parts in this sacrament, the outward and the inward, and made the Holy Ghost exclusively both the agent and dispenser of the inward, had no difficulty whatever in reconciling a real objective presence, as it is called, after His descent on the elements, with the reception of the outward part alone by every receiver, whose heart He found closed to the inward, that is, to Christ (art. EUCHARIST, near the end). Hence they denounced coming to communion for false purposes or in unrepented sin, as trifling with God in its worst form. "Not only," says Theodoret, "will you get no salvation from it by receiving unlawfully, but you will have penalties to pay for coming to it as a drunkard" (*ib.* v. 29); and again, "if we took account of our actions and delivered a just verdict against ourselves, we should not receive chastisement from God; still even for the greatest offences He corrects us with mercy, to the end that we may not be given over to the destruction of the wicked" (*ib.* v. 31). St. Ambrose adopts a sterner tone: "It is not sufficient for anybody to come who has been bidden, unless he has a wedding garment on, or faith combined with love. He, therefore, who brings not peace and charity with him to Christ's altar will be bound hand and foot, and thrust into outer darkness" (*in Luc.* vii. § 204). In the same spirit he says in another place (*De Poen.* i. 15): "Benè dicitur tradi Satanae, qui separatur a Christi corpore;" and in another: "Et ideò nemo in peccato positus arrogare sibi debet auctoritatem aut usurpationem sacramentorum" . . . (*ib.* ii. 11), in other words, if a priest, let him not administer; if a layman, let him not receive.

There were thus, according to the Fathers, three descriptions of excommunicate persons in the sacramental, or strict, sense of the word:—1. Persons excluded from the Eucharist by their bishop, or his superiors. 2. Persons excommunicating themselves virtually, by staying away when they were free to communicate. 3. Persons receiving in sin, whose mouths therefore received the sacrament, and yet the "res sacramenti" was never conveyed to their souls. Of these, the first might, as has been said, be debarred from the sacrament ever so long, without losing Christ, while the last could never, by

receiving the sacrament ever so often, attain to Christ. Of the first, on the other hand, all who were justly debarred and of the second all who wilfully debarred themselves from it, became spiritually diseased; and unless they repented in time, spiritually dead at last. At first it was merely that their spiritual growth was arrested: but, in process of time, decay set in; the living bond that held them to Christ was detached fibre by fibre, till at length the branch and the vine parted company. "Unum de duobus palmiti congruit," as St. Augustine says: "aut vitis, aut ignis. Si in vite non est, in igne erit. Ut ergo in igne non sit, in vite sit." (*In Johan.* c. xv.; *Tract.* 81, § 3.)

In this the Fathers argued on principles of analogy from nature to grace, or from one channel of grace to another, as on kindred points. For if by a real participation of Adam's nature, we were truly liable to death: we needed a real participation of His nature, who is the second Adam, to be able truly to live again. The supernatural life sown in us at our baptism, moreover, needed supernatural alimentation to expand and grow: and must grow or wane, therefore, proportionably to the constant and copious, or the scant and stint supply that it received. Food likewise, they said, was only profitable to the body, when it was assimilated and taken up by the system: the purest and best food was powerless to impart vigour, and might be death, to a diseased frame. Water was the sacramental element under which new life was conveyed to man: bread and wine the sacramental elements under which its choicest aliment was assured to it: the Holy Ghost, finally, the agent and dispenser of both. In His hands, whatever might be the acts of His fallible ministers, neither could ever be stolen on false pretences: nor any defrauded of either, whose dispositions entitled them to their full benefit. Such were the principles by which the Fathers were guided in dispensing or withholding the Eucharist: and as long as principle and practice went hand in hand, one justified and explained the other. But such teaching was difficult to uphold, except in a non-natural sense, of which the hollowness was transparent, when practice declined: as the following instances may serve to show. It was about the end of the 6th century that St. Isidore wrote: Dicunt aliqui, nisi aliquo intercedente peccato, Eucharistiam quotidiè accipiendam: hunc enim panem dari quotidiè nobis, jubente Domino, postulamus dicentes· 'panem nostrum,' &c. Quod quidem benè dicunt si hoc cum religione et devotione et humilitate suscipiunt: nec, confidendo de justitiâ praesumptione id faciant. Ceterùm, si talia sunt peccata, quae quasi mortuum ab altari removeant, prius agenda penitentia est, ac sic deinde hoc salutiferum medicamentum tunc suscipiendum, 'Qui enim manducaverit indignè," etc. Hoc est enim indignè accipere, si eo tempore quis accipiat, quo debet agere penitentiam" . . . Church penances had their share in keeping people from communion, and making communions less frequent. Auricular confession produced similar effects later in the West. St. Isidore shews his sense of this, by repeating and supplementing St. Augustine (*Ep.* liv. § 4), in what follows: "Ceterùm si non sunt tanta peccata, ut excommunicandus quisque judicetur, non se debet a medicinâ Dominici corporis separare, ne, dum fortè diu abstinendus prohibetur, a Christi corpore separetur; manifestum est enim eos vivere, qui corpus Ejus attingunt. Unde etiam timendum est, ne, dum diu quisque separatur a Christi corpore, alienus remaneat a salute, Ipso dicente, 'Nisi comederitis carnem Filii hominis,' etc. Qui enim jam peccare quievit, communicare non desinat." . . . (*De Eccl. Off.* i. 18). A later writer of the same school (append. ad op. St. Isid. ed. Migne, *de Eccl. Dogm.* c. 53), says: "Quotidiè Eucharistiae communionem percipere *nec laudo*, nec reprehendo. Omnibus tamen Dominicis diebus communicandum suadeo et hortor: si tamen mens sine affectu peccandi sit . . . Sed hoc de illo dico, quem capitalia et mortalia peccata non gravant. Nam quem mortalia crimine post baptismum commissa premunt, hortor prius publicâ penitentiâ satisfacere: et ita *sacerdotis judicio* reconciliatum, communioni sociari: *si vult non ad judicium et condemnationem sui* Eucharistiam percipere" . . . as though the judgment of any priest could certify to the state of the heart. St. Eligius is much more primitive both in owning and meeting the difficulty. Starting from the well-known passage of St. Augustine, which St. Isidore dovetails, but which he quotes in full, he comments on it as follows: "Videte ergò, fratres, quia si separemini a corpore Domini, qui fideles estis, metuendum est ne fame moriamini. Si autem recipitis indignè, metuendum est ne judicium manducetis et bibatis—*angustiae vobis undique.* Veritas dicit: si malè vivitis, in aeternum moriemini: at non potestis benè vivere, nisi Ille adjuverit, nisi Ille dederit. Ideò orate, et manducate; et implebitur os vestrum, laude Dei et exsultatione, et dicetis Illi de magnis angustiis liberati: 'Liberasti gressus meos subtus me, et non infirmata vestigia mea'" . . . Yet even he relapses into the spirit of the age in what follows, unless this was added by a later hand (*Hom.* viii. ad fin.). In one of the chapters attributed to St. Theodore we read: "Graeci omni Dominicâ die communicant, sive clerici sive laici: et qui tribus Dominicis non communicaverint, excommunicentur. Romani similitèr communicant qui volunt: qui autem noluerint, non excommunicentur" . . . (*Capit. collect. ex Frag.* in Migne, Patrol. xcix. 955). And Amalarius, presbyter of Metz, as late as the 9th century, writes to his friend Guntrad: "It is ordered in the canons that all who come to church should communicate; or failing to do so, should state their reason: which being found satisfactory should excuse them, otherwise they should be excommunicated. Now I learn that you have cast your anchor at sea, and not in port. For you have fixed it in Gennadius, bishop of Marseilles. Let me beg of you to fix it in the safer harbour of St. Augustine, as is confessed by all the churches. Gennadius counselled your communicating on Sundays chiefly, because, perhaps, it was not his custom to celebrate the Eucharist every day. . . . *Juxta Augustinum*, quando videbis pium affectum esse in te, sume corpus Domini, ut tibi praestet vitam sempiternam. Noli differre ad diem Dominicum, quia nescis si contingas illum." (*Ep.* vi. in Migne, Patrol. c. v. 1339.) Balsamon, on the other hand, in the 12th century, prefers quibbling at any length, to giving the 7th Apostolic canon the only natural meaning its words will bear. But Balsa-

mon lived in an age when excommunication had been degraded almost to the level of impounding cattle: and when people were refused the Eucharist for personal disputes about the goods of this world, oftener than for anything else: or for a thousand things, at any rate, besides sin. The president of the 4th Lateran council takes credit for the "salutary statute" as he terms it, which he there promulgated, and ordered to be published in all churches, lest any should excuse themselves through ignorance from conforming to it; his behest being, that all the faithful of either sex should make their Easter communion at least in every year: still even so, they must all have previously confessed in private to their priest: who might, at his discretion, bid them abstain from communicating even then: and nobody could pronounce on their fitness, but one licensed by him (can. 21). The broadest way, and the widest gate, as the other canons testify, for gaining or regaining admission to the highest privileges of the church militant then was to take prominent part in a holy war.

(Comp. Bingham, *Ant.* lib. xv. c. 4, 8, and 9; xvi. c. 2, § 7, et seq.; Albasp. *Observ.* lib. i.; Morin, *Exercit.* lib. ii.; alter. *De Cens. Eccl.* lib. i. and ii.; Moroni, *Diz. Stor. Eccl.* vol. lxii. 198–231; art. "Scomunica," Fessler, Inst. *Patrol.* vol. i. 611; and ii. 249, 430, 679, 826, and 1000.)
[E. S. Ff.]

EXERESIUS, bishop of Gerasa, in Arabia, one of the Acacian party at the synod of Seleucia, A.D. 359, and at the council of Constantinople, 360. (Epiphan. *Haeres.* lxxiii. 20; Mansi, iii. 324; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 861.)
[E. V.]

EXHILARATUS (1), 'episcopus Metaurensis,' according to Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Italia*, iii. 169), bishop of Urbino, signing the second letter of pope Agatho, sent in 680 after a synod in Rome to the third council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

EXHILARATUS (2), a Sicilian bishop, concerning whom pope Gregory the Great writes to Fantinus, the defensor at Panormus in 603. The proceedings of Exhilaratus had been frequently reported to Gregory; bishop Leo, who had been judge in his cause, had twice lightened his punishment; Gregory had summoned him to Rome, and dealt severely with him. On sending him back to his church Gregory directs Fantinus to keep an eye upon him, and admonish him to behave with charity towards his clergy while correcting their faults; the clergy on their part were to be warned against insolent and unsubmissive behaviour towards their bishop. Exhilaratus had evidently been a tyrannical disciplinarian. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. xiv. ind. vii. ep. 4. Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 1306.) [C. H.]

EXHILARATUS (3), duke of Naples, which in his time was almost the only place in Italy continuously under the power of the Byzantine emperors. In A.D. 726 or 727, during the time when Italy generally was in a state of revolt against the emperor Leo, on account of his decrees against image worship, Exhilaratus, with his son Hadrian, made an attack on Campania, and tried to persuade the inhabitants to join him in an attempt upon the pope Gregory II.'s life. A body of Romans came out against him and took him and killed him with his son. (*Vita Gregorii II.* in *Liber Pontificalis*, Migne, cxxviii. 981.) [A. H. D. A.]

EXHILARATUS (4), an official whom Gregory the Great in 594 was going to employ in the affair of Maximus the intruding bishop of Salona (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. iv. ind. xii. ep. 47). He appears to be the person whom in another letter (lib. vii. ind. xv. ep. 32) Gregory, 597, terms a "secundicerius" (vid. Du Cange, *Glossar.* sub voc.), through whom the presbyter Anastasius sends Gregory his benediction (Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 772, 890 c). [C. H.]

EXITIOSUS, a secretary at the conference at Carthage, A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. de Don.* Oberthür, pp. 344, 466.) [H. W. P.]

EXITZIOSUS, bishop of Veri, in the province of proconsular Africa. One of the catholic bishops summoned to a conference at Carthage with the Arians by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484, and subsequently banished to Corsica. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 351; Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 55, Patrol. Lat. lviii.) [L. D.]

EXOCHIUS. [EXOTIUS.]

EXOCIONITAE (Ἐξωκιονῖται, Ἐξακιονῖται in Theod. *Haer. Fab.* iv. 3), an Arian sect, so called from the district of Constantinople where they had churches outside (ἔξω) the pillar (κίων) of Constantine, and hence called Ἐξωκιόνιον or Ἐξακιόνιον (Codinus, *de Signis Constantin.* p. 46, ed. Bonn; Du Cange, *Constantinop. Christ.* lib. ii. p. 133; Suicer, *Thesaur.* s. v. Ἐξωκιονῖται). They seem to have been Eunomians. A.D. 379 Theodosius expelled them from the churches which they had hitherto occupied, and bestowed them upon the Catholics (Socrates, *H. E.* v. 20; *Chron. Pasch.* s. a.). In 468 the emperor Leo I. treated them with still greater severity. He not only forbade their having churches, but also interdicted them from meeting in any other places (*Chron. Pasch.* s. a.; cf. *Cod. Just.* I. v. 20). Justinian, however, made an exception in their favour when he suppressed the assemblies of all other heretics (Cedrenus, *Hist. Compend.* p. 645 ed. Bonn). Alaric, the son and successor of Theodoric, is called an Exocionite as being an Arian (*Chr. Pasch.* s. a. 485). [T. W. D.]

EXOTIUS (EXOCHIUS, ESOTIUS), thirteenth bishop of Limoges, following Ruricius II. and succeeded by St. Ferreolus, or, according to some, tenth. He is only known as the subject of a most laudatory epitaph by Venantius Fortunatus, from which we learn that he sat fifteen years. (Venant. Fort. *Miscell.* iv. 6; Migne, Patrol. Lat. lxxxviii. 157; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 503.) [S. A. B.]

EXPECTATUS, ninth bishop of Fréjus, succeeding Desiderius, and followed by Asterius, or, according to a conjecture of Le Cointe, by Epiphanius. (Cf. Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vi. 24.) At the fifth council of Orleans (A.D. 549) he was represented by this Epiphanius, a priest, and was present in person at the fifth of Arles (A.D. 554) and the second of Paris (circ. A.D. 555). Nothing further is known of him. (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 582, n. xii. tom. ii. p. 233; Mansi, ix. 137, 703, 740; *Gall. Christ.* i. 424.)
[S. A. B.]

EXPEDITUS, April 19, martyr at Melitene in Armenia, with Gaius, Aristonicus, Rufus, and Hermogenes, of whom nothing further is known, though their names appear in all the best Martyrologies (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adon., Usuard., *Rom. Mart.*). [G. T. S.]

EXPLECIUS (Aepletius, Aeplitius, Eplecius, Epletus, and Ephetius), fourteenth bishop of Metz, succeeding Auctor and followed by Urbicius. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (xiii. 686) quote the *Codex Belnensis* to the effect that he sat for sixteen years, and died in the pontificate of Siricius and the sixth year of the reign of Gratian and Valentinian (A.D. 381). He is said to have died on July 30, and in the later martyrologies he appears among the saints. He was buried in the church of St. Clement, the first bishop of the diocese. [S. A. B.]

EXPLICIUS, addressed by Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epp.* ii. 7), who prays him to end a dispute between Alethius and Paulus. [R. T. S.]

EXPULION, Spanish prince. [Erpulion.]

EXSUPERIUS. [Exuperius.]

EXUCONTII, Ἐξουκόντιοι, a designation first applied to the Arians generally (*Ep. Alex.* ap. Theod. *H. E.* i. 3, p. 740 in Pat. Gr. lxxxii. 901 A), and afterwards especially to the Acacians (Socrates, *H. E.* ii. 45; Athanas. *Treatises ag. Arian.* Oxf. trans. 127) and the followers of Aetius (Sozomen, *H. E.* iv. 29; Aetius, Vol. I. 51 A). [T. W. D.]

EXUPERANTIUS (1), reputed second bishop of Tudertum (Todi), cir. A.D. 139. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, v. 242.) [C. H.]

EXUPERANTIUS (2), one of twelve clergy of Rome martyred under Valerian and commemorated on Aug. 1. (Baron. *Annal.* ann. 260. iii.) [C. H.]

EXUPERANTIUS (3), Dec. 30, upon which day he was buried, though he suffered on Dec. 7, a deacon and martyr at Spoletum, with Sabinus his bishop, and another deacon, one Marcellus, in the Diocletian persecution. They were arrested by Venustianus, president of Etruria, who offered the bishop an image of Jupiter, desiring him to adore it. He took it and dashed it to pieces, whereupon his hands were cut off, and tortures were applied to the deacons, under which they expired. The bishop was relegated to prison, where he healed a blind boy, one Priscianus, a nephew of a Christian widow named Serena, who waited on the bishop. By this miracle a number of persons were converted, including the president himself and his family. Soon after, the bishop, the president, his wife and two sons, were beheaded by order of the emperor himself, the bishop at Spoletum, the others at Asisium (Assisi). The bodies of the deacons were thrown into a river, but rescued by a fisherman, who was also a presbyter. The bishop's body was buried near Spoletum, by Serena, who had already embalmed his hands. Baronius and Baluze both consider the Acts of these martyrs to be genuine and trustworthy. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.; Baluze, *Miscell.* ii. 47, 465; Tillemont, *Mém.* v. 603, 604.) [G. T. S.]

EXUPERANTIUS (4), ST., said to have been 20th bishop of Ravenna, cir. A.D. 398–418, placed by Agnellus between Neo and Joannes Angeloptes. He was buried in the church of St. Agnes at Ravenna, built during his episcopate. [Gemellus, subdeacon.] (Agnellus, *Liber Pontif. Ravenn.* in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Scr.* ii. 62, Pat. L. cvi. 525; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 351; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, ii. 28, 183.) [C. H.]

EXUPERANTIUS (5), bishop of Derthona, present at the council of Aquileia, A.D. 381 (Mansi, iii. 600). He was thirteenth bishop, and succeeded Joannes. His first known successor was Martinianus II. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* iv. 627; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiii. 692.) [C. H.]

EXUPERANTIUS (6), a Roman soldier, to whom Jerome wrote (*Ep.* 145), exhorting him to give up his calling and to come with his brother Quintilian and follow the more perfect life of monachism at Bethlehem. Palladius says that Exuperantius came to Bethlehem, but was, after a time, driven away by the violence and envy of Jerome. (Palladius, *Hist. Lausiac.* c. 80.) [W. H. F.]

EXUPERANTIUS (7). One of the nineteen bishops who assisted at the first council of Toledo A.D. 400, against the Priscillianists. He was for some time considered as bishop of Celenis (a municipium in the Conventus Juridicus of Lugo, in the province of Gallicia), on the faith of the opening paragraph of the council, which is found in a corrupt state in the old editions of Surius and Loaysa. After a careful examination of MSS., however, and supported by a passage from Idatius, Florez has succeeded in re-establishing the correct order and in shewing that Ortigius (q. v.) was at the time bishop of Celenis, and not Exuperantius. The see of Exuperantius, therefore, remains unknown, as except in the case of Celenis, for which there was a special reason [Ortigius], the names of the sees are not given in the MSS. In the most recent edition of the council, Tejada y Ramiro clears up the matter still further (*Coll. de los Can. de la Igl. Esp.* Madrid, 1850, ii. 167; *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 65, xl. 48; Aguirre-Catalani). [M. A. W.]

EXUPERANTIUS (8), a bishop in Lucania, who sent a presbyter with a gift of money to Paulinus bishop of Nola, in 431. (*Vita S. Paulin.* cap. 53, p. 95, Pat. L. lxi. 122 a; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 431, cxcvi. ed. Theiner.) [C. H.]

EXUPERANTIUS (9), bishop of Como, 495. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 313; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 260.) [A. H. D. A.]

EXUPERANTIUS (10), a certain bishop who had the rashness to erect and dedicate an oratory in the diocese of another bishop, Joannes. On this subject pope Gregory the Great writes to Joannes the subdeacon of Ravenna. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. xiii. ind. vi. ep. 17. Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 1272.) Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Italia*, xv. 94) places him among the bishops of Parma. [C. H.]

EXUPERIA, martyr at Rome under Valerian in 259, with Sempronius, Olympius, and others; commemorated July 26 and October 31. (*Rom. Mart.*; Baronius, *Annal.* ann. 259, xxx. ed. Theiner.) [C. H.]

EXUPERIUS (1), martyr under Hadrian, with Zoe and others, A.D. 140; commemorated on May 2. (*Rom. Mart.*; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 140, v. ed. Theiner.) [C. H.]

EXUPERIUS (2), the standard-bearer and companion in martyrdom of St. Maurice, the leader of the Thebaean legion, A.D. 286, commemorated on Sept. 22 (Usuard.; *Rom. Mart.*). [MAURICE.] His body was translated in the 10th century to the monastery of Gembloux, by Guibertus the founder, by whom it was dedicated in honour of St. Peter and St. Exuperius (Molan. *Nat. SS.* Sept. 22). [G. T. S.]

EXUPERIUS (3), first bishop of Bayeux, is reported to have been sent by St. Clement. But this is only an instance of the tendency of the Gallic churches to claim an apostolic or sub-apostolic origin. Exuperius really belongs to the latter part of the 4th century, when the sees of Evreux, Lisieux, and Coutances were formed, with Rouen for metropolitan. In the disturbed times of the invasions of the Northmen the body of the saint was removed to a quieter resting-place, and finally deposited at Corbolium (Corbeil), where, as well as at Bayeux and other places, he is invoked under the names of Suspirius, Spirius, or Spire. Many miraculous details are given in biographies of later centuries. He appears in the title of the Bollandist life (and thence in Potthast) as bishop of Corbolium. (*Acta SS.* Aug. 1; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 347.) [R. T. S.]

EXUPERIUS (4), a rhetor at Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Narbonne. He was made praefect of Spain by the Dalmatian Caesars, whom he had instructed. Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 406. xxxv.) maintains that he was the bishop of Toulouse mentioned by St. Jerome. Others, however, maintain that he was made bishop of Cahors, where according to Ausonius (*Profess. Burdig.* 17, Pat. L. xix. 858) he died. But the words of Ausonius do not imply that he was bishop in Cahors, and the Sammarthani believe that the bishop was a different person from the rhetorician, who made a fortune in Spain, and simply retired to Cahors for tranquillity. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 116; Tillemont, *Mém.* x. 825.) [R. T. S.]

EXUPERIUS (5), bishop of Toulouse in the beginning of the 5th century. He was known to Jerome, who dedicated to him his Commentary on Zechariah, and who urges his friend Furia (*Ep.* liv. 11), A.D. 394, to profit by his instructions, as one "probatae aetatis et fidei." We infer from this that he lived at Rome before his episcopate. He was a man of great simplicity of life, and carried this simplicity also into the appliances of Christian worship, so that Jerome praises him (*Ep.* cxxv. 20) as the caster out of avarice from the temple. Jerome also (*ibid.*) sets him forth as an example to Rusticus, afterwards bishop of Narbonne, who was leading an ascetic life in his diocese. He applied to pope Innocent for advice on various points of discipline, and on the question what books should be held to be canonical. The pope replied in a letter dated Feb. 405 (Inn. *Ep.* vi.), answering his questions clearly, and giving the scriptural books as they are now received, excluding the Apocrypha. Exuperius appears to have suffered great losses, but to have made them the means of a noble Christian independence (Jerome, *Ep.* cxxv. 20). He was held in high esteem, and is reckoned as a saint by the Roman church. (Ceillier, vii. 511.) [W. H. F.]

EXUPERIUS (6), eighth bishop of Limoges, following Dativus and succeeded by Astidius, or according to Gams (*Ser. Episc.* 564), tenth, succeeding Adelfius II. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (ii. 501) quote a catalogue to the effect that he suffered much from the Arians during the thirty-five years of his episcopate in the reign of Constantius. [S. A. B.]

EXUPERIUS (7), follows Ereptiolus in the list of bishops of Coutances, c. A.D. 475. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 864.) [R. T. S.]

EYNARDUS. [EINHARD.]

EZEKIEL, a Jewish writer, the author of a dramatic work in Greek iambics, called the Ἐξαγωγή, the subject being the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. All that can be asserted with certainty as to his date is that he was anterior to Clement of Alexandria, who quotes some fragments (*Strom.* i. 23, p. 414). Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* ix. 28, 29) also gives these fragments, together with several others. The last, which contains an account of the appearance of a wonderful bird (apparently suggested by the ambiguity of the word φοίνιξ, Ex. xv. 27), is copied also by Eustathius (*ad Hexäem.* p. 25). It has been conjectured that an anonymous fragment in iambics, given by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 64, p. 544), may have formed part of the prologue to the same work. The fragments have been well restored by Gaisford in his edition of the *Praep. Ev.* For earlier editions see Fabricius's *Bibl. Gr.* ii. 305, ed. Harles, and Heinichen's note *ad loc.* The fragments are given also in Didot's *Auctores Classici*, forming part of the appendix to Euripides. [G. S.]

EZIUS (IZZIUS, EZZIUS), abbat of St. Peter's at Juvavia (Salzburg). According to Hund he was consecrated in 696 as fifth bishop of Salzburg, ruled twenty-five years, and was buried in the church of his monastery. (Hund, *Metrop. Salsburg.* i. 2.) Potthast and Hansiz follow Mabillon in excluding him from the list of bishops (Hansiz, *Germ. Sacr.* ii. 68, 70; Potth. *Bibl.* suppl. p. 398). [C. H.]

EZNIK (EZNIG, ESNIG) is the name of an Armenian doctor of the church in the 5th century. His native place was Koghb or Kolp (whence he was called the Kolpensian), and he himself a disciple of the patriarch Sahak (Isaac) and Mjesrop, the praeceptor Armeniae. Besides his mother tongue he understood Persian, Greek, and Syriac. In the course of long journeys through Syria, Mesopotamia, and Greece he added to his stores of theological learning, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with ecclesiastical literature. We find him later raised to the rank of bishop. In this capacity he took part in the synod of Artashast, A.D. 450, which repelled the demands of the Persian viceroy, Mihr-Nersh, that the Armenians should adopt the Zoroastrian religion, in an epistle marked with dignity, courage, and faith.

He died an aged man, as bishop of Bagrewand

(Pakrewand) in the province of Airerat (compare Neumann, *Geschichte der Armenischen Literatur*, p. 42 sq.). His main work is *The Destruction of False Doctrines*, which is still preserved in the Armenian original (first published in 1762 at Smyrna, and then in a better form by the Mechitarists of St. Lazarus in the collection of Armenian classics, Venice, 1826). A complete but unreliable French translation was made by Le Vaillant de Florival (*Réfutation des différentes Sectes des Païens* by Eznik the Doctor, Paris, 1833). Various pieces of the work have been translated into German by Neumann (*Hermes*, vol. xxxiii. p. 201, and *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1834, iv. 71 sqq.), by Petermann (*Gramm. Linguae Armen.* p. 44 sq.), and Windischmann (*Bavarian Annals*, Jan. 23, 1834). The whole is divided into four books; the first combats the Gentile doctrine of the eternity of matter, the second the Zoroastrian religion, the third Greek philosophy, the fourth the Gnostic sect of the Marcionites. The immediate occasion of the work was the conflict between Armenian Christianity and Parsism. The sources whence he derived his knowledge of the latter appear to have been not the sacred literature of the Parsees themselves, but the popular form which the Zoroastrian faith had at that time assumed in Persia. The fourth book is moreover of interest and value for the history of heresy. The representation here given of the Marcionite doctrine of Principias, and the various myths concerning the origin of the human race, its corruption by matter, the mission of Christ, His crucifixion, descent into hell, and victory over the Demiurg, contain much that is peculiar and characteristic, but much also that belongs not to the original forms of Marcionitism but to some of its later developments. Of Eznik's Homilies nothing has been preserved, while on the other hand a whole series of *Exhortations* or *Moral Sentences* exist as a kind of appendix to his *Destruction of False Doctrines*. These are by others attributed to Nilus. [R. A. L.]

F

FABIANUS (1), (called by the Greeks and in the Liberian Catalogue FABIUS, by Eutychius and in the Alexandrian Chronicle FLAVIANUS), bishop of Rome early in February, A.D. 236 to January 20, A.D. 250, and contemporary with the emperors Maximin, Gordian, Philip the Arabian, and Decius, under the last of whom he suffered martyrdom. Eusebius relates that, all the brethren being assembled in the church to choose a successor to Anteros, Fabianus, then a layman lately come to Rome from the country, was pointed out as the chosen of Heaven by a dove settling on his head, whereupon all the people, moved with one divine inspiration, declared him worthy by acclamation, and at once placed him on the episcopal throne (*H. E.* vi. 29). A similar story was told also in connexion with the election of Zephyrinus (Rufin. vi. 21).

That the choice proved a good one may be concluded from the testimony of Cyprian, who, in his answer to a letter from the Roman clergy informing him of their bishop's martyrdom, speaks of the "glorious departure of the good man, his colleague," and rejoices that "his honourable consummation had corresponded to the integrity of his administration" (*Ep.* 39). The Roman clergy also, writing to Cyprian, deplore their want of a bishop "for controlling all things in those times of difficulty, and for treating the lapsed with authority and judgment, since the departure of Fabian of most noble memory" (Cypr. *Ep.* 30).

In the Liberian Catalogue (A.D. 354) he is said to have divided the regions (of the city of Rome) among the deacons, to have caused many fabrics to be made through the cemeteries, and to have suffered martyrdom on the 20th January, 250. In the Felician Catalogue (A.D. 530), and in later editions of the *Liber Pontificalis*, it is added that he made also seven subdeacons to superintend the seven notaries, who are previously mentioned as having been appointed by the earlier bishop Clemens for collecting and faithfully recording the acts of the martyrs; also that he caused to be brought to Rome by sea the body of Pontianus (the predecessor of his predecessor Anteros), who had been martyred in Sardinia and buried it in the cemetery of Callixtus on the Appian Way; in which cemetery he too is described as buried after his own martyrdom. Among these statements those referring to the bringing from Sardinia and the burial of Pontianus, and to the martyrdom and burial of Fabianus himself, may be accepted without hesitation. The deportation of Pontianus to Sardinia is attested by the sufficient authority of the Liberian Catalogue (*on Pontianus*); and the removal of his body to Rome could not probably be accomplished during the short episcopate (2 months and 12 days) of his successor Anteros, nor indeed till the date of an extant imperial edict (A.D. 237) ordering the transference and burial of the deportati. As to the martyrdom of Fabianus himself, it is remarkable that, though the Roman calendar designates all the first thirty bishops of Rome, except two, as saints and martyrs, he is the first, with the exception of Telesphorus and Pontianus, whose martyrdom rests on any good authority. (Cf. also Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 39; Hieron. *de Illustr. Vir.* c. 54, and Cypr. *Epp.* 39 and 30.) Decius having become emperor on the assassination of Philip at the close of the year 249, Fabianus, who suffered on the 20th of January in the following year, was thus among the earliest victims of the Decian persecution. Fragments of a slab bearing the inscription ΦΑΒΙΑΝΟϹ + ΕΠΙ + ΜΡ. (Fabianus episcopus martyr), together with others inscribed with the names of Anteros, Lucius, and Eutychianus, Roman bishops of the same period, have been lately found in what is called the papal crypt of the above-mentioned cemetery of Callixtus on the Appian Way, thus attesting the accounts given of the place of his burial. The monogram ℳ. (denoting martyr) being less deeply cut than the rest of the inscription, and hence supposed to have been added afterwards, De Rossi accounts for by the vacancy of the Roman see for eighteen months after the death of Fabianus in consequence of the continued persecution, and the supposition that the authority of a successor was required to sanction the ad-

dition of the title (*Roma Sotterranea*, by Northcote and Brownlow).

In connexion with the buildings (fabricae) assigned by the good authority of the Liberian Catalogue to Fabianus may be quoted the statement contained in the *Philosophumena*, attributed to Hippolytus, to the effect that Zephyrinus (his own contemporary, and Bishop of Rome, some 20 years before Fabianus) "had entrusted Callixtus with the government of the clergy, and set him over the cemetery." (*Philosoph.* ix. 11.) This is a further evidence of the careful provisions made by the bishops of the 3rd century for the decent burial of Christians. The cemetery entrusted to Callixtus is supposed by De Rossi to have been one common to all the Christians of Rome, at that time given to the church by some noble family, and to be clearly identified with the catacomb called the Coemiterium Callixti, already alluded to, on the Appian Way. Over this newly acquired burial-place De Rossi concludes the pope to have placed Callixtus (who as archdeacon also had supervision of the clergy), so as to satisfy the law which required recognised burial confraternities to be represented by an agent or syndic. This view is confirmed by the fact of Victor, the predecessor of Zephyrinus, being the last pope said to have been buried on the Vatican, thirteen out of his eighteen successors having been deposited in this new cemetery. The cemeteries which Fabianus provided with buildings may have been others given afterwards by wealthy individuals after the example thus set, the buildings being oratories, or structures in provision for the guardianship of the tombs. The further statement, above mentioned, about the seven deacons, subdeacons, and notaries, though but partially supported by the early authority of the Liberian Catalogue, may still be regarded as expressing a true tradition of the early provision made for preserving records of martyrdoms.

Fabianus is specially named by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 36) as one among many other bishops to whom Origen wrote in defence of his own orthodoxy. Cyprian mentions him (*Ep.* 59) as having, with Donatus bishop of Carthage, written a letter severely censuring one Privatus, an heretical bishop of Lambaesa in Numidia, who had been condemned by a synod of ninety bishops at Lambaesa for "many and grievous faults."

What has been so far mentioned comprises all that is known about Fabianus with certainty. Doubt, and more than doubt, rests on the story (accepted by Andreas du Chesne, in *Vit. Pontif.*, and in the main by the Bollandists) of his having been the founder of the seven Gallic churches of Toulouse, Arles, Tours, Paris, Narbonne, Clermont, Limoges; to which he is said to have sent respectively, Saturninus, Trophimus, Gratianus, Dionysius, Paulus, Astremonius, and Martialis, as missionary bishops. Tillemont regards the story with suspicion, as being absent from early records. It is disputable also on other grounds. The following are the ancient testimonies. In the Passio St. Saturnini Episc. Tolosani (c. 2, *apud Ruinart*) it is stated that Saturninus went to Toulouse 'Decio et Grato consulibus,' *i.e.* A.D. 250, the first year of Decius. Gregory of Tours (about 590) refers to this statement, and adds that the other missionary bishops above referred to were sent at the same time (*Hist. Franc.* i. 28); and elsewhere (x. 30), that one of these, Gratianus of Tours, was sent in the first year of Decius by Sixtus the Pope of Rome. Now, since Fabianus was martyred in the January of the year assigned to the mission, it seems improbable that he was its organizer; and who was Sixtus, named by the historian as the then existing pope? The Bollandists meet these difficulties by supposing the mission to have been designed by Fabian before his martyrdom, and carried out after it by Sixtus, a leading presbyter at Rome, erroneously described as pope. But, further, there is an evident error in the statement about Trophimus having been then sent to Arles. We have the testimony of Pope Zosimus (*Ep.* 1. *ad Episc. Gall.*) that the church of Arles had been founded by Trophimus sent from Rome; but this must have been before 250, since it appears from Cyprian (*Ep.* vi. 7) that in 254 Marcion had long been bishop of that see. It would seem then that at any rate the additions made by Gregory of Tours to his extract from the 'Passion of Saturninus,' rested only on vague and uncertain traditions, and that there are no valid grounds for attributing the foundation of those Gallic churches to Fabianus.

Still more improbable is the story, accepted by the Bollandists and Baronius, and resting mainly on the authority of the Acts of St. Pontius, that the Emperor Philip and his son became Christians, and were baptized by Fabianus. [PHILIPPUS.]

Three spurious decretals are attributed to Fabianus. One forbids all communication with excommunicated persons, quoting the apostolic precept. Another, addressed to all the bishops of the East, orders the annual consecration of new chrism, tracing the order from the Apostles, and contains stringent rules, having for their object the protection of the clergy from accusations by persons of bad character or suspected of heresy, and even by the faithful of their own flocks, except on the ground of heresy. A third has the same drift as the last mentioned, with further provision for appeals exclusively to the see of Rome. There are also ten Decreta assigned to him by Gratian and others, on matters of discipline; in which, among other things, fasting, communion three times a year, and oblations of bread and wine every Sunday at the altar, are enjoined; perjury, marriage within the prohibited degrees, and of insane persons, are forbidden; the age of thirty is fixed for ordination, and illiterate priests are prohibited from saying Mass.

His festival is kept on the 20th January, the day of his martyrdom. The Greeks commemorate him by the name of Fabius on the 6th of August. [J. B—y.]

FABIANUS (2), bishop of Antioch. [FABIUS (1).]

FABIANUS (3) (FABIUS), prefect of Rome, mentioned in the acts of the martyr Sebastian and his companions (Baron. *Ann.* 286, xv. sq.). The lists of the prefects do not mention this name, and give Ceionius Varius 285, Junius Maximus (bis) 286–287, Pomponius Januarius, 288. Baronius suggests that Fabianus in the text should be altered to Fabius Maximus, or to Junius Fabius Maximus, though he allows the

possibility that Fabius was the magistrate of another prefecture. Tillemont (*H. E.* iv. p. 744, 2nd ed. notes sur St. Sébastien IV.) conjectures that Fabius was prefect of the city from July 286 to August 287, and that he was preceded in the first year and followed in the second by Junius Maximus. Corsini (*Series Praef.* 284–286) adopts this ingenious supposition, for which a precedent exists. Tiburtius the martyr, when about to be tortured under Fabianus, challenged the prefect to thrust his hand into boiling water in the name of Jupiter and see if the water would scald. "I," he added, "shall tread upon these burning cinders as upon roses, in the name of Jesus Christ their creator." Fabianus replied, "Everyone knows that your Christ taught you the art of magic." (*Acta S. Sebast.* xxi. 81, 82 in Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 277.) [L. D.]

FABIANUS (4), bishop of Eliberi. [FLAVIANUS (1).]

FABIANUS (5), an Arian who lived at the commencement of the 6th century, in the north of Africa, probably Carthage, and who not only caused great annoyance to Fulgentius of Ruspe, but elicited from him a great work, the fragments of which alone are now extant. This work is entitled, *Fidei Catholicae instrumenta excerpta de libris S. Fulgentii contra gesta quae adversus eum Fabianus haereticus falsa confinxit.* It was originally divided into ten books. The Père Chifflet discovered and preserved in his *Recueil des Œuvres de saint Fulgence* thirty-nine *fragmenta* of these books, which may still be read (Migne, Patrol. Lat. lxv. pp. 750–834, Ben. ed. p. 577 ff.). Cave refers, among the lost works of Fulgentius, to nineteen books, *de Veritate Praedestinationis et gratiae contra Fabianum*, and says that *seven* fragments from this work were included by Theodulphus Aurelianensis, "in collectaneis suis de processione Spiritus Sancti," and that J. Sirmond published, among the works of Alcimus Avitus other fragments of this work, Paris, 1643; and says that Chifflet published thirty-nine fragments from a very ancient MS. of the same books (*Hist. Literaria*, p. 386). The confusing statement of Cave arises from his inaccurate quotation from Baronius, who had written of Fulgentius, "Jam reversus de exilio *novem* et decem libros Fabiani mentientis falsa gesta convincens, de veritate praedestinationis et gratia libros confecit tres." Deprez has corrected the text, reading *nova* for *novem*. Baronius therefore stated the number of books as ten, and also referred to the well-known three books on predestination, which had nothing to do with Fabian. Cave omitted the closing words, *confecit tres*, and therefore misunderstood the sentence. The fragments preserved by Chifflet are entirely occupied by the most subtle disquisitions on the internal relations of the Godhead, *e.g.* on "The one Highest Paraclete, Messenger, Teacher, and Judge," "The functions of praying, groaning, interceding in Christ and the Holy Spirit;" "On the One Infinite," in three personalities; on "The Worship of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," and the like. The fragments contain no personal references. Ceillier suggests that at Carthage, after the return of Fulgentius from exile, Fabianus, an Arian of reputation, secured an interview with the bishop of Ruspe, and then, with a view to undermine his influence, published numerous discourses under the name of his rival. Fulgentius, to free himself from these false representations of his views, produced the work in question. The author of the *Vita Fulgentii* supposes that Fabianus is the anonymous slanderer to whom Fulgentius refers in his preface to the work *Ad Monimum, de duplici Praedestinatione Dei.* If so, Fabianus must have endeavoured to shew the contrariety between the thoughts of Augustine and Jerome on the one hand and Fulgentius on the other. The fragments that remain are exclusively occupied with the Arian controversy, and are remarkably free from personal bitterness or local colouring (cf. Baronius, ann. 523, xxxvi.). [FULGENTIUS (3).] [H. R. R.]

FABIOLA (1), a noble Roman lady, a friend of St. Jerome, who wrote for her two dissertations (*Ep.* lxiv. and lxxviii. ed. Vall.) on the dress of the high priest, and on the stations of the Israelites in their march through the desert. Jerome also wrote a memoir of her in his touching letter to Oceanus (*Ep.* lxxvii. ed. Vall.) in the year of her death, 399. Thierry (*St. Jerome*, ii. 11) has worked up the intimations about her into an interesting and dramatic story.

She was descended from Julius Maximus and was extremely wealthy. She was a woman of a lively and passionate nature, the subjugation and direction of which was a triumph to the church. She had married a man whose vices were such that she was forced to divorce him. She then, to escape the temptations of an unprotected state, accepted a second husband, the first being still alive. It is probable that this separated her from Paula and the other friends of Jerome, and from church communion. (On this point Thierry, who inverts the order of the facts as given by Jerome, is at issue with Jerome's statement that she received the communion again immediately after her penitence.) This may account for the fact that we hear nothing of her during Jerome's stay at Rome. But, after the death of her second husband, she voluntarily went through a public penance. At the church of the Lateran, on Easter eve, in the presence of the bishop and clergy, and all the people, who were deeply affected by the scene, she appeared in the porch amongst the penitents, with tears and cries, with rent garments and bare feet and head, casting away her jewels and disfiguring her face. After this, having publicly renewed her communion with the church, she sold all her possessions, and determined to administer the vast sums thus acquired for the good of the poor. She supported monasteries in various parts of Italy and the adjacent islands; and she joined Pammachius in the institution of an hospital (*νοσοκομεῖον*), where she gathered in the sick and the outcasts and tended them with her own hands.

In the year 395 she suddenly appeared at Bethlehem, and seemed to wish to remain there. She made the journey with her kinsman Oceanus, who also returned with her to Rome the following year. But several causes concurred to prevent Bethlehem from becoming her home. The Origenistic strife had lately broken out which divided Jerome and his friends from Rufinus and Melania, and the new-comers did

not escape the discord. Oceanus warmly espoused the side of Jerome; Fabiola seems to have stood aloof. But efforts were made, if we may believe Jerome (*Cont. Ruf.* iii. 14), to draw them into the camp of his adversary. Letters which had been fraudulently taken from the cell of Jerome's friend Eusebius, and in which Rufinus was praised, were found in the rooms of Fabiola and Oceanus. If this proceeding was intended to cause a breach between Fabiola and Jerome it entirely failed. Jerome bears witness to the earnestness with which she attached herself to his teaching, her eagerness and insatiability in asking questions, her unwillingness to believe in his confessions of ignorance of many things which she put before him. The two treatises above mentioned are the results of her importunity. He describes how on one occasion she recited from memory the letter which he had written to Heliodorus from the desert twenty years before (*Ep.* 14, ed. Vall.).

It is not likely that Fabiola would have stayed long at Bethlehem. Jerome represents her as liking to be surrounded by a crowd. Her idea of the solitude of Bethlehem, he says, was that she should not be cut off from Mary's inn. But little time was given for the experiment. Jerome was still seeking a suitable dwelling-place for her, and was at the same time engaged in writing for her his treatise on the mystical meaning of the high priest's garments, when the inroad of the Huns into the Roman empire, the consequence of the treachery of the praetorian prefect Rufinus, caused a panic in Palestine. The Huns had taken Antioch, and were threatening to burst upon Jerusalem. Jerome and his friends hurried to the sea-coast at Joppa, and had hired vessels for flight, when, as they were on the point of sailing, the situation suddenly changed. The Huns abandoned their purpose, and turned back without crossing the Lebanon. Jerome, with Paula and Eustochium, returned to Bethlehem; but Fabiola, less in love with Palestine, continued her journey to Rome. Jerome records how he finished the treatise on which he was engaged for her while the cables were being loosed and the sailors shouting for the voyage.

It is possible that, as Thierry supposes, the episode to which Jerome's letter to Amandus (*Ep.* 55, ed. Vall.) relates has to do with Fabiola, and is to be placed here. Amandus, a Roman presbyter, afterwards bishop of Burdigala, wrote to Jerome for an answer to three questions on difficulties in the New Testament, and Jerome found added to this letter a little paper containing these words, which purported to come from a "sister" of Amandus. "Ask him whether a woman who has left a husband of the vilest character and has accepted a second through violence (per vim) can, without doing penitence, communicate with the church, while the first husband is living." Thierry supposes that this question was really put on behalf of Fabiola, and that, not liking to speak to Jerome directly on the subject, she took care that he should find the letter at Bethlehem after her departure. If so, and if it implied that she meditated some third marriage and wished not to renew her public penitence, she gained no comfort from Jerome. His answer was cautious but decided. He suspected that the "vis" under which she had taken the second husband was simply that of passion, and he declared that no woman during her husband's life could marry again. With this decision, if indeed it related to her, Fabiola seems to have been satisfied, and worldly desires stirred in her no more.

The last three years of her life were occupied with incessant activity in good works. She considered all her property as given to Christ, and herself as merely a stipendiary and an administrator of what was His. In conjunction with Pammachius, she instituted at Portus a hospice (xenodochium), perhaps taking her model from that established by Jerome at Bethlehem; and it was so successful that, as Jerome says, in one year it became known from Parthia to Britain. But to the last her disposition was restless. She found Rome and Italy too small for her charities; and she was purposing some long journey or change of habitation when death overtook her in the year 399. Her funeral was celebrated as a Christian triumph. The whole city came forth to see it, the streets were crowded, the hallelujahs reached the golden roofs of the temples. Jerome's book on the forty-two stations (mansiones) of the Israelites in the desert, which he had been composing for her, but had been unable to complete till after her death, was dedicated to her memory, and became to its author a counterpart of the memoir of her life which he sent with it to Oceanus, an image of her progress to the heavenly rest. [W. H. F.]

FABIOLA (2), a lady who wrote to St. Augustine, regretting the separation from heaven and from personal intercourse with the saints, which the conditions of the present life necessitate. In his reply Augustine points out that absence and separation are corporeal only and not real, for that real intercourse is carried on through the mind and spirit. As every one is more nearly present to himself than to anyone else, so also two persons at a distance from each other can converse more effectively in this way than if in the presence of each other they both remained silent. Fabiola appears to be the same person to whom St. Jerome sent two volumes of his commentary of Ezekiel, A.D. 411. Aug. *Ep.* 267; Hieron. *Ep.* 126; Tillemont. (102, vol. xiii. p. 265.) [H. W. P.]

FABIUS, bishop of Rome. [FABIANUS (1).]

FABIUS (1), bishop of Antioch, succeeding on the martyrdom of Babylas in the Decian persecution A.D. 250. (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 39; *Chron.* sub ann.) There is uncertainty as to the correct form of his name. He is called FABIUS by Eusebius, FLAVIUS by Nicephorus, FABIANUS by Rufinus, and FLAVIANUS by Syncellus and Jerome. Fabius was disposed to look favourably on the Novatian schism, which had extended to Antioch, and Novatian having sent him notice of his consecration as bishop of Rome, it seemed not improbable that Fabius would acknowledge him as a canonical bishop. (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 44.) Cornelius bishop of Rome, fearing the consequences of such a step on the part of the bishop of one of the chief sees of Christendom, entered into a long correspondence with Fabius on the subject. (Hieron. *de Vir. Ill.* Cornelius,

c. 66.) Eusebius mentions this correspondence (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43). Dionysius of Alexandria likewise wrote to Fabius on the case of the "lapsi," shewing by the example of Serapion, that it was not right to exclude penitents from communion (*ib.* c. 44). Eusebius preserves another letter of the same prelate to Fabius, narrating the sufferings of the martyrs during the Decian persecution at Alexandria (*ib.* c. 41). Fabius still continuing favourably inclined towards Novatian, it was proposed to hold a council at Antioch, which was prevented by the death of Fabius after an episcopate of only two years. He was succeeded by Demetrianus (*ib.* c. 46). [E. V.]

FABIUS, prefect of Rome. [FABIANUS (3).]

FABIUS (2) VICTOR, a soldier and martyr at Marseilles. The authorities vary as to the date of his passion. Ceillier fixes A.D. 290; Ruinart, A.D. 290 or 303. The former date is the more probable, as there were several martyrdoms in the army in the early portion of Maximian's reign, and long before the persecution became general upon Diocletian's first edict. All these martyrdoms took place in the western portion of the empire and under the operation of martial law. [CASSIANUS (3).] (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 4.) Fabius made himself notorious by his activity, and was therefore called upon to sacrifice. Upon his refusal, which he accompanied with acts of insolence very common at that time, going so far even as to upset the altar in the emperor's presence, he was tortured, and condemned to be ground to death in a hand-mill. The machinery having broken down, however, he was decapitated, when a celestial voice was heard crying, "Vicisti, beate Victor, vicisti." During the tortures, which lasted several days, his steadfastness converted his guards Alexander, Longinus, and Felicianus, who brought him by night from his prison to the seaside, where they received baptism at his hands. This action being reported to the emperor, he at once beheaded them. All the bodies were cast into the sea, but recovered by the Christians and buried in a crypt. The acts of Fabius Victor are not original; they are attributed to Cassian, or some other author of the 5th century. (Ceillier, iii. 366; Ruinart, 292–97.) [G. T. S.]

FABIUS (3), martyr at Caesarea in Mauritania; commemorated July 31. He refused to bear the standard, and was beheaded, probably under Maximian and about the year 295, when there were several military martyrdoms in North Africa. We possess in Ruinart the genuine acts of St. Cassian, St. Maximilian, and St. Marcellus of that date, and all from the same district. (*AA. SS.* Boll. vii. 179; *Mart. Vet. Rom.*, Adonis, Usuardi; *Rom. Mart.*). [G. T. S.]

FABIUS (4), martyr at Rome with Maximus and Bassus in the Diocletian persecution. Commemorated May 11. (*Rom. Mart.*; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 302, cxii.) [C. H.]

FABIUS (5), martyr at Faesulae in Umbria, period uncertain; commemorated May 17 (*Acta SS.* Maii iv. 132.) The Bollandist suspects he is the same Fabius who is commemorated in *Rom. Martyrol.* with Anthimus on May 11. They were martyred in the Diocletian persecution at the 22nd milestone on the Via Salaria. The *Martyr. Hieron.* and *Mart.* Usuardi commemorate Anthimus without any mention of Fabius. [G. T. S.]

FABIUS (6), a shorthand writer under the vicar of Africa at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 344, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FABIUS (7), twenty-fifth bishop of Auch, succeeding Faustus, A.D. 585, and followed by Cithorius. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* viii. 22; *Gall. Christ.* i. 975.) [S. A. B.]

FABIUS (8), bishop of Fermo, predecessor of Passivus, the latter a contemporary of Gregory the Great mentioned in *Epist.* lib. ix. indict. ii. ep. 16. (Migne, lxxvii. 960.) [A. H. D. A.]

FABRICIANUS, bishop of Epidaurus (Ragusa) in Dalmatia, A.D. 530. (Farlati, *Illyric. Sacr.* vi. 410.) [J. de S.]

FACHTNA, apparently the same name as FACHNAN, latinized FACUNDUS, and used interchangeably with it, yet not so freely but that it clings more closely to some individuals. **(1)** The best known Fachtna was bishop of Ross, Aug. 14, surnamed Mongach. He was first abbat of Molana, a small island near the mouth of the Blackwater. His chief dedication, however, is that of Ross in the county of Cork. He not only was bishop there, but he gathered round him a large school, one of the most famous of that age, for studying the liberal arts (Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* vi. 471–72). Fachtna probably died towards the end of the 6th century. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 192–8, 317–8; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 589, cc. 3, 4, 579, n. 7; Kelly, *Cal. Irish Saints*, 131–2; Ware, *Ir. Ant.* c. 26, 29, and *Irish Bps.* by Harris, 583–4.)

(2) Son of Folachtan (Tolochtag, *Ann. Tig.*), was abbat of Clonfert, co. Longford, and died 729 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 723). [J. G.]

FACUNDINUS, bishop of Tadinum (now Gualdo Tadino in Umbria), c. 599. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, v. 42; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 1065.) [A. H. D. A.]

FACUNDUS, bishop of Ermiana or Hermiana, in the province of Byzacena.

In 546 he was at Constantinople, and apparently at the council which Mennas convened in the autumn of that year on the subject of the "Three Chapters." He, however, refused to subscribe, and withdrew from communion with those who did (*Contr. Mocian.* Migne, *u. s.* 859). After the dismissal of the council, and at the request of the unwilling signataries, he set himself to the preparation of a defence of the condemned "Chapters," but before he had completed the task, he was interrupted by the arrival of Vigilius the bishop of Rome, who required all further proceedings on the subject to be suspended (*Pro Defens. Tr. Capitul. praef. u.s.* 527, xii. 1, 823). This was in January, A.D. 547 (viii. Kal. Febr. Marcellin. Com. *Chron.* s.a. 547. Migne, Patrol. li. 946). The next year, A.D. 548, Vigilius also convened a council on the subject at Constantinople, consisting of about seventy bishops, in which Facundus took an active part (*Pro Defens*

u. s. praef.; *Lib. contr. Mocian.*). After that council Facundus resumed his "Defence," but was compelled to complete it hurriedly at the command of the emperor who had called him to account for refusing to subscribe his edict (*Contr. Mocian. u. s.* 860; *Pro Defens. Praef. u. s.* 527). The work was then presented to Justinian. In that, its original form, it seems to have consisted of only two books, which were afterwards expanded into seven, and then again into the twelve in which it now appears. ("Facundus . . . nuper ad Justinian princip. scribens, de duabus naturis Dom. Christ. *duos libellos.*" Cassiodorus, *Exp. in Psalt.* Ps. cxxxviii. in Migne, Patrol. lxx. 994, "Eo tempore *vii. libri* Facundi refulsere," Victor. Tununens. *Chron.* s. a. 550 in Migne, Patrol. lxviii. 959.)

Soon after this Facundus returned to Africa, and was present at a council of the bishops of the prefecture, A.D. 550, when Vigilius was excommunicated for having condemned the "Three Chapters" (Victor. Tun. *u.s.*). These proceedings gave great offence to Justinian, and numbers of the African bishops were deprived and imprisoned or sent into exile, while others were compelled to seek refuge in flight. Among these last was Facundus (Victor. Tununens. *u. s. a.* 551, 552, 553, 554; Fac. *Contr. Mocian. u. s.* 853, 855). He remained in concealment for several years, and nothing more is heard of him until A.D. 571, when Mocianus, a "scholasticus," having written in severe reprehension of those who still withheld themselves from communion with the signataries to the condemnation of the "Three Chapters," his brethren again requested him to take up his pen in their defence. Though very ill at the time he readily complied, and prepared a treatise mainly for their use, which is of great value for the history of the whole controversy (*u. s.* p. 853–859), "nunc in praejudicium magnae Synod. Chalced. resuscitatur quaestio *ante centum et viginti* annos finita" (*u. s.* 866). At the same time he also published a Letter on the subject, apparently designed for more general use (*Ep. Fid. Cathol. in Defens. Tr. Capitul.* Migne, *u. s.* 867). After this we hear no more of him. [T. W. D.]

FAEBHARDAITH (FEBORDAIT), abbat of Tulean, now Dulane, in the barony of Upper Kells, co. Meath. He seems to have been put to death in A.D. 786, during a raid from Ossory. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 387–9, A.D. 781; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 785.) [J. G.]

FAEGADIUS, bishop. [FOEGADIUS.]

FAEILENN. [FAILA.]

FAELAN (FAOLAN, FILLAN, FOILLAN, FUILEN, PHILLAN). Faelan, the diminutive of Fael, a wolf, has assumed a great variety of forms. In Ireland the favourite form seems to be Faelan, and in Scotland Fillan. It gave the family name O'Faeláin, and is now Phelan and Whelan (Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places*, 2 ser. 153). Colgan adopts Foilanus, and gives a list of twenty bearing the name (*Acta SS.* 104, c. i.; see Bishop Forbes's 'Notice of the Bell of St. Fillan' in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotl.* viii. 267 sqq.).

(1) Amhlobar (the Stammerer, or rather the Leper) of Rath Erann and Kill-faelan, commemorated June 20. He is said to have been son of king Aenghus by his second wife Eithne, who died with her husband in battle, A.D. 489. He is also said to have been a disciple of St. Ailbhe, and when St. Ailbhe wished to go to Tyle (Thule), but sent out instead twenty-two disciples, one of these was Faelan of Ratherann. This place is now called Dundurn, and is in the parish of Comrie, Perthshire, in the immediate vicinity of the present village of St. Fillan's, which lies at the east end of Loch Earn. (*Scotl. Illust.* 138). Regarding his Irish dedication, Dr. Reeves says, "His Irish church is situate in the Queen's County, in that part of the parish which is in the barony of Cullenagh (*Ord. Surv. Sheet*, 18). In 1623 it was called Killhelan [*i. e.* Cill-Fhaelain] (*Leinster Inquis. Com. Reginae*, Nos. 24, 25, Jac. I.), which name is now disguised in Ballyheyland." The church of Aberdour in Fife was dedicated to him, and so probably was that of Forgan or St. Phillan's, Fifeshire, but it is hardly possible to distribute the dedications fairly between the two Fillans, so near in time and locality. (Bishop Forbes, *Kal. Scot. Saints*, 341; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 33.)

(2) Brother of St. Fursey. [FULLANUS (2).]

(3) Son of Aedh, commemorated Mar. 31 (*Mart. Doneg.*; *Mart. Tall.*). Colgan (*Acta SS.* 799) thinks that Faelan was son of Aidh Damanius or Bennanius, and thus of the royal stock of Munster. [FAITHLENN.]

(4) Son of Ceallach, abbat of Kildare, perished in an attack of the Hy-Neill upon the Leinstermen in the year 804. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 407–9, A.D. 799; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 803.)

(5) Abbat of Martartaigi, "House of the Martyrs," died A.D. 722. (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 721.) [J. G.]

FAELCHU. (1) Of Finglas, commemorated Sept. 24. In the *Life of St. Abban* in Colgan (*Acta SS.* 615, c. 20, 623, n. [24]) an account is given of St. Abban founding churches and monasteries in the south of Ireland; he passed southward from Connaught as far as Muskerry in Cork, then, turning east and north, proceeded through Tipperary till he reached Kilculen, on the banks of the Liffey, where he built a most regular monastery at Cluain-find-glasse, probably Finglas beside Dublin, and there Faelchu died A.D. 763 (*Ann. Tig.*) Colgan would place it in Munster.

(2) Abbat of Iona, A.D. 716–724, having his feast on April 3. He was son of Dorbene and of the race of Conall Gulban. At seventy-four he was appointed to Iona, A.D. 716 (*Ann. Tig.*), the only year which would meet the condition "in iv. Kal. Sept., die Sabbati suscepit." He succeeded Dunchadh, and appears to have been chosen, perhaps as coadjutor, or as rival abbat, the year before Dunchadh died. In A.D. 724, at a ripe old age, he died, and was succeeded by Cillene Fada. Skene thinks it probable that he had been at the head of a Columban monastery in the territory of the northern Picts before his election to the abbacy, and that he is the same as Volocus, the patron saint of Dunmeth and Logy, in Mar, both in Aberdeenshire. Skene is also of opinion that he represented the

conservative party at Iona. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 313, 319; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 228 n.[32], 234 n.[43], iv. 72 n.[1]; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 745, col. 2, n.[12], and *Tr. Thaum.* 481 n, [23], 499, col. 1; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. 157–9; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 381; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 177–8, 278 sq.; Grub, *Eccl. Hist. Scot.* i. 114, 119; Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. pt. 1, 288.) The two chief events of his primacy were, as related in the *Annals of Tigernach*, (*a*) the driving of the family of Hy by king Nectan across the Grampian range in A.D. 717, on account, probably, of their not obeying the orders of that Pictish king regarding the newly adopted usages; and (*b*) the adoption of the coronal tonsure in A.D. 718. (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 229.) [J. G.]

FAELDOBAIR (1) Of Clochar, bishop, June 29 (*Mart. Doneg.*; *Mart. Tall.*). He died A.D. 702 (*Ann. Tig.*), but has been confounded by Ware, Colgan, and Lanigan with Faeldobair Beg as regards his date.

(2) Beg, called also The Wise, died at Fobhar, or Fore, in Westmeath, in the year 731. (*Four Mast.* A.D. 725; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 730.) [J. G.]

FAELGHUS. (1) Abbat of Killeigh, in King's County, died A.D. 808. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 186 n.[w], 413, A.D. 803; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 807, calling him "princeps.")

(2) Son of Tnuthghal or Tunthgaile, a wise man of Clonard, in Meath, died A.D. 784. (*Four Mast.* A.D. 779; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 783.) [J. G.]

FAENDELACH (Faindealach). Commemorated on Sept. 18. There was a Faendalech, son of Maenach, who was abbat and bishop of Armagh, and whose sudden death is entered the *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 794 (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib.* in *Scriptor.* iv. 117). He seems to have succeeded Ferdacrich in A.D. 768, but there appear to have been many claimants to the episcopal dignity and a consequent confusion in the succession. Faendelach probably resigned his abbacy in 771, and the vacancy continued till 778, when Dubhdalethe was appointed. During his rule the city of Armagh in A.D. 770 was twice burned. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 403 n.[g]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. 194, 233, 234; Stuart, *Armagh*, 94–5.) [J. G.]

FAFILA (1) (Favila), the father of the famous Pelayo, according to certain chroniclers. [Pelagius.] [M. A. W.]

FAFILA (2), son of Pelayo, and king of the Asturias after his father's death. He reigned two years (737–739), and built the church of the Holy Cross at Cangas. In 739 he was killed by a bear (Seb. Sal. c. 12), and was buried in the church he had built. For the famous inscription still existing in the church of the Santa Cruz at Cangas, which professes to date from Fafila's lifetime, and contains the names of himself and his queen Froiluba, see Hübner's *Inscrr. Hisp. Christ.* no. 149. An amended text of it, as transcribed by the Spanish scholar Fernandez Guerra y Orbe, will be found among the *Additamenta* to the *Inscrr. Brit. Christ.* [M. A. W.]

FAGAN (Fagan), usually represented in the legend of king Lucius as sent with Dyfan by pope Eleutherus to Britain, where they instructed and baptized at the end of the second century. Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Hist.* iv. cc. 19, 20) boldly affirms that they "almost extinguished paganism over the whole island, dedicated the temples that had been founded in honour of many gods to the one only God and his saints, and filled them with congregations of Christians." There is a parish in Glamorganshire still bearing the name of St. Fagan, four miles from Cardiff. In Leland's time (Lel. *Itin.* vol. iv. pt. 1, fol. 63) the parish church had been rebuilt and was dedicated to St. Mary, but the older parish church bearing the name of St. Fagan survived. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 82–7, 338; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 26; Bp. Forbes, *SS. Nin. and Kent*, 83, 354–55; Girald. Camb. *Descrip. Kamb.* i. c. 18, wks. vi. 202; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* cc. 4–5, wks. v. 53–77, 126–27.) He is placed among the chorepiscopi of Llandaff prior to the time of St. Dubricius (*Lib. Landav.* 623), and is reputed as the founder, with Duman, of the ancient see of Congresbury (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 153, 154. See also W. J. Rees, *Cambro-Briton Saints*, 613). His day is, perhaps, Feb. 10, but a "Faganus confessor" occurs in some English books under Aug. 8. [Deruvianus.] [J. G. and C. W. B.]

FAILA (Failenna, Faoileann, Foilenna). (1) Virgin, March 3. She was descended from the illustrious house of the Hy-Fiachrach; her mother was Cuillenn or Cuillenda, and her three brothers, Colga, Aedh, and Sorar. Her church was at Kil-faile, now Killealy, noted for pilgrimages. St. Faila must have flourished about A.D. 580. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 248, c. 2, 381, c. 3, and n.[5], 456; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 326–9; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, 82.)

(2) Virgin, Nov. 13. She was daughter of Eoghan (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 309), and, like the preceding Faila, belonged to the house of the Hy Fiachrach, but through a different son of Dathi, and thence to a different sept, which was named from her father, Hy Fiachrach Aidne (Reeves, *Adamnan*, 45). [J. G.]

FAILBHE (Falveus). (1) Son of Pipan, abbat of Iona, March 22 (*Mart. Doneg.*) He was of the noble race of Conall Gulban, in Tyrconnel, and, like so many of his family, sought voluntary exile in the arch-monastery of Iona. There he spent many years, till at the death of Cuimine Ailbhe in A.D. 669 he was himself called on to rule, which he did for ten years, when St. Adamnan succeeded him. In the *Felire of Aengus* it is said that during his primacy he twice revisited Ireland, and Colgan imagines that the most probable occasion for these journeys was the Paschal controversy, but Skene thinks it is as likely to have been in connexion with missionary enterprise, St. Maelrubha about that time having carried the Gospel to the north-western shores of Scotland. The journeys were evidently considered very important, as all the annals record a visit to Ireland in the year 673, and his return in 676 (*Ann. Tig.*). He died A.D. 679. He is referred to by St. Adamnan (*Vit. S. Columb.* i. c. 1) as "meus decessor, noster abbas Failbeus." (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* 97 sq.; Grub, *Eccl. Hist. Scot.* i. 98, 102; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 16, 26, 376; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* vi. 245, and Ind. Chron. A.D. 679; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 209 n.[21],

210 n. [85]; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints* 191 (Apr. 25), 201 (June 3), 214 (Oct. 6), 335; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 168 sq.; C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. pt. i. 287; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt. i. 135.)

(2) Beg, abbat of Iona, also called Fedhlimidh, March 10. His obit appears in the *Four Mast.* A.D. 754, "Feidhlimidh or Failbhe, abbat of Ia died, after the 87th year of his age." Reeves (*Adamnan*, 385) does not count this Failbhe among the abbats of Iona, but only coadjutor-abbat, or set up as a rival abbat in the confusion caused by the paschal controversies. He held this office from the primacy of Faelcu, as the *Ann. Tigernach*, A.D. 722, have the entry "Fedlimidius Principatum Hionae tenet." He thus held an abbacy there while Cillene Foda (A.D. 724–726), Cillene Droicteach (A.D. 726–752), and Slebhine (A.D. 752–767), were more generally accepted as the abbats of the Columban brotherhood. Failbhe may have headed the conservative or traditional party, which was then certainly on the decline (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* ii. 231 n. [39]; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 335–6; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 281–88).

(3) Of Erdomh or Erdaimh, commemorated Feb. 8, April 8. There is entered on these two days in the Irish Kalendars "Failbhe of Erdomh," referring probably to the same individual (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 43, 98 n. [1], 99; *Mart. Tallaght*, in Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* xv. xx.) The *Four Mast.* (by Donovan, i. 368) have his obit in A.D. 766; but the place, the Irish Erdamh or side chapel, is unidentified (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 576, col. 1 and n. [4]; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 410).

(4) Son of Guaire, of Applecross. He succeeded Maelruba in 722 (*Ann. Tig.*), and in the course of some years met his death in a way which was very characteristic of the working of the ancient Scotic church. In the *Four Mast.* (by O'Donovan, i. 329) is the entry: "A.D. 732, Faibhe, son of Guaire, successor of Maelrubha, was drowned, and the crew of his ship along with him; they were twenty-two in number." The true date is probably 737 (*Ann. Tig.*). (Reeves, *Adamnan*, 385; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 285 sq.; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* ii. 241, iv. 86; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 576; Grub, *Eccl. Hist. Scot.* i. 120; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 335.) Applecross is a parish on the west coast of Ross-shire, and lies between Loch Torridon and Loch Carron (see Cosmo Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. pt. ii. 402).

(5) Beg (modicus, *Ann. Ult.*) is said in the *Four Mast.* A.D. 711, and *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 712, to have been abbat of Clonmacnoise, in King's County, and the former adds that he was "of the Gailenga of Coraun," that is, as interpreted by O'Donovan (*Four Mast.* i. 311 n. [b]), of a sept of the race of Oilill Olum, king of Munster, seated in the diocese of Achonry, in the province of Connaught, Corann being the name of a barony, in the county of Sligo. The *Ann. Tig.* place his death at probably its true date, A.D. 713, and say he is of the Gailenga in Coraind (ꝺo Ꝛaılenꝛaıb ın Coꞃaınꝺ to which O'Conor has erroneously prefixed "bishop" (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* ii. 226). [J. G.]

FAINA. [SEVEN MARTYRS OF ANCYRA.]

FAINCHE GARBHE, virgin, of Rosairthir, commemorated Jan. 1. Her name is variously written Fainc, Fainche, Fanchea, Fuinche, Fuinchea and Funchea, but why Garbh (rough) is added is unknown. Being sister of St. Enna (Mar. 21) of Aran, this virgin-saint was daughter of Conall Derg, son of Coirpre, and belonged to the noble race of the Oriels in Ulster. Her mother was Aebfinn or Briga, daughter of Ainmire, son of Ronan, king of the Ards, and St. Fainche was born at Rathmore in Magh-Leamhna near Clogher (which is to be distinguished from the famous Rathmore in Antrim. Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq.* 278–81; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 102 n. [gb]). Her monastery was at Rosairther, now Rossory, on the banks of Lough Erne, co. Fermanagh. In the memoir given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 1–3), which is reproduced in substance, with notes, by O'Hanlon (*Irish Saints*, i. 1 sq.), an account is given of her and her sisters, Lochinna, Carecha, and Darenia, and a long extract is added from the *Life of St. Enna*, relating how she converted St. Enna, and, afterwards seeking him at Rome, induced him to return to Ireland. In fact, she is represented as his monitor and guide throughout almost all his career, as it was to her, under God, that he owed his religious vocation. It is said that she died at sea on her homeward journey from Rome, and that on a dispute arising as to the custody of her body, two bodies appeared and were carried, the one to Kilhaine, in Meath, and the other to Ballybarrigh, on the banks of the Liffey, in the county and diocese of Kildare. Another legend would connect her or one of her name with the weird tale in the *Leabhar-na-h Uidhur* of Liban the mermaid in Lough Neagh (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 201 n. [n]; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 377–8). Colgan (*Acta SS.* Ind. Chron.) says she died about A.D. 480, but it was probably rather later, in the beginning of the sixth century. (Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Jan. 1, i. 70; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 400; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* 50; Todd, *S. Patrick*, 117, 125–6 n. [2].) [J. G.]

FAINDEALACH. [FAENDELACH.]

FAIRCHELLACH (FOIRCHEALLACH), of Fobhar (Fore), is commemorated in *Mart. Doneg.* and *Mart. Tallaght* on June 10. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 144, c. 3) quotes him among the prelates of Fobhar, now called St. Feighins or Fore, in the barony of Fore and county of Westmeath. The *Four Mast.* (by O'Donovan, i. 421) in A.D. 809 (rectè 814) and *Ann. Ult.* in A.D. 813, have the obit of "Foircheallach of Fobhar, abbat of Cluan-mic-Nois, one of the Gaileanga-Mora;" that is, says O'Donovan, "the inhabitants of the barony of Morgallion, in the county of Meath." [J. G.]

FAITH, ST. [FIDES (2).]

FAITH (fides = πίστις), in which last language that twofold meaning was acquired to which the spread of the gospel has given such prominence in all three. 1. The theological virtue called faith, subsisting in the individual or the church at large; and 2, the dogmatic formula summing up the objective faith of all and each, called the creed. As St. Augustine tells his catechumens: "Quod audituri estis, hoc credituri: et quod credideritis, hoc etiam linguâ reddituri. Ait

enim Apostolus: 'Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.'" (*Serm. ad Catech. de Symb.* § 1.) Of these the latter will require but a passing notice in this place, shewing how it affected, and still affects, the first. It is the virtue that stands for special treatment here.

I. "Whatever be the particular faculty or frame of mind denoted by the word," says Dr. Newman, "certainly faith is regarded in Scripture as the chosen instrument connecting heaven and earth, as a novel principle of action, most powerful in the influence which it exerts both on the heart and on the Divine view of us, and yet in itself of a nature to excite the contempt or ridicule of the world" (*Univ. Sermons*, Serm. ix. p. 169). These characteristics, here so well summarized, "its apparent weakness, its novelty, its special adoption, and its efficacy," were precisely the points on which the fathers had to enlarge in meeting objections urged against it in pagan times. "Credo stands first of all in the creed," says Rufinus, "agreeably with what the apostle Paul, writing to the Hebrews, says: 'He that cometh to God must first of all believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of those who diligently seek Him.' The prophet, too, says: 'If ye will not believe, neither shall ye understand' (Is. vii. 9, LXX). This he proves in detail is so far from being peculiar to religion that it is an accepted principle in every walk of life, to start from faith. All we cannot see for ourselves, but must learn from others, whether past, present, or future, is an object of faith. Many truths we cannot understand we accept on faith. What wonder then if, in approaching God, we are required to accord to Him what ordinary routine exacts from all? "Haec autem idcirco in principiis praemisimus," he continues, "quia pagani nobis objicere solent, quod religio nostra, quia rationibus deficit, in solâ credendi persuasione consistat" (*in Symb. Apost.* § 3). Here Rufinus may have been epitomizing St. Cyril of Jerusalem, whose fifth catechetical lecture formally treats of faith: "the eye of the whole conscience that creates in it understanding," as it is there called: and St. Cyril in turn, drawing from Origen, who quotes Celsus, saying, "Some there are who will neither give nor accept account of those things they believe, but always meet you with, 'Don't inquire, only believe: and, thy faith will save thee:' who maintain, further, that worldly wisdom is an evil, and folly a good" (*c. Cels.* i. 9–11): and even Origen in this passage, repeating much of what his master, St. Clement of Alexandria, had said before him in his fifth book of Stromateis or Miscellanies, where there is much also worth remembering that is didactic. As, for instance, the following: "Remove every ground for inquiring, and faith is made firm and sure. Our position accordingly, which cannot be gainsaid, is, that it is God who speaks, and has declared Himself in His word on every point that we had selected for inquiry. Who, then, is so absurd and so godless as not to believe God when He speaks, or to require proof from God as from men?" (v. p. 546). This brings us back to Rufinus again. He draws attention to a distinction of form in the creed, for which he certainly has a *consensus patrum* on his side, though bishop Pearson seems sceptical of its intrinsic worth (*On the Creed*, vol. i. p. 22; Burton's ed. with the notes). Of the concluding articles of the creed, then, Rufinus observes: "Non dixit *in* sanctam ecclesiam, nec, *in* remissionem peccatorum, nec, *in* carnis resurrectionem. Si enim addidisset *in* praepositionem, una cum superioribus eademque vis fieret, nunc autem in illis quidem vocabulis ubi de Divinitate ordinatur fides, *in* . . . . dicitur . . . . in caeteris verò, ubi non de divinitate, sed de creaturis ac mysteriis sermo est, *in* praepositio non additur . . . Hâc itaque praepositionis syllabâ Creator a creaturis secernitur, et Divina separantur ab humanis" (§ 36). Nothing can be more certain than this. Faith in the Infinite is the only faith that can be without reserve. A Being of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness is the only being who can neither deceive nor be deceived. Faith in Him is the only faith that can be called "divine." To place the same faith in any being short of the Infinite is creature-worship. We may believe man: it is our duty. We may not believe in man: that is idolatry. "Verax Christus, mendax Petrus," says St. Augustine (*Serm. de Verb. Ev.* cxlvii. § 1). And again, "Quod nemo potest in Paulo, nemo in Petro, nemo in alio ullo apostolorum, hoc potest in Domino" (*Serm.* lxxvi. § 5, *ib.*). And again, "Credimus Apostolo, sed non credimus in Apostolum; non enim Apostolus justificat impium . . . . " (*Tract. in Joan.* liv. 3).

Here we must remark, in passing, on the Latin and Greek form of the Nicene creed as now used. It is the Latin form, "Et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam," which has, in all probability, preserved the reading of primitive times. The Greek, "εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν" etc., was either meant to be construed with the preceding clause—viz. "The Holy Ghost . . . who spake by the prophets to one holy Catholic" etc., as was all but demonstrated by professor Baletta some few years back: or else the word εἰς is a corruption—perhaps an Arian—substitution for καὶ. The English, "And I believe one Catholic" etc. is as strictly orthodox as the Latin. All the articles of the creed agree so far, indeed, that we believe them on the authority of God Himself. We should be justified in disbelieving them, we should err in believing them, if they came to us vouched for only by man. Who but God, for instance, could guarantee to us remission of sins or eternal life? As St. Irenaeus says of the Incarnation itself, "Propter hoc, generationem ejus quis enarrabit? Quoniam: *homo est, et quis agnoscet Eum?* Cognoscit autem Illum is, cui Pater Qui est in coelis revelavit, quoniam Is, Qui *non ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri*, natus est Filius hominis, Hic est Christus, Filius Dei vivi" (*Haer.* iii. 19). But again, believing even an eternal truth, is intrinsically different from believing in God. "Quid est credere in Deum?" asks St. Augustine. "Credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in Eum ire, et Ejus membris incorporari" (*Tract. in Joan.* xxix. 6). In other words, believing in God, includes loving Him to the same extent.

Hence, to resume the teaching of the fathers up to this point, we find two characteristics of divine faith, radically distinguishing it from human, to be: first, that it has God alone for its object; and secondly, truth authenticated by God alone for its subject-matter. It is, therefore, illimitable and beyond argument, in both respects. Its foundations, from whichever side

you regard them, are unassailable. Its remaining characteristic, on which the fathers are no less agreed, is that it has God for its author; in other words, that it is His infused gift: not a habit, which man by himself can acquire. Curiously enough, it was some time before St. Augustine realized this fact to the full, as he tells us himself. He was, in short, a concealed semi-Pelagian, till Pelagius arose. "Quem *meum errorem*," he says, in his latest work, "nonnulla opuscula mea satis indicant ante episcopatum meum scripta. . . . (*De Praed.* 7.) For, as he has confessed in his Retractations: "Nondum diligentius quaesieram, nec adhuc inveneram qualis sit electio gratiae . . quae utique non est gratia, si eam merita ulla praecedant." . . . (I. 23, n. 2). What his error was he explains further on, when he quotes the noble words of St. Cyprian: "In nullo gloriandum, quando nostrum nihil sit" (*Test.* iii. 4), against himself. "Quo praecipue testimonio etiam ipse convictus sum, cum similiter errarem, putans *fidem* quâ in Deum credimus, *non esse* donum Dei, sed a nobis esse in nobis: et *per illam* nos impetrare Dei dona, quibus temperanter et juste et piè vivamus in hoc saeculo." . . . (*De Praed.* ib.) The passages of the New Testament named by him as having opened his eyes to this error are, I. Cor. vii. 25: "Ubi non se ipsum misericordiam consecutum dixit ut fidelior, sed ut fidelis esset;" II. Cor. iii. 5; Rom. xii. 3; Eph. vi. 23. Of II. Thess. iii. 2: "All men have not faith,"—he remarks, "have not" is not synonymous with "cannot have." "Proinde posse habere fidem, sicut posse habere caritatem, naturae est hominum; habere autem fidem, quemadmodum habere caritatem, gratiae est fidelium. . . . Non quia credere, vel non credere, non est in arbitrio voluntatis humanae; sed in electis praeparatur voluntas a Domino" . . . (Ib. 10.) By the elect, he understands elsewhere, all who have never refused grace. "Ex fide autem ideo dicit (Apostolus) justificari hominem, non ex operibus; quia ipsa prima datur, ex quâ impetrantur caetera, quae proprie opera nuncupantur, in quibus juste vivitur." . . . (Ib. 12.) These passages are quoted in the original for their terseness. It is not because they contain anything really new. The earlier fathers had expressed themselves in the main to the same effect. Thus, St. Clement of Rome says pointedly: "We are not justified through ourselves, nor through our own wisdom, understanding, or piety; nor works done by us in holiness of heart, but through faith: through which Almighty God justified all that ever were (justified) since the world began" (*Ep.* i. 32). And St. Ignatius in his epistle to the Ephesians: "Neither of which things escape you, if your faith and love in Jesus Christ are what they should be: the beginning and end of life—faith the beginning, and love the end. And these two, blended in one, are from God. All other things tending to righteousness are their consequents. Nobody professing faith sins; nobody possessing love cherishes hate" (c. 14). And St. Irenaeus: "Faith, which is towards God, justifies man." (*Adv. Haer.* iv. 5.) And St. Clement of Alexandria, in his Miscellanies, already cited: "Faith is the mother of most virtues." And St. Cyprian, in his Testimonies (§ 42): "Faith is profitable from every point of view; and our ability to act is in exact proportion to our believing." Finally, St. Isidore of Seville—to quote from a writer as long after St. Augustine, as the rest were before him—in the second book of his Sentences: "It is impossible to arrive at true blessedness, except through faith; and he is blessed, who, by believing rightly, leads a virtuous life: and by living virtuously, cleaves to the right faith. . . . Faith is in no case extorted by force, but instilled by persuasive arguments and examples . . ." (c. 2.) The sterlingness of the last remark is enhanced doubly by coming from Spain. "Yet neither St. Ambrose nor St. Martin, in their day," says Butler, "would communicate with Ithacius, bishop of Ossobona, or those bishops who held communion with him, because they sought to put heretics to death" (*Lives of the Saints*, Sept. 11).

Faith, then, according to the teaching of the fathers, is a new graft on an old stock; a supernatural virtue developed out of a natural instinct; belief *in* God educed from the ready-made habit that exists in all men of believing each other. Furthermore, being a gift of the Holy Ghost, it carries with it its own evidence, which is love—all-powerful, if accepted, to inspire conviction when either external evidences are wholly wanting, or of the slenderest kind, or even point the other way.

What Aristotle calls the moral proof, depending on the character of the speaker, needs no confirming, when that person is God. For the same reason, though divine faith, equally with human, is an act of the whole man, assent must always be dictated in the former by trust; and understanding a thing, never be made a condition of believing it. Faith in the Infinite, rightly requires us to believe many things we cannot fathom, or only fathom after believing them. "Through faith," says the apostle, "we *understand* that the worlds were framed by the Word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear" (Heb. xi. 3). Whence St. Augustine: "Prius credite, postea intelligite; cui autem donat Deus, ut cum crediderit, cito intelligat, Dei donum est, non humana fragilitas" (*Serm. de Symb. ad Catech.* § 4).

One more speciality which the Fathers attribute to divine faith is its expansive character; deepening and widening in harmonious symphony with the revelation of His benign purpose, which it has pleased God to unfold gradually to man. Thus, what used in primitive times to be simple belief in God—and in heathen lands is no more still—has long been heightened and expanded under the Gospel into full-blown belief in Three Divine Persons, now known to constitute the Godhead; of the redemption of man by the second Person, Who became flesh for his sake, and of the sanctification of man by the third, shed abroad in his heart. As St. Augustine puts it: "Superioribus temporibus omni modo *latuit* sacramentum justificationis ex fide. Eadem tamen fides mediatoris salvos justos faciebat antiquos—pusillos cum magnis" . . . (*De Concup. et Nupt.* ii. 24) "sive in iis justis quos sacra Scriptura commemorat, sive in iis justis quos quidem Illa non commemorat, sed tamen fuisse credendi sunt: vel ante diluvium, vel inde usque ad legem datam, vel ipsius legis tempore, non solum in filiis Israel, sicut fuerunt Prophetae, sed etiam extra eundem populum, sicut

fuit Job. Et ipsorum enim corda eadem mundabantur mediatoris fide, et diffundebatur in iis caritas per Spiritum Sanctum, Qui ubi vult spirat, non merita sequens, sed etiam ipsa merita faciens. Non enim Dei gratia gratia erit ullo modo, nisi gratuita fuerit omni modo . . . ." (*De Grat.* ii. 28.) And St. Gregory the Great on Ezekiel (ii. 5, 2): "Et qui praeibant, et qui sequebantur, clamabant Hosanna—Praecessit quippe Judaicus populus, secutus est Gentilis. Et quia omnes electi, quia in Judaea esse potuerunt, sive qui in ecclesia sunt, in mediatorum Dei et hominum crediderunt et credunt, qui praeeunt, et qui sequuntur, Hosanna clamant." (Comp. St. Chrysost. on Romans i. 17, Hom. II. and Galat. iii. 11, with Theodoret on Heb. x. 38, 39, and Peter Lombard, B. iii. Dist. 25 of the Sentences.)

It follows from these passages, and many more too long to cite, that faith, the gift of God, or divine faith, in the opinion of the Fathers, is as ancient as the promise made to the seed of the woman, and has been used by man with saving effect all over the world in every age since then, and never withheld from any who would accept and co-operate with it in the best way they could. It has been held in solitude, and held in company; nurtured by ordinances in prescribed form, or fed in secret direct from heaven itself. Ordinances have never availed anything at any time without it; but it has availed everything at all times without them, where they could not be had. Virtues without it have availed for this world alone—or, to put the case somewhat differently—through the merits of the Incarnation, belief in God has been made possible to man in every age, and counted to him for righteousness, whenever it has been accepted, so that it might be acted upon through life to the saving of his soul. It has been made possible, but never forced upon him against his will, and it has been at all times liable to be withdrawn, on being sinned against or abandoned by him; so that it may be had and lost. If the Fathers seem occasionally to distinguish between a dead faith and a lively; between a faith that can move mountains, and a faith which hesitates between doubt and assent; their real meaning is, not that divine faith ever changes in itself, but, according to the amount of subjective co-operation it receives, it either bears fruit or dies out; works miracles or effects nothing, either in the heart or outer world. Human faith, on the contrary, both admits of degrees, and may be possessed by atheists.

II. Passing to the secondary sense given to faith in Christian times, let us first hear bishop Pearson on its relevancy: "He who put their writings (*i.e.* the Scriptures) into the definition of faith; considering faith, as it now stands with us, is none of the least of the schoolmen" (i. 22, Burton's ed. with the note). Perhaps it was St. Augustine who first associated the two ideas in a formal treatise, called *De Fide et Symbolo* by himself; but the connexion between them had been recognised long before this, when such phrases began to be current as "the faith (*πίστις*) of the 318 Fathers who met at Nicaea; the faith of the 150 who met at Constantinople; the Catholic faith set forth at Sirmium on the 23rd of May," &c., and when each bishop, on his consecration, sent "communicatory letters," containing a profession of faith, round to his brother bishops, of which there are traces 100 years earlier (Euseb. *E. H.* vii. 30, 8), in proof of his orthodoxy.

All such professions, orthodox or heretical, public or private, purported to be compendiums of Scripture; either drawn up in its very words or embodying its substance, intact and complete. "Hoc est enim symbolum," St. Augustine tells his catechumens: "quod recensuri estis, et reddituri, Ista verba quae audistis, per divinas Scripturas sparsa sunt: sed inde collecta et ad unum redacta, ne tardorum hominum memoria laboraret, ut omnis homo possit dicere, possit tenere, quod credit . . . ." (*De Symb. Serm. ad Catech.* § 1.) In other words, the subject-matter of divine faith was held by the Fathers to be contained in Holy Scripture, and thence drawn out into creeds; and as long as creeds aspired to be no more than a collection of Scriptural truths expressed in Scriptural language, they were so completely the outpourings of divine faith all through, that they might well be called by the same name. Subsequently, when human inferences from Scripture came to be placed on the same footing as Scriptural statements themselves, and the conclusions of theologians elevated into matters of faith by the living authorities of the church, belief in the church militant obtained as a practical principle, to the obscuration of belief in God; and divine faith waned in the individual, while ecclesiastical formularies, enlarged and multiplied, were forced on his acceptance. The beginning of this change dates, indeed, from the 9th century. To dwell further on it, therefore, would be to exceed our limits. It has been glanced at, however, because the contrast brings out how exclusively the subject-matter of divine faith was maintained by the Fathers to be the written Word; and its object, as well as its author, to be God alone.

Besides the minor treatises of St. Augustine, *De fide et operibus; De Fide eorum quae non videntur; De fide et symbolo: Serm. ad Catechum.; Enchiridion;* his more important works against Pelagianism (vol. x. of the Ben. ed.) should be consulted; also, treatises *De Fide*, by St. Ambrose, St. Fulgentius, and St. Isidore; Gennadius, *de Eccl. Dogm.* cs. 42 and 49; Mareschal, *Concord. Patrum*, generally, continued in Schramm's *Analysis;* Fessler, *Inst. Patrol.* Estius and the older schoolmen on Book iii. Dist. 22–25 of the Sentences; Suarez, *de Tripl. Virt. Theol. Fide, Spe, et Caritate;* Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. I.; Waterland, Faber, and Newman *On Justification;* bishop Harold Brown, on Art. XI., and Art. JUSTIFICATION. [E. S. Ff.]

FAITH, RULE OF. It is clear that over and above the short CREEDS which furnished the test to the candidate for baptism, there were handed down, in the various apostolical churches, traditional rules both of practice and teaching, to which the teachers and members of these churches were expected to conform. These were designated as *rules: Regulae*; *κανόνες*. Thus the words *ὁ κανὼν τῆς πίστεως* occur in the letter which Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, wrote to Victor of Rome (A.D. 192–201), Euseb. *H. E* v. 24. He claimed that he was following this

rule in his observance of Easter. Irenaeus, in a passage quoted under CREEDS (Vol. I. p. 696, § 10), applies the words "Rule of Faith" to the traditional belief of the church. To this traditional belief he refers in numerous passages. So does Tertullian, using the title *Regula Fidei* in his tracts *de Virgin. velandis*, c. 1; *de Monogamia*, c. 2; *de Praescript.* c. 13. The last passage refers to several points not mentioned explicitly in the baptismal creed. There are passages in the work of Novatian *de Trinitate* which run thus: "The Rule of Truth requires that we should believe. . . . . The same Rule of Truth teaches us to believe . . . ." where the *Rule of Truth* must be equivalent to the church's order, requiring a belief in the church's teaching, this teaching furnishing the standard by which every statement was to be measured. Once more, Victorinus of Petavium (Hahn, § 12) speaks of the *arundo et mensura fidei*, the measuring rod of the faith. So far the statement of Bingham (*Antiq.* x. iii. 2) that the word κανὼν (rule) was one of the many titles given to the *symbolum* or creed requires enlargement.

This distinction was fully recognised in later years. At present, we may refer to the large mass of teaching put forward confidently by Irenaeus, not only in the passages quoted in the article on the CREEDS, but throughout his great work. Thus he says, i. 22. 1: "if we hold the rule of truth we can detect and confute" such and such assertions of the Valentinians; in i. 27. 4, he speaks of people adulterating the truth and teaching of the church; in ii. 30. 9, of the advantage we possess in standing by Him "whom the law announces, whom the prophets proclaim, whom Christ reveals, whom the apostles hand down, whom the church believes." In iii. (Introduction) we read of the duty of contending for the true and life-giving faith which the church received from the Apostles and delivered to her children. On this faith he enlarges much, especially in chap. 3, in which he appeals to the churches of Christendom, and especially to the churches of Rome, Smyrna, and Ephesus. He claims that what was contrary to the teaching of these churches must be false, for "the apostles have poured into the church, as into a rich depository, all things that belong to the truth, so that every one that wills may drink out of it the water of life." Compare chap. 5. 1. In book v. he confirms all his teaching out of the discourses of our Saviour. Such was the Faith which the Apostles handed down, and which was sufficient to "measure" the early heresies.

Passing from Irenaeus to Origen we have, in the latter's work, περὶ ἀρχῶν, indications of other points which were considered to be part of the faith handed down by the Apostles. He enumerates these among others: that every rational soul possesses freewill and choice, and that we have to pass through a struggle with the devil and his angels; again, that this world was made at a certain time, and is hereafter to be dissolved; that the Scriptures were written *per Spiritum Dei et sensum habeant, non eum solum qui in manifesto est, sed et alium quemdam latentem plurimos.* Of course these subjects were never introduced into the Baptismal Creed. Further illustration of the same distinction is given by St. Cyril of Jerusalem. His fourth lecture is devoted to a brief summary (ἀνακεφαλαίωσις σύντομος) of the doctrines which are necessary to be believed, and he introduces much that is deeply interesting on the following subjects:—God, Christ, the Birth from the Virgin, the Cross, the Burial, Resurrection, Assumption, the Future Judgment, and the Holy Spirit. But these lessons are followed by others on the condition of man, his soul, his body, on his food, his clothing, his resurrection, the laver, the Holy Scriptures, including a list of the books "which we read confidently in the church." In Saint Augustine's Enchiridion (15, vol. vi. col. 375) the *Regula Fidei* is the creed. But in his Letters this phrase (as well as the corresponding *Regula Veritatis*) is used of the general or traditional teaching of the church. Thus (*Ep.* xciii. § 40) in discussing the conduct of Cyprian as to the rebaptizing of heretics, Augustine says that "if Cyprian's opinions were wrong at one time, he afterwards corrected them by the rule of truth." In another letter (*Ep.* cclxv.) he says that "they who deny the *locus poenitentiae* to persons after baptism, are utterly alien from the rule of the Catholic faith, and from the teaching of Christ and His Apostles." (See, too, *Ep.* cxlvii. § 34. In *Epp.* clxxxvii. § 29, and cxciii. § 11, *regula fidei* stands for the baptismal creed.)

As time passed along, the rule of the faith was considered to include the decisions of the councils which were generally received. Thus the council of Chalcedon did not only confirm the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople, but it also adopted the synodical letters of Cyril of Alexandria, and the letter of Leo to Flavian, and, by way of addition or explanation, it put out its own confession. This confession was substantially incorporated with the document which Quesnel conceived to be the letter on the faith which used to be addressed by the popes of Rome on their election to the bishops of the East. Again, the collections of councils give, under the first council of Toledo, "the rule of faith which the bishops of Tarragona and others transmitted to Balconius, bishop of Gallicia, against all heresies, and especially against the Priscillianists." (Labbe, ii. 1227; Mansi, iii. 1003.) In the preface to the canons of the second council of Orange (C. Arausicanum ii. anno 529; Labbe, iv. 1666; Mansi, viii. 711) we read that some persons had wandered from the rule of the faith in regard to grace and free-will. The language quoted above as from the first council of Toledo was repeated at Braga in 563 (Labbe, v. 836; Mansi, ix. 774). The well-known councils of Toledo (No. III. anno 589; No. IV. anno 633; No. VI. anno 638; No. XI. anno 675) put forth representations of "the Catholic faith" in ever-increasing volume, but it is only in the last (apparently) that the bishops used the phrase "Rule of Faith." They said that for three days they consulted together in order that they might lay down "hanc ipsam regulam fidei verbis simplicibus." (The result of their deliberations occupies four columns in Labbe's folio, vi. 541–545.) A similar desire to expand the rule according as necessity seemed to arise, may be observed in other councils, as in Milan A.D. 680, and in Rome the same year. About the year 630 St. Isidore of Seville wrote a work on the offices of the church (Migne, lxxxiii.), in which we find (p. 817) a long chapter entitled *De Regula Fidei.* The articles enumerated in it

refer to the Persons of the Holy Trinity, the nature of the Incarnate Son of God, the creation, the origin of the soul, its original righteousness, marriage, baptism, repentance, worldly property, our resurrection, eternal punishment. This is the more interesting because it was adopted almost verbatim as his "rule of faith" by Rabanus Maurus, the pupil of Alcuin and teacher of Walafrid Strabo and others, who died archbishop of Mayence 856. The council of Arles in 813 put forth as its confession the rule of the fourth council of Toledo held in 633. The subjects of this were limited, as are the subjects of our "Athanasian Creed," to the Trinity and to the Person and work of our Lord. [C. A. S.]

FAITHLEC (Faithlee) founded the abbey of Clontuskert, in the barony of South Ballintober, co. Roscommon (Ware, *Ir. Ant.* c. 26; *Mon. Hib.* 90). [J. G.]

FAITHLENN, "son of Aedh Diamhan, of the race of Corc, son of Lugaidh," &c., traced up to Oilill Olum, is commemorated in *Mart. Doneg.* at June 4. He may be the same as Faelan, son of Aedus Damanius or Bennanius, of the royal house of Munster, of whom, along with Colman and Fethadius, Colgan gives a short account at March 31. [Faelan (4).] If they are not the same, they are brothers, and flourished in the first half of the 7th century, Aedh Beannan, king of West Munster, having died in A.D. 619, at which year the *Ann. Tigernach* have the death of Aedh Bendan, king of Munster (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* ii. 184). At Sept. 5 there is a Faithlenn, whom *Mart. Tallaght* calls "Faithlenn Deochoin," and O'Clery (in *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 237) suggests that he may be this Faithlenn. [J. G.]

FALCIDIUS, a person, apparently a deacon of Rome, who endeavoured to shew (1) that in the Old Testament Levites were on an equality with priests; (2) that under the New Testament deacons were to be so regarded in reference to presbyters. This presumptuous claim a writer, formerly supposed to have been St. Augustine, confutes in a treatise entitled, *De Jactantiâ Romanorum Levitarum.* It is contained in a work entitled *Quaestiones ex utroque mixtim*, *i.e.* gathered both from the Old Testament and the New Testament, and is now placed in the appendix to vol. iii. of the works of Augustine, but it is no longer ascribed to him as its author. The writer shews conclusively enough that as the greater contains the less, so the presbyterate contains the diaconate, but that this does not imply that the two orders are identical. (Aug. *Opp.* vol. iii. *App.* p. 2301, qu. 101.) [H. W. P.]

FALCO (Foulques), 19th bishop of Maestricht (afds. Liége), succeeding his brother Eucherius I. about A.D. 495, and followed by Eucharius II. upon his death, about A.D. 512. Upon his consecration he appears to have usurped episcopal rights over the church of Mouzon, which belonged to the see of Rheims, ordaining priests and deacons to it, and appointing an archdeacon and a precentor (primicerius scholae clarissimae), and appropriating the church revenues. These proceedings drew from St. Remigius, the archbishop of Rheims, a letter of remonstrance, to be found in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxv. 968. (*Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, i. 54, Liége, 1612, ed. Chapeauville; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 817; cf. Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs sacrés*, xi. 81.) [S. A. B.]

FALCONIA (Faltonia) **PROBA**, of much esteem in the middle ages as a Christian poetess, but of uncertain name, place, and family. Of her works there is but one extant, *Centones Virgiliani* (*Bibl. Vet. Patr.* 708–716, Paris, 1624; *Virgil. Cent.* exc. Henr. Steph. an. 1578; Migne, Patr. Lat. t. xix. 802–818). She uses Virgil's words, after a short original preface, to tell the events of the Bible from the creation to the ascension of Christ, but her hexameters have little point in Christian teaching, and, from the very exigencies of the case, breathe little of Virgil. Her own identity is much disputed, and she is wholly unknown if she be not (and this identification appears to be generally assumed for want of information to the contrary) Anicia (or Valeria) Faltonia Proba, the pious wife of Sextus Anicius Petronius Probus (called by Isidorus, "Adelfius the proconsul"), whose nobility, wealth, and liberality made him one of the most honoured Romans in the end of the 4th century. [Falconia Proba, in *Dict. Greek and Roman Biography.*] Her husband was consul with Gratian, and a Christian, though late in life; and her three sons, Olybrius, Probinus, and Probus, were also consuls. She had great influence at Rome, and used it in favour of the Christians; her daughter-in-law, Juliana, was the friend of St. Augustine, and her grand-daughter, Demetrias, the friend of St. Jerome. [Demetrias.] From Cucusus in Armenia the exiled St. Chrysostom, in A.D. 406, wrote a letter (*Ep.* 168 al. 188) to her in reference to the persecutions and disorders at Rome, recommending the confessors to her charity; and when Alaric had taken Rome (A.D. 410), and the widowed Proba had found refuge in Africa, she came more immediately under the influence of St. Augustine of Hippo, and received from him (*Ep.* 130 al. 121) a letter in which, recognising her widowhood and wealth, he specially recommends to her the great duty of prayer. The time and place of Proba Falconia's death are unknown, and the above attempt at identification, though common, is very doubtful. (Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.* A.D. 395, i. ii. and 410, iv.; Cave, *Script. Eccl. Hist. Lit.* i. 255; Lindemannus, *Corp. Gram. Lat. Vet.* iii. 65; Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.* 36.) [J. G.]

FALDUS, bishop of Lyons. [Fulcoaldus.]

FALE, ST. [Fidolus.]

FALLAMHAIN (Folloman), bishop, is commemorated on July 31, along with his brothers Colman, Jarnog, Natal or Naile, and Papan, who are said to have been the sons of Nadfraech, or rather the sons of that Aengus, son of Nadfraech, king of Cashel or Munster, whom St. Patrick converted and baptized, and who was slain at Cillosnadh, now Kellistown, co. Carlow, in A.D. 489. Fallamhain was bishop of Santry, now a village in the barony of Coolock, co. Dublin. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 207; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 169, c. 2, 174 n. [12]; *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc.* 4 ser. iii. 185.) [Naile.] [J. G.]

FALTONIUS PINIANUS. [PINIANUS.]

FALVAX. The standard catalogue of the archbishops of Tarragona contains the death of Falvax, A.D. 578; but in most lists the name is marked as doubtful, and even placed at the end of the catalogue from uncertainty where it ought to stand. Domenca, in his life of Cyprian, archbishop of Tanagma, places him before that bishop, and says that he died "cum insigni nomine et pietate." (Florez, *España Sagrada*, xxv. 77; Gams, *Series Episc.* 76.) [L. D.]

FANTINUS (1), confessor. [FANTIUS.]

FANTINUS (2), defensor, who in 599 receives letters from Gregory the Great in behalf of the Jews turned out of their synagogue, and on many other subjects. He is called defensor of Palermo in one place, in another of Naples. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ix. indict. ii. ep. 55; lib. x. indict. iii. ep. 14, etc.; Migne, lxxvii. 993–1076.) [FAUSTINUS (38).] [A. H. D. A.]

FANTIUS, martyr, July 31, with Deodata his wife, under Diocletian. They were rich and of noble birth, living at Syracuse. While still heathens they were charitable and devout, earnestly supplicating the gods to send them a child. In due time the child was born and named Fantinus, and they continued pagans till he reached the age of twelve. One day, when hunting, the boy pursued a deer into a cave where dwelt a hermit, by whom he was converted and baptized. Returning home he led his parents to embrace the faith. On making a public profession they were arrested, severely scourged, and cast with their child into prison. There in the middle of the night an angel appeared with a light, who encouraged the parents to endure, and allowed the boy to escape. A short time after, the parents suffered martyrdom. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vii. 177; Cajetanus, *Vitae SS. Sicul.* i. 149.) [G. T. S.]

FAOILEANN. [FAILA.]

FAOILENN, FAOLAN. [FAELAN.]

FARA, ST. (BURGUNDOFARA), daughter of Chagneric, a high official at the court of Theodebert king of Austrasia. Her mother was Leodegunda. She was at an early age consecrated to a conventual life by St. Columbanus, but being opposed by her father she fell ill. Her father relented at the earnest representations of Columbanus and Eustasius. She then recovered, and took the veil at Meaux in 614. She was afterwards elected abbess of a convent called after her, Fare-moûtier, near Meaux. Here she established the rule of St. Columbanus, and died in 655. Her festival was kept on Dec. 7. An account of her will be found in Mabillon (*Acta SS. O. S. B.* tom. ii. p. 420), based upon the earliest mention of her by Jonas of Bobbio in his lives of Columbanus (sec. 50) and Eustathius (sec. 13) which are also given by Mabillon (*ibid.* pp. 22, 113). [I. G. S.]

FARAMUNDUS (1) (FARAMODUS), twenty-third bishop of Paris, succeeding Eusebius II. and followed by Simplicius. He was a brother of Ragnemodus, the twenty-first bishop, on whose death he sought the bishopric, but was postponed in favour of the Syrian Eusebius II. (circ. A.D. 591). On the latter's death, however, which was not long delayed, he succeeded him according to the catalogues. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* x. 26; *Gall. Chr.* vii. 22; Gams, *Series Episc.* 596.) [S. A. B.]

FARAMUNDUS (2), usurping bishop of Liége, or, as the see was then called, Maestricht. Upon the death of Childeric II. in 673, St. Lambert was driven from the city and Faramundus put in his place. But after an exile of seven years, St. Lambert was restored by Pippin, and Faramund ejected from the province. (*Vita S. Landeberti*, auct. Godescalco, in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. iii. pt. i. pp. 71–2; Paris, 1668–1701.) [S. A. B.]

FARAMUNDUS (3), seventeenth bishop of Cologne, succeeding Anno I. and followed by Raginfredus. His exact date is uncertain, but he sat early in the 8th century. Some have identified him with the preceding, but without authority. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 629.) [S. A. B.]

FARANN was one of the three brothers, called O'Burchan, viz., Farann, Boethgal, and Maoltuile, in the time of Cathal, son of Finghin, king of Munster, who died A.D. 742 (*Ann. Tig.*). These three are said to have been respectively bishop, judge, and poet, and to have made a digest of laws under the title *Judicia Coelestia*. (O'Reilly, *Irish Writers*, p. lii.; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, ii. pt. iii. 78; Tanner, *Bibl.* 273; O'Conor, *Proleg.* ii. 67.) [J. G.]

FARANNAN. [FORANNAN.]

FARDULFUS, a native of Lombardy, whom Charles the Great carried into France along with king Didier, after the capture of Pavia. While in exile he became the fortunate discoverer of a plot formed against the life of Charles by his eldest son, Pepin, and upon the death of Maginarius, A.D. 790, was preferred, in consequence of this service, to the abbacy of St. Denys. Gratitude for his promotion led him to enlarge the monastery by the addition of a magnificent hall in which to entertain his patron. In a short poem ascribed to Alcuin (Migne, Patrol. vol. ci. p. 552), he is eulogized on account of his munificence in this and other respects. An ancient MS. belonging to the abbey records that he accompanied the king in his expedition against the Saxons in 795, and was likewise one of the delegates whom Charles appointed to visit and report upon the various provinces of his realm, with a view to the better enforcement of law. He died in 806, and was buried within the walls of the abbey of St. Denys. His only extant writings are three short elegiac poems, (1) An inscription written for the façade of the hall above mentioned. (2) An inscription for a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist, which he built in performance of a vow made in the first year of his exile. (3) A fragment addressed in all probability to his royal patron. (Migne, Patrol. vol. xcix. p. 825.) [E. M. Y.]

FARMUS, bishop of Viseo. [FIRMUS.]

FARNAN. [FORANNAN.]

FARO (BURGUNDOFARO), ST., nineteenth bishop of Meaux. There are three lives of him

extant, the chief and oldest of which, written by Hildegar, bishop of the same diocese, in the 9th century, in a diffuse and wearisome style, and by no means free from errors, is to be found in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 606–625, Paris, 1668–1701. He was born in the district of Brie (Pagus Briegius), in Burgundy. Agnericus, his father, was a noble of the court of Theodebert of Austrasia, who entertained St. Columban, and received the saint's blessing on his house and daughter (*Vita S. Columbani*, Mabillon, ii. 25). His mother's name was Leudegundis. Chagnoaldus bishop of Laon was his brother, and the famous St. Fara and Agnetrudis were his sisters. His biographer quaintly derives his name from *famen* and *ros*, quod caelestis doctrina fando sicut ros manabat ejus ab ore, but it appears to have been the equivalent for a noble in the Burgundian language. The first part of his life was spent in courts. Theodebert, Theodoric, Clotaire II. and Dagobert II. were successively his patrons. His biographer asserts, though incorrectly (see Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* x. 28), that he was the godfather of Clotaire II. Influenced, probably, in part by his sister St. Fara, he became a priest, after persuading his wife to take the veil. With his wealth he enriched the church of St. Stephen at Meaux, and was remarkable for his hospitality to the English and Irish missionaries. To St. Fiacrius, or Fefrus, he gave land of his own for a monastery in the forest of Breuil, and St. Chillenus, or Kilian, another Irishman, he received into his monastery and sent on a mission to the Atrebatenses (Artois). Under Dagobert I., son of Clotaire, he held the office of chancellor, or referendarius, in which capacity his signature is appended to a charter of the year 628 (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxx. 507). About this last date he became bishop of Meaux, succeeding Gundoald, and not Walbert, as his biographer supposes (see Mabillon ut supr. n. and Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 642, n. xiv. tom. iii. p. 647). His career as bishop is outlined by the dates of the charters he signed, but beyond them we have few details. In A.D. 635 or 636, he consecrated, in company with Audoenus, an altar at the monastery of Rebais, which Audoenus had built by Dagobert's command (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 636, n. ii. tom. iii. p. 30). In 649 he was present at the translation of the bodies of St. Crispin and St. Crispinian (Le Cointe, an. 649, n. xii. tom. iii. 240). In 652 he subscribed a charter of Landericus, bishop of Paris, for the monastery of St. Dionysius (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 299). In 657 he was at the second council of Sens (Le Cointe, an. 657 n. 16, tom. iii. 450). In 659 he subscribed the charter of Emmo, bishop of Sens, for the monastery of St. Pierre le Vif (Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1171); and in 662 he was one of the bishops to whom Berthefridus of Amiens addressed his concession for the monastery of Corbie (Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1178). In 666 he signed that of Drausius, bishop of Soissons, for the convent of the Blessed Virgin in that city (Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1183). He was himself the builder of a monastery on his own land, which he dedicated to the Holy Cross, John the Baptist, and all the Apostles, according to Le Cointe (an. 642, n. lxiii. tom. iii. 162) in A.D. 642, and in which he entertained St. Adrian, the companion of Theodore, on his way to England, in 668 (Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 1). In his biography are found several miracles. He died, according to Mabillon, in 672, and was buried in the church of the monastery he had built. His successor in the see was St. Hildevertus. His day of commemoration is the 28th of Oct. (Usuard. *Mart.* Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 629; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. xii. 593; *Gall. Christ.* viii. 1599.) [S. A. B.]

FAROALDUS I., the first Lombard duke of Spoleto, c. 580. According to Paulus Diaconus (iii. 13) he attacked and devastated Classis, the port of Ravenna. This is improbable. (Note by Waitz, *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 100. *Catalogus Imperatorum Ducum*, etc. in *Mon. Lang.* p. 521.) [A. H. D. A.]

FAROALDUS II., duke of Spoleto, c. 703, son of Thrasamund. He invaded Classis, the port of Ravenna, but at the command of king Liutprand restored it to the Greeks. His son Thrasamund rebelled against him, c. 724, deposed him and made him a cleric. (Paulus Diac. vi. 30–44, *Catologus Imperatorum Ducum*, etc. in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 522.) Pope John VII. confirmed the privileges and property of the abbey of Farfa at the request of Faroald (Jaffé, *Regesta Pont.* p. 173; Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* no. 374, iii. 61). He is also mentioned in *Historiae Farfenses* (Pertz, *Monum. Scriptores*, xi. 524.) [A. H. D. A.]

FASCIUS (FASTIUS), a Christian of Hippo Regius, who, having incurred a debt of fifteen solidi [about £17 19*s.* 1½*d.*, Smith, DICT. OF ANTIQ. pp. 182, 1240], being pressed by his creditors, and afraid of incurring the personal punishment to which he was liable, took refuge in the church. But by the law of Theodosius he was liable to removal thence unless the bishop should defray the amount due (*Cod. Thedos.* ix. 45, 1–3). In order to avoid the disgrace of a public appeal to the congregation to meet this difficulty, Augustine was obliged to borrow the money from Macedonius [MACEDONIUS], under promise on the part of Fascius of repayment by a certain day. But when the time had elapsed for the fulfilment of this promise, and he himself had not been reminded of it on the Whitsunday lately passed, Augustine being absent, wrote to his flock, requesting them to make a collection for the purpose, and undertaking that the deficiency, if any, should be made up from the property of the church, assuring them at the same time that whatever was given in this way was really offered to God. (Aug. *Ep.* 248; Bingham, *Orig.* viii. 11, 4; Tillemont, 93, vol. xiii. p. 238.) [H. W. P.]

FASIR, one of the leaders of the Circumcellions, whom their followers dignified with the title of "leaders of the saints." (Opt. iii. 4.) [DONATISM, Vol. I. p. 883; AXIDUS.] [H. W. P.]

FASTI SICULI. [CHRONICON PASCHALE.]

FASTIDIOSUS. A monk and presbyter in the north African church at the commencement of the 6th century, at the time when the persecuting zeal of the Arians under their Vandal princes had desolated the church and exiled her bishops. Fastidiosus, according to the strongly-worded accusations of Fulgentius of Ruspe, deser-

ted his ecclesiastical functions and fell into gross profligacy (*S. Fulgentii contra Sermonem Fastidiosi Ariani ad Victorem*, cc. 21, 22; Migne, Patrol. lxv. pp. 507–528). He subsequently identified himself with the Arians, and openly proclaimed their views. One of the *sermones* of Fastidiosus fell into the hands of Victor, who wrote to Fulgentius enclosing a copy, and asking for light. Fastidiosus (*Sermo Fastidiosi Ariani*, appended to Epistola ix.; Fulg. *Opp.* Migne, Patr. lxv. p. 375) had involved himself in a monophysite Arianism, which drove him to assert the separability as well as the individuality of the Persons of the Holy Trinity, and to urge that the Lord Christ, having been factus, creatus, natus, before the ages, had also been born of the Virgin in time, and thus was "separated" from the Father and the Spirit. He argued that unless the Trinity be "inseparable," the whole Trinity was incarnated, suffered, died, and rose again. Fastidiosus reasoned with much acuteness, and was replied to by Fulgentius in twenty-two chapters of ingenious argument and exposition. The virulence and wrath of the closing chapters, referring to the private life of Fastidiosus, is extraordinary and almost terrible. [FULGENTIUS (3).] [H. R. R.]

FASTIDIUS, of whom Gennadius of Marseilles, in his book *De Illustribus Viris* (written about A.D. 480, see Ebert's *Geschichte der Christlich-Lateinischen Literatur*, i. 427), c. 56, says—"Fastidius Britanniarum episcopus scripsit ad Fatalem [quendam] de Vita Christiana librum unum, et alium de Viduitate servanda, sana et Deo digna doctrina." The Corbey MS. of Gennadius has merely "Fastidius Britto," but the other MSS. read as above, and Fastidius may have been one of the numerous Celtic bishops without fixed sees. He only wrote one book, addressed to a *widow* Fatalis, whom he calls "dilectissima soror," but the last chapter is headed "Viduarum triplex genus;" the book itself he compares to country bread, which is better for the hungry than that made of very fine flour. It is printed in Galland, ix. p. 481–489, as a separate work, after Holstenius's example, having been previously assigned to St. Augustine. In literary tradition the great name swallows up all the little names, and some semi-Pelagian works have been thus assigned to the very father who combated Pelagianism. Fastidius actually quotes his fellow-countryman Pelagius twice, though without naming him, and Gennadius, himself a semi-Pelagian, praises him for his sound doctrine. In one place Fastidius speaks of those who sin "after Adam's *example*," the very phrase of Pelagius; in another he copies Pelagius's advice as to how the saints should pray, words similarly addressed to a *widow* Juliana, the mother of Demetrias. (See Galland, ix. pref. p. xxix.; H. Wharton's *Historia de Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus*, p. 6; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 16.) [C. W. B.]

FASTIUS of Hippo Regius. [FASCIUS.]

FASTRADA, the third wife of Charles the Great, married to him a few months after the death of Hildegardis in A.D. 783. She was the daughter of Radolfus, a count of the Eastern Franks, that is, according to Einhard, Germans. She was notorious for her cruelty, and her evil influence perverted the naturally benign and mild disposition of her husband. Pippin the Hunchback, a son of Charles by Himiltrudis a concubine, was driven by her oppression to revolt, 792. Fastrada died in 794 at Frankfort on the Main, and was buried in the church of St. Albanus at Mainz, but on the burning of that church her remains were transported to the metropolitan church of the city. She left two daughters, Theoderada and Hiltrudis. There is extant a letter written to her by Charles in 792 announcing a victory over the Avars and the litanies and fasts ordained by the clergy on the occasion. It is to be found in Patr. Lat. xcviii. 897, and in Eginhard, *Leben und Wandel Karls des Grossen*, ii. 76, ed. Ideler. (See the *Annales* in Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.* i. 164, 165, 179, 180, 181, 299, 300; Einhardi *Vita Karoli M.* Pertz, ii. 453–5.)

Three epitaphs on Fastrada are extant, the first by Theodulfus bishop of Orleans (lib. ii. carm. 11; in Patr. Lat. cv. 314) was engraved on her tomb in the church of St. Albanus. Two others are given by Serarius (*Rerum Mogunt.* lib. i. c. 31, tom. i. p. 72), one put up when her remains were moved after the fire, the other more modern. [S. A. B.]

FATHERS, THE. This term has been applied variously, both in classical and Christian times (see DICT. OF CHRISTIAN ANT. I. 665). It is here considered with reference to those primeval writers of the Christian church whose remains constitute what is called Patristic literature—a literature commencing with the 1st but ending practically with the 7th century, there having been few representatives of it acknowledged in the West and East alike subsequently to the sixth council, A.D. 680, when the last of the great heresies relating to the Incarnation — viz., Monothelism — was condemned. And, in truth, when we come to inquire when and where the application of the term in this sense commenced, we shall find that whatever instances might be cited of its earlier application, it dates as a phrase from the time when the bishops who met in oecumenical synod at Nicaea for the first time began to be so designated by their supporters and admirers in the struggle that ensued. Previously to this, appeal was made rather to men than books; to lives and deaths in defence of the faith rather than logic or rhetoric. Those who had lived for it were called brethren; those who had suffered for it, athletes or confessors; and those who had died for it, martyrs; even in referring to their works for what was held and taught in primitive times. (Comp. Euseb. *E. H.* v. 28, 2.) Tertullian himself founds his rule, not on the consent of fathers, but of churches (De Praes. c. 32–6). It is St. Athanasius who first quotes "fathers" as witnesses to the faith. "If the faith," he says, "commenced with the present consulship,"—as the Ecthesis emanating from his opponents was dated—"how will the fathers and the blessed martyrs fare?" (ap. Soc. *E. H.* ii. 37). And again, "It is not only now that the canons and formularies of the church were placed in our hands; but they were handed down to us securely and faithfully by the fathers" (*Ep. Encycl.* § 1). Further, it was he mainly who procured for the council of Nicaea that prerogative which it retains to this day. The first

fathers to be quoted as a distinct authority were "the τιη′ (318) fathers." All earlier or later writers upholding the doctrine set forth in their creed were by degrees admitted to the same distinction and style by succeeding councils and controversialists, in quoting from their works. "We pronounce," say the bishops of the fourth council in their first canon, "it to be befitting and just that the canons of the holy fathers made in every synod to this time remain in full force." The canons of Arian synods are not confirmed, nor their framers classed with fathers in this pronouncement. Subsequently the fathers were distinguished according to the age in which they lived by the epithets apostolic, ante-Nicene, post-Nicene, &c.; or, with reference to their writings, apologists, doctors, commentators, &c.; or, with reference to their country, Greek, Latin, African, Gallican, Anglican, &c. Of African fathers, St. Fulgentius in the 6th century was the latest; of Greek, St. John Damascene in the 8th; of Latin, St. Gregory the Great in the 6th, Venerable Bede in the 8th, St. Peter Damian in the 11th, and St. Bernard in the 12th. Another distinction ought also to be pointed out and remarked upon: viz., into sainted and unsainted. For as there are numerous saints in the calendar who were never styled fathers, so there are several of the fathers who were never styled saints. Origen and Tertullian, in particular, have been placed in this latter class, all the world over, as being unsound on some points, though, for general purposes, their authority ranks high even among the fathers. Further, as it was no pope, but common consent, which qualified the honour in which their names should be held, so neither was it any pope, but common consent, that dictated which of the fathers should also be styled saints. Canonization, in the modern sense of the word, was a process unknown in their day. The epithets ante-Nicene and post-Nicene explain themselves, as a chronological division of fathers who lived anterior or posterior to the first council of Nicaea, A.D. 325. Apostolical, viz., such as were personally known to the apostles, or anyhow flourished in the same age, form a subdivision of group I., with St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, and St. Polycarp of Smyrna, for its representatives. All that can be said about them personally, or their extant letters—the only species of composition remaining to us certainly belonging to this period—will be found in this work under their respective names. Under "Barnabas," similarly, will be found all that can be said of the epistle ascribed to him; and under 'Hermas,' of the allegorical work bearing his name, called 'The Shepherd.' The authorship and character of the 'Epistle to Diognetus' is discussed under that title.

At first the writings of the fathers were for the most part "apologetic," that is, of a defensive character. Even the epistles of St. Ignatius, and of St. Clement of Rome, so far as they are deprecatory, though addressed to believers, might be so classed. For St. Clement deprecates divisions as being against Christian brotherhood; St. Ignatius as being against church-order. Indeed, it should be pointed out that though, popularly, by Apologists are meant such as vindicated Christianity from attacks made against it by Jews or heathen; still, so far as argument is concerned, even the controversial works of the next period must be characterized as defensive too; and, in point of fact, Apologists and Controversialists are separated from each other solely by their subject-matter and address. Hence, to prevent confusion, those who defended the faith against Jews and heathens should be designated "Apologists proper;" and those who defended it against heretics, "Apologists special." The former of these having had a separate article assigned to them already, very little could be said about their works here that would not involve repetition. Thus much it may, however, be well to add: 1. These treatises have, generally speaking, a two-fold value for us, which is more than can be said of half the mere controversial works of the next period. For they are valuable, both as shewing the objections urged against Christianity by contemporaries with the living facts in full view; and as answering by anticipation objections of the same kind recast and repeated in modern times. Greeks, Romans and Jews of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd centuries were far abler judges of the intrinsic merits of the cause then defended by the Apologists than the acutest thinkers and subtlest reasoners in lands permeated by Christian influences can be now; and the wholesale conversion of the vastest, most civilized, most heterogeneous empire that the world has yet seen by Christianity, is a homage to the weight of argument in its favour at its commencement, and antecedently to its achievements, such as we may fairly say no other cause can be shewn to have received before or since. Further, in estimating their collective value, we must never forget that the greater proportion of these treatises has not come down to us. 2. It must be remembered that, from the nature of the case, Christian Apologists, when they had pagans for their opponents, could only base their arguments on such grounds as paganism would admit. Pagan superstitions and pagan mythology supplied them, of course, with topics in abundance for retorting on their opponents; but the principles of morality and natural theology were the sole topics to which they could appeal of a positive kind. In reasoning with the Jews, again, the Scriptures of the Old Testament set bounds to the argument from the Revelation. It was first in controversy with heretics, that the New, as well as the Old Testament, formed the stand-point on both sides. Heretics attacked the interpretation put upon the whole Bible by the Church, and the fathers defended it. As, therefore, St. Justin Martyr was the earliest of the extant Apologists proper, so the great work of St. Irenaeus may be called the earliest of the Apologies special. And these two classes of works may be compared with profit. For this distinction is of the utmost importance to ourselves, in estimating their respective references to Scripture. Tertullian supplies us with some treatises of each kind, for example: Now, throughout his *Apology*, and his work addressed *To the Nations*, though descanting on Jewish history and Christian customs in both, he never once quotes Scripture *as Scripture*. In a single passage of his work *Against the Jews*, he is surprised into saying: "Et merito evangelista"—whom, however, he will not name—"Lex et prophetae usque ad Joannem." (c. 8). In the

very next chapter, as though conscious of having gone too far, he quotes sayings of the Jews and of Christ recorded in the Gospels, but without specifying where they are to be found. "Sic et Babylon apud Joannem nostrum Romae urbis figura est" (*ib.*) is his sole remaining explicit reference to the New Testament; but, again, the *work* to which he refers is not named. In his treatise, *De Praescript. Haereticorum*, on the other hand, the New Testament is quoted professedly more than one hundred times, with the books as often as not named, from which he quotes. St. Irenaeus was contemporary with Tertullian, and St. Justin Martyr, about a quarter of a century prior to both. The *Refutation of all Heresies* contains quotations from heretics about as much earlier than St. Justin, as St. Hippolytus, its reputed author, was later than St. Irenaeus.

These quotations from heretics we class for convenience with the *Apologies* and work *against Trypho* by St. Justin: their *Refutation*, whether by St. Hippolytus or not, with the well-known work of St. Irenaeus on the same subject. On comparing them, we get a repetition of the same phenomena noticed in the treatises corresponding to them by Tertullian, for which a cause must be sought.

That is to say: (1) St. Justin, in his *first Apology*, produces a number of the sayings of Christ *as the sayings of Christ*, but omits pointedly to state where they are to be found. In quoting from the books of the Old Testament on the contrary, he names their authors without any reserve. First in one passage, speaking of the institution of the Eucharist, he ventures on referring to what the apostles had handed down, ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν—using a word familiarized already to his hearers in the 'Memoirs of Socrates' by Xenophon, as Grabe points out—ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, as if apologizing for having named them. And in the next section he contrasts these 'Memoirs of the Apostles' with the 'Writings of the Prophets;' as though covering his reference to the first by the last. In his *Second Apology* there is no reference to them whatever. In his dialogue with *Trypho the Jew*, Moses, Isaiah, Hosea, David, Ezekiel, Amos, Malachi, Zachariah, Daniel, are frequently quoted by name; whereas, out of about twenty passages where the sayings of Christ are quoted as His, there is but one where the alleged saying is said to be found written in the Gospel generally (ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται εἰπών, § 100), but four, where they are said to be written in the 'Memoirs of the Apostles,' and but one of these, the last, where the writer admits having learnt it from thence (§§ 101, 102, 104, 105). (2) Of all the citations from the works of heretics in their *Refutation*, but one, viz., from Basilides, refers to 'the Gospels' by name (vii. 10), though there are numbers where the sayings of Christ are quoted as His.

Reserve so studied cannot have been accidental, neither should we be justified in affirming it proceeded from ignorance of the Gospels in the shape they now bear, for Tertullian, who maintains equal reserve throughout his works against heathen and Jews, in his single work on *Prescription*, could have scarce shewn more intimate familiarity with the canonical books of the New Testament had he now been alive. Christians had been authoritatively warned against "casting their pearls before swine," and this, and not lack of materials to refer to, prompted their reserve, when arguing with outsiders—a reserve which even heretics shared more or less. If Origen, writing against Celsus, is more explicit at times, it is due to the fact that he was really writing *for Christians* whose minds had been shaken by the vigorous onslaught upon their sacred books of one conversant with their contents. Nevertheless, compare this work of Origen with that of St. Irenaeus against heresies, and the contrast is plain. The Gospels were no authority for Celsus, nor did he raise questions, or expend criticism, about their authors. He disputed their facts, reviled their doctrines, imputed their miracles to occult arts. Origen, accordingly, referred to them from the standpoint of his opponent, and no further. The heretics, refuted by St. Irenaeus, appealed to them, and to works which they placed on the same footing, in confirmation of their own peculiar views. St. Irenaeus was, therefore, called upon not merely to quote Scripture, but to shew distinctly what interpretations had been put upon it by the church, and what books received into the canon. Such was the diligence, and such the prophetic instinct, with which he performed his task; that, as if purposely to meet an exception to their genuineness, made 1700 years after his time, he quotes not only the opening but the concluding words of the Gospel of St. Mark, as they stand now (c. *Haer.* iii. 10).

(3) It has been often observed, as of the fathers in general, so of the apologists in particular, that they repeat each other. This is true, but it is not peculiar to either by any means. All it proves is: 1, that they were literary men—readers, as well as writers, that is. And, 2, that they had a literature of their own. Tertullian and St. Irenaeus lived in the same age so completely that each may well have read and pondered over the writings of the other. Yet there is little or no ground for saying that Tertullian was indebted to St. Irenaeus for his masterly treatise, *De Praesc.*, though considerably more than the germ of it is contained in the second and third chapters of the third book of the latter *against Heresies*. St. Vincentius of Lerins, again, in the 5th century, could scarce be supposed unacquainted with the writings of both; but his *Commonitories* could not, with any justice, be stigmatized as the work of a plagiarist. A literature circumscribed in its range by the same facts, and inspired to overflowing by the same principles and aspirations, must necessarily repeat itself again and again in varying degrees, as occasion may require. Men who think alike, and put pen to paper on the same subjects, must inevitably write alike, whether professing to quote from each other or not. Floating ideas are inseparable from every such literature. Now, that there was such a thing as patristic literature, from the earliest times downwards, is a fact which cannot be denied, though probably nine-tenths of it have been lost. Of the great work of St. Irenaeus *against heresies*, and of the *commentaries* of Origen on the Old and New Testament for instance, what have we now remaining but fragments or translation? How many more works by them and by others have totally disappeared, that Eusebius names as

being extant in his day, besides as many again, which he says expressly circumstances obliged him to pass over (*E. H.* v. 27), an assertion which the eloquent specimen of them given in his next chapter abundantly bears out.

Apologists special, or controversialists, bloomed, of the two, rather in post-Nicene than ante-Nicene times, and in turn overlap the dogmatic period, which again more properly belongs to the schools than to the Fathers; though, indirectly, the more important of the controversial works of the latter have likewise their dogmatic side. The great work of St. Epiphanius *against heresies*, for instance, closes with a lucid exposition of the faith and practice of the church of his own day, which is anything but controversial; and several of the controversial pieces of St. Augustine supplied Peter Lombard with dogmatic extracts for his books of the *Sentences*.

Controversialists have their order fixed generally by the heresies against which they wrote, with St. Irenaeus at their head. All the principal heresies of the two first centuries are reviewed, and earnestly, as well as ably, refuted in his work against them, invaluable to us for the information it contains of those early times and schools of thought alone. Scarcely less so, but for the doubts still hanging about its authorship, is the work entitled similarly to his, and latterly thought to have been written at Rome by one contemporary with St. Hippolytus, bishop and martyr, if not by himself. (Westcott on the Canon, 4th ed. p. 271, note.) The work of Tertullian, on the same subject, has an argumentative value for all ages alike, and, whether original or not, the credit of the terseness with which the argument is stated must remain with him. His work against Marcion is full of interest, again, on historical and biblical grounds; all the other works against Marcion or his followers by St. Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Philip of Gortyna, Dionysius of Corinth, Bardesanes, Rhodon, and Hippolytus, mentioned by Eusebius, being no longer extant. From this work, then, we learn that broad distinctions were drawn in the earlier half of the 2nd century, not between the three first Gospels and the fourth, but between the third and the other three. Likewise, that of the 14 Epistles of St. Paul, ten were received by a heretic, who thought it worth his while to tamper with nine, and maintained only the shortest of them, that to Philemon, intact —"Miror, tamen," observes Tertullian (v. 21), "cum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quod ad Timotheum duas et unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit" . . . The work *against Praxeas*, though mainly refutative, may be called a forerunner of the dogmatic treatises of St. Augustine on the Trinity and Incarnation. It is worthy of notice how tentatively the word "Trinitas" is used in this treatise throughout. The Godhead is never once directly called by that name. The tract formerly printed among his works, but now assigned to Novatus or Novatian, the schismatic bishop of Rome, is a sorry performance, and one, curiously enough, in which that word is not found elsewhere than in its title. St. Cyprian, who writes as a controversialist on heretical baptism, writes as a dogmatist on church-unity, compromised by Novatian. It has been the fashion to charge the ante-Nicene fathers with either entertaining confused notions of what they professed to believe, or with believing some things which their successors pronounced heterodox. Now, first, as regards their personal orthodoxy, it has been too solidly vindicated by bishop Bull against Petavius, ever to be called in question again. Next, as regards definite thought and formulated expression, it is a charge which would apply with as much force to the post-Nicene fathers as to ante-Nicene, to the present as to all past ages alike. It is a simple fact, that all truth gains by discussion amongst men. And if the ante-Nicene fathers merely permitted themselves language that was subsequently revised, and expressed views that were subsequently qualified, after careful analysis by all of what they taught or believed, and authoritative declaration by the church of the boundaries between truth and error; they could not, without manifest unfairness, be contrasted unfavourably with any that followed them on that ground alone. When St. Athanasius, for instance, vindicates certain expressions of his predecessor, St. Dionysius against the Arians; and St. Augustine certain passages in St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, and Rufinus, against the Pelagians; are we not reminded of words like "hypostasis," and phrases like "Dominicus homo," requiring no less explanation in St. Athanasius himself, and of the two books of Retractations forming a preface to the voluminous works of St. Augustine by his own request? "Quid igitur opus est," as he nobly says of his predecessors, "ut eorum scrutemur opuscula, qui prius quam haeresis ista oriretur, non habuerunt necessitatem in hâc difficili ad solvendum quaestione versari: quod procul dubio facerent, si respondere talibus cogerentur" . . . (*De Praed.* c. 14.) Or, again, as if apologizing for his own shortcomings:—"Didicimus enim singulas quasque haereses intulisse ecclesiae proprias quaestiones, contra quas diligentius defenderetur Scriptura Divina, quam si nulla necessitas cogeret" . . . (*De Dono Persev.* c. 20.) Or, again, in the same spirit, but on another subject:—"Et de Patre quidem ac Filio multis libris disseruerunt docti et spirituales viri . . . . de Spiritu Sancto autem nondum tam copiose ac diligenter disputatum est a doctis et magnis Divinarum Scripturarum tractatoribus, ut intelligi facile possit et Ejus proprium, quo proprio fit ut Eum neque Filium neque Patrem dicere possimus, sed tantum Spiritum Sanctum" . . . . (*De Fide et Symb.* § 18, 19.) Yet this treatise was delivered as a discourse, "in the presence of the whole African episcopate," just twenty years after the publication of the well-known treatise, *De Spiritu Sancto*, by St. Basil.

The fact is, the fathers in all ages had their attention concentrated on the controversies of their own day, and seldom either raked up exploded errors, or refuted new by anticipation. Truth was drawn out by them in logical sequence, but without any design on their part, by being asserted against one error after another in succession. From the 1st to the end of the 4th century, all heresies, beginning with Gnosticism and ending with Macedonianism, were directed against the fact of the Incarnation or of the Trinity, and embodied a denial either of the reality of the Human and Divine Natures in the Incarnate Word, or of the existence of three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity in

the Godhead: of these, Gnosticism and Docetism soon died out. And even Sabellianism was discredited in ante-Nicene times by being simply called "Patripassiana." As Tertullian says of Praxeas, "Ipsit dicit Patrem descendisse in virginem, ipsum ex eâ natum, ipsum passum, denique ipsum esse Jesum Christum" (c. 1). No other contemporary works against it have been preserved entire. Arius distinguished between the Father and Him who became man, and refused to follow Artemon and Paul of Samosata, who had pronounced Him to be no more than man, yet denied Him to be very God. This, then, was the thesis which the first council of Nicaea resolved on maintaining under anathema, and which all the earlier post-Nicene fathers defended with their pens and lives, beginning with St. Athanasius. It is to his works, indeed almost exclusively, that we must go for a refutation of Arianism proper. St. Hilary supplies historical facts: in some cases of great value. St. Gregory Nazianzen, fervid orations; St. Phoebadius, two or three tracts; and the five books of St. Basil against Eunomius expose the impious tenets of the party called Anomoeans. But of other then renowned controversialists and champions of orthodoxy, Hosius of Cordova, Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, Eusebius of Vercelli, Meletius, and Paulinus, only fragments or letters remain. Eusebius the historian has left a work against Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, who was thought, in opposing Arianism, to have fallen into Sabellianism. Of his own orthodoxy the truest account seems to be, that he was no follower of Arius any more than of St. Athanasius. Foiled in their attacks on the Second Person in the Trinity, but unable to recover their equilibrium, a section of the semi-Arians, headed by Macedonius, patriarch of Constantinople, called in question the Godhead of the Third. This caused a further addition to the creed on that head, which, though put into form, and accepted at Constantinople, was first promulgated at Chalcedon. Didymus of Alexandria, St. Basil, and St. Ambrose, left treatises on the subject, but they went no deeper than to the point which had been assailed, leaving a wide field open to St. Augustine, and the theologians of Charlemagne.

The manner of the Incarnation — in other words, how God became man — was the last point controverted. Apollinaris, father and son, started the idea that the Word had been made flesh without assuming a human soul. Nestorius, that He had assumed not merely soul and body, but a human person. Eutyches, that He had united both natures in His own Person, but that after their union they were no longer two. Monothelism, that there were no longer two wills. It was easy to see that all these positions were met by the simple words of the creed, "was made man," in their full, obvious, and abiding acceptation. As St. Augustine puts it: "Cui temporali dispensationi multis modis insidiantur haeretici. Sed si quis tenuerit catholicam fidem, ut totum hominem credat a Verbo Dei esse susceptum: id est, corpus, animam, spiritum—satis contra illos munitus est" . . . (*De Fide et Symb.* § 8). Nevertheless each point was contested and had to be made good in succession. St. Athanasius himself wrote two books against the Apollinarians. They were met also decisively by the doctrine of the descent of Christ into hell, which was acknowledged on all hands, and understood to mean the descent of His human soul. "Unde et ipse Dominus per prophetam dixit, tamquam de futuro: 'Quia non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis Sanctum Tuum videre corruptionem.' Quod rursus prophetice nihilominus ostendit impletum, cum dicit: 'Domine, eduxisti animam meam ab inferno: salvasti me a descendentibus in locum:'" as Rufinus says (in *Symb.* § 28). In short, as bishop Pearson well observes, "The true doctrine of the Incarnation, against all the enemies thereof—Apollinarians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and the like—was generally expressed by declaring the verity of the soul of Christ really present in hell, and the verity of His body at the same time really present in the grave: as it is excellently observed by Fulgentius—'Humanitas vera Filii Dei nec tota in sepulchro fuit, nec tota in inferno; sed in sepulchro secundum veram carnem Christus mortuus jacuit, et secundum animam Christus ad infernum descendit: ac secundum eandem animam ab inferno ad carnem (quam in sepulchro reliquerat) rediit; secundum Divinitatem vero suam, quae nec loco tenetur, nec fine concluditur, totus fuit in sepulchro cum carne: totus in inferno cum animâ: ac per hoc plenus fuit ubique Christus: quia non est Deus ab humanitate, quam susceperat, separatus: Qui et in animâ suâ fuit, ut solutis inferni doloribus victrix rediret: et in carne suâ fuit, ut celeri resurrectione corrumpi non posset'" . . . (ad Thrasim. iii. 34; *On the Creed*, note 281, 10.) This passage, besides its own intrinsic merits, supplies a further illustration of the principle laid down already, that truth gains by discussion. It was penned in the century between that of the third and fourth councils, and that of the sixth; and it is a fuller and more complete statement in a few words of the doctrine of the Hypostatical Union than is to be found in either of the letters of St. Cyril of Alexandria, and St. Leo of Rome, received and approved by the fourth council, or even in the definition of that council itself. Yet even this passes over unnoticed the subtler question of the two wills, dealt with in it of course by implication, but afterwards brought out triumphantly by St. Maximus and St. Sophronius, and formally ratified by the Fathers of the sixth council in condemning Monothelism.

St. Augustine, so far as his controversial works are concerned, offers no exception to this rule, save that he was openly conscious of his own shortcomings. In this respect he stands on a pinnacle by himself. Occupying a very first rank as an apologist, a controversialist, and a dogmatist, without alluding to his other performances at present, it is difficult to decide in which department he excelled most—in his single work, *De Civitate Dei*, which is a landmark amongst apologies, though but half of it is strictly such; in his volumes of works against the Manicheans and Arians, against the Donatists, and against the Pelagians; or his treatises, *De Trinitate*, *de Doct. Christianâ*, and a host of smaller tracts. But it is in his controversial works — nine-tenths of them anthropological, not theological—that we find him modifying his views most, as time went on, and failing at last to get to the bottom of some questions raised by

himself. He began life with the Manicheans, whose errors he exposed subsequently with so much force. He was a semi-Pelagian on some points himself, till he commenced refuting Pelagius; and had he lived on till the schism of the Eastern and Western churches had become fact, he would have found his famous argument against the Donatists—"Securus judicat orbis terrarum"—crumble away under his feet.

Dogmatism was not the creation of St. Augustine: yet neither is his dogmatic tone different from his with whom it originated, as we shall see. In the work of the renowned Origen, *de Principiis*, we have the earliest specimen of a dogmatic work on revealed truth in the Christian church; and these are the lines on which it was constructed, unless Rufinus misrepresents them: "Sicut enim multis apud Graecos et barbaros pollicentibus virtutem, desivimus apud omnes eam quaerere, qui eam falsis opinionibus asserebant, posteaquam credidimus Filium Dei esse Christum, et ab ipso nobis hanc discendam esse persuasimus: ita cum multi sint, qui se putant sentire quae Christi sunt, et nonnulli eorum diversa a prioribus sentiant: servetur vero ecclesiastica praedicatio per successionis ordinem ab apostolis tradita, et usque ad praesens in ecclesiis permanens: illa sola credenda est veritas, quae in nullo ab ecclesiasticâ et apostolicâ discordet traditione". . . (§ 2). Within these limits, and no further, he conceived himself at liberty to speculate, or form conclusions of his own. Whether he never exceeded these limits is another question. But the ground was untrod, and he was a pioneer of such amazing insight and energy, that, right or wrong, he has been a luminous beacon in each case for all who followed. But it was only by degrees that any fresh advance was made. Creeds had to be got into shape before they could be systematically expounded. This, in reality, was the earliest shape which dogmatism assumed in the church; and of this, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his fourth catechetical lecture, supplies not merely the first but one of the best specimens we possess. The commentary now given to Rufinus is another of the same kind. Many such tracts or sermons occur among the works of St. Augustine; and after his time it became a literature. Expositions of faith were published by St. Athanasius and St. Cyril, and there are letters of each highly prized for their dogmatic character, particularly the third letter of the latter to Nestorius, which, with the letter of St. Leo to Flavian, were received in the definition of the fourth council as authoritative exponents of the Incarnation. Two longer treatises by St. Cyril, —the first *On the Holy and Co-essential Trinity*, the second entitled *The Treasury*—should not be passed over here; nor, again, the twelve books, *On the Trinity*, by St. Hilary, nor, again, the *Ancoratus* of St. Epiphanius, with the seven books, *On the Incarnation*, by St. John Cassian, written at the request of St. Leo.

But the master-piece by far of this period in dogmatics was the great work of St. Augustine on the Trinity, and never perhaps was a deep subject handled more delicately or expounded more luminously, or each conclusion of the author respecting it expressed with more modesty and reserve. This is his temper at starting: "Proinde quisquis haec legit, ubi pariter certus est, pergat mecum: ubi pariter haesitat, quaerat mecum: ubi errorem suum cognoscit, redeat ad me. Ita ingrediamur simul caritatis viam, tendentes ad Eum de quo dictum est: 'Quaerite faciem Ejus semper.' Quisquis ergo, cum legit, dicit, 'hoc non bene dictum est, quoniam non intelligo': locutionem meam reprehendit, non fidem; et forte vere potuit dici plenius: veruntamen nullus hominum ita locutus, ut in omnibus ab omnibus intelligeretur. Videat ergo cui hoc in sermone meo displicet, utrum alios in talibus rebus quaestionibusque versatos intelligat, cum me non intelligit; et si ita est, ponat librum meum: vel etiam, si hoc videtur, abjiciat: et iis potius, quos intelligit, operam et tempus impendat. . . . Qui vero haec legens dicit, 'Intelligo quidem quod dictum est, sed non vere dictum est;' asserat, si placet, sententiam suam et redarguat meam, si potest: Quod si cum caritate et veritate fecerit, mihique etiam (si in hâc vitâ maneo) cognoscendum facere curaverit, uberrimum fructum laboris hujus mei cepero." (*De Trin.* i. 3). Strange words indeed to have proceeded from the founder of theological dogma for the West! The treatises of Gennadius, *de Dogm. Eccl.* in the 5th century; of St. Fulgentius, *de Fide ad Pet.* in the 6th; and of Alcuin, *de Trin.* (which is, in other respects, mere plagiarism throughout), in the 8th, shew how widely professed admirers and disciples had wandered from their spirit even by then. However, the four books of St. John Damascene, *de Fide Orth.* in the 8th century, form the true point of departure from the patristic to the scholastic method. "In laudem cedat Joannis Damasceni," as Le Quien says of them, "quod ipse Catholicorum Doctorum primus confertissimum sententiarum volumen digesserit." (*Op.* i. 119.) Commentators are the next class of writers that patristic literature supplies; and they are readily distinguished from other classes, and yield in importance to none, having, of course, the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament for their subject-matter. It has hastily been concluded that Origen set the patristic fashion of interpreting them, by discovering in them four different senses, as follows: 1. The literal or historical; 2. The moral or spiritual; 3. The mystical or allegorical; 4. The anagogical or heavenly. But it must not be forgotten that our Lord Himself distinguished authoritatively between the first and second, both in his sermon on the Mount, and upon other occasions; and that in regard to the third, St. Paul, in expounding one chapter of the Old Testament, uses this very phrase: "which things are *allegorized*" (Gal. iv. 24; comp. 1 Cor. x. 6–11). Also that with regard to the fourth, he elsewhere recognises a "rest" for the elect, other than that of the promised land (Heb. iv. 8, 9), and a "Jerusalem," which is not now, but "above." With such authorities to guide them, the Fathers need hardly be supposed to have taken their cue from one of themselves; nor, again, he to have supplied the copy, or else borrowed it from Philo. Origen, whose commentaries are the earliest extant, taking them as they stand now, unquestionably made too much of the mystical, to the frequent doing away of the letter; but he was blamed, not applauded for this. Of extant commentaries, it may fairly be said, there is not one which shews signs of having been

inspired by his. St. Augustine moreover, in his third book *Upon Christian Doctrine*, gives his own rules for interpreting Scripture, when he comes to that point; and in mentioning the rules of Tichonius the Donatist afterwards with approbation, shews that he was unacquainted with any biblical authority to whom he could refer with more confidence. No doubt in their sermons, and devotional works generally, the Fathers expatiate with a freedom that has provoked criticism, on the mystical sense; but this is just the case where the appeal to it is seldom otherwise than edifying, and arguing from it cannot mislead. So far as their commentaries are concerned there is certainly no disproportionate prominence given to the mystical sense, nor any neglect shewn for the literal, by SS. Jerome, Chrysostom, and Cyril; Theodoret and Theophylact, who pass for the best patristic commentators on the Old and New Testaments. St. Augustine cannot be called a commentator in the ordinary sense of the word; nor his noble, and for all devotional purposes unrivalled, work upon the Psalms, a commentary. The *Morals* of St. Gregory the Great on the book of Job is another of the same kind. But, as interpreters of Scripture, we should in all fairness judge the Fathers from their commentaries rather than from their sermons, or works written for spiritual instruction. Again, to estimate their commentaries aright, we must compare them, not with the accumulated wealth of ages in modern times, but with Ammonius upon Aristotle, Servius upon Virgil, the scholiasts in general upon the classics, their contemporaries. It must be conceded, indeed, at starting that their subject-matter tells to their advantage; still it would have covered them with confusion, had they proved unequal to it. Taking them as they stand, it will hardly be denied that the commentaries of the Fathers on the Scriptures in general are better reading than ordinary scholia, and St. Chrysostom on the Pauline Epistles than Servius on the Aeneid. Mediaeval compilations from the Fathers, however, must not be considered their equivalents in this comparison.

Letters, again, form another important branch of patristic literature, and here likewise, though we have the letters of Cicero and others of the Augustan age to compare with them, the Fathers may fairly be said to hold their own. The papal regests, to begin with alone, comprising a multitudinous as well as continuous correspondence without a break, spread over at least fifteen centuries, have no parallel either in ancient or modern times, among royal, scientific, or ordinary correspondence; nor in the archives of any kingdom whatsoever. Of mere Fathers, we have 270 genuine letters from or to St. Augustine, 428 of St. Basil, 242 of St. Gregory Nazianzen, 150 of St. Jerome, 50 of St. Paulinus of Nola, 147 of Apollinaris Sidonius, 225 of St. Chrysostom, 146 of Theodoret, to name no more, all teeming with information on questions, and feelings, and customs of the day; edifying alike for the high sentiment and aspiration they breathe, and for the spiritual instruction, no less than the theological and ecclesiastical lore with which they abound. It is of this branch that the late dean Milman, no mean judge, says: "I might perhaps have made another, and a very interesting branch of the prose Christian literature, the epistolary." Those desiring some choice specimens of it ready to hand may find them in the exquisitely rendered extracts from letters of St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil, for the most part in the *Church of the Fathers*, by Dr. Newman. But the letters that passed between St. Jerome and St. Augustine (*Ep.* xxviii., xl., lxviii., lxxi.–iii., lxxv., lxxxi.–ii.) may well be read for the noble passage of controversy they exhibit between two great men: the letter of St. Jerome to Sunnia and Fretela (*Ep.* cvi.) for its biblical criticism; to Evangelus (*Ep.* cxlvi.) for remarks on ecclesiastical orders; of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella, preserved among his letters (*Ep.* xlvi.) for its notices of the Holy Land at that date. Several of the letters of St. Paulinus of Nola possess interest, as being written in the joint names of husband and wife—*Paulinus et Thersia*—and that husband a bishop or priest at least, and addressed in three cases to St. Augustine (*Ep.* iv., vi., xlv.); another (*Ep.* l.) asks his help in interpreting Scripture. Several of the letters of Apollinaris Sidonius are addressed 'domino papae Lupo salutem'; viz. to St. Lupus, bishop of Troyes, who accompanied St. Germanus from France to aid the bishops of Britain in their struggle with Pelagianism. Other letters from him to other bishops are couched in the same style, proving its application to bishops in general to have been in constant use then. Of the twelve books called *Varieties* by Cassiodorus, consisting for the most part of letters, edicts, and rescripts, it has already been observed in this work (art. Cassiodorus) that "apart from the study of those pages, it is hardly possible to obtain a true knowledge of the Italy of the 6th century.'"

In sermons, we have none to compare with the Fathers, but those who followed in their wake. It is a species of literature that began with Christianity, and is peculiar to it; and therefore cannot be criticized by comparison with other styles, though for mere eloquence it is surpassed by none. Neither Cicero nor Demosthenes ever produced greater, or more elevated, or more lasting effects on their hearers than St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, for instance. Suidas, says that St. John Chrysostom had a tongue that was of more power than the cataracts of the Nile. Photius credits him with the purest language, splendid imagery, varied matter, and graceful anecdotes without end. His twenty-two sermons, delivered when he was a priest at Antioch, on the occasion of a sedition in which the people threw down and trampled upon the statues of Theodosius and the empress Flacilla, in the absence of his bishop, who went to intercede for the people, while he preached repentance to them, are models of the noblest cast. As the last of them was preached, the bishop returned with full pardon for all. Of St. Augustine, Possidius, his biographer and disciple, writes that he was no sooner ordained priest than he was permitted to preach by his bishop, Valerian, even when he was present himself, a thing wholly without precedent in Africa till then. His sermons were so popular, that many practised committing them to memory while they were preached; others employed notaries to take them down. They are divided by his Benedictine editors into four classes:—1. On the

Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; 2. On the seasons; 3. On the saints; 4. On miscellaneous subjects. Nothing is more wonderful in them than his handling of types and his power of developing and applying them. But this was for edification, solely, not argument; nor can he be charged with unmindfulness of the letter in expounding Scripture. Speaking of his own success in preaching down the brutal fights that had long been a national custom in Mauritania, he says, "Non tamen egisse aliquid me putavi, cum eos audirem acclamantes, sed cum flentes viderem" (*De Doct. Christian.*) with a touch of true genius. Some of his sermons must have occupied nearly two hours in delivery; but to judge from other extant specimens, these must have been exceptional. All the 154 sermons of St. Peter Chrysologus, whose surname bespeaks his eloquence, were of a much shorter type, and besides them, 21 of St. Gaudentius, 21 of St. Celarius of Arles, and 96 of St. Leo. But of this shorter type, the homilies of St. Gregory the Great on Ezekiel and on the Gospels are perhaps the most striking.

Of poets there were several among the Fathers, and hymnology may be properly called their creation. Of these St. Gregory Nazianzen wrote verse with facility, and St. Paulinus with elegance. Prudentius "was especially the poet of dogma," says Ozanam: but the attempts of Juvencus and Dracontius, Sedulius and Victorinus to turn biblical narratives into poetry must be pronounced failures: though they cleared the ground for Milton and Klopstock. St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, and Venantius Fortunatus composed many beautiful hymns. Boethius, author of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*, was a true philosopher; Cassiodorus, author of the twelve books of *Varieties*, a man of letters and cultivated tastes. To Dionysius Exiguus we owe the study of canon law in the West, and the custom of dating from the Christian era. The work of St. Isidore of Seville *On Etymology*, in twenty books, is replete with curious facts and ancient lore. The six books on music by St. Augustine, the only remaining specimen of a series brought out by him on the *Disciplines*, or seven liberal arts then taught, produced a number of kindred treatises by later writers of less note.

Two more classes of works remain to be noticed: historical and spiritual.

1. Ecclesiastical history commenced in the 2nd century with Hegesippus, of whose work in five books, now unfortunately lost, Eusebius speaks in terms of high praise (*E. H.* iv. 8); the same praise being unquestionably due to his own in ten. Putting its style on one side, which is turgid at times, it must, for the information it contains, and the truthfulness with which it has been composed, be pronounced of the same value to Christianity that the nine books of Herodotus are to the ancient world. But for his opposition to St. Athanasius, nobody would have thought of disputing his orthodoxy; of his devotion to the Christian religion there can be no question, as long as his *Praeparatio* and *Demonstratio* remain to speak for themselves. His Chronicon opened a new path in history for others in succeeding ages. But of ecclesiastical historians it is impossible to speak, without noticing the fact, that a reputation for orthodoxy has seldom figured among their strong points. Socrates, the successor of Eusebius, was a professed Novatian; Theodoret took fierce part against St. Cyril; Philostorgius was at least a semi-Arian; neither Sozomen nor Evagrius rank high on other grounds; Sulpitius Severus has alone never been discredited as a writer or as a Christian, and though his is but an abridgment, it contains some facts of importance, which, according to M. Guizot, "are not found elsewhere." History, no less than science, predisposes men to pessimist views in matters of faith, both shaping their estimate of the unseen world by the facts of the seen.

Of works of narrow compass St. Optatus has given us a fair account of the Donatists; Liberatus, of the Nestorians and Eutychians; St. Epiphanius and Philastrius, of heresies in general, down to their own times. Later, the history of kings and of empires, of wars and of peoples, came to be written by Christians exclusively, and in most cases, down to the 16th century, by persons in holy orders. Nor is it out of place to observe, before quitting this branch, that the entire literature of pre-Christian times must have been irrecoverably lost to mankind in succeeding ages, had it not been for Christian scribes, among whom Pamphilus, the friend of Eusebius the historian, was perhaps the earliest and most indefatigable; no early MS. of any portion of it being now extant, but what has been the work of their hands. (Comp. *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* LIBRARIUS.)

2. Of spiritual treatises, if so few have come down to us from those times, one reason is because they were, to begin with, oral. All instruction was oral at first. Numbers had delivered catechetical lectures before St. Cyril; but his were the first to be taken down. All must have been deeply devotional, to judge from his. We have fragmentary specimens elsewhere in the ancient service-books. But the *Confessions* of St. Augustine created a new flood of spiritual works, with material for meditation and self-examination in the closet. Witness the collection of kindred pieces that formerly claimed him as their author, in the appendix to the sixth vol. of the Benedictine edition of his works (p. 74 et seq.). The six books of St. Chrysostom *On the Priesthood*; the four books of *Dialogues* by St. Gregory the Great, and his work *On the Pastoral Care*, were soon in the hands of all who could read. Each of the two last were translated into Greek and Anglo-Saxon, and the former of them into Arabic as well. Martyrologies and lives of the saints formed another class of works expressly written for edification, but meant as little to be measured by their historical exactness, as sermons by their conformity with biblical criticism or with logical rule. It is a characteristic of all biographies that they abound with anecdotes, often resting on no better evidence than hearsay.

Such, then, is a compressed outline of a literature, which has no doubt its faults as well as its shortcomings, but, in addition, recommendations which it would not be easy to parallel. For, first, it is a literature on which character is impressed conspicuously throughout, whose whole tone is spiritual and elevating, and whose object is to promote the civilization of man through religion. Imperfections of style it may have, imperfect knowledge it may betray; defects of temper it may at times be led into; still, there

is no part of it which panders to lust; it never apologizes for, or throws a cloak over vice; it has no word of encouragement for sordid or carnal aims; it never consciously falsifies facts, even to screen its own heroes. Next, it embraces writers of distant countries, and of various ages, all animated by the same principles, all held together by purely spiritual ties in one corporate body, when all other ties were giving way. Thirdly, their range is of more than ordinary compass, both in length and breadth. Nothing approaching to an exhaustive list of themselves, their subjects, or their performances has been here attempted. These the reader will be able to fill in for himself, either from this work alone as it comes out, under articles on authors and their works; or he may get it at once from the noble series of the late Abbé Migne, Patrol. Graec. and Lat., the 218th vol. of which last contains (pp. 931–1006) a synthetical index of subjects handled in the extant writings of the Latin Fathers alone, accompanied by the following most just remark: "Haec autem in diversas alias sectiones dividuntur, ita ut constet sacros Patres de qualibet scientiâ tractasse, in quantum humana mens potest intelligere et eloqui." . . .

But it cannot be repeated too frequently, that, in order to form a correct estimate of this literature, we must know the *men*. For the Fathers not only wrote, but worked, and what they really meant in their writings is often best explained in their lives. "The epistles of Gregory," the evangelizer of our Saxon ancestors, says Gibbon, "his sermons and his dialogues, are the work of a man, who was second in erudition to none of his contemporaries . . . On the first day of every month, he distributed to the poor, according to the season, their stated portion of corn, wine, cheese, vegetables, oil, fish, fresh provisions, clothes, and money; and his treasurers were continually summoned to satisfy, in his name, the extraordinary demands of indigence and merit. The instant distress of the sick and helpless, of strangers and pilgrims, was relieved by the bounty of each day, and of every hour; nor would the pontiff indulge himself in a frugal repast, till he had sent the dishes from his own table to some objects deserving of his compassion." (*Hist.* cxlv.) We may say, literally, without overdrawing, "*Ex uno disce omnes.*" Accordingly, from this point of view, Cave's *Lives of the Fathers;* Butler's and B. Gould's *Lives of the Saints;* the *Church of the Fathers*, and *Callista*, by Dr. Newman, *Fabiola*, by the late Cardinal Wiseman; Guizot's and Ozanam's *Lectures on Civilisation;* Montalembert's *Monks of the West;* A. de Broglie's *L'Église et l'Empire romain au iv^e siècle;* Döllinger's *First Age of the Church;* De Pressensé's *Early Years of Christianity; Martyrs* and *Apologists; Heresy and Christian Doctrine; Christian Life and Practice in the early Church*, should be named as authorities side by side with Cave's *Historia Literaria*, Dupin's, Alzog's, Rohrbacher's, and Robertson's, *Church Histories;* Migne's Patrologia and Patrol. Encyclop.; Mareschal's *Concord. Pat.*, continued in Schramm's *Analysis;* Fessler's *Inst. Patrol.;* Hagenbach's *Hist. of Doctrines*, etc. The obvious *animus*, in varying degrees, of Daillé, *De vero usu Patrum;* Mosheim's *Church History*, Davidson's *Hermeneutics;* Donaldson's *Apostolic Fathers*, etc., adds weight to their testimony, whenever favourable, and interprets it *cum grano*, when adverse. [E. S. Ff.]

FAUSTA (1) (Flavia Maximiana Fausta) daughter of the emperor Maximian Heraclius by Eutropia, and second wife of Constantine the Great. She was born at Byzantium, married in 307, and soon after her marriage did her husband a great service in revealing her father's plot against his life. She was the mother of six children, three sons, afterwards emperors: Constantinus, b. 312, Constantius, b. 317, and Constans, b. 320; and three daughters: Constantina, named Augusta by her father, and married first to Hannibalian, king of Pontus, and then to Gallus Caesar; Constantia, said to have been the foundress of St. Agnes at Rome, and to have professed virginity; and Helena, wife of the emperor Julian. (Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 47.)

She was put to death by her husband, probably in 326, under very doubtful circumstances: see the article on Constantine, Vol. I. p. 630. [J. W.]

FAUSTA (2), a virgin and martyr with Evilasius at Cyzicus, under Galerius, A.D. 305. She was the daughter of rich parents, who, having carefully instructed her in the Christian faith, left her an orphan at thirteen. Becoming famous for her religious activity she was reported to the emperor, who sent his Primus Palatii, Evilasius, to torture her. Converted by her constancy and arguments he was in turn tortured by the propraetor Maximinus. Some of the Martyrologists, as Rabanus and Symeon Metaphrastes, add this last as a third martyr, converted by the sufferings of the other two. Bede, Usuardus, Rabanus, Notkerus, and *Mart. Rom.* commemorate them on Sept. 20. Rabanus and Notkerus commemorate them at Jan. 7 as well. (*Men.* Basil. at Feb. 6.) The acts are extant in Greek and Latin. (Surius, *Vitae SS.* i. 863; *Acta SS.* Boll. Sep. vi. 144.) They are so full of legend that Tillemont's sentence, "nulla inest illis veri species," does not seem too severe. (Tillemont, *Mém.* tom. v. p. 61.) [G. T. S.]

FAUSTIANUS (Faustinianus), sixth bishop of Dax, succeeding Liberius A.D. 584. He was nominated to the episcopate by the pretender Gundobald. Bertram, of Bordeaux, at that time the metropolis of Dax, excused himself, mistrusting the consequences, and ordered Palladius of Saintes to consecrate him. Orestes, bishop of Bazas, was also present, though he afterwards denied it before the king. But Gundobald being soon afterwards killed, Guntram assembled the second council of Mâcon, A.D. 585, at which Faustianus was deposed, but Bertram, Orestes, and Palladius, who were responsible for his consecration, were ordered to support him by turns and pay him a hundred pieces of gold a year. In spite of his deposition he appears to have subscribed the synod. He was succeeded by Nicetius, whom Chilperic had nominated for the bishopric at the time of the usurpation. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vii. 31, viii. 2, 20; Mansi, ix. 959; *Gall. Christ.* i. 1040; Baron. ann. 588, xxi.) [S. A. B.]

FAUSTINA (1) (full name Flavia Maxima Faustina, Goltz), third wife of Constantius II. Constantius married her at Antioch in the winter of 360. (Amm. xxi. 6, § 4.) She was

pregnant at the time of his death, and the child afterwards born, Flavia Maxima Constantia, became the wife of the emperor Gratian. (Amm. xxi. 15, § 6.) [M. F. A.]

FAUSTINA (2), wife of Julianus, a wealthy man living in Dalmatia at the beginning of the 5th century, and friend of St. Jerome, whose letter to him (118, ed. Vall.) was written after his wife's death. [W. H. F.]

FAUSTINIANUS (1), legendary father of CLEMENS ROMANUS (*Clem. Recog.* ix. 35). In the *Clementine* Homilies (xiv. 8) the name of the father is given as Faustus, and Faustinianus is that of one of Clement's brothers. [G. S.]

FAUSTINIANUS (2) (FAUSTINUS), bishop of Bononia (Bologna), c. A.D. 312, and successor of St. Zama. It seems uncertain whether he immediately succeeded St. Zama, or whether the see had remained vacant during the persecution of Diocletian. He died probably c. A.D. 330, and was succeeded by St. Basilius. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 26 Feb. iii. 639; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 8; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* iii. 446.) [R. S. G.]

FAUSTINIANUS (3), bishop of Tamugada, Tamogada, or Tamagadi, in Numidia, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 408, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINIANUS (4), Donatist bishop of Carpis ("Gurbos," Shaw, p. 87) in proconsular Africa; ordained by Donatus; present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 439, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINIANUS (5), bishop of Rusiccada, or Rusiccade (Râs Solkhda, or Philippeville) in Numidia; absent through illness from Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 463, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINIANUS (6), one of the sixty-one bishops of Numidia, who met in council at Mileum, Milevis, or Mireum ("Milah," Shaw, p. 63), A.D. 416, and joined in an address to pope Innocent I. against the errors of Celestius and Pelagius. (Aug. *Ep.* 176.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINIANUS (7), one of the bishops who met in council at Carthage, A.D. 416, and joined in an address to pope Innocent I. concerning Pelagius and Celestius. Probably the same as the preceding. (Aug. *Ep.* 175.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINIANUS (8), bishop of Utica; present at the council held at Carthage by bishop Boniface, A.D. 525. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 362; Mansi, viii. 647.) [L. D.]

FAUSTINIANUS (9), bishop of Dax. [FAUSTIANUS.]

FAUSTINUS, a name sometimes interchanged with Faustus.

FAUSTINUS (1), legendary brother of CLEMENS ROMANUS (*Clem. Recog.* ix. 35; *Clem. Hom.* xiv. 8). [G. S.]

FAUSTINUS (2) (Cyp. Ep. 57, A.D. 252), African bishop, present at the second synod of Carthage under Cyprian, De Pace. He does not appear in any subsequent council. [E. W. B.]

FAUSTINUS (3), bishop of Lyons, A.D. 254. [MARCIANUS.] (Cyp. Ep. 68.) [E. W. B.]

FAUSTINUS (4), bishop of Tuburbo, or Tuburba, a small, and as St. Augustine remarked, insignificant town of proconsular Africa; condemned as a traditor by the Donatists without inquiry, A.D. 312, but not further prosecuted. (Aug. *ad Don. post, coll.* 22, 38, vol. ix. p. 676; Tillemont, 8, vol. vi. p. 18.) A Faustus bishop of Tuburbo was present at the council of Arles, A.D. 314 (Routh, *R. S.* iv. 313, 2nd ed.; Mansi, ii. 477 B), and is perhaps the same person. [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINUS (5), bishop of Bononia (Bologna). [FAUSTINIANUS (2).]

FAUSTINUS (6), the seventh known bishop of Iconium, and metropolitan (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1068), coming between Eulalius [EULALIUS (5)] and Joannes I. St. Basil, writing in 373 (ep. 138, al. 8) mentions his having been invited to Iconium to ordain a successor to Faustinus, who was dead. In 374 Basil (ep. 161, al. 393) compliments John's successor Amphilochius with an allusion to 1 Sam. ix. 3, "the asses are lost (ὄνοι ἀπόλλυνται) that Israel may have a king," insinuating that Faustinus and John were men of dull parts. The reading of ἐχθροί for ὄνοι (which would imply that they belonged to the Arian party) is not accepted. [C. H.]

FAUSTINUS (7), seventh, or perhaps ninth, bishop of Brixia (Brescia), succeeding Ursicinus c. A.D. 350. He is believed to have written the Acts of St. Apollinaris, and of SS. Faustinus and Jovita the martyrs (Feb. 15). He died c. 379, and was succeeded by St. Philastrius. (*Acta SS.* 16 Feb. ii. 886; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 729; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* xi. 556.) [R. S. G.]

FAUSTINUS (8), Donatist bishop of Hippo Regius, about A.D. 380; mentioned by St. Augustine as having recommended that because there were few Catholics in Hippo no one should bake bread for them. In one case a baker who was the tenant of a Catholic deacon, threw away unbaked the bread intended for his landlord, and refused all communication with him. (Aug. *c. Petil.* ii. 84, 184; Tillemont, 37, vol. vi. p. 140.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINUS (9), Donatist bishop of Bina, or Binea, in proconsular Africa, present at the Donatist council of Cabarsussis, in Byzacene, A.D. 393. (Aug. *En. in Ps.* 36, 20, vol. iv. p. 361; Ceillier, vol. iv. 658.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINUS (10), one of the bishops, probably of proconsular Asia, who presented a complaint against Chrysostom at the council of the Oak, for having unjustly deposed them (Photius, *Cod.* 59, p. 60). [E. V.]

FAUSTINUS (11), Donatist bishop of Naraggora (Edjbel), in Numidia; present at the conference of Carthage, A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 459, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINUS (12), Donatist bishop of Tambaja, in Byzacene; present as the preceding. (*M. V. D.* p. 447.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINUS (13), Donatist bishop of Nationa, in Byzacene; present as the preceding. (*M. V. D.* p. 467.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINUS (14), bishop of Sillis, in Numidia; present as the preceding. (*M. V. D.* p. 406.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINUS (15), the name of two bishops present at the council of Milevis, or Mileum, A.D. 416. But the name of one of them is also given as Sabinus. (Aug. *Ep.* 176.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTINUS (16), perhaps a bishop, to whom are ascribed (i.) a homily *On the Passion*, wherein the sufferings of Abel, Isaac, and Jonah are put forth as types of the passion of Jesus Christ (Patrol. Lat. lix. 407); (ii.) a fragment of a sermon justifying the addition of a week to the Lent fast, preserved in the book of Aeneas bishop of Paris, *Against the Greeks*, cap. 176. (Migne, Patrol. Lat. cxxi. 742); (iii.) an exhortation to use this present world in such a manner as to gain a better one, printed among the sermons of Eusebius Emesenus under the title, *Sermo V. exhortatorius, Sancti Faustini Episcopi* (La Bigne, *Bibl. Patr.* vi. 679). These compositions have been generally attributed to Faustus bishop of Riez, but as Ceillier states (*Aut. Sacr.* x. 435–6) they differ in style, and are probably to be attributed to a bishop of the 5th century otherwise unknown. As to the *Sermo in Kalendis Januariis*, which has been ascribed to the same writer, see No. 19. [L. D.]

FAUSTINUS (17), twelfth bishop of Le Puy, succeeding St. Armentarius or Hermentarius, and followed by Forbius or Fortius in the latter half of the 5th century. Sidonius Apollinaris speaks of a bishop Faustinus in friendly terms, who may perhaps be identical with him. (Sid. Apoll. lib. iv. *Epist.* 6. Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 509; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 689.) [S. A. B.]

FAUSTINUS (18), bishop of Girba, a town situated on an island near the lesser Syrtis, included in the Tripolitan province of the African church, and to be distinguished from Girba in the proconsular province; one of the Catholic bishops banished by Hunneric after the conference with the Arians at Carthage, A.D. 484. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 171; *Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 60, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.) [L. D.]

FAUSTINUS (19), fifteenth bishop of Noyon and Tournai, succeeding St. Medardus and followed by Gundulfus, about the middle of the 6th century. The Bollandists printed a sermon entitled *Episcopi Faustini Sermo in Kalendis Januariis*, drawn from the archives of the monastery of Aquicinctum, and Le Cointe ascribes it to this bishop. It is directed against some Saturnalian rites which apparently had survived from pagan times, and which were joined in by Christians as well as heathens; and it reminds the people that the first day of the year is by a long standing custom a fast-day. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 981; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 545, n. xiii. tom. i. 695–696; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 2.) [Faustinus (16).] [S. A. B.]

FAUSTINUS (20), bishop of Seville, appointed metropolitan of Seville by the sixteenth council of Toledo, which ratified the translation of Felix, formerly of Seville, to the see of Toledo [Felix (152)]. At the time of this translation of Felix, Faustinus was metropolitan of Braga, and was thence transferred to Seville by Egica. He signs the Acts of the sixteenth council of Toledo, and according to Roderic of Toledo (lib. iii. cap. 13, apud Schott. *Hisp. Ill.*) was present at the seventeenth council, A.D. 694 (*Esp. Sagr.* ix. 228; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 333). [M. A. W.]

FAUSTINUS (21), a presbyter and martyr with his brother Jovita a deacon, Feb. 15, at Brixia in Italy, under the emperor Hadrian, about the year 120. (*Martyrol. Vet. Rom.*, Usuardi, Notker.; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. c. 9.) Their acts, which are full of legendary stories, are said to have been written by Faustinus bishop of Brixia, A.D. 350 (cf. *Acta SS.* Boll. Feb. ii. 807). [G. T. S.]

FAUSTINUS (22), Aug. 7; martyr at Milan under Commodus, about A.D. 182 (Faustus, *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). He was son of a Milanese Christian, named Philip. Together with his father he was baptized by Caius, third bishop of Milan. Engaging in military service he seems to have been called on to discharge some idolatrous ceremony. Upon his refusal he suffered the penalty of military law and obtained the crown of martyrdom. The Bollandist is astonished at Baronius placing his martyrdom under Commodus, while in his Annals he tells us that there was no persecution under this emperor. But many suffered for Christ under the operation of military law even when no general persecution took place. For a Roman soldier there was no freedom of conscience. [Cf. Fundanus.] (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*, *Mart.* Hieron., Usuardi, Adonis, Notkeri; Ferrarius, *Catalog. SS.*) [G. T. S.]

FAUSTINUS (23), martyr at Perusia in the Decian persecution, according to the tabulae ecclesiasticae quoted by Baronius. (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 254, xxix.) [C. H.]

FAUSTINUS (24), commemorated Feb. 17, suffered with forty-four others. Baronius conjectures that they suffered at Rome, but their date is not fixed. Ferrarius (*Catalogus SS.*) tells us that before the correction of the present Roman calendar no mention of them existed therein (cf. *Martyr.* Hieron., Bedae). [G. T. S.]

FAUSTINUS (25), July 29, martyr at Rome in the Diocletian persecution with Simplicius and Beatrix or Viatrix, their sister. He suffered at the seventh milestone on the Via Portuensis. One of the most valuable illustrations of Christian antiquity in De Rossi's *La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*, tom. iii., is his account of the cemetery of Generosa, wherein they were buried. Beatrix, having rescued the bodies of the martyrs which had been flung into the Tiber, hastily buried them in the sandpit of one Generosa, a Christian woman, whence the origin of the cemetery. This catacomb, which had been long looked for elsewhere, was accidentally discovered a few years ago. It is approached from a small ruined basilica, dedicated to Faustinus, Simplicius, and Beatrix, and built (it would seem) by pope Damasus, in 382. This

discovery illustrates the trustworthiness of the older martyrologies on points of geography. (*Acta SS.* Jul. vii. 38; *Martyr. Vet. Rom.*, Hieron., Usuardi; Till. *Mém.* iv. 550.) [G. T. S.]

FAUSTINUS (26), a presbyter (Cypr. Ep. i. 1, 3). [Geminius.] [E. W. B.]

FAUSTINUS (27), presbyter of Orange at the council of Arles, 314 (Mansi, ii. 476; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* iv. 303, 312, 2nd ed.). [C. H.]

FAUSTINUS (28), a son of Ambrose's friend Eusebius. It is probable that he is the person to whom Ambrose's letter 39 was written. He had a son of the same name. [Eusebius (133).] [J. Ll. D.]

FAUSTINUS (29), catholicos, mentioned by Athanasius as inciting the populace to molest Catholic congregations. (Athan. *Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* § 55 in *Opp.* par. i. 298.) [C. H.]

FAUSTINUS (30), a Roman, perhaps a presbyter, at the end of the 4th century. He was one of the band of men who took a strong part in resistance to the Origenistic doctrines then agitating the church. Tranquillinus, his brother (either by natural or spiritual relationship), finding him pronounce a very strong judgment on Origen as 'penitus respuendus,' wrote to St. Jerome then at Bethlehem, to know the truth. Jerome's answer, which is discriminating and moderate, is written to Faustinus, and forms the sixty-second letter in Vallarsi's edition. [W. H. F.]

FAUSTINUS (31), a gentleman of Caesarea, whose acquaintance Chrysostom made during his sojourn in that city, on his way to Cucusus A.D. 404, and from whom he received many kindnesses, to which he refers with warm expressions of gratitude in a letter, announcing his safe arrival at his place of exile (Chrysost. *Epist.* 84). [E. V.]

FAUSTINUS (32), a layman of Philadelphia, one of those who adjured Quartodeciman opinions and signed the *symbolum* of Jacobus in 431 (Mansi, iii. 1353 d). [Eutychius (28).] [T. W. D.]

FAUSTINUS (33), a Roman presbyter who on the death of Liberius bishop of Rome in September, 369, sided with Ursinus, and soon afterwards was one of the many who suffered exile on his account (*v.* the edicts in Baronius, *Ann.* s. a. 369, iii. iv. v.; 371, i. ii. iii.; Damasus, Vol. I. 783). In the preface to a petition which he and a fellow exile, Marcellinus, presented to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, c. A.D. 383, there is an account given both of the schism and of that which led to it, which is so damaging to Damasus personally, as well as to his party and their proceedings, that such writers as Baronius do not scruple to violently impugn its veracity (*Libellus Precum*, Migne, Patrol. xiii. 82; Baron. *Ann.* s. a. 367, xiv.). But it is fully sustained by the evidence of Ammianus Marcellinus (xxvii. 3), and even by that of Socrates (*H. E.* iv. 29), who in his narrative of what took place transcribes Rufinus (Valesius, note in Socr. *u. s.*), a contemporary who had ample means of direct information as to the facts.

Both Faustinus and Marcellinus were Luciferians. Their petition contains, perhaps, the most trustworthy account we possess of that party and of the personal career of Lucifer bishop of Cagliari, with whom it had its origin. It was written at Eleutheropolis in Palestine. The bishop of that see was Turbo, a deacon of his predecessor Eutychius the semi-Arian (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxiii.; Baronius, *u. s.* s. a. 351, xxvii. xxviii.; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 453). The exiles bitterly complain of his cruelty both to Lucifer, when he was in his power some years previously, and of late to themselves (v. *Ep. Conc. Rom. ad Gratian. et Valentin.* A.D. 381 (?); Labbe et Cossart, ii. 1000; *Rescript. Gratian.* ib. 1003) and earnestly implore the interposition of the emperors in their behalf. The reply was a rescript addressed by Theodosius to Cynegius, prefect of the East (A.D. 384, Gothofred. *Prosopogr. Cod. Theod.* s.n.), commanding him to see that they had full liberty, and that the civil authorities protected them from further molestation (Migne, *u. s.* 106, 107).

About the same time that he and Marcellinus thus appealed to the emperors, Faustinus wrote a work on the Trinity, addressed to Flaccilla the wife of Theodosius, which was prepared at her request. This work has been strangely ascribed to Gregory the Luciferian bishop of Eliberis (*e.g.* Baronius, *A. E.* s. a. 371, cxxiv.; Gams, *u. s.* 34), and is, no less strangely, still printed as having been addressed to Galla Placidia (Migne, *u. s.* 29), notwithstanding that Gennadius expressly states that it was addressed to Flaccilla, and that its author was Faustinus (*de Script. Eccl.* Migne, lviii. 1069). He has also left us a confession of faith addressed to Theodosius in reply to some persons who had charged him with Sabellianism (Migne, xiii. 79). [T. W. D.]

FAUSTINUS (34), a priest of the monastery of Insula Barba, a letter to whom is extant, professedly from St. Eucherius (Labbe, *Biblioth.* i. 665). But no other testimony is available to shew that the monastery then existed, and the letter is doubtless spurious. (Ceillier, *Aut. Eccl.* viii. 453.) [R. T. S.]

FAUSTINUS (35), a penitent who had publicly confessed his sin with tokens of great humility, when St. Nilus wrote to the priest Charicles, who was treating him with too severe a discipline, urging gentleness and mercy towards repentant sinners. (Nil. *ep.* 243, p. 213, Pat. Gr. lxxix. 498 a; Ceillier, viii. 222.) [J. G. S.]

FAUSTINUS (36), defensor of Sicily; according to another reading of Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. ii. ind. i. *ep.* 23, Migne, note, Fantinus. [C. H.]

FAUSTUS, bishop of Tuburbo. [Faustinus (4).]

FAUSTUS (1), the father of Clemens Romanus. [Faustinianus (1).]

FAUSTUS (2), bishop of Timida Regia, a municipium in Prov. Proc., present at synod on Basilides (Syn. iv.; Carth. Cyp. Ep. 67), gives fifty-eighth suffrage in Sentt. Epp. Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. vii. In later MSS. called confessor. [E. W. B.]

FAUSTUS (3), bishop of Panemotichus in the second Pamphylia (coins of Julia Domna are extant bearing the name of this town), one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1031; Mansi, ii. 700.) [L. D.]

FAUSTUS (4), bishop of Limenae in Pisidia; present at the first Constantinopolitan council, A.D. 381. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1051; Mansi, iii. 570.) [L. D.]

FAUSTUS (5), bishop of Satala, in Lesser Armenia, ordained by Anthimus of Tyana during his dispute with St. Basil. (Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 432, under Poemonius; Ceillier, *Aut. Sacr.* iv. 358, 360.) [Anthimus, Vol. I. p. 119 b.] [L. D.]

FAUSTUS (6), bishop of Sassena (Sarsina). He succeeded Valerius c. A.D. 437, and died c. 459. His successor was Probus. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* ii. 486.) [R. S. G.]

FAUSTUS (7), bishop of Apollonias, probably the town of that name in Bithynia, 484. He wrote a letter to Peter the Fuller, of Antioch, concerning the clause that bishop had added to the Trisagion, "Qui crucifixus est propter nos," which Faustus condemns as heretical and blasphemous (Cave, *Script. Eccl.* i. 457; Mansi, vii. 1127, gives the letter in full). This bishop of Apollonias is not mentioned either in Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, or in Gams's *Series Episcoporum*. [L. D.]

FAUSTUS (8), bishop of Buronia, a town of uncertain position, mentioned only in connexion with this bishop. Victor Vitensis (*de Persecutione Vandal.* i. c. xi.) cites him as a witness to the miracles wrought at the place where certain martyrs perished during the persecution under Genseric: "a blind woman received her sight in the bishop's presence." Faustus appears to have died before the persecution under Hunneric, as there is no further mention of him. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 110; Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii. 196.) [L. D.]

FAUSTUS (9), bishop of Castra Seberianensium, in the province of Mauretania Caesariensis; one of the Catholic bishops who, after the conference at Carthage with the Arians, was banished by king Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 130; *Notitia in* Victor. Vit. 59, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.) [L. D.]

FAUSTUS (10), an orthodox African bishop, banished from his see of Telepte in 484, by Hunneric. Faustus founded a small monastery in this district, which became celebrated, from the circumstance that the young procurator, Fabius Fulgentius, had recourse to its founder, when he was first smitten by the desire to enter upon the "religious" life. This was in the year 490. Fulgentius was well known to Faustus (*Vita Fulgentii*, in *Acta SS.* and Migne, Patr. lxv. cc. 4–8), who strongly dissuaded the young noble from a method of life so contrary to all his previous habits. His resolution and courage induced Faustus to grant a brief noviciate to Fulgentius, during which he was put to severe tests. The mother of Fulgentius betook herself to Faustus in a state of frenzy (furibunda), and heaped upon him violent reproach. She loudly bewailed her lot, and clamoured at the gates of the monastery. Faustus did not allow her to see her son, although the latter overheard her bitter ejaculations. Faustus argued that as Fulgentius could bear this severe strain upon his integrity, it was safe to admit him to the brotherhood. It appears that Faustus made no demand upon Fulgentius for his paternal property, which the latter handed over to his mother for the education and advantage of his brother Claudius. Under pressure of persecution, Fulgentius soon separated from Faustus [Fulgentius of Ruspe], who nevertheless exercised a certain authority over him. As Fulgentius for many years manifested intense reluctance to occupy any position of trust and importance, and was tempted to make numerous romantic escapes from the dignities that were thrust upon him, Faustus was appealed to, and he suddenly ordained Fulgentius as presbyter, and commanded him to undertake the duties of both presbyter and abbat (*ib.* c. 15). His influence over Fulgentius is his principal title to remembrance. [H. R. R.]

FAUSTUS (11), sometimes called Faustus the Breton, from his having been born in Brittany, or (as Tillemont thinks) in Britain, but more generally known as Faustus of Riez (*Faustus Reiensis*, al. *Regiensis seu Rhegiensis*) from the name of his see in Provence. He was born towards the close of the 4th century, and died in A.D. 492, or possibly somewhat later.

Authorities.—1, his own writings, for which see below; 2, the letters of his friend and contemporary, Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epist.* Lib. ix. *Epp.* 3, 9); 3, Gennadius (*Illustr. Virorum Catalogus*, cap. 85); 4, St. Avitus (*Epist.* iv.); 5, acts of the third Council of Arles (*Concilium Arelatense*, about A.D. 455, and of another council at the same place which may be termed the fourth), held in A.D. 475; also of a Council of Lyons (*Lugdunense*) said to have been held shortly after that of Arles; 6, a letter of pope Hormisdas, written in A.D. 520, to an African bishop named Possessor, who had consulted him concerning the writings of Faustus. For Nos. 5 and 6 see Labbe's *Concilia*, tom. ii. pp. 806, 1038 (ed. *Parisiis*, 1714). For editions of the other authorities cited the reader is referred to their respective names in this Dictionary.

Life.—We are ignorant of the condition of the parents of Faustus, and even of their names. He may have lost his father while he was young, for we only hear of his mother, whose fervid piety and striking demeanour made a great impression on all who saw her, insomuch that to be allowed to pay her a visit was esteemed a favour. She lived to a great age, and saw her son become a bishop. Faustus studied Greek philosophy, but in a Christian spirit. He also mastered the principles of rhetoric, and may possibly have pleaded for a time at the bar as an advocate. A brother, named Memorius, appears to have been ordained priest, and to have lived with Faustus during his later career at Riez.

While still youthful (probably about A.D. 426 or a little later), Faustus retired from the world and entered the famous monastery of Lerins (*Lerinum*), at that time presided over by St. Maximus. Here he became a thorough ascetic, and a great student of Holy Scripture, without,

however, giving up his philosophic pursuits. It was probably at Lerins that he acquired the reputation assigned to him by Gennadius of being an illustrious extempore preacher. He became a presbyter, and about 432 or 433 succeeded Maximus as abbat of Lerins.

His tenure of this office was marked by a keen dispute with his diocesan Theodore, bishop of Fréjus, concerning their respective rights. So much scandal was caused by this controversy, that the third council of Arles was convened by Ravennius, bishop of Arles, for the sole purpose of settling it. The decision, which seems to be a kind of compromise, leaves considerable ecclesiastical power in the hands of the abbat. This may be an early instance of encroachment on episcopal authority by a corporate body. But, considering how strongly even the best men may be influenced by the *esprit de corps*, we are not justified, without further evidence, in blaming either side. In such cases men think of the rights of their successors, and consequently a difference between a bishop and the ruling body of a monastery, a college, or a cathedral, is an event which may happen in any age of the church. The epistle of Faustus to a deacon named Gratus (*al.* Gratius or Gregorius), who was heretical on the union of the two natures in the Person of Christ, belongs also to this period of his life.

The next event of importance in the career of Faustus is his succession in the episcopate of Riez, in Provence, to St. Maximus, whom he had already succeeded in the abbacy of Lerins. Of the fact there is no question, but its date is extremely uncertain. Baronius (followed by Ramsay in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*) places it as late as A.D. 472; but Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tome vi. p. 775) makes an ingenious case against so late a date as this, and is inclined to place it at least as early as 462, or even in 456. Happily the vagueness of the chronology does not in this case seriously affect the history. There is no question but that Faustus continued as bishop the stern self-discipline which he had practised as monk and abbat. He often retired to Lerins with a view of increasing the severity of his ascetic regimen, and became known throughout his diocese, and beyond its bounds, not only as a striking preacher, but also as one who gave both temporal and spiritual succour to the sick, both in body and mind. He seems, however, to have taken a somewhat stern view on the subject of late repentance, like that so prevalent at an earlier period in the church of North Africa. In the councils of Arles and of Lyons above-named a presbyter named Lucidus, accused of having taught fatalism through misunderstanding the writings of Augustine (*ex libris Sancti Augustini malè intellectis*), was censured, and induced to make a retractation. The signatures of eleven bishops were adhibited, according to the report given us by Faustus, to his letter against Lucidus; and Leontius, bishop of Arles, invited Faustus to compose a treatise on the subject of grace and free choice. (The case of Lucidus is thought of sufficient importance to be noticed by Petau in his famous treatise, *De Theologicis Dogmatibus*, tom. i. lib. ix. cap. 2, § 2; and also by Döllinger, in his *Church History*, vol. ii. chap. 4, § 2.)

We next find Faustus mixed up in secular affairs, inasmuch as he appears from Sidonius to have had some share in bringing about that treaty, concluded in A.D. 475 between the emperor Nepos and Euric, king of the Visigoths, which Tillemont and Gibbon agree in regarding as discreditable to the Roman empire. It certainly wrested Auvergne and subsequently Provence from the hands of an orthodox sovereign, and threw them into those of an Arian one. This result was an unfortunate one for Faustus. About A.D. 481 he was banished from his see, in all probability in consequence of his writings against Arianism. Kind and powerful friends supported him during his exile, which he bore, though suffering from illness, with fortitude and dignity. His banishment is naturally attributed to king Euric, on whose death, in A.D. 483, Faustus was enabled to return to Riez. His life, as has been remarked, was prolonged until at least A.D. 492, possibly until some years later. Of his character it is impossible to speak without first considering his publications.

Writings.—These have not come down to us in a complete and satisfactory condition. The ill-repute of their teaching, as semi-Pelagian, has probably much lessened their chance of being carefully edited. If, for reasons to be mentioned presently, they have in some quarters been rather over-censured, it must be owned that there is nothing extant from the pen of Faustus of Riez to justify the extravagant eulogies lavished on their style and matter by his friend Sidonius Apollinaris. The following are still accessible:—

1. *Professio Fidei, contra eos, qui per solam Dei Voluntatem alios dicunt ad Vitam attrahit alios in Mortem deprimi; hinc Fatum cum Gentilibus asserunt, inde liberum arbitrium cum Manichaeis negant.* (*Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum* Lugduni, A.D. 1677, p. 523.)

This treatise is addressed to the then bishop of Arles, *beatissimo ac reverendissimo Leontio Papae.* [LEONTIUS.] Faustus opens it with a severe attack on the teaching of Pelagius as heretical, but proceeds to express a fear of the opposite extreme, of such a denial of man's power as a free agent, as would virtually amount to fatalism.

2. *Ejusdem Fausti Epistola ad Lucidum Presbyterum* (*ibid.*). This letter, to which reference has already been made, is similar in tone to the preceding, but rather fiercer in its language. Faustus here, too, anathematizes the error of Pelagius; but he also says anathema to any one who shall have declared that the vessel of wrath cannot arise so as to become a vessel for honour; or that Christ did not die for all men, or willeth not that all should be saved, or to any one (it seems desirable here to give the author's own wording) "qui dixerit illum qui periit, non accepisse ut salvus esse posset, id est de baptizato, vel de illius aetatis pagano, qui credere potuit et noluit."

3. *De Gratiâ Dei et Humanae Mentis libero Arbitrio Libri II.* (*ibid.* p. 525). The first book of this treatise is like an expansion of No. 1. After again censuring Pelagius, the writer argues strongly on behalf of the need of human endeavour and co-operation with the Divine aid. Towards the close of the first book, and still more emphatically in the second, he gives his

interpretation of some of those passages of Holy Scripture (as *e.g.* Exodus iv. 21, vii. 13; Romans ix. 11–26), which make most strongly for Augustinianism. This is the part where Faustus is most extreme and least successful. The idea of an antinomy, of the acceptance of two apparent contradictions, which in this life must remain unharmonized, is a comparatively recent one, though we find it in the writings of Bossuet. But it had not dawned upon the mind of the 5th century, nor even upon that of the 16th, and many passages in this book resemble the writings of a much later age, and might almost be supposed to have come from the pen of some Arminian controversialist in the age of the synod of Dort. In cap. x. of this second book, which has for its title "*Gentes Deum Naturaliter Sapuisse*," Faustus calls attention to the language of Daniel towards Nebuchadnezzar, and his censure of Belshazzar, as assuming heathen recognition of God (Dan. iv. and v.). He also appeals for the same purpose to the first chapter of Jonah, to the repentance of the Ninevites (Jonah iii.), and to the language of Jeremiah (xviii. 7–10). In this chapter the writer anticipates a sermon by bishop Horsley to the same effect. Perhaps the famous expression in the apology of Tertullian, *O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae*, and the language of St. Justin Martyr, St. Clement of Alexandria, and some other fathers, might be considered to favour the view of heathendom here taken by Faustus.

4. *Fausti Rhegiensis Episcopi ad Monachos Sermo.*—The title seems *primâ facie* to indicate a publication subsequent to its author's elevation to the episcopate. But it may, of course, have been written at an earlier date, just as it is *e. g.* common among ourselves to speak of the works of archbishop Leighton, although most of that prelate's writings are prior, in point of date, to his consecration as bishop.

The tone of this short letter resembles that of the author's other writings. He refers to excommunication as a terrible weapon only to be used in the last resort. It is sad to see monks go back to the world, especially if, after doing so, they retain their monastic dress. The lower creation sets a better example. "Aves ipsae diligunt nidos suos. Amant ferae locum quibus nutritae sunt." As usual, he is energetic in his appeals to the human element in religion. "Use your will. Resist the devil. Cherish all graces, especially obedience and humility." "Quanto nos arserimus in studio, tanto ille apponet adjutorium; quanto nos apposuerimus ad diligentiam tanto ille addet ad gloriam. *Qui habet, dabitur illi.*" With this admonition may be classed *Sermones sex ad Monachos*, which certainly seem to have been addressed to the community of Lerins, while Faustus presided over it. (These are all given in the *Patr. Bibl. Max.* ubi supra pp. 545–7; also by Martene and Durandus in their *Scriptor. et Monumentor. ampliss. Collectio*, tom. ix. p. 142, Paris, 1733; by Brockie, *Codex Regularum*, append. p. 469. Aug. Vind. 1759; and by Basnage, *Thesaurus Monumentorum*, tom. i. p. 350. Amst. 1725.)

5. *Responsa ad objecta quaedam de Ratione Fidei Catholicae.*—This is an epistle consisting of two portions so distinct from each other, that several critics have, with Gennadius, regarded them as separate treatises. The former part is a brief statement of the case against Arianism. It explains the distinction between *Persona* and *Natura* in reference to our Lord's Incarnation, and appears to be addressed to an orthodox, but perplexed friend, whom the author treats as a superior. The second portion is metaphysical, and discusses the nature of the soul, which Faustus seems to pronounce material. Claudius Mamertus, in his *De Statu Animae*, wrote against Faustus on this point. It is, however, possible that Faustus may not have meant more than to draw a marked distinction between the Creator and the creature; arguing, as he does, *nihil credendum incorporeum praeter Deum.* (This is given in the *Patr. Bibl. Max.* and has also been published in the collection of ancient French ecclesiastical writers edited by P. Pithou, Paris, 1586.)

6. *Homilia de S. Maximi Laudibus.*—This eulogy of the person, whom Faustus twice succeeded, has been, by a singular mistake, ascribed to Eusebius of Emesa. [EUSEBIUS EMESENSIS.] But this Eusebius died about A.D. 360, a century before the death of Maximus, and before the existence of the famous monastery of Lerins. (It is given in another patristic collection, the *Bibl. Magn. Patr.* published at Cologne in 1618, tom. v. pt. 1.)

7. *Epistolae.* (These, to the number of nineteen, are also given in the collection just named (*ibid.* x. part v.), and a selection is also to be found in the Lyons *Patr. Bibl. Max.* cited throughout this notice.) That to Lucidus has already been described. The one addressed to Gratius given by H. Canisius (in his Antiquae Lectiones, tom. v. and reproduced by Basnage *ubi supra*) has been already mentioned. Gennadius describes Gratius as a Nestorian, but his errors, apparently resulting rather from ignorance than wilfulness, seem more akin to those of Eutyches. The other epistles of Faustus touch upon problems of metaphysics and theology, but do not make any important additions to our knowledge of their author.

Taking Faustus of Riez as an ecclesiastic and as a writer, we have before us this phenomenon. Here is a man of unimpeachably good character; of an earnest, active, ascetic life; orthodox on the central doctrine of the Christian faith, and even suffering exile for it as a confessor; but stigmatized as a semi-Pelagian, and consequently by many authorities, both ancient and modern, denied the title of saint. But his own flock at Riez, deeply moved by his life and preaching, and warmly attached to his memory, insisted on giving him at least a local canonization. To them he was *Sanctus Faustus Reiensis;* they erected a basilica, dedicated in his name, and kept Jan. 18 as the anniversary of his festival.

The decision of this question will depend upon the verdict passed by the student on the school to which Faustus belonged. [v. SEMI-PELAGIANS.] In the case of Arianism it is possible to answer with an emphatic affirmative or negative to the really essential question put by Arius, viz. is the Redeemer, or is he not, only a creature? But Pelagianism and semi-Pelagianism involve questions of degree, and cannot be thus trenchantly stated. The excellent life of Faustus does not prove (any more than that of Pelagius himself) that he may not have written some dangerous, if not absolutely heretical, statements

concerning man's free agency. But the following considerations also seem to deserve attention. If St. Augustine was—as so many now believe—betrayed by his opposition to Pelagius into some extravagances, the reaction in Southern Gaul must be in part ascribed to the influence of this extreme tendency. In the Italy of the 5th and 6th centuries the weight of Augustine's name and that of his followers, St. Hilary and St. Prosper, was so great, that those who refused entire acquiescence in their views were unfavourably regarded at Rome. In a later day much of the learning of the French fell into the hands of decided Jansenists, such as the editors of the Lyons *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Natalis Alexander, and Tillemont. The Jansenist school has so many claims upon our admiration and respect that in some quarters it seems to be assumed that its decisions on all such questions are final. This, however, can hardly prove to be the ultimate verdict of impartial history. The apologies made by learned Jesuits, such as Sirmond, on behalf of Faustus, may by some be viewed with suspicion, as coming from a partial source; but it is hardly possible to deny that the account given by Tillemont is much more strongly imbued with partisanship and a disposition *in pejus interpretari*. Baronius reminds his readers that Faustus wrote before the date of the second Council of Orange, presided over by St. Caesarius [Caesarius], (which did so much to lull the disputes on predestination), and rather leans towards allowing the citizens of Riez to have their way, and continue their homage to his memory. "Maneant igitur Fausto integra ura sua, nec ex nostris scriptis sentiat praejudicium." The cardinal does not seem to pay regard to the letter of pope Hormisdas to Possessor, which tends, to say the least, in the opposite direction. But, if confronted by it, Baronius might perhaps have taken refuge in the convenient resource, that the bishop of Rome was here writing only as a private doctor, and not pronouncing a decision *ex cathedrâ*.[a] [J. G. C.]

FAUSTUS (12) II., fifth bishop of Riez, succeeding Contumeliosus, and followed by Emeterius. He was represented at the fifth council of Orleans, A.D. 549, by Claudianus, a deacon. (Mansi, ix. 137; *Gall. Christ.* i. 393.) [S. A. B.]

FAUSTUS (13), twenty-fourth bishop of Auch, succeeding Paulinus and followed by Fabius. He was present at the second council of Mâcon (585), and died the same year. There is a Faustus, whose praises as the builder of a church of St. Martin, are sung by Venantius Fortunatus (*Misc.* lib. i. cap. 4 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 67), who may possibly be this bishop. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* viii. 22; Mansi, ix. 957; *Gall. Christ.* i. 975.) [S. A. B.]

FAUSTUS (14), ST., fifth bishop of Tarbes succeeding Amelius, perhaps about the close of the 6th century. All we know of him is derived from the legendary life of St. Licerius his disciple, whom he taught, and who after his return from exile to Vicus-Julius (Aire) remained with him till his death. This life, which is ascribed to Bernardus Guido, was first published by Labbe, and is also to be found in Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 46. Nothing trustworthy is known of Faustus, and his successors are unknown even by name till Sarsonius, towards the close of the 9th century. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 1226.) [S. A. B.]

FAUSTUS (15), commem. Oct. 4, a deacon and martyr, with his fellow deacons, Gaius, Eusebius, and Chaeremon and many others, disciples, probably, of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, when head of the celebrated catechetical school in that city, A.D. 232–247 [Dionysius (6)]. They suffered, some in the Decian persecution, A.D. 250 (*Menolog. Graec.*), some of them under Valerian and Gallienus, A.D. 258, and Faustus in an advanced old age under Diocletian. (Eusebius, *E. H.* vii. c. 11.) [G. T. S.]

FAUSTUS (16), commemorated Sept. 6, martyr at Alexandria, with Macarius and others under Decius, Valerius being prefect of the city. (*Menolog. Graec.* Sirlet.) [G. T. S.]

FAUSTUS (17), commemorated July 16, martyr under Decius. He suffered by crucifixion. (*Magna Graeca Menaea; Martyr. Romanum;* Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iv. 124.) [G. T. S.]

FAUSTUS (18), commemorated Aug. 1, martyr at Rome with Bonus and others at the same time as pope Stephen, under Valerian. (*Martyr.* Bedae, Usuardi; Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 10.) [G. T. S.]

FAUSTUS (19), martyred at Cordova with Januarius and Martialis. Their feast is placed by the Bollandists on Oct. 13, but the Gothic Office and the most ancient Spanish breviaries give Sept. 28. The date of their martyrdom is uncertain. Two points, however, throw light on it, (1) a verse of Prudentius, which probably refers to them ("Corduba Asisclum dabit et Zoellum, *Tresque coronas:*" cf. Prudent. *Peristeph.* Hymn 4, 19); (2) the mention of "sacratissimi imperatores" in some MSS. of the *Acta*, which would seem to fit the Diocletian persecution. Tamayo de Salazar (*Martyr. Hisp.* v. Oct. 13) gives the date as 298, but with equal confidence he makes them brothers and the sons of St. Marcellus and St. Nona. The first supposition seems disposed of by the word "societas" in the *Acta* applied to the bond between them, and the connexion with St. Marcellus probably arises from the confused notices of them in the Martyrologies, where three other martyrs of Chalcedon share the same day, one of whom is named Marcellus, and they appear endlessly confused with each other and with the Cordovan martyrs. There was a church in their honour at Cordova in the 9th century (*Memoriale Sanctorum* of St. Eulogius, cap. 9, lib. 2), and at Merida in the 7th, if the document known as *De Vita et Mir. Patr. Emerit.* (*Esp. Sagr.* xiii. p. 353) is to be trusted. On the conquest of Cordova by St. Ferdinand their church there was re-dedicated to St. Peter, and the supposed relics of the three saints, together with others, were

[a] Canon Robertson (*Hist. Chr. Church*, bk. iii. chap. 7) observes, that a decree of Hormisdas proved insufficient for the zeal of some Scythian monks who had come across the writings of Faustus; and that the brotherhood consequently appealed to some orthodox bishops of Africa then in banishment in Sardinia. One of these, Fulgentius of Ruspe, satisfied them by a mixed statement of partially guarded and partially excessive Augustinianism.

discovered in it Nov. 21, 1575. (Florez, *Esp. Sagrada*, vol. x. 321, 508; Boll. *AA. SS.* Oct. vi. 13; the *Acta* are given at f. 2436 of the fine 10th-century *Sanctorale*, which in Florez's time was still in the monastery of Cardena, but is now in the Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS. 25,600. See also *Mart.*, Adon., Usuard.) [M. A. W.]

FAUSTUS (20), one of a company of martyrs at Alutinum in proconsular Africa in the Diocletian persecution, according to the *Acta Martyrum* professing to be drawn from the proconsular records, and quoted by Baronius. (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 303, xxxvi.) [C. H.]

FAUSTUS (21), martyr, April 16. [SARAGOSSA, MARTYRS OF.]

FAUSTUS (22), commemorated Nov. 26, perhaps identical with the Faustus of Oct. 4 (No. 15), a presbyter and martyr at Alexandria, with Dius and Ammonius, who suffered under Maximinus, A.D. 308, at the time when Peter, bishop of that city, was also put to death by his command. (*Martyr.*, Adonis, Usuardi; Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 13.) [G. T. S.]

FAUSTUS (23), commemorated Sept. 8, martyr at Antioch with Timothy (*Martyr.* Usuardi), called Faustinus (*Martyr.* Bedae), and Faustinianus (*Martyr.* Hieron.). [G. T. S.]

FAUSTUS (24), commemorated Nov. 19, an aged deacon and martyr. (*Martyr.* Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FAUSTUS (25), probably a monk, the bearer of a letter from St. Augustine to his friend Bonifacius, the tribune, from whom he had brought a letter to Augustine requesting his advice, c. A.D. 413. (Aug. *Ep.* 189.) [H. W. P.]

FAUSTUS (26), monk of Constantinople, son of Dalmatus. The father, who had been a soldier in the time of the emperor Theodosius, was persuaded to embrace a monastic life by St. Isaacius of Constantinople. Faustus followed the example, and was shorn by his own father. Both lived in the greatest credit with the emperor and the senate, and miracles are recorded of them. Faustus was commemorated on Aug. 3. (Basil. *Menol.*) [C. H.]

FAUSTUS (27), a deacon mentioned by Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais in Cyrenaica, who praises the clergy for heading their flocks against their enemies when the soldiers would not come forward, and commends above all the valour of the manly (*μελάμπυγος*) Faustus, who was the foremost combatant. (Synesius, *Ep.* 122, in Migne, Patrol. Graec. lxvi. 259; Ceillier, *Aut. Sacr.* viii. 31.) [L. D.]

FAUSTUS (28), a presbyter and archimandrite of Constantinople, ranking first among the contemporary holders of that office. In the year A.D. 448 Eutyches, the heretic, endeavoured to secure his support, in common with that of the other archimandrites of Constantinople, for his views. With this object he sent round a *tome* to which he tried to induce the archimandrites to subscribe. When Eutyches' agents, Constantinus and Eleusinius, came to Faustus they described the document as an "Exposition of the faith of the three hundred and eighteen [Fathers of Nicaea] and of the Fathers of Ephesus:" "Let me have it," said Faustus, "to compare with the copies which I have of the decrees of those councils" This, however, they would not allow, and retired. When narrating this incident to messengers from the archbishop Flavian, Faustus added, "As to us, we are the children of the church, and have, after God, but one father, our archbishop." (Labbe, *Concilia*, iv. 211; Tillemont, xv. 501.) This Faustus, with Martin, a brother archimandrite, enjoyed the especial confidence of Leo I. He wrote to him, Martin and the other archimandrites, in June A.D. 449, against the heresy of Eutyches (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 32, 859, Migne). He addresses them again in October, after the "Robber Council," exhorting them to constancy (*Ep.* 51, 957). He writes again to Faustus and Martin in March, 450 (*Ep.* 61, 983), in answer to a letter from them, in the same strain. Again in July he writes to all the archimandrites complaining of the silence of Anatolius and the bishops who consecrated him to the see of Constantinople, as to his having given adequate evidence of orthodoxy (*Ep.* 71, 1012). In the same year he wrote an undated letter to Faustus alone (*Ep.* 72, 1016), praising his faith and constancy, and in November he wrote to Faustus and Martin (*Ep.* 75, 1022), saying how intolerable to the Western bishops was the action of the "Robber Council" at Ephesus. In A.D. 451 Faustus, with eighteen other orthodox archimandrites of Constantinople, addressed a letter to the emperor Marcian against the Eutychians, asking him, with a view to preventing the spread of that heresy, to allow them to subject its monastic supporters to the rules of monastic discipline (*τοῖς πνευματικοῖς τῶν μοναχῶν δροις*), and if they are obstinately contumacious to punish them as they deserve; they asked also that a certain cave to which the Eutychians seem to have retired (*ἔνθα οἱ θηριωδεῖς κατοικοῦσι*) might be handed over to them (Labbe, iv. 531). After the meeting of the council of Chalcedon in 451, the bishops there assembled summoned Faustus, among other orthodox archimandrites, to take their seats in the council when Carosus and the other Eutychian archimandrites were summoned before it. Their names appear as subscribing to the deposition of Eutyches, in Act i. of the council. [C. G.]

FAUSTUS (29) (FAUSTINUS), the Latin form of the Irish COMGALL.

FAUSTUS (30), monk of Agaunum (St. Maurice) in the Valais, accompanied his abbat, St. Severinus, on a journey to Paris to visit king Clovis I., who was sick of a fever. Severinus died on the return journey at Château-Landon, where Faustus appears to have established himself instead of returning to Agaunum. At the age of sixty he wrote a life of Severinus, c. A.D. 523–4, at the command of Childebert, who had built a church over the tomb of the saint. This work was corrected and adorned by some one whose name is unknown, at the suggestion of Magnus bishop of Sens, at the beginning of the 9th century, and in this new form is published by the Bollandists (*AA. SS.* Feb. ii. 547). The original work in its imperfect state has been edited by Mabillon (*Acta SS. O. S. B.* p. 568), but

doubts have been thrown on its genuineness (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 111). Cave (*Script. Eccl.* i 574) wrongly identifies this Faustus with Faustus Cassinensis, who lived half a century later. [L. D.]

FAUSTUS (31), CASSINENSIS, an Italian confided in childhood by his parent to St. Benedict to be brought up in the monastery of Monte Cassino; A.D. 543 he was sent by the saint to take part in the foundation of the monastery of Glanfeuil in Anjou, the first Benedictine establishment in France, of which St. Maur was the abbat. After a sojourn there of forty-six years, Faustus returned to Italy, and took up his residence in the Lateran monastery, whither the monks of Monte Cassino had retired after their monastery had been destroyed, and there he died. He is revered as a saint (*AA. SS.* Boll. Feb. ii. 839–841). He wrote a life of St. Maur after his return to Italy, which is printed by the Bollandists (*AA. SS.* Jan. i. 1039–1051), and contains as a preface a short autobiography. Some doubts have been cast on the genuineness of this work, but without good reason; Odo (Eudes) abbat of Glanfeuil rewrote the work, altering only the style and not the facts, A.D. 863; there is no cause for supposing that he is the actual author of the work, and that Faustus is only a creature of his imagination. The work is dedicated to all monks of the East and West, and mentions the approval of pope Boniface, either the third or fourth of that name. Cave wrongly identifies this Faustus with Faustus of Agaunum, who was over sixty years of age A.D. 523. (Ceillier, *Aut. Sacr.* xi. 610–12; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 496; Cave, *Script. Eccl.* i. 574.) [L. D.]

FAUSTUS (32), ST., abbat of St. Lucia, near Syracuse, cir. A.D. 607; succeeded by his disciple Zosimus, afterwards bishop of Syracuse. (Pirri, *Sic. Sacr.* i. 608; Cajetanus, *Acta SS. Sicul.* i. 223; Boll. *Acta SS.* 6 Sep. ii. 686.) [C. H.]

FAUSTUS (33), a man of position, probably a decurion at Autun, who, together with his son Symphorian, is said to have entertained St. Andochus (Andochius) and his companions when they came preaching the Gospel during the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161–180, or else during that of Caracalla, 211–217. According to the tradition he received baptism at the hands of the missionaries, and interred their bodies when they suffered martyrdom shortly afterwards, and composed a memorial of their work. But the existing *Acta* of St. Andochus and his companions are confessedly of a later date. (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, i. part i. 294; *AA. SS.* Boll. vi. Sept. 663–677.) [L. D.]

FAUSTUS (34), a Manichaean doctor who visited Carthage A.D. 383. He was an African by birth, a native of Milevis, and of humble origin, but a man of some attainments, great dialectic ability, and considerable eloquence. Augustine, who had then been a Manichaean some nine years, had long wished to see him, and on his arrival he at once placed himself under his instruction. The only effect which he produced upon his gifted pupil, however, was to "loosen the snare" in which he had been so long entangled, and so dissatisfy him with Manichaeism that he soon finally broke with it. (Augustin. *Confess.* v. 3, 6, 7; *Contr. Faust. Manich.* i.; *Retract.* ii. 7.)

Faustus was still at Carthage A.D. 386, when he was indicted as a Manichaean before Messianus, the proconsul of Africa, but escaped the extreme penalty to which he was exposed, at the intercession of the Christians who had informed against him, and his punishment was commuted to exile in an island (Augustin. *Contr. Faust. Manich.* v. 8). Many years afterwards a book which Faustus had written was put into the hands of Augustine by some of his brethren, and at their request he wrote a reply to it, a copy of which he sent to Jerome A.D. 400 (*Contr. Faust.* u. s. 207 et seq.; *Ep.* lxxxii.). [T. W. D.]

FAUSTUS (35), ANICIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, prefect of Rome A.D. 425. To him was addressed one of the four edicts issued in the name of Valentinian III. at Aquileia, immediately after the cruel murder of John, the successor of Honorius, in that city (*Cod. Theod. XVI.* v. 62, July 17, A.D. 425; see also 63, Aug. 4, and 64, Aug. 6, and ii. 42, July 6; Philostorg. *H. E.* xii. 11, ed. Gothofred. and *Diss. ib.* p. 438). It commands all Manichaeans, heretics, and schismatics, to be driven from the city, and especially those who persistently withhold themselves from communion with the "venerable pope." Faustus was also consul A.D. 428 in conjunction with Theodosius II. (Corsini, *Ser. Praef.* 344.) [T. W. D.]

FAUSTUS (36), a Roman senator, consul, A.D. 483, to whom, in conjunction with Symmachus, Avitus bishop of Vienne, addresses a letter (*Ep.* xxxi.) in the name of the Gallic hierarchy, upon the subject of the synod which deposed pope Symmachus. (Migne, Patrol. lix. 247.) [E. M. Y.]

FAUSTUS (37), master of the household to Theodoric, who, on taking the title of king after the capture of Ravenna, A.D. 493, despatched him as an ambassador to the emperor Anastasius. In the article Gelasius an account is given of the part he took in that pope's communications with Constantinople. [L. D.]

FAVENTIUS (1), the lessee of the wood of Paratiana, a place twenty-five Roman miles from Rusiccada, in Numidia (Ant. *Itin.* 19, 3). Apprehending injury from the proprietor, perhaps on account of debt [Fascius], though we are not informed as to the true cause, he took refuge in the church precinct of Hippo Regius; but becoming in course of time more careless as to his movements, he was one day, while on his way from supper with a friend, apprehended by Florentinus, the official of the court of Africa, and detained in custody. For some days his place of confinement was unknown, and St. Augustine wrote to Cresconius, probably the tribune of the sea-coast, a Christian, to complain of violation of the privilege of sanctuary, to learn the place of his confinement, and to take steps for enabling him to avail himself of the law of Theodosius, by which he might be allowed to remain for thirty days under partial restraint with liberty to arrange his affairs. Cresconius sent some soldiers, but the prisoner had been removed; and the messenger sent a second time, when the place of confinement had been dis-

covered, was forbidden by Florentinus to see him. Augustine then wrote a second letter, by a presbyter named Coelestinus, reminding Florentinus somewhat sharply of the state of the law, and of his own duty in the matter. But the gaoler had already removed his prisoner, and Augustine was afraid lest, as his opponent was a rich man, Faventius might suffer some personal injury. In order, therefore, to prevent any unfair dealing in the matter, he wrote to Fortunatus, bishop of Cirta, the chief town of Numidia and seat of government, to undertake the service of delivering and reading to Generosus, the consular of the province, a Christian, a letter requesting him to delay the hearing of the case, and to enquire whether the law mentioned above had been duly observed. The letter to Generosus is an admirable specimen of refined and respectful admonition as to his duty as a Christian judge, as is the one to Florentinus of grave and dignified, but courteous, rebuke for his neglect of the law. (Aug. *Epp.* 113, 114, 115, 116; *Cod. Theodos.* ix. 2, 6.) [H. W. P.]

FAVENTIUS (2), bishop of Regium Lepidi (Reggio, in the Duchy of Modena), present at the council held under Eusebius of Milan, A.D. 451 (Leo. Mag. Ep. 97, 1082, Migne). [C. G.]

FAVILA. [FAFILA.]

FAVORINUS, Carthaginian acolyte (Cyp. Ep. 34). [PHILUMENUS.] [E. W. B.]

FEACHTNACH (FECTAC, *Ann. Ult.*), abbat of Fobhar, now Fore, co. Westmeath, died A.D. 781 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 776, i. 381). [J. G.]

FEADHACH (FEDACH, *Ann. Ult.* FETTACH, FETHACH), son of Cormac, and abbat of Louth, Slaine and Duleek, died A.D. 789 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 784, i. 391; Lanigan, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* iii. 202). [J. G.]

FEAMMOR, virgin. [BLATH.]

FEAR— [FER—]

FEBATUS, bishop of Orleans in the 5th century, between St. Magnus and Gratianus (*Gall. Chr.* viii. 1413). [C. H.]

FEBEDIOLUS (FIDIOLUS), fourth bishop of Rennes, succeeding St. Melanius and followed by Victurius, subscribed the 5th council of Orleans, A.D. 549. (Mansi, ix. 136; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 740.) [S. A. B.]

FEBRONIA, commemorated June 25, martyr under Diocletian, A.D. 304. She is said to have lived at Nisibis in Mesopotamia, where she was a member of a religious house and celebrated for her beauty, piety, and charity. Diocletian suspecting a young man of noble family named Lysimachus, of a secret inclination to Christianity, sent him to the distant East to prove his fidelity to heathenism by uprooting the Christian faith. To secure his obedience he entrusted the chief power in the matter to the hands of the young man's uncle and guardian, Selenus, an ambitious, determined, and cruel man. Having arrived at Nisibis the latter went vigorously to work while Lysimachus in secret endeavoured to temper the heat of the persecution. Selenus, having arrested Febronia, was so struck with her beauty that he offered her the hand of Lysimachus in marriage, and, upon her refusal to accept it or to sacrifice, put her to death with the most cruel torments. Stung with remorse, Selenus committed suicide, while Lysimachus sought baptism and became a monk. Her Acts profess to be the work of an eye-witness, and member of the same monastery, named Thomais. They were originally written in Syriac or Greek. (Boll. *AA. SS.* Jun. v. 17–34; Symeon Metaphrastes; *Menolog. Graec.*; *Cal. Byzant.*) [G. T. S.]

FEBRUARIUS, bishop of Lerida, signs the acts of the council held at Lerida in A.D. 546 (not 524 as Dahn and others have it, see Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can.* ii. 146), attended by eight bishops and one proxy, and presided over by Sergius, metropolitan of Tarragona. (Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* xlvi. 99, 170; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii. 683; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 171.) [M. A. W.]

FECHIN, FEICHIN, FEIGHIN, ST. Besides the following there are other Feichins or Fechins commemorated in the Irish Calendars, at Feb. 22, Aug. 2, and Dec. 28.

(1) Fechin, abbat of Fobhar or Fore, was a zealous labourer for Christ in the west of Connaught in the seventh century, and his name is still remembered in connexion with his religious foundations. Only two ancient Lives seem to be extant. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 130–39.) Bp. Challoner (*Brit. Sanct.* pt. i. 68–70) and Bp. Forbes (*Kal. Scott. Saints*, 456–58) have given memoirs of the saint, but the latest and fullest is by O'Hanlon (*Irish Saints*, i. 356–82). His name is attached to wells and churches in many localities of Ireland. In none of the Lives is there any record of his visiting Scotland, yet there is Ecclefechan or Ecclesfechan in Dumfriesshire, and under the latinized form of Vigeanus his dedication is found at St. Vigeans beside Arbroath. His being called Mo-ecca or Eccanus by St. Aengus and in the *Cal. Cassel.* seems to be based on a mistake, though Colgan (*Acta SS.* 140 n. [2]) accepts it as a fact.

(2) St. Fechin, one of the priests of the third class of Irish saints, belonged to the same noble race as St. Brigida. He is said to have been born at Billy, in the barony of Leyny and county of Sligo. So soon as he was of age for education, he was placed under the charge of St. Nathi (Aug. 9) of Achonry in the same barony of Leyny, but whether he entered the priesthood under him or not is uncertain. After a time he left his own country for greater retirement, and built his monastery at Fobhar, or Fore, now St. Feighin's, in the barony of Fore and county of Westmeath. (For the remains at Fore, see Petrie, *Round Towers of Ireland*, 174–5, 453; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 365 sq.) But besides the monastery of Fobhar, where three hundred monks were under him "secundum regulam a sanctis patribus institutam," other places are associated with his name, as the islands of Omey and Ardoilen in Galway, Cong near Lough Corrib, Ballysadare and Drumrat in Sligo. (On the localities see specially Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. 46–50, and O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, i. 360 sq.)

He died in the yellow plague, which proved fatal to so many saints in Ireland in A.D 665.

(*Ann. Tig.*) Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 511–41, and Ind. Chron. A.D. 599, 630, 665; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 23; Kelly, *Cal. Irish SS.* 59, 161; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 345, ii. 190–2, 331, iii. 44–54; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 456–8, under 'VIGEAN'; Ware. *Ir. Antiq.* c. 26; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* ii. 205 n. [68], iv. 56 n [2]; Duffus Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. 260–61, 788; Nicolson, *Ir. Hist. Libr.* 45; *Sculp. Stones of Scotland*, ii. 6.) [J. G.]

FECHNO (FETCHUO, FETHUO, FETNO, FIACHNA, FIECHNO), one of St. Columba's companions in the first voyage to Iona, and the planting of the faith in the Hebrides of Scotland. He was son of Rodan, and brother of Rus. He devoted himself to preach the gospel among the Picts, bringing them back to the piety of the days of St. Ninian. Miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb. By the early Scotch historians his feast is Aug. 12, and the year of his death 580. Colgan evidently prefers July 23, A.D. 588, for the date of his death (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 336; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 588; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 372; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 15, wks. vi. 237–39). He is invoked in the *Litany of Dunkeld* (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, p. lx.). [J. G.]

FEDHLIM (FEDELLA, FEDELMIA, FEDHELM, FEIDELMAI, FETHLIMIA), virgin, daughter of Ailill, king of Leinster (ob. 544). She was baptized, with her sister Mughain, by St. Patrick at a fountain near Naas. Both of them took the veil, became famous for virtue, and (it is said) for miraculous signs, and were commemorated on Dec. 9. (*Mart. Donegal*, by Todd and Reeves, 331; *Tripart. Life of St. Patrick.*) [J. G.]

FEDHLIMIDH (FEIDLMIDH, FELIM), a common name in the ecclesiastical annals of Ireland.

(1) Fedhlimidh, of Cill-mor Dithruib, who is commemorated on Aug. 9, is said to have been brother of Diarmaid (Jan. 10) of Inis-clothrann and others, and to have belonged to the race of the Hy-Fiachrach [DIARMAID (4)]. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 52 n. [5]). In his *Loca Patriciana*, the Rev. J. F. Shearman shews his father to have been Cairrell, son of Laisre luind, descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages, and his mother to have been Deigha or Deidi, the daughter of Trian, son of Dubhtach mac Ui Lugair; he attributes the feasts of both Aug. 3 and 9 to him (*Journ. Roy. Hist. and Archaeol. Assoc.* 4 ser. iii. p. 24 Gen. Table, and p. 56). To Fedhlimidh is usually ascribed the foundation of the see of Kilmore, co. Cavan, yet there are no particulars of his life connecting him with either the place or its episcopate, and there is no account of any bishop being there prior to the fifteenth century. But as in the kalendars he is placed at Cill-mor Dithruibh (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 215), it is suggested by O'Donovan, and accepted by Reeves, that he in no sense belonged to Cavan, but lived at Kilmore, a parish in the barony of North Ballintober, co. Roscommon, which lies close to the Shannon, and is the "Cill-mor dithribh," where St. Columcille (June 9) founded his monastery of Kilmore. This St. Fedhlimidh must have flourished about the middle of the sixth century.

(2) Abbat of Kilmoone, co. Meath, appears in the *Four Mast.* at A.D. 809 as also anchoret and excellent scribe, but in the *Ann. Ult.* at A.D. 813 as not only these, but as the steward appointed by the archbishop of Armagh, as successor of St. Patrick, to collect St. Patrick's tribute in Bregia. The true date of his death is 814 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 421; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* iv. 198).

(3) Finn, bishop of Armagh, succeeded David, son of Guaire, A.D. 551, and died A.D. 578. In the Irish annals he is called only abbat, but Ware (*Irish Bishops*, by Harris, 38) and Lanigan (*Ch. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 10, § 13, c. 12, § 1) accept the account of the *Psalter of Cashel* (Colgan, *Tr Thaum.* 293) and place him among the bishops of Armagh. His feast is Oct. 30 "Feidlimidh, of Domhnach" (*Mart. Doneg.*), or Dec. 20 (Stuart, *Armagh*, 92).

(4) Bishop of Clones or Clogher, placed by Ware (*Irish Bishops*) third after Tigernach (A.D. 550) in the sixth century (Lanigan, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* ii. 10, 12).

(5) Abbat of Iona. [FAILBHE (4).] [J. G.]

FEDOLIUS, an unknown personage, addressed by St. Columban, abbat of Luxeuil, in a poem composed of monometer verses. The concluding lines (v. 160–165), which are hexameters, indicate that it was the work of his extreme old age. (Migne, Patrol. lxxx. p. 291.) [E. M. Y.]

FEDOLUS, FEDOLIUS, thirty-ninth bishop of Paris, succeeding Merseidus and followed by Ragnecaptus, or Radbertus, about the middle of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* vii. 29.) [S. A. B.]

FEGADIUS, bishop of Agen. [FOEGADIUS.]

FELANUS, bishop. [FILLAN.]

FELARTUS, FELERTUS. [FULARTACH.]

FELERANDUS, bishop of Luni, near Sarzana (to which place the see was transferred in the 12th century) in 769. For a legend of events during his time see Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiii. 433). [A. H. D. A.]

FELGELD, an anchoret at Farne, who was cured of a swelling in the face by a piece of leather which Ethelwald, the successor of St. Cuthbert, had nailed up in the cell at Farne. (*V. S. Cuthb.* cc. 44, 46; Smith's *Bede*, pp. 252, 253, 290, 291.) [S.]

FELICIA, a lady devoted to virginity, whose mind was disturbed by the misconduct of a bishop, probably Antonius of Fussala, but of this there is no evidence beyond the fact that he is mentioned in the next letter. She was even disposed to join the Donatist party; but Augustine wrote to pacify and comfort her, shewing that the Donatist theory of the visible church is a fallacious one, for that in it the evil must ever be mingled with the good (Aug. *Ep.* 208). [H. W. P.]

FELICIANA, one of the band of noble Roman ladies who gathered round St. Jerome when at Rome, A.D 383–5. She is saluted by him in a letter to Paula (xxx. 14, ed. Vall.) as "veer

carnis et spiritus virginitate felicem." She is possibly the same as FELICITAS (4). [W. H. F.]

FELICIANUS (1) I., fourth in the list of the bishops of Foligno, his native town. His predecessor is anonymous, following Britius; his successor, also anonymous, is followed by Felicianus II. According to the *Roman Martyrology* he was consecrated to the see of Foligno by Victor bishop of Rome, and in extreme old age was martyred in the Decian persecution. The period assigned to his episcopate is from A.D. 203 to 254, and his commemoration day is Jan. 24. In the time of Otho the Great numerous relics of the saints were brought out of Italy, and Theodoric bishop of Metz, attending that emperor in his expedition beyond the Alps, was one of the most zealous collectors of such treasures, for the enrichment of his monastery of St. Vincentius at Metz. Sigebert names Felicianus among those whose remains were thus transported. The Bollandists give the *Acta* in three recensions. (Sigebert. an. 970; Patr. Lat. clx. 192; Baron. *Annal.* ann. 203, ii. 254, xxix.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 581; Ughel. *Ital. Sac.* i. 684.) [C. H.]

FELICIANUS (2) II., 6th in the list of bishops of Foligno, following the anonymous successor of Felix I., and preceding Paulus. His election is stated to have been confirmed by Marcellinus bishop of Rome, A.D. 296. He is thought to be the Felicianus mentioned without a see among the 300 bishops of the council of Suessa, A.D. 303. (Mansi, i. 1253; Ughel. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 685.) [C. H.]

FELICIANUS (3), Donatist bishop of Bitta, or Vitta, in proconsular Africa, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 459, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELICIANUS (4), Donatist bishop of Musti, Mussita, or Mustita, a town of which there is some doubt whether it was in Numidia, or in proconsular Africa. The *Notitia Africae* places it in the former, the province in which no doubt the Donatist party was strongest (Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 21, 26; *de Unit. Eccl.* 19, 51); but (1) Musti of the Provincia (Abd-er-Rabbi) was a well-known place, at which Roman remains still exist (Shaw, p. 95). (2) Bishops from other towns in the Provincia are mentioned as well as Felicianus, as being present at the council of Bagaia, *e.g.* from Membresa and Assuris. (3) The civil proceedings arising out of that council were carried on before the proconsul, and not, as it seems, in Numidia. In order to reconcile the difficulty, several writers, as Noris, Tillemont, Morcelli, and Gams, have supposed another Musti to have existed in Numidia, but of this there is no authentic trace. (Ant. *Itin.* 48, 49; Aug. *c. Cresc.* iv. 5; *c. Gaudent.* ii. 7, 7; *Enarr. in Ps.* 57, vol. iv. p. 685.)

However this may be, there is no doubt that the name of Felicianus of Musti is one of the most prominent in the history of Donatism, and that it almost always occurs in connexion with that of Praetextatus of Assuris, the place mentioned above. Probably, but the expression of St. Augustine is not quite definite, he assisted at the consecration of Primian, A.D. 391. Two years later he was one of the 100 Donatist bishops assembled at Cabarsussis who condemned him, and of the twelve who joined in ordaining Maximian in his place, A.D. 393 (Aug. *c. Parm.* 1, 4, 8; *c. Cresc.* iii. 13, 16; *c. Petil.* 1, 12; *En. in Ps.* 36, 20; DICT. i. 887). At the council of Bagaia, April 24, A.D. 394, Primian presided, and was upheld in his position by the 310 bishops there assembled. None of the Maximianists attended, but they were all condemned by the council, especially those who assisted at the ordination of Maximian, of whom Felicianus was undoubtedly one. The sin of all who took any part in this action was denounced in the strongest terms possible, but to all, excepting the twelve ordainers, a respite was granted until Dec. 25 of the same year (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 19, 22; 54, 60; 56, 62; iv. 4, 5; *c. Gaud.* ii. 7, 7; *Ep.* 51; *de Gestis cum Emer.* 9). In March of the year following (A.D. 395) the Primianist party commenced proceedings in the civil courts for the purpose of ejecting the Maximianist bishops from their sees, on ground supplied, as it would appear, by the imperial edicts issued to protect orthodox bishops and churches, such as the Primianists represented themselves exclusively to constitute (*Cod. Theodos.* xvi. 24 and 26). They were carried on first before the proconsul Herodes, at the suit ostensibly of Peregrinus, a presbyter, and the elders of the people of Musti, represented by an advocate named Titianus; and they lasted during three or four proconsulates until that of Theodorus, but in what year he filled the office is uncertain. One of the proconsuls during the time was Serranus, who pronounced a decree against Salvius of Membresa (see above), but similar doubt exists as to his date (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 53, 59; 56, 62; iv. 3, 3; 48, 58; 49, 59; *de Gest. cum Emer.* 9). Certain it is that the proceedings were carried on more or less continuously till A.D. 398, but without producing the desired effect, though Felicianus was attacked, not only before the proconsul, but before the municipal authorities of Musti (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iv. 4; *Ep.* 57). During this time the condemned Maximianist bishops suffered annoyance, and even persecution, in which Salvius of Membresa was cruelly put to death. This persecution was chiefly instigated by Optatus, bishop of Thamugada, surnamed the Gildonian, from the support which he received from Gildo the tyrant, as he may be called, of Africa at that time. These severities succeeded, at length, in terrifying the people of Musti and Assuris into inviting, or rather demanding, that their bishops, of whom Praetextatus had died, and been succeeded by Rogatus, should return to the communion of Primianus (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 60, 66; iv. 25, 32; *Mor. Vet. Don.* p. 402, ed. Oberthür). They returned unconditionally, without any act of humiliation, and all their acts during the time of separation were accepted without question by the Donatist communion. It is on this point that Augustine is never weary of insisting in his arguments against the Donatists: "If," says he, "Felicianus and Praetextatus were rightly expelled, how could they be restored rightly on these terms? if wrongly, how could the acts of the Donatists towards them be justified? They baptized many persons during their time of separation, yet none of these underwent re-baptism. The baptisms performed by Maximianists were not condemned; yet if the council of Bagaia was right, Felicianus and Praetextatus, and the rest condemned by its 310 bishops, were little less than murderers, and in returning,

ought to have been treated as penitents, not re-admitted on equal terms." (Aug. *c. Parm.* i. 4, 9; ii. 3, 7, 15, 34; *de Bapt.* i. 1, 2; *c. Petil.* ii. 7, 16; 52, 120; *c. Cresc.* iii. 39, 43; iv. 10, 13; *Post. Coll.* 4, 4; *Epp.* 76, 108.)

After this restoration, Felicianus appears as the Donatist bishop of Musti at the great Enquiry, A.D. 411, but took no prominent part in its proceedings (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 401, ed. Oberthür). [H. W. P.]

FELICIANUS (5), the name of five bishops present at the Carthaginian conference of A.D. 411, namely, the bishop of—

Aquae Novae, probably in Numidia. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 446, ed. Oberthür.)

Cufruta, in Byzacene; a former bishop had been condemned by the Donatists, and not received by the Catholics, and no Donatist appointed. (*M. V. D.* p. 409; Tillemont, 77, vol. vi. p. 189.)

Ferada Minor, in Byzacene. (*M. V. D.* p. 418.)

Trisipa, in proconsular Africa. Donatist. (*M. V. D.* p. 406.)

Utina, in proconsular Africa. Donatist. (*M. V. D.* p. 440.) [H. W. P.]

FELICIANUS (6), the name of three Catholic bishops banished by Hunneric after the convention at Carthage in 484 (Victor. Vit. *Notit.* 56–58 in Migne, Pat. Lat. lviii.), namely of—

Girutarasi, in the province of Numidia. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 170.)

Ida, in the province of Mauretania Caesariensis; along with Subitanus, who was bishop of the same see, he went to the convention; as he is placed lower in the list than Subitanus, he is supposed to have been a Donatist who joined the Catholics, and would have retained his rank and see according to the rule of the African church. (*A. C.* i. 190.)

Meta, in the province of Numidia. (*A. C.* i. 225.) [L. D.]

FELICIANUS (7), the name of a person either real or imaginary, but of whom, if real, nothing is known, though he is called by Alcuin an Arian bishop. He is represented as one of the interlocutors in a dialogue carried on with St. Augustine on the nature of the Trinity. The treatise which contains this is entitled *Contra Felicianum Arianum de Unitate Trinitatis*, and was formerly ascribed to Augustine. It is quoted under his name by Alcuin, Bede, and Peter Lombard. The first who doubted its genuineness was Erasmus, and it was afterwards assigned, chiefly on internal grounds, by the Jesuit father, P. F. Chifflet, to Vigilius bishop of Tapsa or Tapsis in Byzacene, c. 484, and this judgment has been followed by the later editors of St. Augustine's works. The arguments of the dialogue are confessedly founded less on scriptural grounds than on such as belong to the nature of the case, and the whole terminates somewhat abruptly. (Aug. *Opp.* vol. viii. app. pp. 1158–1172; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. p. 458; Tillemont, 342, vol. xiii. p. 914.) [H. W. P.]

FELICIANUS (8), bishop of Ruspe, in North Africa, elected on the day of the death of Fulgentius, A.D. 533 (*Vit. Fulg.* cap. 66), and consecrated in the following year, A.D. 534. While a presbyter he shared the exile of Fulgentius in Sardinia (*Vit. Fulg.* prol. sec. 2). As bishop he took part in the council of Carthage under Reparatus in 534. (Mansi, viii. 841.) To him was addressed the *Vita Fulgentii*, prefixed to the works of Fulgentius. (*Vit. Fulg.* in Pat. Lat. lxv. 117; also in Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 32; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 266.) [H. R. R.]

FELICIANUS (9), bishop of Vicenza, c. A.D. 809. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* x. 822.) [R. S. G.]

FELICIANUS (10), commemorated Nov. 19; martyr at Vienne, A.D. 163, with Severinus and Exuperius. Their relics were translated to the church of St. Romanus in Vienne some time about the year 800. (*Martyr.* Usuardi, Adon., *Chronic.* Adonis). [G. T. S.]

FELICIANUS (11), commemorated Jan. 30; martyr in Africa with Pellianus and others (*Martyr. Roman.*, Hieron.); probably at Alexandria or Carthage in the beginning of the Decian persecution, when the entire population was summoned man by man to sacrifice, and hundreds were put to death. See letter of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, describing this process in Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 41) [G. T. S.]

FELICIANUS (12), commemorated June 9; martyr with Primus at Nomentum, now Mentana, an ancient city of Latium, fourteen miles and a half from Rome. Their acts are given in three different versions in Surius. Ceillier, however, does not regard them as authentic. The story, which is surrounded with many difficulties, is briefly thus:—The emperors Diocletian and Maximian being at Rome, the martyrs, who were Roman citizens, were brought before them, at the instigation of the heathen priests, who declared that the gods would neither give oracles nor blessings till they were compelled to sacrifice. The emperors ordered them to be led to the altar, and there to sacrifice to Jupiter and Hercules. Upon their refusal, they were committed to the charge of Promotus, governor of Nomentum, with strict orders to compel them to obedience, or else to punish them with the severest tortures, which he forthwith executed. Wearied out with their obstinacy, Promotus made a final effort, called them before his tribunal, and endeavoured to persuade them to obedience. Whereupon Felicianus refused, saying: "I am now eighty years old, and have known the truth for thirty years, during which I have chosen the service of my Creator the eternal God, thinking nothing of the pleasures of the world." Upon this they were beheaded, and their bodies cast to the dogs; but neither birds nor beasts would touch them. The Christians recovered the bodies, and buried them in a sand-pit at the arch on the Via Nomentana, where a church was afterwards built. (*Martyr.* Usuardi, Bedae, Hieron., Adonis; Surius, *Hist. SS.* June 9.) [G. T. S.]

FELICIANUS (13), commemorated July 21. A soldier and martyr under Maximian at Marseilles. [FABIUS VICTOR.] (*Martyr.* Adonis, Usuardi, Hieron.) [G. T. S.]

FELICIANUS (14), commemorated Oct. 29; martyr in Lucania with Hyacinthus, Quintus, and Lucius (*Martyr.* Usuard.). [G. T. S.]

FELICIANUS (15), commemorated Feb. 2, a martyr at Rome with Fortunatus, Firmus, Candidus, and seven others. (*Martyr.* Hieron., Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FELICIANUS (16) (Cyp. Ep. 59. xi. xii.), an acolyte of Rome sent from Cornelius to Cyprian, A.D. 252 and the bearer of intelligence from the latter to Cornelius of the movements of the party of Felicissimus; whose delay prevented Cornelius from being forewarned, and disconcerted him much. [E. W. B.]

FELICIANUS (17), to whom Dionysius Exiguus dedicated his translation of the epistle of St. Proclus of Constantinople to the Armenians. Dionysius addresses him as "pastor," and then styles him "venerable," adding that it is at his instance and for his ears that he translates this epistle into Latin. We must infer him, therefore, to have been a Latin ecclesiastic of some distinction, but whether bishop or priest is uncertain, as Dionysius styles the "presbyter Eugubius," to whom he dedicates another of his translations, also "venerable." We meet with no subscriber of this name to the various councils contemporary with Dionysius. [E. S. Ff.]

FELICISSIMUS (1), deacon of Carthage, whom Novatus associated with himself in the management of a district called Mons. (Cyp. Ep. 41.) He was the chief agent (signifer seditionis, Ep. 59) of the anti-Cyprianic party, which combined the five presbyters originally opposed to Cyprian's election, with the later-formed party for the easy readmission of the lapsed. (Ep. 43, 45.) The charge of peculation and debauchery (Cyp. Ep. 41, 59) is weakened by its reappearance in the case of every deacon in opposition. (e. g. NICOSTRATUS.) But Cyprian (Ep. 52) more definitely states that he had been, when the persecution arose, on the point of being tried before the presbytery on charges of homicidal cruelty to his father and wife. Like other African and Spanish deacons (Neander, vol. i. p. 324, ed. Bohn) he acquired influence through his administration of church property, and was able to threaten with excommunication any one who accepted relief or office from Cyprian's commissioners [CALDONIUS], who doubtless seemed to interfere with his functions. He was then excommunicated by them (Ep. 42) with Cyprian's consent, and any future adherents were warned that their excommunication would be perpetual. (Ep. 43.) Still they were heard again by the First Council, A.D. 251 (Ep. 45. v.), and condemned.

The mild resolution of the Council of A.D. 252, easing the readmission of the lapsed on their earnest repentance [CYPRIANUS, p. 746 a), destroyed his *locus standi*. The party then coalesced with that of PRIVATUS, who consecrated Fortunatus anti-bishop; and Felicissimus sailed from Rome to conciliate or to intimidate Cornelius into a recognition of him. (Ep. 59.) Failing here, the party melted quietly away into the church.

Obs. 1. On the Mons, see CYPRIANUS, Vol. I. p. 743. *Obs.* 2. The expression that Novatus "diaconum *constituit* Felicissimum" cannot fairly be pressed into "Novatus *ordained* him," although it might mean that he *procured* his ordination, as we read similarly that he "*fecit* Episcopum Novatianum." But as Cyprian (Ep. 41) is already familiar with him, and speaks of his "*veteres* fraudes, de quibus jam multa cognoveram," it more probably means that Novatus appointed him deacon of his own presbyteral district. *Obs.* 3. Rettberg (in accordance with his general theories), treats the faction of Felicissimus as anti-episcopal, *i.e.* presbyterian in principle; but there is no foundation for the idea, [see CYPRIANUS, p. 743.] [E. W. B.]

FELICISSIMUS (2), a layman, "quietus semper et sobrius," one of the earliest confessors at Carthage in the Decian persecution. (Cyp. Ep. vi.) See Pearson (Ann. Cyp. A.D. 250, vii.) as to his being made into a martyr by Bede and other Roman martyrologists. [E. W. B.]

FELICISSIMUS (3), presbyter, described at condemnation of Priscillian, 386, at Treves, as a recent convert. He was beheaded (Sulp. Sev. ii. 51). [M. B. C.]

FELICISSIMUS (4), Donatist bishop of Obba, a town in Mauretania Tingitana; present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 443, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELICISSIMUS (5), bishop of the two sees of Sedela and Utina, in the province of proconsular Africa; present at the synod of Carthage held under bishop Boniface, A.D. 525. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 272; Mansi, viii. 648.) [L. D.]

FELICISSIMUS (6), a Monophysite of the 6th century, who in conjunction with Julian of Halicarnassus, and Gaianus of Alexandria, originated the sect known as Julianists and also as Gaianites (Sophron. *Ep. Synod. Act. Co. Constantinop.* A.D. 680, Mansi, xi. 461). Severus of Antioch, another Monophysite, wrote a work against him, only some fragments of which are now extant (Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* vii. p. 8). [T. W. D.]

FELICISSIMUS (7), commemorated Aug. 6; martyr at Rome with Agapetus, both of whom were deacons in attendance upon pope Sixtus, who suffered under Valerian in virtue of an edict which appeared A.D. 258. This edict is extant in Cyprian, *Ep.* 82, ad Successum. After various tortures they were all beheaded. The deacons were buried in the cemetery of Praetextatus. (*Martyr.* Usuard., Adonis, Hieron., Bedae; Surii *Vitae SS.*, *Acta S. Laurentii*, Aug. 10; Neander, *Hist.* i. 193, ed. Bohn; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 261. iv.) [G. T. S.]

FELICISSIMUS (8), commemorated July 2; martyr in Campania under Diocletian, with Aristo and others. In the Acts of St. Sebastian (Surius, vol. i. Jan. 20) there is an account of their conversion by the efforts of St. Sebastian and St. Polycarp. These Acts are evidently corrupt, as they give the title of Episcopus episcoporum to the bishop of Rome. Ceillier, however, considers them to have been written before the end of the 4th century, as they speak of gladiatorial shows as still existing, which were abolished in or about A.D. 403. (*Mart.* Usuard., Adonis; Till. *Mém.* iv. 515.) [G. T. S.]

FELICISSIMUS (9), commemorated May 26; martyr, A.D. 303, under Diocletian, with Hera-

clius and Paulinus at Tudertum (*Martyr.* Usuard., Adon.; Ferrarius, *Catal. SS. Italiae*). [G. T. S.]

FELICISSIMUS (10), Nov. 24, martyr at Perugia, according to Usuardus; at Rome according to Jerome (*Martyr.* Hieron., Usuard.). [G. T. S.]

FELICISSIMUS (11), commemorated March 14; martyr at Nicomedia with Dativus, Frontinus, Jocundus (*Martyr.* Hieron., Notker.). [G. T. S.]

FELICITAS (1), commemorated on Nov. 23; martyr at Rome with her seven sons, under Antoninus Pius, Publius being prefect of the city, about A.D. 150. The story of the martyrdom of Felicitas and her sons is fixed by their Acts under Antoninus Pius, and at his personal command. Now it is almost certain that there was no authorized persecution in his reign [ANTONINUS PIUS]. Public calamities, a famine, an inundation of the Tiber, earthquakes in Asia Minor and in Rhodes, ravaging fires at Rome, Antioch, and Carthage, stirred up the mob to seek for the favour of the gods by the shedding of Christian blood (Julii Capitolini *Vita Antonini Pii*, c. 9). Doubtless, in some such way, Felicitas and her children suffered without any participation on the emperor's part. In her Acts Publius the prefect is represented as commanded by Antoninus to compel her to sacrifice, in which he fails, though he appeals to her maternal affection as well as to her fears. He then calls upon each one of her seven sons, Januarius, Felix, Philippus, Sylvanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis, and with a similar want of success, the mother, exhorting them thus, "Behold, my sons, heaven, and look upwards, whence you expect Christ with His saints." The prefect, having tortured some of them, reported the whole matter to the emperor, at whose command they were beheaded. Their martyrdom is commemorated by Gregory the Great, in *Hom.* 3 *super Evang.*, where, preaching in a church dedicated to her, he lauds Felicitas as "Plus quam martyr quae septem pignoribus ad regnum praemissis, toties ante se mortua est. Ad poenas prima venit sed pervenit octava." (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*, Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FELICITAS (2), March 7; martyr at Carthage with Perpetua, Revocatus, Saturninus, and Secundinus. They were all catechumens, and baptized after their arrest. Felicitas and her companions having been interrogated by Hilarianus, the proconsul, and remaining steadfast in their profession, were condemned to be thrown to the beasts on the anniversary of the young Geta's accession. Felicitas, being in the eighth month of her pregnancy, and the law not permitting women in her condition to be executed, was greatly distressed at the delay of her martyrdom. Prayer was therefore made that God might grant her an earlier delivery, and this accordingly took place a few days after. While the pangs of labour were upon her the jailer, hearing her utter some natural exclamations of pain, said, "If thy present sufferings are so great, what wilt thou do when thou art thrown to the wild beasts? This thou didst not consider when thou refusedst to sacrifice." Whereupon she answered, "What I now suffer I suffer myself, but then there will be another who will suffer for me because I also shall suffer for Him." They were all put to death together in A.D. 202 or 203, during the reign of Severus, whose latter years were marked by a very rigorous persecution of the church (Ael. Spart. *Sever. Imp.* sec. 27 in *Hist. August. Scriptt.*). Few martyrdoms are better attested than this one. The ancient Roman calendar, published by Bucherius, and dating from about the year 360, mentions only three African martyrs, viz. Felicitas, Perpetua, and Cyprian, and fixes the day of their death as March 7. Their names are embodied in the canon of the Roman Mass, which mentions none but really primitive martyrs. Their martyrdom is mentioned by Tertullian in his book, *De Anima*, lv., and is treated at length in three sermons, 280, 281, and 282, by St. Augustine, while their burial at Carthage, in the Basilica Major, is asserted by Victor Vitensis, Lib. i. *de Persecut. Vandal.* Their Acts were for a long time missing, and after a long search were found by Lucas Holstenius among the MSS. in the convent library at Monte Cassino. They profess in part to have been written by Perpetua. Some think from their style that they were edited and finished by Tertullian after he adopted Montanist views. (*Martyr. Vet. Rom.*, Hieron., Beda, Adonis, Usuardi; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*; Prosper in Chronico Labbeano; Beda, *de Sex Aetat.*; Neander, vol. i. 170; vol. ii. 209–212, ed. Bohn.) [G. T. S.]

FELICITAS (3); martyr with Augustinus at Capua; according to some, during the persecution which raged during the brief reign of Decius, about A.D. 250. Valerian, afterwards emperor, and a persecutor as well, occupied at that time the post of public censor, restored by a vote of the senate, Oct. 27, A.D. 251. He may have been the immediate agent in the persecution. According to others (Tillem. iv. 174) the martyrdom happened in Valerian's persecution, A.D. 257. St. Cyprian is said to have encouraged them to perseverance in an epistle which is now lost. (Lactantius, *de Mort. Persecut.* cap. 4, 5; Ceillier, ii. 341.) [G. T. S.]

FELICITAS (4), a Roman lady, eminent for her sanctity, a friend of St. Jerome, who bids her adieu through Asella in the letter (45, ed. Vall.) written from Portus, when he was leaving Italy for the last time for Palestine, A.D. 385. [FELICIANA.] [W. H. F.]

FELICITAS (5), a lady, probably the head of a religious house, to whom St. Augustine wrote to compose some differences which had arisen in the society, and to exhort the inmates to maintain peace, rather than encourage a spirit of contention (Aug. *Ep.* 210). [H. W. P.]

FELICULA (1), commem. June 5; martyr at Rome, on the Via Ardeatina, with Felicitas, and twenty-one others. There seems a confusion between this martyr and the following in the Martyrologies (*Mart.* Hieron., Notkeri). [G. T. S.]

FELICULA (2), commem. June 13; virgin and martyr at Rome, under Domitian. A prefect named Flaccus wished to marry her after the death of his first wife Petronilla. He gave her a choice either to marry him or to sacrifice to

the gods. Upon her refusal to comply with his wishes he delivered her to his deputy, who racked and starved her, and flung her body into the public sewer, whence it was rescued by a priest named Nicomedes, and buried at the seventh milestone on the Via Ardeatina (*Martyr.* Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, Wandalberti). [G. T. S.]

FELICULA (3), commem. Feb. 14; virgin and martyr at Rome, with Vitalis and Zeno (*Martyr.* Adonis, Usuardi, Wandalberti). [G. T. S.]

FELIM. [Fedhlimidh.]

FELINUS, martyr at Perusia in the Decian persecution, according to the tabulae ecclesiasticae referred to by Baronius. (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 254, xxix.) [C. H.]

INDEX TO FELIX

	Page
Popes	479
Bishops, arranged in alphabetical order of their sees or countries	486
Clergy and Monks	499
Martyrs, arranged in order of commemoration	501
Miscellaneous	502

FELIX (1) I., bishop of Rome, probably from January 5, A.D. 269, to Dec. 30, A.D. 274, in the reigns of the emperors Claudius and Aurelian. These are the dates according to our oldest and most trustworthy authority. For the Liberian Catalogue (354) names the consuls of the years above mentioned as those contemporary with his accession and death, and gives 5 years, 11 months, and 25 days as the duration of his episcopate; while the Liberian *Depositio Episcoporum* gives the 30th of December as the date of his death. Later authorities, including the *Liber Pontificalis*, differ as to the date and duration of his episcopate. But there seems to be no good reason for doubting the correctness of the earliest record. He appears in the Roman Calendar as a saint and martyr, his day being the 30th of May. His martyrdom is asserted, not only in the later editions of the *Liber Pontificalis*, but also in the early recension of 530, known as the Felician Catalogue, where we read, "Martyrio coronatus fuit temporibus Claudi et Aureliani." It is attested also in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus (431), and by Cyril of Alexandria and Vincentius of Lerins, in the same century. But, notwithstanding this testimony, the fact of his martyrdom seems inconsistent with the silence on the subject of the Liberian Catalogue in the previous century, and with his name appearing in the *Depositio Episcoporum*, not the *Depositio Martyrum*, of the same date. There is also this further argument against his martyrdom, that, if Eusebius is to be believed, the intended persecution under Aurelian, to which he is said to have fallen a victim, never in fact took place. For Eusebius states (*H. E.* vii. 30, *Chron. ad ann.* 2292, *Abr.*) that the emperor died when on the point of signing the edict of persecution, and that consequently it never took effect. It is true that Lactantius (*de Morte Persecut.* c. 6) gives a somewhat different account, representing the edict as having been signed, but its effects stopped by the death of the emperor before it reached the distant provinces. This account leaves room for the operation of the edict for a time in Rome, and for the martyrdom of Felix under it. Still, the apocryphal character of other legends about martyrs under the supposed Aurelian persecution (appearing in the *Acta Sanctorum* and elsewhere) would throw suspicion on the story of the martyrdom of Felix, even if the absence of all mention of it in the Liberian Catalogue did not invalidate its probability.

It has been supposed that the story may have arisen from a substitution of the name of Felix I. for that of Felix II., the antipope to Liberius in the following century, for whom his followers claimed the honour of martyrdom. This supposition is supported by the fact that the pontifical annals which make Felix I. a martyr assign to him also the same place of burial as is assigned to Felix II., viz. his own cemetery at the second milestone on the Aurelian Way; whereas it is distinctly stated in the Liberian Catalogue that he was buried, like other popes of the period, in the cemetery of Callixtus. (See Lipsius, *Chron. der röm. Bischöfe*, p. 231 et seq.) Another probable supposition is that the stories of the martyrdom of both these popes arose from a confusion of them with an African martyr of the same name, the translation of whose remains to Rome was celebrated on the same day as is devoted to Felix II. in the Roman Calendar (Döllinger, *Fables of Popes of the Middle Ages*).

Nothing is known with any certainty of the acts of Felix I., except the part he took in the deposition of Paul of Samosata from the see of Antioch. A synod at Antioch (A.D. 290) having deposed this heretical bishop, and appointed Domnus in his place, announced these facts in letters addressed to Maximus and Dionysius, bishops of Alexandria and Rome, and to other Catholic bishops. Felix, who had in the meantime succeeded Dionysius, addressed a letter on the subject to Maximus and to the clergy of Antioch, fragments of which are preserved in the *Apologeticus* of Cyril of Alexandria, and in the *Acts* of the council of Ephesus, and which is also alluded to by Marius Mercator, and by Vincent of Lerins in his *Commonitorium*. Paul refusing to cede his place to Domnus, the case was laid before the Emperor Aurelian, present at Antioch in 272 or 273, after his victory over Zenobia. He decided in favour of whichever claimant to the see should be recognised by the bishops of Italy and of Rome. The consequence was the expulsion of Paul (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 30).

It is stated in the *Liber Pontificalis* that Felix I. ordered the sacred mysteries to be celebrated over the graves of martyrs.

Three decretals, undoubtedly spurious, are assigned to him (Harduin, *Concil.*). One, to a bishop Paternus, has for its object the protection of the clergy from accusations for crimes, the controlling of the process in case of accusations being made, and the reserving of appeals to Rome. Another, purporting to be in reply to complaints received from a synod of Gallican bishops, relates to the accusation and trial of bishops before provincial synods, disallowing the entertainment of any charges against them by persons of suspected character, and protecting the accused from spoliation during the progress of any trial. It also orders masses in memory of martyrs. A third, to a bishop Benignus, is doctrinal, condemning the assertions that,

because no one has seen the Father at any time, the Son sees Him not, and that, because the Father is invisible and the Son visible, the Son is less than the Father. [J. B.]

FELIX (2) II. made bishop of Rome after the exile of Pope Liberius (A.D. 355). This Felix has obtained a place in the Roman Calendar as a saint and martyr, and in the Pontifical and in the Acts of St. Felix and St. Eusebius is represented as a legitimately elected and orthodox pope, persecuted by the emperor and the Arian faction. Contemporary and other ancient writers (Faustus and Marcellinus, Hilary, Athanasius, Jerome, Rufinus, Sozomen, and Theodoret) unanimously represent him, on the contrary, as an interloper into the see, placed there violently and irregularly by the emperor and the Arian party, and make no allusion to his martyrdom. The following is the account given by Marcellinus and Faustus, two contemporary Luciferian presbyters of Rome, who must have had good opportunity of knowing the truth. It occurs in the preface to their *Libellus Precum* addressed to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius during the pontificate of Damasus, who succeeded Liberius, and by whom the writers complain of being persecuted. Immediately on the banishment of Liberius all the clergy, including the archdeacon Felix, swore before the people that they would accept no other bishop during the life of the exiled pope. Notwithstanding this, the clergy afterwards ordained this same Felix, though the people were displeased and abstained from taking part. Damasus, pope after Liberius, was among his perjured supporters. After two years the emperor visited Rome, and, being solicited by the people for the return of Liberius, at length consented on condition of his complying with the imperial requirements, but with the intention of his ruling the church jointly with Felix. In the third year Liberius returned to Rome, when the people met him with joy. Felix was driven from the city, but after a little time, at the instigation of the clergy who had perjured themselves in his election, burst into it again, taking his position in the basilica of Julius beyond the Tiber. The whole multitude of the faithful, and the nobles, again expelled him with great ignominy. After eight years, during the consulship of Valentinianus and Valens (*i.e.* A.D. 365) on the 10th of the Calends of December (Nov. 22) Felix died, leaving Liberius without a rival as bishop of Rome till his own death on the 8th of the Calends of October (Sept. 24), A.D. 366. The other ancient writers of repute mentioned above confirm this account, supplying further details, and with no discrepancies such as to affect the main drift of the narrative. From their combined relations we learn that the election and consecration of Felix took place in the imperial palace, since the people debarred the Arians from their churches: that three of the emperor's eunuchs represented the people on the occasion, the consecrators being three heretical bishops, Epictetus of Centumellae, Acacius of Caesarea, and Basil of Ancyra; and that it was only the Arian section of the clergy, though apparently a large one, that supported Felix.

From Sozomen and Theodoret especially we obtain detailed accounts of the circumstance attending the emperor's visit to Rome, such as the deputation of ladies in their best array, who waited on him to request the recall of Liberius, and his conversation with them, the cries of the people in the amphitheatre on their learning that Liberius and Felix were to preside together, the summoning of Liberius to Sirmium previously to his return, and the signature to a semi-Arian confession obtained from him there before he was allowed to return. [See art. on Liberius.] Sozomen's account seems to imply that Felix survived the return of Liberius but a short time, having in the mean time presided over the church as a rival bishop. From all the accounts together it appears that serious seditions, accompanied by bloodshed, ensued between the rival factions, Liberius being greatly beloved by the Roman populace both for his good character and for his former resistance to the emperor in the cause of religion. (Jerome, *Chron. in ann. Abr.* MMCCCLX; Athanas. *Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* 75; Rufinus, *H. E.* lib. i. c. 22, etc.; Socrates, *H. E.* lib. ii. c. 27; Sozomen, *H. E.* lib. iv. c. 11, etc.; Theodoret, *H. E.* lib. ii. c. 13, etc.)

As has been already said, a totally different account of things is given in the Pontifical, and in the Acts of St. Felix and of St. Eusebius. In the life of Liberius contained in the Pontifical (Anastas. Bibliothec. *in Liberius*) we are told that, after his exile, the clergy of Rome, acting under his advice, ordained in his place Felix, a venerable man, described as a presbyter. Felix is said to have called a synod of forty-eight bishops, and therein excommunicated Ursacius and Valens, incorrectly described as Roman presbyters. Accordingly, after a few days, these two heretics requested the emperor to recall Liberius on the terms of himself and the Arians communicating together without the requirement of a second baptism. They were sent to Liberius, who consented to these terms. On his return, after an exile of two years (three according to *Catal. Felic.*) he occupied at first the cemetery of St. Agnes, with the emperor's sister Constantia, as hoping through her intervention to obtain the emperor's consent to his return into the city. She, however, being faithful to Christ, and suspecting some scheme, refused to intercede for him. In the meantime Constantius, after summoning Ursacius and Valens, with other Arians, did recall Liberius from the cemetery and caused him to enter Rome, at the same time expelling the Catholic Felix in a council of heretics. Immediately a persecution of the clergy ensued, many being martyred within the walls of churches. Felix retired to his own farm on the Via Portuensis, where he rested in peace on July 29.

The life of Felix, as related by Anastasius, is in many respects inconsistent with that of Liberius as above given. In it he is said to have been bishop of Rome for one year and two months only; to have denounced Constantius as a heretic, and as having been baptized a second time by Eusebius of Nicomedia; a confusion being here evident, significative of the late origin of the story, between Constantius and Constantine. In consequence of this denunciation he was crowned with martyrdom by order of the emperor, being beheaded secretly, with many others of the clergy and the faithful, "in civitate Corana" (Caere?) "ad latus formae (fori?) Trajani," on the 3rd of the Ides of November, whence

his body was taken in the night by certain clergy, including the presbyter Damasus, and buried on the 12th of the Calends of December in a basilica on the Via Aurelia at the second milestone from the city, which he had himself founded, and endowed with a field on the spot which he had bought. The Acts of St. Felix agree with his life in the pontifical, though with some differences as to dates. In the Acts of St. Eusebius it is stated that, when Liberius had been recalled from exile on the terms described in his life in the Pontifical, Eusebius, a Roman presbyter, began to denounce him as a heretic and a friend of Constantius. On many, in consequence of this denunciation, avoiding the communion of Liberius, the churches were seized by him, Felix was ejected, and Liberius restored. Then follows a detailed account of the seizure of Eusebius, his examination by the emperor, assisted by Liberius, his imprisonment and martyrdom.

Of the two accounts of these transactions given on the one hand by Marcellinus and Faustus, supported by such a number of reputable writers, and on the other by the Pontifical and the Acts of Martyrs, the former is undoubtedly to be preferred. The latter authorities are in no cases altogether trustworthy, and in this instance are inconsistent with each other, shewing signs also of their compilation at a later time than those of the events referred to by evident historical inaccuracies viz. the incorrect designation of Ursacius, and Valens, and the confusion between Constantius and Constantine. They may be considered due to a desire to clear the reputation of Felix, his party having become dominant on the elevation of Damasus, his supporter, to the papacy after the contentions that ensued on the death of Liberius. [See DAMASUS.] It may be, however, as is maintained by Lipsius in his *Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe*, that they contain elements of truth, as representing the genuine traditions of the party of Felix, though coloured and distorted. This writer endeavours to reconcile in some degree the conflicting accounts. He even supposes that the alleged martyrdom of Felix may have had a foundation in fact; that, strengthened through the action of Eusebius, and supported by the majority of the clergy, who were now alienated from Liberius on account of his compliance with heresy, he had maintained his position as a rival bishop in the basilica on his own property alluded to, that conflict had ensued between the two parties, in one of which Felix might have been killed, and hence come to be regarded as a martyr. (See the same writer, as above cited, for the probable chronology of the events.) Dr. Döllinger (*Papst-fabeln des Mittelalters*) regards the whole of the stories in the pontifical and the Acts (so far as they contradict the historical narrations) as fabulous, and considers that of the martyrdom of Felix to be sufficiently disproved by the expression "requievit in pace" applied to him in the earliest and least fabulous of these accounts, the life of Liberius in the pontifical. He considers the tradition of his martyrdom to have arisen from a confusion of his name with that of an African martyr Felix, the translation of whose remains to Rome was celebrated on the same day, July 29, as is devoted to Felix II. in the calendar. With regard to the orthodoxy of Felix himself, even the writers who are most adverse to him do not distinctly impugn it, though all agree that he owed his elevation to the heretics Athanasius, who speaks violently against Constantius and the ordainers of Felix, says of him only that he was worthy of them. Rufinus says of him, "Non tam sectae diversitate quam communionis et ordinationis conniventia maculatur." Socrates, having just said that he then embraced the Arian perfidy, adds that some affirmed that he by no means embraced the Arian opinion, but had undergone ordination compelled by force and necessity. Sozomen similarly asserts the report of some that he perpetually adhered to the Nicene faith, and that on the ground of religion he was entirely without reproach, the only ground of reproach against him being that even before his ordination he had been associated with heretics. If against these testimonies in his favour be urged the improbability that the emperor could allow his ordination without the same compliance with heresy as he undoubtedly required and at last obtained from Liberius, it may be replied that after the banishment of the latter the attitude of the Roman populace may have been such as to deter the emperor and his advisers from the dangerous step of elevating an avowed heretic to St. Peter's chair. Still, from the charge of association with Arians and toleration of their communion, and also apparently of perjury, Felix cannot with any probability be regarded as free. Probably, like Liberius, he was all the time orthodox at heart, and avowed his orthodoxy boldly, as Liberius did, when pressure was removed.

Though Felix, as well as Liberius, has obtained a place in the list of lawful popes, and has even been canonized, it is evident from what has been shewn that his claim to such a place is more than doubtful. And, accordingly, Augustin, Optatus, and Eutychius, regarding him (as did Athanasius, Jerome, and Rufinus) as a mere interloper, exclude him entirely from their lists of popes. In the Roman church, however, his claim to the position given him appears to have remained unquestioned till the 14th century, when, an emendation of the Roman Martyrology having been undertaken in 1582, under Pope Gregory XIII., the question was raised and discussed. Baronius, who was an actor in what took place, relates the circumstances. He himself was at first adverse to the claims of Felix, and wrote a long treatise against them; a cardinal, Sanctorius, defended them. The question was finally decided by the accidental discovery, in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the forum, of a coffin bearing the inscription, "Corpus S. Felicis papae et martyris, qui damnavit Constantium." In the face of this, which seemed like a personal reappearance of the calumniated saint to vindicate his own claims, Baronius was convinced in spite of his own arguments, and retracted all that he had written. (Baron. *ad Liberium*, c. lxii.) Accordingly Felix retained his place in the martyrology, though the title of pope was afterwards expunged from the oratio for his day in the breviary. What became of the inscribed slab is not known. Of course in the absence of any knowledge of its date, its testimony is valueless.

An expedient for justifying the position of Felix as well as that of Liberius among the

lawful popes is that of supposing that, the see having become vacant on the banishment, or fall into heresy, of the latter, the former was legally elected in his place, and continued lawful pope till his death, when Liberius again became so by virtue of a second election (Bellarmine, *de Rom. Pontif.* l. 4. c. 17). But of any such second election there is no intimation, whether in any existing record. Baronius dispenses with its necessity, supposing Liberius to have resumed his old position, on the next vacancy of the see, after breaking with the Arians (Baron. *ad Liber.* lxvi.).

The festival of Felix is kept on July 29. Two spurious decretals are assigned to him by the Pseudo-Isidore. One, addressed to Athanasius and the African bishops, relates to charges against bishops, its object being to protect them, and to reserve appeals to Rome: the other, addressed to the clergy generally, is directed against Arianism, and exhorts to patience under persecution and other trials. [J. B—y.]

FELIX (3) III. (otherwise II.; see preceding article), bishop of Rome after Simplicius, from March A.D. 483 to February A.D. 492, during nearly nine years. The circumstances attending his election are in the first place noteworthy. They are known to us from the acts of a council held at Rome under Pope Symmachus (498–514). In this council a document was read, in which it was stated that the clergy having met in St. Peter's Church for the election of a successor to Simplicius, Basilius (Praefectus Praetorio, and Patrician) interposed in the name of his master Odoacer the Herulian, who since the year 476 had ruled the West as king of Italy. This Basilius alleged, as a fact known to his hearers, that Simplicius before his death had conjured the king to allow no election of a successor to take place without his consent; and this for the avoidance of the turmoil and detriment to the church that was otherwise likely to ensue. He expressed surprise that the clergy, knowing this, had taken independent action; and proceeded in the king's name to propound a law, prohibiting both the pope to be then elected, and all future popes, from alienating any farms or other possessions belonging to the church; declaring invalid the titles of any who might thus come into possession of ecclesiastical property; requiring the restitution to the church of alienated farms with their proceeds, or the sale for the benefit of religious uses of gold, silver, jewels, and clothes, unfitted for church purposes; and further subjecting all donors and recipients of church property to anathema. The assembled clergy seem to have assented to this law, and to have been then allowed to proceed with their election, their choice falling on Caelius Felix, the son of a presbyter, also called Felix. The Roman synod under Symmachus, on the document being read which gave an account of these things, protested against the interference of laymen with the election of a pope which had been allowed on the occasion referred to, and to laymen having presumed to pronounce an anathema, and further requested Symmachus to declare void the law that had been promulgated, as having been enforced by merely lay authority, and, however assented to at the time by bishops, invalid for want of papal confirmation. Symmachus, while he assented to this request, at the same time caused the synod to re-enact the law against the alienation of farms, and to extend its prohibitions to all bishops and presbyters as well as future popes. (*Syn. Rom.* 3, *sub Symmacho*; Harduin, *Concil.* vol. ii. p. 977.)

The pontificate of this Felix was chiefly remarkable for the commencement of the memorable schism of thirty-five years, between Rome and the Eastern patriarchates. For a clear understanding of what led to it, a brief reference to certain previous events is in the first place needed.

In the year 451 the Council of Chalcedon had condemned the Monophysite or Eutychian heresy, adopting the definition of faith contained in the famous letter of Pope Leo I. to Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, on the subject. The same council had also enacted certain canons of discipline, two of which, the ninth and the seventeenth, gave to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople the final determination of causes against Metropolitans in the East; and another, the twenty-eighth, assigned to the most holy throne of Constantinople or new Rome, equal privileges with the elder royal Rome in ecclesiastical matters, as being the second after her, with the definite right of ordaining metropolitans in the Pontic, and Asian, and Thracian dioceses, and bishops among the Barbarians therein. This last canon the legates of Pope Leo, present at the council, had protested against at the time, and Leo himself had afterwards repudiated it, as contrary (so he expressed himself) to the Nicene canons, and an undue usurpation on the part of the see of Constantinople.

It was in connexion both with the heresy, condemned by the council of Chalcedon, and with the privileges assigned by its canons to the see of Constantinople, that the schism between the East and West ensued during the pontificate of Felix.

The condemnation of Monophysitism at Chalcedon by no means silenced its abettors. In the church of Alexandria they were especially strong and resolute. There, A.D. 477, Peter Mongus (or the Stammerer) had by them been elected patriarch, but had been deposed by the Emperor Zeno in favour of Timotheus Solofacialus, who professed orthodoxy. The latter prelate dying in 482, Peter Mongus was again raised by his supporters to the patriarchal throne in opposition to John Talaias, who was elected by the orthodox. At first the Emperor Zeno, and Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, opposed Peter's appointment, the former ordering his expulsion, and the latter writing to Pope Simplicius against him. Soon, however, Acacius (offended, according to one account (*Liberat. Breviar.*) by John Talaias not having sent him the usual synodical letters announcing his election, and persuaded by the emissaries of Peter Mongus) induced the emperor to accept the latter on condition of his signing the Henoticon, a formula of faith, ambiguously expressed, which Zeno at this time put forth under the advice of Acacius, in the hope that all parties might come to terms by signing it. John Talaias now fled to Rome to solicit the support of Pope Simplicius, who wrote to Zeno and Acacius, complaining of the expul-

sion of John, and insisting that Peter should either be required to accept the faith of Chalcedon, or be expelled from communion. After the death of Simplicius in 483, Felix at once took up the cause. In a synod at Rome he condemned the Henoticon, renewed his predecessor's excommunication of Peter Mongus, and addressed also letters to Zeno and Acacius, which were despatched by the hands of two bishops, Misenus and Vitalis, to whom was joined Felix, Defensor of the Roman church. In his letter to Acacius he urges him to comply at length with the injunction of Simplicius, by supporting the faith of Chalcedon, renouncing Peter Mongus, and inducing the emperor to do the same. With this letter he sent also a formal summons (citationis libellum) requiring Acacius to appear at Rome and there answer before a synod to the charge of having disregarded the injunctions of Simplicius, and to other charges brought against him by John Talaias. In his letter to Zeno, having said that he had waited in vain for a reply to the letter of his predecessor, he implores the emperor to refrain from rending the seamless garment of Christ, and, following the steps of his predecessors, to renew his support of the one faith which had raised him to the imperial dignity, the faith of the Roman church, against which the Lord had said that the gates of hell should not prevail. He urges him also not to shrink from severe measures of coercion. To this letter also was added a more formal document (deplorationis libellum), in which the usurpation of Peter Mongus is described, as requiring expiation, affecting the whole Eastern church, and implicating Acacius. Mention is also made of the charges brought against Acacius by John Talaias, and of the summons to submit himself to St. Peter that had been sent to him in accordance with both ecclesiastical and imperial law, and which it is noped he will attend to without delay. Misenus and Vitalis, charged with these documents, set forth without Felix, who was detained by sickness. At Abydos they were seized, deprived of their papers, and required under threats to communicate with Peter Mongus and Acacius. Unmoved by threats, they are said to have been won over by bribes, and, being so allowed to proceed to Constantinople, they complied with the imperial demands. In the meantime Felix was kept informed of what went on there by those steady champions of orthodoxy the "Acoemetae," or Sleepless Monks, whose abbat, Cyril, had written to him from Constantinople, before the arrival of the legates, to warn him against delay; on which Felix had written to his legates charging them to do nothing till they had consulted Cyril and taken instructions from him. After their compliance at Constantinople Cyril sent messages to Rome informing the pope that the name of Peter Mongus was at length openly, and no longer secretly as before, read from the diptychs in the presence of Misenus and Vitalis, that the latter openly communicated with him and Acacius, and that Peter (who had been ordained by two heretics only) had, after the flight of John Talaias, persecuted the orthodox, and had been supported in all his acts by Acacius. The account of things sent by letter to Felix by the emperor and Acacius was, that John Talaias was deposed for perjury, having accepted the see of Alexandria in defiance of his previous oath that he would never do so; and that Peter Mongus had proved his orthodoxy by signing the Nicene Creed, "on the steps of the faith of which the Chalcedonian synod also rested." Zeno stated also, in his letter, that Peter, as well as himself, did actually accept the faith of Chalcedon. With respect to this last assertion the historians Nicephorus and Evagrius speak of Peter as a Proteus, who sometimes declared his acceptance of, and sometimes utterly condemned, the decrees of Chalcedon, obliging his clergy to join in the condemnation. They say that Acacius had remonstrated with him on this ground, and for having, as was alleged, caused the body of his orthodox predecessor, Timothy Solofacialus, to be ignominiously disinterred, but that he had then denied the truth of the charges: also that Zeno had sent a legation to Alexandria to inquire into the matter, but without any good result. However, both the emperor and Acacius continued to support Peter, being probably moved thereto by the high tone of the pope quite as much as by their own satisfaction with Peter. After the release of Misenus and Vitalis from confinement Felix, the Defensor, at length arrived at Constantinople, where he was denied access to Acacius, and is said to have been imprisoned and had his papers taken from him. The papal legates having at length returned to Rome, Felix convened a synod of sixty-seven Italian bishops, in which he deposed and excommunicated the two faithless legates, renewed the sentence of excommunication which had been already pronounced against Peter Mongus, and finally published a sentence of deposition and excommunication, which was signed by the sixty-seven bishops, against the patriarch Acacius himself, declaring him to be incapable of being ever loosed from the anathema then pronounced. The offences alleged against Acacius as the ground of this irrevocable sentence were, first, his invasion of the provinces of other bishops, contrary to the canons, in having ordained one John Cordonatus bishop of Tyre, within the province of Antioch, and raised to the priesthood one Hymerion, a deacon, whom the patriarch of Antioch had deposed; which would have been unlawful even had the persons promoted been catholics, instead of heretics, as they were; secondly, his communicating with and promoting condemned heretics, especially Peter Mongus; thirdly, his having been a party to the imprisonment and corruption by bribes of the legates sent from Rome; and lastly, his disregard of the summons requiring him to clear himself at Rome of the charges against him, and his refusal to admit even to an interview the Defensor Felix, who had been the bearer of this summons. With respect to the first of these charges it is to be observed that what Acacius had done was doubtless in virtue of the authority assigned to him by the canons of Chalcedon, above mentioned, which Pope Leo had repudiated; and with respect to the power assumed by Felix, alleged to be according to ecclesiastical and imperial law, of summoning a patriarch of Constantinople to be tried at Rome, the law intended was doubtless that of the canons referred to previously by Pope Leo as contravened by the objectionable canon of Chalcedon, and by him on that occasion called Nicene. In both instances the canons meant appear to have been those of

Sardica. A council held at this place in 343, being one of Western bishops only, had given appellate jurisdiction over metropolitans to Julius then bishop of Rome: and these canons had been erroneously referred to by subsequent popes (beginning with Zosimus, A.D. 415) as Nicene, and interpreted as giving not only appellate but also coercive jurisdiction to the bishops of Rome perpetually over the whole church. Felix also addressed letters to the emperor, to the clergy and monks of Constantinople, and to those of the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria, acquainting them with the judgment. The conveyance of these documents to Constantinople, and their promulgation there, was a task of difficulty and danger. It was entrusted to one Tutus, an aged Roman ecclesiastic and Defensor of the church, who, after arriving at his destination, was, like the legates sent before, won over by bribes, and himself communicated with Acacius. The sentence of excommunication was at last served on Acacius by one of those zealous champions of Felix, the sleepless monks, who had in some way obtained from Tutus the fateful parchment. He effected his purpose by fastening it to the robe of the patriarch when about to officiate in church. The patriarch discovered it, but proceeded with the service without regarding it, and then, in a calm, clear voice, ordered the name of Felix, bishop of Rome, to be erased from the diptychs of the church. This memorable occurrence was on August 1, A.D. 484. And thus the two chief bishops of Christendom stood mutually excommunicated, and the first great schism between the East and West, which lasted thirty-five years, began. The emperor, and the great majority of the prelates of the East, supported Acacius; and thus the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, as well as that of Constantinople, remained out of communion with Rome. Felix, having excommunicated his emissary Tutus, wrote to the monks of Constantinople and Bithynia, acquainting them with the fact, and warning them to hold no communion with the deposed Acacius. The latter, however, in spite of the pope, retained his see undisturbed till his death. As to John Talaias, whose appeal to Rome had been the immediate cause of the quarrel, Felix, unable to procure his elevation at Alexandria, made him bishop of Nola in Campania, where he ended his days (Liberatus, *Breviar.*).

Another noted Monophysite who, as well as Peter Mongus, had excited the orthodox zeal of Felix was another Peter, called Fullo (*i.e.* the Fuller), who during the reign of the Emperor Leo had been raised by his party to the patriarchal throne of Antioch, and had been several times deposed and reinstated. Eutychianism was not the only heresy of which he was accused. He had added to the Tersanctus the clause, "Who wast crucified for us," thus attributing passibility to the Godhead. To him, therefore, from a Roman synod, Felix had addressed a letter of earnest remonstrance, which is extant, accusing him of a multitude of heresies, especially in respect to his addition to the Tersanctus, and imploring him to stop in his downward course, and renounce his errors. This letter, and another addressed to him by Felix, being disregarded, the latter sent him a final synodical letter, which is also extant, in which, in the name of Peter, the chief of the apostles and the head of all sees, he pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication. He also wrote to the emperor announcing Peter's excommunication, and urging his expulsion from Antioch. Acacius also, as well as other bishops, had written to this Peter in strong reprobation of his addition to the Tersanctus, and in the final sentence pronounced by Felix they are alluded to as concurring, or being expected to concur, in the sentence. But after the rupture between Rome and Constantinople in 484, Acacius gave further proof of his defiance of the pope by reinstating the heretical patriarch in his see. This appears from the letter of a Roman synod, dated Oct. 5, 485, and signed by forty-three bishops, to the clergy and monks of the East. The immediate purpose of this letter is to apprise the orthodox Easterns of the excommunication of Acacius, the knowledge of which, they say, might possibly have been kept from them, and to induce them to concur in it. They therefore send a copy of the sentence, and detail the circumstances that had led to it, and they are at some pains to explain to the Orientals the immemorial custom of the Western church, sanctioned (they say) by the Council of Nice, that the pope, as St. Peter's successor, should determine and confirm all things done in synods, thus implying a little doubt as to the acquiescence of the Easterns in this view. They then go on to state how Acacius had proceeded to such a pitch of impiety as to scoff at his deposition, and had lately (as they heard) deposed from the see of Antioch the holy bishop Calendio and put Peter, whom he had himself often before condemned, in his place. They conclude with an anathema against Peter Mongus, Acacius, Peter Fullo, and all their followers.

In the year 489 Acacius died, and was succeeded by Flavitas, or Fravitas. Felix, on hearing of the vacancy of the see, wrote to Thalasius, an archimandrite of Constantinople, warning him and his monks (who appear throughout to have espoused the cause of Rome) to communicate with no successor to Acacius till the see of Rome had been fully apprised of all proceedings, and had declared the church of Constantinople restored to its communion. Flavitas, after his election, unwilling (as Nicephorus expresses it) to be enthroned without the assent of the Roman see, sent a legation to Rome charged with letters, in which he declared his renunciation of Peter Mongus, and craved intercommunion. The legation was accompanied by some of the Constantinopolitan monks, who seem to have given a good account of the orthodoxy of the new patriarch. But when Felix intimated to the messengers the necessity of the name of Acacius, as well as that of Peter Mongus, being erased from the diptychs, they replied that they had no instructions on that point, and were consequently dismissed with a letter from the pope to Flavitas insisting on compliance with the condition required. Nicephorus states that Flavitas had written also to Peter Mongus declaring his communion with him and his renunciation of Felix, and that it was the pope's having heard of this double dealing that caused him to dismiss the messengers with contumely. But of this the extant letter of Felix to Flavitas makes no mention. Flavitas having died within four months after his acces-

sion, the pope's letter to him, as well as a reply from Peter Mongus, was received by his successor Euphemius. The letter of Peter condemned the Council of Chalcedon, and Euphemius in consequence at once broke off communion with him, removing with his own hand his name from the diptychs. He also replaced the name of Felix, to whom he sent letters, as his predecessor had done, professing his own orthodoxy, and desiring intercommunion. Felix, though satisfied as to the faith of Euphemius, still insisted on the erasure of the name of Acacius, which condition being still demurred to, the breach continued.

In the April of the year 491 the Emperor Zeno died, and was succeeded by Anastasius, to whom Felix sent a congratulatory letter. The new emperor, whose policy at that time was one of toleration towards all religious disputants, is not recorded to have replied: and on the 24th of February in the following year Felix himself was removed by death.

Between the date of his rupture with the East and that of his death Felix had been employed in helping to reconstitute the African church, which had lately suffered under persecution at the hands of the Arian Vandals. This persecution, which had raged with great cruelty under king Hunneric, who died in 484, had ceased under his nephew and successor Gundamund, when a number of apostates sought readmission to catholic communion. A synod of thirty-eight bishops was held at Rome under Felix in the year 488, the result of which was a synodical letter from him, dated the 15th of March in that year, laying down the following terms of readmission:—1. Bishops, priests, and deacons, who had allowed themselves to be rebaptized by the Arians, whether willingly or under pressure, were to do penance during life, and be admitted to lay communion only at the point of death. 2. Others, whether clerics, monks, virgins, or laity, who had been rebaptized voluntarily, were to be reconciled, on condition of repentance, after twelve years, of which three were to be passed among the *audientes*, seven among the *poenitentes*, and during the remaining two of which they were to be debarred from offering oblations, the viaticum being still allowed them during any period of their penance if at the point of death. 3. Persons, not being bishops, priests, or deacons, who had been rebaptized under pressure of persecution, were to be admitted to communion after three years' penance, and imposition of hands. In all cases those who had been rebaptized were declared incapable of ordination. Children who had been rebaptized were, on the ground of the ignorance incident to their age, to be admitted to communion after a short period of penance.

Felix is honoured as a saint in the Roman calendar on the 25th of February. His extant works are fifteen letters, to most of which reference has been made. Of these seven were first published by Sirmondi in 1631. Gratian gives further a decretum as his, to the effect that the royal will should yield to priests in ecclesiastical causes

The ancient authorities for his life are his own letters and those of his successor Gelasius, the Breviarium of Liberatus Diaconus, and the Church Histories of Evagrius Scholasticus and Nicephorus Callistus. [J. B—y.]

FELIX (4) IV. (otherwise III.; see FELIX II.), bishop of Rome from July 526 to October 530, during four years, two months, and fourteen or eighteen days (Anastas. Biblioth.). The same authority states further that he was a Samnite, his father's name Castorius, that he built the basilica of SS. Cosmas and Damian, restored that of the martyr St. Saturninus which had been burnt, and that he was buried on the 12th of October, in the basilica of St. Peter. There is little to be told of this pope, except the circumstances of his appointment. His predecessor, John I., had died in the prison at Ravenna, into which he had been thrown by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who then ruled the West as king of Italy. On his death Theodoric took the unprecedented step of appointing his successor on his own sole authority, without waiting for the customary election by the clergy and people. His choice fell on Felix, to whom there seems to have been no objection on the ground of personal character or belief. This high-handed proceeding seems to have been resisted for some time, but at length acquiesced in, the see having been kept vacant, probably owing to the struggle, for fifty-eight days. This appears from a letter from Athalaric, who succeeded Theodoric in the same year, to the Roman Senate, in which he commends that body for having at length acquiesced in Theodoric's nomination, accepting "a man probably instituted by divine grace, and commended by the royal examination." He also reminds them that there was no disgrace in having had to yield to a prince, and hopes that no one may now be affected by the past contention (Cassiodor. lib. 8, *Ep.* 15). No subsequent king or emperor laid claim to a like power of interference in the appointment of popes, freedom of election being henceforth allowed, as before, to the clergy and people, though the confirmation of elections by the civil power was insisted on, and continued till the election of Zachary in 752, when the confirmation of the exarch of Ravenna, as representing the Eastern emperor, was first dispensed with under the Carlovingian empire. The same continued to be the theory of papal elections till the appointment was given to the College of Cardinals during the pontificate of Nicholas II., A.D. 1059. (For previous interventions of the civil power see articles on BONIFACE, EULALIUS, FELIX III., SYMMACHUS, LAURENTIUS.) Theodoric died only ninety-eight days after the death of John I. (Anastas. Biblioth.), an awful account of his end being given by Procopius (*de Bell. Goth.* lib. i.), the horrors of which have been regarded as a judgment for his treatment of the deceased pope, and his general insolence towards the church. (Baronius on Felix IV.)

The only further event known as marking the pontificate of Felix is the issue of an edict by Athalaric, the grandson and successor of Theodoric, requiring all civil suits against ecclesiastics to be preferred before the bishop and not the secular judge, on pain of the suitor losing his suit, and forfeiting ten pounds of gold, to be distributed by the bishop to the poor. If, however, the bishop should fail to render justice, application was to be allowed to the secular judge. The edict was called forth by Felix, with the Roman clergy, having complained to

the king that the Goths had invaded the rights of churches, and dragged the clergy before the lay tribunals. It extended only to the Roman clergy, "in honour of the Apostolic see." (Cassiodor. lib. 8, c. 24.) Justinian I. afterwards extended the same clerical privilege, though with an appeal to the civil tribunal, to all ecclesiastics. (Justin. *Novel.* 83, 123.)

Only one genuine writing of this pope has come down to us, viz. a letter to Caesarius of Arles, requiring probation from candidates for the priesthood before their ordination. This letter was formerly assigned to Felix III., whose it could not be, since he was not a contemporary with Caesarius. The mistake arose from a wrong name of the contemporary consul, Mavortius instead of Boethius being given in extant copies. Sirmond, in the 17th century, recovered a codex at Arles, with the proper consul's name. There are two spurious letters, which have been erroneously assigned to him, one to all bishops, forbidding the celebration of Mass in unconsecrated places; the other to Sabina, a pious lady of rank. He is honoured as a saint by the Roman church, the Pope Felix commemorated on the 30th of January being supposed to be he, though in some editions of the Roman Martyrology this day, as well as the 25th of February, is assigned to Felix III.

[J. B—y.]

Bishops in Alphabetical Order of their Sees or Countries.

BISHOPS IN AFRICA, WITH NO SEES NAMED.

FELIX (5), African pseudo-bishop, temp. Cypr. [PRIVATUS.] [E. W. B.]

FELIX (6), African bishop. (Cyp. Ep. 56. [AHIMNIUS.] [E. W. B.]

FELIX (7), African bishop (in Syn. iv. Carth. de Basilide, A.D. 254; Cyp. Ep. 67). It is useless to try to settle which other Felix he is to be identified with. [E. W. B.]

FELIX (8), African bishop. (Cyp. Ep. 57; Syn. Carth. sub Cyp. 2 de Pace.) [E. W. B.]

FELIX (9), African bishop in Syn. Carth. 5, sub Cyp. de Bap. Haer. 1; Cyp. Ep. 70. [E. W. B.]

FELIX (10), a bishop mentioned in a letter of Constantine to the bishops of Numidia concerning the restoration to the Catholics of a church at Cirta, of which they had been deprived by the Donatists A.D. 330. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 215, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (11), the name of one or more than one Donatist bishop, to whom St. Augustine wrote at the same time as to Eleusinus. [ELEUSINUS (1).] [H. W. P.]

FELIX (12), a bishop, to whom, as well as to Hilarinus, St. Augustine wrote concerning Bonifacius, a presbyter, whom he considered to have been unjustly accused, and therefore not deserving of removal from his office. (Aug. *Ep.* 77.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (13), a bishop, present at the council of Milevis, or Mileum, in Numidia, held against the Pelagians, A.D. 416. (Aug. *Ep.* 176, 182.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (14), a bishop, present at the council of Carthage against the Pelagians A.D. 416. He was, perhaps, the same as he on whose behalf St. Augustine wrote a letter of introduction to Valerius, count of Africa. (*Epp.* 175, 181, 186.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (15), bishop of Abara, in the province of proconsular Africa, one of the Catholic bishops banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484, after the convention at Carthage. Ruinart identifies him with the paralytic FELIX ABBIRITANUS (No. 17). (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 59; *Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 55, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.) [L. D.]

FELIX (16) I., bishop of Abbir Major, a place in proconsular Africa, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 412, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (17) II., bishop of Abbir Major, banished by Hunneric in 484, after the conference at Carthage. He was aged and paralysed, having been a bishop forty-four years, and he had to be strapped upon the animal which carried him to his desert exile. (Victor Vit. *Persec. Vand.* ii. in Patr. Lat. lviii. 209; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 61.) [C. H.]

FELIX (18), bishop of Abora, in the province of proconsular Africa, subscribed the letter which the bishops of that province sent to Paul, the patriarch of Constantinople, against the errors of the Monothelites, which letter is to be found in the acts of the Lateran council, 649. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 64; Mansi, x. 940.) [L. D.]

FELIX (19), bishop of Acci. *Vid.* of Guadix.

FELIX (20), bishop of Adrumetum (Hadrumetum), the metropolis of the Byzacene province of Africa; exiled by Genseric, A.D. 453, because he had entertained John, a foreign monk (Victor. Vit. *Persec. Vand.* i. 7). The *Notitia* makes no mention of this see, either amidst the vacant sees, or in the list of those exiled by Hunneric, so that Felix is thought to have lived in exile till A.D. 484. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 69.) [L. D.]

FELIX (21), bishop of Agrigentum (Girgenti), present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649, which condemned the Monothelite heresy. (Hefele, § 307; Mansi, x. 866.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (22), bishop of Ambi, in the African province of Mauretania Caesariensis, a town known only from the mention of this bishop; among the Catholic bishops exiled by the Vandal king, Hunneric, A.D. 484. (*Notitia* in Vict. Vit. 59, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 75.) [L. D.]

FELIX (23), first recorded bishop of Anagnia, or Anagni, present at the Roman council held 487 under Felix III. (Mansi, *Concil.* vii. 1171; Ughel. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 307.) [C. H.]

FELIX (24), bishop of Antium (Anzio), present at the council mentioned in the preceding article. (Mansi, vii. 1171 a; Ugh. *Ital. Sacr.* xiv.) [C. H.]

FELIX (25), bishop of Apollonia in New Epirus, present at the council of Ephesus in 431 (Mansi, iv. 1125 a, 1368). His first signature

appears to describe him as likewise bishop of the neighbouring city of Bullis. (Farlati, *Illyr. Sacr.* vii. 396.) [C. H.]

FELIX (26) I., bishop of Aptunga, a person around whom has raged a tempest of controversy, the centre of which may be said to have been the ordination of Caecilianus to the sce of Carthage (vol. i. p. 867). The place of which he was bishop is written variously, Aptunga, Abtugna, and Autumnae; but its situation is uncertain, except that it must have been in proconsular Africa, and probably not far from Zama, between it and Furni (Opt. i. 18). It must have been a place of some importance, for it possessed a municipal government, of whose principal officers the names and titles of some are recorded (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 160–167, ed. Oberthür). His history begins at the death of Mensurius, when Caecilianus having been chosen as his successor by the vote, as we are told, of the whole people, Felix of Autumnae was one of those who laid hands on him, if not the sole officiating bishop, A.D. 311 (Aug. *Brevie. Coll.* iii. 14, 26· 16, 29), an irregularity not distinctly condemned by the church earlier than the council of Nice, A.D. 325 (*Conc. Nic.* c. 4; *Bruns.* i. p. 18). When the storm began to rage against Caecilianus, an important element lay in the question, whether, previously to his own appointment to a Christian bishopric, Felix himself had not been guilty of the infamous crime of "tradition" (vol. i. p. 881). He was consequently denounced without scruple by the enemies of Caecilianus, as the "fountain head of all the subsequent evils" (Aug. *Ep.* 88, 3; *c. Cresc.* iii. 61). But though many indirect complaints were made, no formal examination appears to have taken place into the case of Felix, until the Donatist party had failed to establish their case against Caecilianus in the Court of Enquiry held at Rome, under Melchiades, October 2, A.D. 313. Foiled in this attempt, and also in the results of the enquiry as to the true position of the Catholic church, which was held afterwards in Africa under Eunomius and Olimpius, at the direction of the emperor, they turned their attack on Felix, and the emperor gave orders to Aelianus, the proconsul of Africa, to hold an enquiry on the spot, which took place on February 15, A.D. 314, eleven years after the facts (Aug. *Post. Coll.* 38, 56; *Ep.* 43, 3–14; 88; *c. Cresc.* iii. 61). It was held at Carthage in the presence of many persons who had held municipal offices at the time of the persecution, A.D. 303, 304. The prosecutor was Maximus, a Donatist, the counsel on the Catholic side, Apronianus, but Felix himself was not present. The principal witness was Alfius Caecilianus, formerly chief magistrate at Aptunga ("duumvir, aedilis, magistratus"), who deposed that when the imperial officials came to execute the edict at the house of Felix, he was reported to be absent, but that a man named Galatius went with them to the church, from which they brought away the episcopal chair, certain documents ("epistolae salutatoriae") not belonging to holy Scripture, and all the doors, and then burnt all these publicly. And now came a piece of fraudulent testimony, which, if it had been proved true, would have substantiated the charge against Felix. At some time later than the events just now described, a man named Maurus purchased, it was said, the bishopric of Zama, for which he was publicly denounced by Felix. A man named Ingentius, a friend to Maurus, formerly secretary to Augentius, a former colleague of Caecilianus in the aedileship, wishing to avenge his friend, charged Felix with "tradition" at the time of the persecution. In order to prove this, he paid a visit to Caecilianus, bearing with him a letter which purported to have been sent by Felix to his friend Caecilianus, to the effect that he had in his possession, though not of his own property, certain sacred writings, eleven in number, which he was unwilling to surrender, and with this view wished his friend Caecilianus to say that, as inquisitor, he had burnt them at the time of the persecution, intending by this clumsy device to make him an accomplice, in suggesting that they had belonged to Felix, and that the latter had thus been guilty of "tradition." At first he came alone, but when Caecilianus endeavoured to drive him away, he brought with him on a second occasion Augentius, the friend of Caecilianus, to support his request. Caecilianus dictated to Augentius a letter, in which he described what had taken place at the time of the search. The letter is imperfect, but clearly contains no account of any act of "tradition" on the part of Felix, and it concludes with the usual salutation. To this last, however, Ingentius made a fraudulent addition, to the effect that Felix had given directions to the officials about taking with them the key of the place in which the books were deposited, so that they might fulfil their purpose concerning them, but desiring them to spare the oil and flour used for sacred purposes. This forged postscript was of course intended to implicate both Felix and Caecilianus, but under threat of torture, he confessed the fraud, as well as the fact that he travelled about the country endeavouring to stir up opposition to the Catholic church. Thus self-convicted, the proconsul sentenced him to be imprisoned at the pleasure of the emperor, and pronounced a judgment of complete acquittal in favour of Felix, which was confirmed by the emperor in a letter to Probianus, the successor of Aelianus, in which he ordered Ingentius to be sent to Rome. This decision was repeated in a letter to Verinus, or Valerius, the vicar of Africa, A.D. 321. The case of Caecilianus and Felix, though not named, is no doubt implied in the thirteenth canon of the council of Arles, which prescribes caution in removing from the clerical order persons accused of "tradition." The whole case was brought up again at Carth. Conf., A.D. 411, and the absence of Felix at the time of the enquiry was pressed hard by the Donatists as a fatal defect in the integrity of the acquittal, but Augustine argued that his absence was, in truth, an argument for its fairness, that all the documents were in existence, and that there was no doubt of the completeness of the imperial decision. (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 81, iv. 79; *de Unic. Bapt.* 28; *Brev. Coll.* 41, 42; *Post. Coll.* 56; *Mon. Vet. Don.* iii. pp. 160–167 and 341–343, ed. Oberthür; Bruns. *Concil.* i. 108; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. 92.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (27) II., bishop of Aptunga, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 407, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (28), schismatic bishop of Aquileia

in opposition to Maximus. The latter signs the first at the Lateran council in 649 (Mansi, x. 866 a; De Rubeis, *Monum. Ecc. Aquil.* 303; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* viii. 71, 555). Ughelli (*Ital. Sacr.* v. 33) believes there is authority for regarding both the bishops as one, under the name of Maximus Felix. [C. H.]

FELIX (29), bishop of Aquisira, in Mauretania Caesariensis, identified by Morcelli with Artisiga; exiled by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 59, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 81.) [L. D.]

FELIX (30), twenty-ninth bishop of Arles, between John I. and Walbert; signs with the following. (G. C. i. 543; Mansi, xi. 306.) [C. H.]

FELIX (31), bishop of Ascoli, signed the second Epistle of pope Agatho, which was sent in 680, after a synod in Rome, to the third Council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 303; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX, bishop of Asturica (Astorga) (No. **99**).

FELIX (32), bishop of Atino, said to have been consecrated by pope Pelagius in 592, and to have sat thirty years, preceding Gaudentius. A chronicle quoted by Ughelli makes him a martyr. (Ugh. *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 426; x. 592.) [C. H.]

FELIX (33), bishop of Bagai (interesting place, see Morcelli), in Numidia; present at the seventh synod of Carthage under Cyprian, the third on Baptism, A.D. 256. (*Sentt. Epp.* 12.) He was one of the nine martyr bishops of the mines of Sigua. [Nemesian.] (Cyp. Ep. 76, 77.) [E. W. B.]

FELIX (34), bishop of Baianae, in the province of Numidia; present at the council of Carthage, under Gratus, A.D. 349, where he seems to have held the position of primus of his province, since he is named first among the bishops present in the preface to the canons there enacted; the Numidian province was always reckoned next to the proconsular. (Mansi, iii. 144; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 94.) [L. D.]

FELIX (35), bishop of Bamaccora (Plin. Vamacares, ab Vamaccora:—v. l. Ab Amacora, Abbamaccora, ab Amaecura. Also Ep. Damatcorensis), in Numidia. (Cypr. *Sentt. Epp.* 33.) [E. W. B.]

FELIX (36), bishop to the Barbaricians (**116**).

FELIX (37) I., c. 520, bishop of Benevento. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, iii. 21; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* viii. 17.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (38) II., c. 585, bishop of Benevento. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, iii. 21; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* viii. 17.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (39), bishop of Bellunum (Belluno) c. A.D. 347. His successor was Joannes. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 108, 214.) Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* v. 146) dates him 547. [R. S. G.]

FELIX (40), bishop of Bercera, in Numidia, a town not mentioned by geographers. He is the first of the list of the Numidian bishops exiled by king Hunneric, A.D. 484. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 56, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 101.) [L. D.]

FELIX (41), thirtieth bishop of Besançon, succeeding St. Claudius II. and followed by Tetradius II. at the beginning of the 8th century. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (xv. 18) quote the work of an anonymous canon of St. Paul's at Besançon to the effect that Felix gave himself up to intemperance and plundered the goods of the church. The canons followed his example, and exceeded all bounds in their violence and debauchery, so that the citizens at last rose in indignation, and slaying some, drove the others from the city. Felix, in alarm for his own life, fled into Upper Burgundy, where he died. [S. A. B.]

FELIX (42), Donatist bishop of Boncara, a place in Mauretania Caesariensis, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 459, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (43), seventh bishop of Bononia (Bologna), a native of Milan, and a pupil and deacon of Ambrose, at whose death he was present. He became bishop of Bologna, c. A.D. 400, succeeding St. Eusebius. He died A.D. 429, and was succeeded by St. Petronius. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 9; Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacr.* x. 161.) [R. S. G.]

FELIX (44), Donatist bishop of Boseta or Voseta, a place in proconsular Africa, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 408, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (45), **ST.**, twenty-fourth bishop of Bourges, following St. Probianus and succeeded by Remedius. He was consecrated by Germanus of Paris, A.D. 568 (Venant. Fort. *Vita S. Germani*, lxiii.; Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 473). In 573 he subscribed the fourth council of Paris and the letter of the same council to Sigebert. (Mansi, xi. 867, 869.) Venantius Fortunatus has some verses addressed to Felix in praise of a pyx (turris) which he had made of gold to contain the host (lib. iii. c. 25. Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 144). There is a Felix mentioned in the will of Bertram bishop of Le Mans (to be found in Patr. Lat. lxxx. 402), whom Le Cointe supposes to be Felix of Bourges (*Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 615, an. xxiii. tom. ii. 683). The year of his death is unknown, but he was buried in the church of St. Austregisilus de Castro in the suburbs. Gregory of Tours says that at his tomb, which was of Parian marble, many miracles were wrought, and that nearly twelve years after his death his body was found to be untouched by corruption (Greg. Tur. *Lib. de Glor. Confess.* cap. 102). [S. A. B.]

FELIX (46), bishop of Braga. *Vid.* of Oporto (No. **138**).

FELIX (47), bishop of Brescia, 617. Certain inscriptions are quoted by Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 565) to shew that Theodelinda caused a baptistery to be erected in Como during his episcopate. [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (48), bishop of Bulla, in proconsular Africa, exiled by Hunneric after the conference of 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 55; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 197.) [C. H.]

FELIX (49), Donatist bishop of Bulla Regia, an important town on the confines of proconsular Africa, four days W. S. W. from Carthage (now probably Bùl Bull. (Ant. *Itin.* 43, 4), present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 420, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (50), bishop of Bullis in Illyria. *Vid.* of Apollonia.

FELIX (51), African bishop, "a Buslacenis," in Prov. Proc. From an unsuspected inscription in Maffei, Morcelli concludes that this is a corruption of "Colonia Bisica Lucana" (v. l. Bustiacgenis, abustlaccens, abusti lacceni). He was present at the council of Carthage, under Cyprian A.D. 255, and gave his opinion that questions of rebaptizing heretics ought each of them to be decided on their own merits, and not only by the general custom of the church. (Cypr. *Sentt. Epp.* 63; Aug. *de Bapt.* iii. 8, 11.) [E. W. B.]

FELIX (52) of Caesar Augusta (Saragossa), wrote to Cyprian and the African bishops on affair of Basilides. (Ep. 67, vi.) As to the question whether he was bishop of Saragossa, see Baluze ad loc. (ap. Routh, *Rel. S.* p. 158). But it seems likely that he is the "Felix presbyter" of the title.[a] [E. W. B.]

FELIX(53), bishop of Calahorra, signs the acts of the sixteenth council of Toledo, A.D. 693, in the sixth year of Egica. For a discussion of the late tradition which connects this bishop with the St. Felix now venerated in the bishopric of Calahorra, see Risco, *Esp. Sagr.* xxxiii. 162. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 333.) [M. A. W.]

FELIX (54), bishop of Camerino, signed the second epistle of pope Agatho, which was sent in 680, after a synod in Rome, to the third Council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 302; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (55), bishop of Caniopita, or Canapita, a place in proconsular Africa, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 417 ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (56), bishop of Cannae, or else Canosa (No. **154**).

FELIX (57), bishop of Carpis, near Carthage, in the proconsular province of Africa; banished to the island of Corsica by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 55, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 122.) [L. D.]

FELIX (58), bishop of Casae Nigrae, in the province of Numidia; banished with the preceding. (*Notitia*, 56; Morcelli, i. 124.) [L. D.]

FELIX (59), bishop of Castellum, in Mauretania Sitifensis, one of many towns of this name in Africa; banished with the preceding. (*Notitia*, 59; Morcelli, i. 126.) [L. D.]

FELIX (60) I., nineteenth bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, succeeding St. Leudomerus, and followed by Ragnobaudus. He was one of the bishops who in A.D. 589 signed the letter to Gundegesilus, archbishop of Bordeaux, on the disturbances in the monastery of St. Croix, at Poitiers [Chrodieldis.] He was also present at the council of Rheims in 625. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ix. 41; Mansi, x. 594; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 862.) [S. A. B.]

FELIX (61) II., 25th bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne succeeding Chamingus, and followed by Bladaldus, about the beginning of the 8th century The name alone survives. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 863; Gams, *Séries Episc.* 534.) [S. A. B.]

FELIX (62), bishop of Cisterna (No. **168**).

FELIX (63), 27th bishop of Clermont, succeeding Gyroindus and followed by Garivaldus in the latter half of the 7th century. He was buried in the church of St. Stephen. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 245.) [S. A. B.]

FELIX (64), ST., a bishop of Como, to whom Ambrose's third and fourth letters are addressed. Ambrose had ordained him bishop, and calls the day of his ordination his birthday. The letters shew him to have been an intimate friend of Ambrose, and highly successful in his ministry at Como. [J. Ll. D.]

FELIX (65), bishop of Compostella (**92**).

FELIX (66), bishop of Cremona, 537, a native of Cremona, died 562. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xii. 128; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 581.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (67), bishop of Crepedula, in the Byzacene province of Africa, according to Morcelli on the coast; banished by the Vandal king Hunneric after the conference of Carthage, A.D. 484 (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 57, Migne, Pat. Lat. lviii. Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 146.) [L. D.]

FELIX (68), bishop of Curbis or Curubis, a town in the proconsular province of Africa; banished to Corsica with the preceding. (*Notitia*, 55; Morcelli, i. 150.) [L. D.]

FELIX (69), bishop of Diabe. (Optat. *de Schism. Don.* ii. 18, in Patr. Lat. xi. 969, var. lec.) *Vid.* of Zaba (No. **185**). [C. H.]

FELIX (70), bishop of Dianium (Denia), signs the acts of the 11th council of Toledo, A.D. 675, the last council of the reign of Wamba. At the twelfth and thirteenth councils he was represented by vicars. He died before 684. The first bishop of Dianium was probably Antonius (q. v.) (636), and the see disappears with the Moorish invasion. The bishop was a suffragan of Toledo. (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 212; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 247.) [M. A. W.]

FELIX (71), bishop of Dumium (**138**).

FELIX (72), the apostle of the East Angles and first bishop of Dunwich. He was born and ordained in Burgundy, and, having offered his services as a missionary to Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, was sent to preach to the East Angles, among whom he settled in the see of Dunwich, ruled for seventeen years and died there. Bede gives the length of the episcopate of Felix and his successors, Thomas, who was bishop for five years, and Berchtgils or Boniface, who ruled for seventeen years, and whose suc-

[a] See this question further discussed under No. 144.

cessor was consecrated by Theodore about the year 670. The date of the appointment of Felix is thus thrown back to the year 631 at the latest, between which year and 627 he probably was consecrated bishop by Honorius, his ordination in his own country having, it would seem, been to priest's orders and not to the episcopate. Felix found the East Angles still heathen, for although Redwald had become a Christian in Kent, he had apostatized on his return home; Earpwald, his successor, had been converted under the influence of Edwin of Northumbria, but had been murdered almost immediately afterwards; and, after three years of disturbance, Sigebert mounted the throne about the same time that Felix undertook the mission. Bede describes the conversion of the East Angles as very effectual; it was indeed the only mission of the Kentish church of which so much could be affirmed, and even here, during the episcopate of Boniface, the Mercian bishop Jaruman had a great share in the establishment of the faith, which, so long as Penda lived, must have been in a very precarious state. Sigebert, after a short reign, retired into a monastery, leaving his kingdom to his kinsman Egric, and shortly after both Sigebert and Egric were killed in battle with Penda. Anna, the next king, and father of a family of saints, occupied the throne during the remaining years of the life of Felix. Although the state of East Anglia was anything but peaceful, Felix managed to found schools and to obtain teachers from Kent, a fact recorded by Bede, and in the middle ages pressed as an argument for the antiquity of the university of Cambridge. The death of Felix can scarcely be placed later than 647: he was commemorated as a saint on the 8th of March. The historians of Ely and biographers of St. Etheldreda have added to these details derived from Bede some particulars which may be traditional and are more or less legendary. According to the Ely history Felix had become acquainted with Sigebert when the latter was in exile in France, and had been a bishop before he undertook the mission (c. i. p. 13); after his death his body was translated to Seham or Soham, near Ely, which he had founded; Redham (Reedham) also was a church of his foundation. After the Danish ravages his bones were removed to Ramsey (c. 6, pp. 21, 22). Felix Stowe, on the Suffolk coast, is said to be called from him; and several churches are dedicated in the name of Felix, which may probably be referred to him in preference to the other saints of the name. The church of Feliskirk in Yorkshire is one of these. Babingley in Norfolk is no doubt dedicated to him; and the church of Kirby Ravensworth in Yorkshire to St. John the Evangelist and St. Felix (Parker, *Anglican Kalendar*, p. 235).

The missionary career of St. Fursey in East Anglia coincides with the early years of Felix, but the two are never mentioned together, although, as both were friends of Sigebert, they must have acted in concert. Probably Felix represented the clerkly and energetic missionary element, whilst Fursey was a monk and ascetic.

There is a life of Felix in Capgrave, f. 146, mainly an expansion of Bede's narrative, and another still in manuscript among the lessons of the Norwich Breviary. (See Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 234, 235; Bede, *H. E.* ii. 15, iii. 18, 20, 25; Mlmeasbury, *Gest. Pontif.* lib. ii. 74, iv. 181; *Gesta Rer. Angl.* 135; Camden, *Britannia*, ii. 77, ed. Gough; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. 1, 779.) [S.]

FELIX (73), circ. 422, bishop of Dyrrhachium in Epirus. His case is an instance of the arts used by the papacy in extending its sway. Pope Celestine I., writing to Perigenes, Basilius, Paulus, and other bishops of Illyria, recommends submission to Rome, and cites the case of Felix as an encouragement, who, he says, would have been overwhelmed by his accusers, but for Celestine's attentive and paternal care. (Patrol. Lat. l. 427; Coelest. I. Pap. *Epist.* III.; Ceillier, viii. 128.) [W. M. S.]

FELIX (74), citizen and afterwards fifth bishop of Eugubium or Gubbio in Umbria between Paulus and Dionysius, A.D. 367. (Ughel. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 634.) [C. H.]

FELIX (75), bishop of Fica, in Mauretania Sitifensis, probably the same as Ad Ficum (Dj Baboura, Ant. *Itin.* 40, 4), present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 462, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (76), bishop of Flenucletum, in Mauretania Caesariensis, a town known only from the mention of this bishop, who was one of those banished by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484. He died in exile. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 59, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 157.) [L. D.]

FELIX (77), bishop of Florence, one of the nineteen bishops assembled at Rome to examine the case of Caecilianus, A.D. 313 (Vol. I. 367; Opt. i. 23.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (78), bishop of Forum Antonianum, in the Byzacene province of Africa; banished by the Vandal king Hunneric after the conference of Carthage, A.D. 484. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 58, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 161.) [L. D.]

FELIX (79), Donatist bishop of Garba, a place in Numidia, absent through illness from Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 461, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (80), Catholic bishop of Garba, in Numidia; banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484, after the convention at Carthage between the Catholics and Arians. He died in exile. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 57, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 165.) [L. D.]

FELIX (81), bishop of Genoa (**95**).

FELIX (82), bishop of Gibba, in the province of Numidia; exiled by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484, after the conference at Carthage between the Catholics and Arians. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 56, Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 169.) [L. D.]

FELIX (83), bishop of Guadix (Acci), presided at the council of Eliberi in 305, and signed first of nineteen bishops as Felix Episcopus Accitanus. (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 31; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. 1. 10; Aguirre-Catalani, ii.) [M. A. W.]

FELIX (84), bishop of Gubbio (**74**).

FELIX (85), African bishop, "a Gurgitibus" (*Sentt. Ep.* 74. Prov. Byz.), Morcelli conjectures this to have been on river Triton, if so near Capsa. [E. W. B.]

FELIX (86), bishop of Hadrumetum (**20**).

FELIX (87), bishop of Hierpina, in Byzacium; banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 57, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 179.) [L. D.]

FELIX (88), bishop of Hispellum (Spello) in Umbria, martyr under Maximian; commemorated May 18. In Usuard the city is named "urbs Spellatensis," which some identify with Spoleto. In preference to this and other possible identifications Henschen, who discusses the question, decides for Hispellum (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iv. 167). [C. H.]

FELIX (89), bishop of Hizirzada or Iziria in Numidia, present at the Carthaginian conference in 411. (*Gest. Collat. Carth.* cap. cxxxiii. p. 271, in Patr. Lat. xi. 1308 a; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 185.) [C. H.]

FELIX (90), Donatist bishop of Idicra, in Numidia (Oued Bousselah, Ant. *Itin.* 28, 4), guilty, in conjunction with Urbanus, of great excesses during the period of Donatist ascendancy under Julian, A.D. 361–362, especially at Tipasa (Tefesah), a town on the sea-coast of Mauretania Caesariensis. Unless the language of Optatus be grossly exaggerated, the conduct of Felix and his fanatical partisans was brutal, sacrilegious, and licentious in the extreme, resembling in all respects, as he describes it, the "wild and desperate wickedness" of soldiers let loose upon a city taken by storm. From Tipasa the party appears to have gone to Tysedris, a place whose situation is undetermined ("Tididilanus," Gams, *Ser. Episc.* p. 469), and there to have laid violent hands on Donatus, its septuagenarian bishop, whom they forced by terror into a declaration favourable to their sect, and even, perhaps, to resign his see; but the words which seem to express this may perhaps be taken as a rhetorical description of the violent treatment received by him. (Opt. 11, 19; Tillemont, vol. vi. p. 139.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (91), bishop of Interamna (**162**).

FELIX (92), bishop of Iria Flavia (Compostella), signs the acts of the third council of Braga, 675, in the last place, as *Idulphus qui cognominor Felix, Iriensis Ecclesiae Episcopus.* In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth councils of Toledo (A.D. 681, 683, 688) he appears as Felix Iriensis, and in the last-mentioned council his name takes precedence of thirty-five bishops. The order of seniority in the various signatures is tolerably conclusive for the view that the Idulfus Felix of the council of Braga is the same as the Felix of the subsequent councils of Toledo. For a notice of the untenable theory that this Felix of Iria afterwards became metropolitan of Seville, and is to be identified with Felix the successor of Julian, see FELIX (No. 152). (*Esp. Sagr.* xix. 58; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 262, 270, 287, 313.) [M. A. W.]

FELIX (93), bishop of Jactera (Zactara) in Numidia; present as delegate of the Numidian province at the synod of Carthage under Boniface, A.D. 525, and again at the council likewise held at Carthage under Reparatus, A.D. 535, in which was discussed the liberty of monasteries, which he strongly upheld. (Mansi, viii. 647, 841; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 188.) [L. D.]

FELIX (94), bishop of Jadera (Zara) in Dalmatia, present at the council of Aquileia, 381, and took part in the condemnation of Palladius and Secundianus (Ambrose, *Opp.* iii. 839). It is probably the same bishop who joins in the condemnation of Jovinianus and others (*ib.* 1044). [J. Ll. D.]

FELIX (95), bishop of Janua (Genoa), succeeded St. Valentinus c. A.D. 307. He is said to have been a man of remarkable learning and sanctity. He was succeeded by St. Syrus, who had been his pupil. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 1152; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* xiii. 278.) [R. S. G.]

FELIX (96), Donatist bishop of Lambia, Lambesa, or Lambese, an important town of Numidia (Lemba, Ant. *Itin.* 34, 2), alleged to be absent through illness from Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. His name was confounded by the Donatist party with that of Felix of Zumma. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 449, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (97), bishop of La Mentana (**123**).

FELIX (98), bishop of Lamsorta in Africa, banished by Hunneric in 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 56; Morcelli, *Afr. Chr.* i. 197.) [C. H.]

FELIX (99), one of the two bishops raised to the sees of Leon-Astorga and Merida, in the places of their deposed predecessors BASILIDES and MARTIALIS (q. v.). Our only information respecting him and his colleague, Sabinus, is derived from St. Cyprian's letter (*Ep.* 68, Migne, Patr. Lat. iii. 411); *Felici Presbytero et Plebibus consistentibus ad Legionem et Asturicae, item Laelio Diacono et Plebi Emeritae consistentibus, fratri in Domino.* There is considerable difficulty in apportioning these two sees rightly between the four bishops in question. Baronius, Routh, Dupin and Aguirre make Basilides and Martialis bishops, not of Leon-Astorga and Merida, but of Leon and Astorga respectively. Tillemont rightly joins the churches of Leon and Astorga, but avoids assigning the bishops, while Ceillier (ii. 265. 562–4) holds Basilides to have been bishop of Leon-Astorga, and Martialis bishop of Merida. Florez does the same, on the ground that as Leon-Astorga is mentioned before Merida and Basilides before Martialis, therefore the two names must be connected, as also those of Martialis and Merida. This argument is certainly not conclusive. We know from Cyprian's letter that Sabinus was made bishop in the room of Basilides. His name, however, is mentioned after that of Felix, so that no such inference can really be drawn from the pairs of names. Gams (*Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, i. 236), in contravention of all previous writers, maintains that Sabinus was made bishop of Merida in the room of Basilides, and Felix of Astorga and Leon in the room of Martialis, supporting his view by various ingenious arguments drawn from the name of Sabinus and the circumstances

of his election, which are described in some detail by Cyprian [SABINUS]. If this is accepted Felix would appear as the first bishop of Astorga or Leon, or of both together, known in history. Only one episcopus Legionensis appears in Roman or Gothic Spain—Decentius of Leon, who signs the canons of Eliberi 305 (a signature probably to be understood in the same way as that of Posidonius (q. v.) of Eminius, *i.e.* Porto, C. Tol. iii. 589). [M. A. W.]

FELIX (100), 18th bishop of Limoges, succeeding Simplicius and followed by Adelphius II. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 505). There is a story in the life of St. Eligius, of how St. Eligius, while a layman, obtained the see for Felix from the king. (*Vita S. Eligii*, ii. 28; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 558). He was represented at the council of Châlons about A.D. 650, by Paternus, an abbat (Mansi, x. 1194). In A.D. 650 he wrote a letter to St. Desiderius, Didier of Cahors, which is extant, but in no way remarkable. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 266.) [S. A. B.]

FELIX (101), reckoned the seventh bishop of Lucca, between Fullanus and Obsequentius, identified by some with the Felix Lucensis (where other readings are Lunensis and Cumiensis) in the list of those present at the Roman council of Hilarius, A.D. 465 (Mansi, *Concil.* vii. 959; Ugh. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 794). The reading Lunensis, which makes Felix the first bishop of Luna, a see afterwards transferred to Sarzana, is adopted by Ughelli (*Ital. Sacr.* i. 844) and Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiii. 428). [C. H.]

FELIX (102), bishop of Lucca. A confirmation by him of goods granted to the monastery of St. Fredianus, in Lucca, c. 685, is given in Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* ii. 565. Also in Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Aev.* v. 367. King Cunibert, c. 686, confirmed the charter of Felix, given to the same monastery (Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* iii. 11). [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (103), bishop of Macriana, a place in Mauretania Sitifensis, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 462, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (104), Donatist bishop of Magarmelis in Numidia, present as the preceding. (*M. V. D.* p. 402.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (105), Donatist bishop of Manazena Regia, in Numidia, present as the preceding. (*M. V. D.* p. 451.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (106), bishop of Manfredonia (**153**).

FELIX (107), bishop of Marazana in Numidia (Anton. *Itin.* Marazania, in Notitia, "Maraziana" *Sentt. Ep.* 46), is the "alter Felix," who is a martyr bishop at Sigua in mines (Cyp. Ep. 76, 79), and the scribe or author of *Ep.* 79. [E. W. B.]

FELIX (108), bishop of Martana (Martula), cir. 306; commemorated on Oct. 30, according to Ferrarius (*Cat. SS. qui non sunt in M. R.*). Jacobillus reckons him the same as the martyr bishop of Hispellum (No. 88), May 18, and as presiding over both sees. (Ugh. *Ital. Sacr.* x. 129.) [C. H.]

FELIX (109), bishop of Mathar in Numidia; banished by the Vandal king Hunneric, after the conference between the Catholics and Arians at Carthage, A.D. 484. He died in exile. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 56, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 217.) [L. D.]

FELIX (110), bishop of Maxita in the province of Mauretania Caesariensis; exiled with the preceding. (*Notitia*, 59; Morcelli, i. 219.) [L. D.]

FELIX (111), Donatist bishop of Maxula, a town of proconsular Africa, perhaps Hammam el Enf, eighteen miles from Carthage; but, as there was more than one place of the same name, this is not certain. (*Dict. Geog.* ii. p. 299.) He was present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 442, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (112), bishop of Messina, received a letter from Gregory the Great (lib. i. indict. ix. *Ep.* 40; Migne, lxxvii. 493–494). Consulted Gregory on the degrees of consanguinity lawful in marriage and other matters (lib. xiv. indict. vii. *Ep.* 16; Migne, lxxvii. 1320–1322). Gregory's answer to this letter (lib. xiv. indict. vii. *Ep.* 17; Migne, lxxvii. 1322) is spurious. (Jaffé, *Regesta Pont. Literae Spuriae*, p. 937). [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (113), bishop of Metz. Nothing is recorded of him save some incredible stories in the chronicles of the bishops of Metz. He is there said to have ruled for forty-two years, and died in the fourth year of Hadrian, A.D. 121. He was commemorated on Feb. 21. (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 680; Boll. *AA. SS.* 21 Feb. iii. 236.) [R. T. S.]

FELIX (114), 35th bishop of Metz, succeeding Aptatus, and followed by St. Sigibaldus early in the 8th century. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (xiii. 703) quote the *Codex* of St. Symphorian to the effect that he sat nine months, and died on Dec. 22. He is said to have been buried in the church of St. Symphorian. [S. A. B.]

FELIX (115), Donatist bishop of Mopti in Mauretania Sitifensis, in opposition to Leo the Catholic bishop; present at the Carthaginian conference of 411. (*Gest. Collat. Carth.* cap. 143, 180, in Patr. Lat. xi. 1319 a, 1326 a.) [C. H.]

FELIX (116), bishop of Muzua, in the proconsular province of Africa; summoned to a conference with the Arians at Carthage, and subsequently banished by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vict. 56; in Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 239.) [L. D.]

FELIX (117), ST., elected bishop of Nantes in Brittany 550, died 6th January, 582. (*Acta Sanctorum*, 7th July, ii. 470–77.) He is repeatedly mentioned by Gregory of Tours (iv. 4, 37, v. 5, 32, 50, vi. 15, ix. 39; *Liber de Gloria Confessorum*, c. 78; *Vitae Patrum*, c. x. § 4), who says that Felix once wrote him a letter full of reproaches, because Gregory would not yield up some property to him. Gregory says he was careless and boastful, and that he himself replied that if Felix had only been bishop of Marseilles the ships from Egypt would have brought no oil or spices hither, but only paper for him to defame good men by his writings. (*Hist. Fr.* v. 5.) He was one of the few Western scholars who knew Greek. Fortunatus, who addressed several poems to Felix (iii. carm. 8), praises him for his

exertions to convert the Saxons, meaning the Saxons who had occupied the country near Bayeux. This Saxon settlement dates from the third century, and by the aid of local names we can still trace its sharply defined boundaries. (Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places*, ed. 3, pp. 92–94.) It is curious to observe in how many cases we find the same names on the opposite coast of Hants, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. Felix was at the council of Tours in 567, and that of Paris in 573. St. Felix's day is given in the calendars as 7th July. See *Histoire littéraire de la France*, iii. 332; *St. Felix Evêq. de Nantes*, by E. de Kersabiec, Nantes, 1861. [C. W. B.]

FELIX (118), bishop of Naples c. 455. He succeeded either St. Nostrianus or Timasius, and is said to have held the see about nine years. He was succeeded by Soter. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 63.) [R. S. G.]

FELIX (119), bishop of Narbonne, about A.D. 650. All we know of him is derived from a letter addressed to him by St. Desiderius of Cahors, in answer to one of his, which is described as full of grief and bitterness (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 256). His name is not found in the lists of the Narbonne bishops, and is omitted by Gams (*Series Episc.* 583). [S. A. B.]

FELIX (120), bishop of Nepi, present at the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and 6th synods under pope Symmachus in March 499, Oct. 501, Nov. 502, and Oct. 504. For reference, see Felix bishop of Terni; also Mansi, viii. 235, 253, 269, 316. [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (121), bishop of Nismes, crucified by the Vandals in the beginning of the 5th century. (Hefele, *Conc.-Gesch.* § 110; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 427.) [R. T. S.]

FELIX, bishop of Nocera **(127)**.

FELIX (122), commemorated Nov. 15; a bishop and martyr at Nola in Campania with thirty others under a prefect named Martianus. He is by some considered the same as the presbyter Felix of Nola. He was buried by Elpidius, a presbyter. (*Martyr.* Usuardi, Adon.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (123), bishop of Nomentum (La Mentana), present at the third synod of Rome under Boniface II., A.D. 531. (Mansi, viii. 740; Ugh. *Ital. Sacr.* x. 147.) [C. H.]

FELIX (124), bishop of Nova, Novae, or Noba, a place in Mauretania Caesariensis, probably the same as Oppidum Novum (Alkassar el kabir), (Ant. *Itin.* 24, 2), present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 463, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (125), Donatist bishop of Novasinna, or Nobasinna, a place in Numidia, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 439, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (126), bishop of Nova Sparsa, in the province of Numidia; summoned to a conference at Carthage by Hunneric, A.D. 484, and subsequently driven into exile, where he died. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 56, Migne, Pat. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 245.) [L. D.]

FELIX (127), first bishop of Nuceria or Nocera in Umbria, A.D. 402. Being desirous of restoring discipline in his diocese after the rebuilding of the churches, which, it seems, had been destroyed by the Goths in the year 410 or 411, he consulted Innocent I., bishop of Rome, on certain difficult points which had arisen. Innocent, commending the deference he had displayed towards the Roman see, which he termed the chief bishopric, proceeds to mention some of the disqualifications for the clerical office. He is surprised that so well informed a man as Felix should have consulted him on points known to all the world, and supposes that his engrossing labours must have made him forgetful of the canons which had decided all the points he had brought before him. Innocent's reply is placed by Jaffé (*Regest. Pontif.* p. 26) between the years 402 and 417. (Innocent, *Ep.* 37, ed. Migne, Patr. Lat. xx. 603; Mansi, *Concil.* iii. 1045, *Ep.* 4.) Ughelli says he was present at a council with Decentius bishop of Eugubium (*Ital. Sacr.* i. 1065; see also Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 709). [C. H.]

FELIX, bishop of Padua **(181)**.

FELIX (128), bishop of Palermo, present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649, which condemned the Monothelite heresy. (Hefele, § 307; Mansi, x. 867.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (129), bishop of Paris, mentioned in the *Acta S. Genovefae*, under the name of Vilicius or Julicus. (*AA. SS.* Jan. i. 143 b; *Gall. Christ.* vii. 15.) Commemorated on Jan. 3. [R. T. S.]

FELIX (130), bishop of Parium, in the proconsular province of Africa; subscribed the letter against the errors of the Monothelites sent by the synod of his province to Paul, the patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 646. (Mansi, x. 939; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 253.) [L. D.]

FELIX (131) I., bishop of Patavium (Padua). He succeeded Eupavius c. A.D. 293. He is said to have introduced the practice of burying Christians in a ground apart from the pagans. He died c. A.D. 313, and was succeeded by Paulus, a Roman. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 398; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 484.) [R. S. G.]

FELIX (132) II., bishop of Patavium, c. A.D. 523. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* x. 487.) [R. S. G.]

FELIX (133) III., bishop of Patavium, succeeded Virgilius c. 591, and was succeeded, 609, by Audacius. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 399; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* x. 488.) [R. S. G.]

FELIX (134), ninth in the list of the bishops of Pavia (Ticinum), between Crispinus and Maximus, as given in Ughelli, who places his accession in 253 and his martyrdom on July 15, 255. In some accounts of the bishops of Pavia the place of Felix is occupied by a Crispinus II., a discrepancy discussed by the Bollandists. Gams omits Felix, and places Crispinus and Maximus in the 5th century, with Epiphanius between them. (Ughel. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 1078; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iv. 23; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 800.) [C. H.]

FELIX (135), bishop of Pesaro (Pisaurum), receives a letter from Gregory the Great, blaming him for interfering with a monastery and allowing public masses there (lib. vi. indict. xiv. *Epist.* 46; Migne, lxxvii. 832). [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (136), Donatist bishop of Pisita, a place in proconsular Africa, unable through age to be present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 413, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (137), bishop of Portus Romanus addressed by Gregory the Great (lib. ix. indict. ii. *Ep.* 25; in Migne, lxxvii. 964). Gregory (*Dial.* iv. 51, 55) states that Felix was born in the Sabine province, and that to him he owes some of his information. Felix was present at the synod of 595 about the service of the pope, the goods of the church, etc., and also at the synod of 601, which tended to free monasteries from episcopal control. These are two separate synods according to Hefele, §§ 288, 289; according to Jaffé, from a consideration of the signatures there was only one, and that in 595. (*Regesta Pont.* p. 114; Mansi, ix. 1228, and x. 488.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (138), bishop of Oporto, A.D. 692, but made metropolitan of Braga by the same sixteenth council of Toledo, which, in consequence of the conspiracy of Sisebert, transferred Felix of Seville to Toledo and Faustinus of Braga to Seville [Felix (152)]. In Loaysa's edition he is made to sign the acts of the sixteenth council as bishop both of Braga and Porto; but according to four of the council MSS. it should be "Bracarensis atque *Dumiensis* sedium Episcopus." The see of Dumium, which included the monastery of Dumium only, and which was founded in memory of St. Martin of Dumium, was often administered by the bishop of the neighbouring diocese and town of Braga. For the groundless legend of the martyrdom of Felix by the Arabs in 724, see *Esp. Sagr.* xv. 161, and Boll. *AA. SS.* May 15. (*Esp. Sagr.* xv. 158; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 333.) [M. A. W.]

FELIX (139), Donatist bishop of Putia, a place in Numidia, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 453, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (140), archbishop of Ravenna, 708–724. He was consecrated by pope Constantine. At the time of his consecration he was apparently unwilling in some way to submit to the papal supremacy. Hence his later fate, according to the author of the Life of Constantine, was not undeserved. (*Vita Constantini I.* in *Liber Pontificalis*, Migne, cxxviii. 947.) The people of Ravenna had killed the exarch John Rizocopus, and had rebelled against the emperor Justinian, who sent a force under Theodore, c. 709, against Ravenna. Felix was captured, and carried off to Constantinople, where he was blinded, and sent into exile in Pontus. Justinian's successor, Philippicus, took pity upon Felix, caused search to be made for his property which had been taken from him, and recovered all except one candlestick. He then gave him presents, and sent him back to Ravenna. Felix died in 724, Nov. 25, and was buried in the church of St. Apollinaris in Classis, where his sarcophagus and epitaph are still to be found. He had written many works, but he caused them to be burnt before his death, because on account of his blindness he could not revise them. One was saved by the priests, a commentary on St. Matt. xxiv. 15, which was extant in the 9th century when Agnellus wrote, but has perished. According to Agnellus, Felix had been head of the monastery of St. Bartholomew, in Ravenna. (The Life of Felix is given in the *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Rav.* of Agnellus, *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* 366 sqq. which is inaccurate in many details, and may be partly corrected from the *Liber Pontificalis Vita Constantini I.* Migne, cxxviii. 947.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (141), Donatist bishop of Rome, sent thither from Africa by his party, present at the Carthaginian conference, A.D. 411. Objection was made to his appearance by the Catholic managers, as not being an African bishop. Petilian, on the part of the Donatists, defended it as being simply the result of the general migration from Rome at the time of the Gothic invasion. The president pointed out that his duty was to deal with an African question, but admitted his signature on the understanding that this admission was not to prejudice the rights of Innocent, the Catholic bishop who was not present. (Aug. *Ep.* 53, 2; *Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 430–432, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (142), bishop of Rotaria, in Numidia, present at the council of Cirta, A.D. 305, who gave an opinion on the side of moderation. (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 30; Opt. i. 14.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (143), bishop of Rusubiris (Rusicibar), a port of the province of Mauretania Tingitana, but assigned to M. Caesariensis by the *Notitia*; one of the Catholic bishops summoned to Carthage by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484, and subsequently banished by him. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vict. 58; Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 267.) [L. D.]

FELIX (144) OF SARAGOSSA, probably bishop of Saragossa, described in the letter of Cyprian and the African bishops on the case of Basilides and Martialis as "alius Felix de Caesaraugusta fidei cultor atque Defensor veritatis," who had written letters to the council assembled at Carthage, describing the fall of the two deposed bishops. There has been much dispute as to whether he is to be regarded as bishop of Saragossa. Spanish opinion is, on the whole, opposed to the bishopric. (See Aguirre, *Coll. Max. Conc. Hisp.* i. Diss. 14, Exc. 1, and Risco in the *Esp. Sagr.* xxx. 99.) Nothing, however, can safely be inferred from the absence of the episcopal title, which is equally absent with regard to the catalogue of African bishops given in the superscription of Cyprian's letter (*Ep.* 68, apud Migne, Patr. Lat.); and, on the whole, it seems most probable that Felix was bishop of Saragossa. If so, we should then have information, dating from the middle of the 3rd century, of the existence of three bishoprics in northern Spain—Tarragona [Fructuosus], Astorga [Felix], and Saragossa. To these the Spaniards would certainly add Braga, but the proofs are doubtful. (*Esp. Sagr.* xxxi. 250; Gams, *Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, i. 253.) (Cf. No. 52.) [M. A. W.]

FELIX (145), bishop of Sardica on the Oescus in Dacia. This see was subject to the metropolitan of Prima Justiniana at the end of the 6th century, but Felix resisted the authority of Joannes, and elicited a severe letter of reproof from Gregory the Great, who threatened further

ecclesiastical censures if he refused submission. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. v. 14 in Patrol. Lat. lxxvii. 131. Wiltsch gives Lychindus as the name of the metropolitan see, but it had been transferred to Prima Justiniana, c. A.D. 530. See also Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 281–285.) It is not known whether Felix submitted, or how long he lived. [J. de S.]

FELIX (146), a bishop sent by Gregory the Great, c. 595, together with an abbat Cyriacus, to convert the Barbaricians, an idolatrous portion of the population of Sardinia. Their religious instruction had been neglected by the native bishops, whom Gregory accordingly reproves. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. iv. ind., *Epp.* 23–26.) [R. S. G.]

FELIX (147), bishop of Sarsina, A.D. 495–532, between Adeodatus and Sergius. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, ii. 487, 518.) [C. H.]

FELIX, bishop of Sassari **(175)**.

FELIX (148), bishop of Segermis, in Byzacene, perhaps the same as Seggera (Jumah (Ant. *Itin.* 63, 3), present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 402, ed. Oberthür; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* p. 468.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (149) II., bishop of Segermis; subscribed the letter which the bishops of his province wrote to Constantine, the son of Heraclius, against the novel doctrines of the Monothelites, A.D. 641; "et Gernisii" in the subscription has been emended into "Segermitensis." (Mansi, x. 928; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 273.) [L. D.]

FELIX (150), bishop of Selemsela, a town either in the proconsular or Numidian province of Africa. He was present at the council convened at Carthage by bishop Genethlius, A.D. 390, and was the author of three of the canons there enacted concerning the discipline of the clergy, two of which were afterwards embodied in Gratian's decretal. (Mansi, iii. 693; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 273.) [L. D.]

FELIX (151), bishop of Serteis, or Serta, a place in Mauretania Sitifensis, prevented by illness from attending Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 463, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (152), metropolitan bishop of Seville shortly before C. Tol. xvi. In can. 12 of the council, Sisebert of Toledo is deposed for conspiracy against Egica and his family; and Felix, then metropolitan of Baetica, was declared metropolitan of Toledo in his place, by election of the council, and consent of the clergy and people of Toledo. The council, however, in this only ratified the *prae-electio* and *auctoritas* of Egica, "dicti Domini nostri," who had commanded (*jussit*) Felix to assume the charge of the see of Toledo. His election is spoken of as "in praeteritis," and we may probably see in it one of the first effects of C. Tol. xii. 6, which had placed the election of bishops in the hands of the king and the metropolitan of Toledo. In this case, however, the council is asked both to deliver judgment upon Sisebert and to *confirm* the election of Felix, probably because Felix could not confirm himself, and possibly because the strong hand of Julian (q. v.) having been withdrawn, it was felt desirable, at a critical moment for the government, to make some concession to the older order of things. This Felix is not to be identified with the Felix bishop of Iria who signs C. Tol. xii. (*Esp. Sagr.* vi. 285), but rather with the Felix, archpriest of Toledo, who signs the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth councils, and disappears as soon as Felix of Seville and Toledo is heard of. He was in all probability the friend and protégé of Julian, whose life he wrote, and whose ambitious policy with regard to the see of Toledo he seems to have attempted to carry out, though with inferior ability and vigour. Isidorus Pacensis in the 8th century says of him, after some expressions of praise, "concilia satis praeclara etiam adhuc cum ambobus Principibus agit" (Isid. Pac. *Esp. Sagr.* viii.). The princes were Egica (687–701) and his son Wittiza, associated with his father in the government from 698; and it has therefore been inferred from this passage that, besides the sixteenth council of Toledo already quoted, Felix presided also at the seventeenth and eighteenth. For his presidency at the seventeenth in 694 we have the authority of Roderic of Toledo (iii. 13), writing from MSS. in which the signatures of the council, not now extant, were contained; and it is of course possible that he survived the eighteenth, under Wittiza, the acts of which are lost, though the passage from Isidore of Beja, already quoted, is our only ground for supposing it. The life of Julian of Toledo, attributed to Felix, and which with Julian's life of Ildefonsus appears as an addition in many MSS. to the *De Viris Ill.* of Isidore and Ildefonsus, is accepted by Gams as genuine. (*Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, ii. (2) 222; *España Sagr.* vi. 316; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 333; Hefele, *Conc.-Gesch.* iii. 318, 323.) [M. A. W.]

FELIX (153) I., bishop of Manfredonia or Siponto, c. 465. (*Vita Laurentii Sipontini* in *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* 1878, p. 544.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (154) II., bishop of Siponto (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* vii. 818), addressed by Gregory the Great. In 591 he is requested to take charge of the vacant church of Canusium (Canosa in Apulia, a see afterwards united with Bari) and directed to ordain two parochial presbyters for it (lib. i. ind. ix. ep. 53). Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* vii. 790) on the authority of this letter places Felix as commendatarius among the bishops of Cannae, having evidently so read the name of the church. In 593 Felix is bidden to make, with two notaries of the Roman see, an inspection of the valuables of the Sipontine church and forward a summary account of them signed by him, without any delay or excuse, to Gregory. For the dissolute morals of his nephew Felix [EVANGELUS (4)] he is severely blamed, and the debt owing by his deacon Evangelus for his ransom he is directed to discharge out of the church funds (lib. iii. ind. xi. epp. 42, 43). In this year also Felix is reproached as unfeeling for having withheld payment, from the same source, of twelve solidi incurred by Tribunus, one of his clerics, for his ransom from the enemy (lib. iv. ind. xii. ep. 17). [FELIX (56).] [C. H.]

FELIX, bishop at Spello (**88**).

FELIX (**155**), bishop of Spoleto, signed the second Epistle of pope Agatho, which was sent in 680 after a synod in Rome to the third council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 302; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (**156**), bishop of Suava (Sua), in the province of Numidia; banished by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 57, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 284.) [L. D.]

FELIX (**157**), Donatist bishop of Summa, or Zumma, a town in Numidia. He was not present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411; but as the name of a bishop of that see appeared in the list of signatures, the error, being challenged by the Catholics, was after some discussion admitted by the Donatists. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 448, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (**158**), Donatist bishop of Tacapae, or Tacape, a town of proconsular Africa, near some hot springs (Gabo, Cabes, or Quâbes, Ant. *Itin.* 78, 3), said by his party to be prevented by illness from appearing at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 419, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (**159**), Donatist bishop of Tagaraja, a place in Byzacene, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 449, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (**160**), bishop of Tebeste (Theveste), in Numidia; banished by Hunneric, 484. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 56, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 309.) [L. D.]

FELIX (**161**), Donatist bishop of Tela, in proconsular Africa, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 459, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (**162**), bishop of Terni (Interamna), present at the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th Roman synods under pope Symmachus in Oct. 501, Nov. 502, in 503, and Oct. 504, according to the reckoning of Dahn (*Die Könige der Germanen*, iii. 209), who accepts, with a slight alteration, the arrangement of Hefele, § 220. (Mansi, viii. 252, 268, 299, 314; Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* i. 750.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (**163**), third bishop of Terracina, c. A.D. 366, succeeding Sabinus. It is related in a Vatican manuscript quoted by Ughelli how the prayers of Felix in the church of St. Caesarius at Terracina obtained a cure for Placidia, daughter of Valentinian III., when possessed by a demon. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 1289.) [R. S. G.]

FELIX (**164**) **II.**, bishop of Terracina, present at the Lateran synod under Martin in 649, which condemned the Monothelite heresy. (Mansi, x. 867; Hefele, § 307.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (**165**), bishop of Thenae, in the Byzacene province of Africa; subscribed the letter of the bishops of his province against the Monothelites, c. A.D. 641. (Mansi, x. 928; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 313.) [L. D.]

FELIX (**166**), bishop of Tibiura Tibursica. *Vid.* of Tubzoca (No. **174**).

FELIX, bishop of Ticinum (**134**).

FELIX (**167**), bishop of Timida Regia, in the proconsular province of Africa; subscribed the letter sent by the synod of his province to Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, against the Monothelites, A.D. 646. (Mansi, x. 939; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 326.) [L. D.]

FELIX, bishop of Toledo (**152**).

FELIX, bishop of Torres (**175**).

FELIX (**168**), bishop of Tres Tabernae (Cisterna), one of the nineteen bishops assembled under Melchiades at Rome to examine the case of Caecilianus, A.D. 313. (Vol. I. p. 367; Opt. i. 23; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 193.) Ughelli makes his see Praeneste, by a clerical error doubtless, as Secundus bishop of Praeneste immediately precedes him in the list of signatures. (Mansi, *Concil.* ii. 437; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* vii.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (**169**). In A.D. 386 according to Baronius, 385 according to Tillemont, Felix was chosen bishop of Treves at the time of the synod held there under Maximus. Sulpicius Severus (*Dial.* iii. 13) gives a high personal character of him. But the bishops who consecrated him were Ithacians, or favourers of Ithacius, at whose instance Maximus had put the Priscillianists to death. St. Martin of Tours was then at Treves, and assisted at the consecration, though he declined to sign the record of it. He considered it better to yield for the moment, than endanger the lives of those over whose necks the sword impended. In 398 or thereabouts, however, a council at Turin directed that all who should withdraw themselves from Felix should be received into communion; and he himself afterwards surrendered his bishopric, and betook himself to a monastery which he had founded and dedicated to the martyrs of the Thebaean Legion, where he lived till after the year 400. It should be mentioned, however, that the Bollandists discredit the identification of this Felix with him whose consecration is recorded by Sulpicius Severus. (*AA. SS.* Mar. 26; Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 511; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 377.) [R. T. S.]

FELIX (**170**) **I.**, bishop of Treviso. In the year 569 (or 568, Troya), he met Alboin, according to Paulus Diaconus, and was liberally treated. ("Cui rex, ut erat largissimus omnes suae ecclesiae facultates postulanti concessit et per suum pracmaticum postulata firmavit," Paulus Diac. ii. 12.) This has been spoken of as an invention of Paulus on the ground that the Lombards could not write. It was probably merely a confirmation of a charter. (See note by Waitz on the passage *Mon. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 79, and Troya, *Cod. Diplom.* vol. i. p. 1.) This case has an important bearing on the treatment of the church by the Lombards. At the same time, it must be remembered that the bishops of Venetia, as well as others in north Italy, were now in opposition both to Constantinople and the pope on the subject of the Three Chapters (Hefele, § 278). This Felix was a personal friend of Venantius Fortunatus, the writer, who was born near Treviso, probably about 530. (Ebert. *Gesch. d. Christl.-Lat. Liter.* p. 494.) Both were cured of eye-disease at the

altar of St. Martin. See Paul Diac. ii. 13, and a note by Waitz to the passage in *Mon. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 79, with a quotation from Fortunatus's *Life of St. Martin*, in which Felix is mentioned. [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (171) II., bishop of Treviso (successor of Rusticus, who was bishop in 589 or 590, Paul Diac. iii. 26). Distinct from the earlier Felix, one of the ten bishops who (after a synod of bishops of Venetia and Rhaetia II.) signed a letter to the emperor Maurice, c. 591, justifying their refusal to condemn the Three Chapters. (Mansi, x. 466; Hefele, § 281.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (172), bishop of Trisipis, in the proconsular province of Africa; subscribed the letter of the synod of his province sent to Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, against the Monothelites A.D. 646. Trisipelis, in the subscription, should be Trisipensis. (Mansi, x. 942; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 330.) [L. D.]

FELIX (173), bishop of Tubiae, a place in Mauretania Sitifensis, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 411, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (174), bishop of Tubzoca, Oct. 24. His story illustrates the action of the first edict of persecution issued by Diocletian at the instigation of Galerius, on Feb. 22, A.D. 303, and the special severity with which it was worked in the provinces of the West, under the unhappy dominion of the emperor Maximian. We must remember that this edict did not authorize death as the punishment of resistance. It simply prohibited the assembly of Christians for religious worship; ordered the destruction of churches, and of all sacred documents, and authorized the use of torture in legal proceedings taken in accordance with its provisions. Issued in the early spring, the official notice of its publication only arrived at Tubzoca on June 5. As soon as it was posted the overseer of the city, one Magnellianus, summoned the clergy before him, and demanded the sacred writings. Informed by them that they were in the bishop's hands, and that he had gone that day to Carthage, he remanded them until Anulinus, the proconsul, should have an opportunity of examining them. Upon the return of Felix on the next day, he also was brought before the overseer, and had the same demand proposed to him. Whereupon he uttered a noble reply, "It is better for me that I should be burned with fire than that the Holy Scriptures should be so treated, since it is better to obey God rather than man." Three days were thereupon given him for a reconsideration of his decision, during which time he was committed to the private custody of Vincentius Celsinus, a leading citizen of the city. Upon his continued refusal he was sent to the proconsul Anulinus at Carthage, on June 24. By him the bishop was examined upon his arrival, and again after an interval of sixteen days, as the magistrates of Carthage appear to have been anxious to find loopholes whereby the Christians might escape the extreme penalty of the law. With the edict, however, there seems to have been sent by Maximian, a high court official, to secure its due and vigilant execution. This was the praetorian prefect or commander of the emperor's guard. To him, therefore, upon his final refusal Felix and his companions were delivered for transportation into Italy. After four days' sail they arrived in Sicily, having partaken of no food during the journey, doubtless from sea sickness, wherein we find an incidental proof of the authenticity of these Acts. At the various points Agrigentum, Catana, Messana, Taurominium, where they touched, they were received with the greatest honour by the Christians. Thence they were carried by the prefect—who perhaps called at so many towns to rouse the zeal of the officials—to Venusia, in Apulia, where, having again called upon him to surrender the sacred writings, he condemned him to death for disobedience. Doubtless the known sentiments, or perhaps the secret instructions of Maximian, encouraged the court officials in exceeding the limit fixed by the letter of the edict. Felix finally suffered by beheading, Aug. 30, on which day he is commemorated by Bede. At his execution he is reported to have said, "Thanks be to Thee, O God. Fifty-six years have I lived in the world. I have guarded my virginity, I have preserved the Gospels, I have preached the faith and truth. Oh, Jesus Christ, Lord God of heaven and earth, I offer my neck as a sacrifice to Thee, who abidest to eternity, to whom be glory for ever." The Acts and Martyrologies call the town where Felix was bishop, Tubzoca, with considerable variations in the spelling. Baronius, however, well suggests, though without any MSS. authority, Thibaris, a well-known episcopal city, of Numidia, whose bishops, Catholic and Donatist alike, appeared at the Carthage conference, A.D. 411, while Tubzoca is utterly unknown. The companions of his martyrdom were Audactus and Januarius, presbyters, Fortunatus and Septimus, readers. There is considerable confusion as to various details in different versions of the Acts, which D'Achery and Baluze have in vain endeavoured to remedy. (*Martyr. Vet. Roman.*, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi; Baronius, *Annal.* A.D. 302, cxvii.–cxxiii.; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera;* Surius; D'Acherii *Spicileg.* t. xii. 634; Baluz. *Miscell.* t. ii. p. 77; Tillemont, v. 202.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (175), reckoned by Matthaeus the first of the undoubted bishops of Turres (de Turribus), or Torres, a see afterwards removed to Sassari, in Sardinia (Matth. *Sard. Sac.* 144). He was one of the bishops exiled by Hunneric in 484 (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 60 in Pat. L. lviii. 276 b). Cappelletti recognises earlier bishops, and among them another Felix, A.D. 404. (*Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiii. 131.) [C. H.]

FELIX (176), bishop of Urgel, a city of Catalonia, near the Gallic border, at the roots of the Pyrenees, on the Segre and one of its affluents. As Urgel lay within the dominions of Charles, and belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Narbona, that monarch watched the movement represented by Felix with the greatest concern.

Felix was a native of Spain (Eginhard, *Ann.* s. a. 792, in Migne, Patrol. Lat. civ. 441), and early distinguished himself, both by his high character and his great ability (Alcuin, Ep. 4, ad Felic. Episc. in Migne, c. 144; Elipand. *Epp.* ep. 3, ad Carol. Mag. sec. 2, in Migne, xcvi. 868 c). About A.D. 783 he was consulted by Elipandus bishop of Toledo on the adoptionist theory of

Christ's human nature, and returned an elaborate reply in favour of it (Eginhard. *u. s.*) [ADOPTIONISTS.] From thenceforth Felix and Elipandus became active in the dissemination of that opinion far and wide, Elipandus especially in the Asturias and Gallicia, Felix in Septimania. Felix also endeavoured, though with no great success, to secure adherents in other parts of Gaul, and in Germany. (Jonas. Aurel. *de Cult. Imag.* l. i. s. init. in Migne, cvi. 308, 309.) Pope Hadrian wrote to the bishops of Spain (A.D. 785, Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 210), urging them to do their utmost to resist the further spread of the heresy (Migne, xcviii. 874; Mansi, xii. 814). In 788 Daniel, archbishop of Narbona, convened a council, in which Adoptionism was condemned as the "pestiferous heresy of Felix" (Mansi, xiii. 821; Froben. *Diss. Hist. d. Haer. Elipand. Tolet. et Felic. Orgell.* in Migne, ci. 303). In 792 Felix recanted before Charlemagne at the council of Ratisbon, and was then sent, for what reason does not appear, in the charge of Angilbert the son-in-law of Charles (Regino, *Chron.* s. a. in Migne, ci. 61 C), to Hadrian at Rome (Alcuin, *adv. Elipand.* i. 16, in Migne, ci. 251; Eginhard. *u. s.*; Mansi, xiii. 855). As Felix is not known to have been at Rome more than once, it was probably at this date that he wrote the letter to Elipandus which the latter received with extreme delight, and sent on to the brethren at Cordova who "thought rightly about God" (Elipand. Ep. 5, *u. s.*). From this it appears that on his arrival in Rome Felix was encouraged to hope that his opinions would meet with a better reception than that accorded to them at Ratisbon. If so, he was more than disappointed, as at a council convened by Hadrian he was again prevailed upon to recant. At the same time he drew up a libellus of which Hadrian approved, and laid it first on the altar, and afterwards on the relics of St. Peter, taking an oath that the opinions there expressed were those that he would maintain thenceforth (Eginhard. *u. s.*; Mansi, xiii. 856; Leo III. ap. Co. Rom. A.D. 799, Mansi, xiii. 1031). Notwithstanding his double recantation, however, Felix does not appear to have been restored to his see (Elipand. *Epp.* Ep. 3, ad Carolum Mag. in Migne, xcvi. 867). From Rome Felix apparently returned to Urgel, and was soon as active as ever in disseminating the opinions which he is said to have so solemnly recanted (Alc. *Adv. Elip. u. s.*; Leo III. *u. s.*). Alcuin, who had held him in the highest esteem, and still retained great respect for him, now seems to have written a letter of earnest remonstrance, addressing him as "vir venerandus et in Christi charitate desiderandus," "episcopus," "pater," "pater amandus," and reminding him of their former correspondence, he beseeches him to "arise and return to his Father, and to the bosom of the church," adding, "Christ calls you, the church longs for you, all the saints desire you as a citizen." In this letter Alcuin speaks very highly of the writings of Felix, though he takes strong exception to his Adoptionism. (Migne, ci. 119–125.) In 794 Charles convened a council at Frankfort, to which Felix was summoned, but where he does not seem to have appeared. The first canon adopted by that assembly condemns the "impious and wicked heresy of Elipandus bishop of Toletum and Felix bishop of Orgellis" (Mansi, xiii. 909). Paulinus patriarch of Aquileia was commissioned to draw up a libellus on the subject, to be sent with the decree of the council to the "Spanish provinces" (Paulin. *Libell. Sacrosyllab.* in Migne, xcix. 151–166; Mansi, xiii. 873–883). Two years afterwards (A.D. 796) Paulinus held a council at Aquileia in which Adoptionism was again condemned. (*Co. Forojul.* in Migne, xcix. 285; Madrisius, *Diss. de Conc. Forojul.* ib. 534.)

In the meanwhile Felix replied in a libellus of considerable length to the letter which he had recently received from Alcuin, wherein Alcuin says that he found "more heresies or rather blasphemies than he had previously read in his writings" (Ep. 83, ad Dom. Reg. in Migne, c. 273 D). Charles, hearing of this, requested Alcuin to prepare an answer, and Alcuin consented. At the same time, on the plea that he felt himself unequal to the task alone, Alcuin prayed the king to forward copies of the libellus to Leo III., Paulinus of Aquileia, Richbonus bishop of Treves, and Teudolf bishop of Orleans, with a request that they would also answer it. Paulinus complied in his *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum*, which he inscribed to Charles. (Migne, xcix. 343–467.) The answer of Alcuin is also extant (*Contr. Fel. Urgel. Episc.* in Migne, ci. 119–230).

In 799 Leidradus bishop of Lyons, Nefridius bishop of Narbona, Benedictus abbat of Aniane, with many other bishops and abbats, held a council at Urgel by command of Charles, and Felix appeared before it. His Adoptionism was once more condemned, but he himself was allowed an appeal to Charles (Felic. *Conf. Fidei* in Migne, xcvi. 832; Mansi, xiii. 1033), who the same year summoned a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, and Felix was there heard in self-defence. His great opponent at that council was Alcuin, who after several days' disputation succeeded in evoking another retractation from him (Alc. Ep. 117 ad Aquil. Pontif. in Migne, c. 348; Mansi, xiii. 1033). In the course of the same year, Charles procured another council to be held against Felix at Rome by Leo III., where his opinions were once more condemned, this time as those of a "thrice perjured heretic" (Mansi, xiii. 1031). After this Felix drew up a Confession of Faith, which, when it had been first approved by Charles and his bishops, was published and widely circulated. It is addressed, especially, to the clergy of Urgel. (Alc. *Ep.* 108, ad Arnon. in Migne, c. 329; Fel. *Conf. Fid. u. s.*; Mansi, xiii. 1025.)

Felix was now sent to Leidradus at Lyons, by whom he appears to have been kept in custody in the monastery of St. Martin in that city. He was still there when Agobardus succeeded Leidradus. By that time Felix had again retracted his recantations and soon had more than one discussion with Agobardus (Agobard. *adv. Fel. Urgell.* in Migne, civ. 33). After the death of Felix, A.D. 818, a "schedula" of his was found, in the form of question and answer, containing an elaborate reassertion of his old opinions. To this Agobardus felt it to be his duty to reply, in a work which he addressed to Louis the Pious. The reply contains copious extracts from the "schedula" (Migne, *u. s.* 29–70). There is also extant a *Liber contra Haeresim Felicis* written by Alcuin (Migne, ci. 87). Besides the writings of Felix already referred to, Alcuin makes men-

tion of a *Disputatio cum Saraceno*, which, however, he had only heard of, and had never seen. It had been inquired for by Charles, and Alcuin referred him to Leidradus, with what result is not known. (Alc. Ep. 101 ad Domn. Reg. in Migne, ci. 314.) The only work of Felix that survives in its entirety is the *Confessio Fidei.* (Pagi, *Crit.* s. a. 783 ix. 788 xi. 792 i. 794 i. 798 vii. viii.; *Hist. Littér. d. Franc.* iv. 428–433; Madrisius, *de Fel. et Elipand. haer. Disput. historico-chronologic.* in Migne, xcix. 557 *et seq.*; Walch, *Hist. Adoptian.* 1755; Enhueber, *Diss. Dogmatico-histor.-contr. Chr. Walch*, in Migne, ci. 338 *et seq.*; Dorner, *Person of Christ*, ed. Clark, div. 2, vol. i. pp. 248–268; Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* ed. Clark, ii. 279–284; Villanueva, *Viage literario á las Iglesias de España*, x. 20; Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* v. 335.) [T. W. D.]

FELIX (177), bishop of Uthina (cf. Tert. de *Monog.* 12), on Bagradas river in Prov. Proc. (*Sentt. Epp.* 26.) [E. W. B.]

FELIX (178), Donatist bishop of Utma, a place in Numidia, mentioned as being absent from Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 403, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (179), Donatist bishop of Uzalis, or Uzala, near Utica, in proconsular Africa, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 453, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (180), bishop of Valencia, signs the acts of the eighth and ninth councils of Toledo (A.D. 635, 655), the former, which was a national council, in the thirty-seventh or thirty-eighth place; in the latter, which was provincial only, in the eighth. (*Esp. Sagr.* viii. 171; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448.) [M. A. W.]

FELIX (181) (Felicinus), a bishop of Verona, who probably lived c. 470. (*Acta SS.* 19 Jul. iv. 644; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 580; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 747.) [R. S. G.]

FELIX (182), bishop of Vicus Turris, in the proconsular province of Africa; was present at the synod of Carthage convened by Boniface, bishop of that see, A.D. 525. (Mansi, viii. 648; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 353.) [L. D.]

FELIX (183), bishop of Villa Regis, a place in Numidia, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 408, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (184), bishop of Visica, a place in proconsular Africa, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 403, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX, bishop of Voseta (**44**).

FELIX (185), Donatist bishop of Zaba, or Zabi (M'silah), a town within the district of Zabe, in Mauretania Sitifensis (Ant. *Itin.* 30, 3; Shaw, p. 66), notorious for his violence during the period of Donatist ascendancy under Julian, especially at a place called Lemella, between Sitifi and Zabi, where two Catholic deacons were slain, Primus, son of Januarius, and Donatus, son of Ninus, A.D. 361 or 362 (Opt. ii. 18). [H. W. P.]

FELIX, bishop of Zactera (No. **93**); of Zara (No. **94**); of Zumma (No. **157**).

Clergy and Monks.

FELIX (186) of Nola in Campania, a priest, called also by St. Augustine a confessor, whose personal history is known chiefly through the poems of Paulinus bishop of Nola A.D. 409–431, on which Bede has founded a history in prose. He was of Syrian extraction, but born at Nola, where his father Hermias had settled. He devoted himself from a very early age (fifteen) to the service of God and of the church, and, having passed through the lower grades of the ministry, was ordained priest by Maximus bishop of Nola, c. A.D. 250 (a date as early as A.D. 84 is sometimes given). During the persecution under Decius, Maximus retired from his see for refuge, and the persecutors laid hold on Felix, and having imprisoned treated him with excessive severity. But, says his encomiast Paulinus, like St. Peter he was delivered by an angel, and, having reached his bishop at a moment when he was at the point of death, revived him by means of some grapes, of which he found a bunch hanging on a thorn-bush. He took him on his shoulders, and carried him to a place of safety, where an old woman took charge of him, whilst he himself returned home and remained there until the time of danger had passed away. The circumstances just related took place, we are told, in a single night. During the reign of Valerian persecution was renewed, A.D. 257, and again Felix became an object of attack. Having taken refuge in some ruined buildings, the search of the persecutors was diverted from his place of concealment by their seeing a cobweb spread across the opening, by which they were led to suppose that it had not lately been entered by any one. Meanwhile Felix escaped by another way, and took refuge in an old water-tank, in which he was fed during six months by an old woman who lived in a neighbouring house. When persecution ceased he returned to the town, and was received with joy by his fellow-Christians. Maximus was now dead, and they made a strong effort to place him in the vacant see, but Felix refused, and persuaded them to elect Quintus, a priest of seven days' older standing than himself. We are not informed of the date of his death, but many miracles are said to have been wrought around the place of his interment, over which a church was built, according to local tradition, by pope Damasus. At the time of the Gothic invasion, A.D. 410, he is said to have appeared to many persons. St. Augustine, who was intimate with Paulinus, declared his belief in the reality of these manifestations, for when a question of serious misconduct had arisen between two members of a monastery under his superintendence, named Spes and Bonifacius, he recommended that they should both of them repair to the tomb of St. Felix, and there await a Divine revelation of their respective guilt or innocence. He also speaks of an apparition of Felix at the time of the barbarian invasion, as attested by trustworthy witnesses. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vi. pp. 219, 246; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* p. 907; Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 48; Ceillier, vol. ii. c. xvii.; vol. viii. c. ix.; Aug. *Ep.* 78; *de Curâ pro Mort.* c. i. 16; vol. vi. p. 606; *de Dulcit. quaest.* ii. 2; vol. vi. p. 157.) The legend became a

popular one during the middle ages, and appears in the *Golden Legend* of Jac. de Verazine, c. 19. [PAULINUS.] [H. W. P.]

FELIX (187), a deacon of Carthage, who, having written a severe letter during the persecution of Maxentius, A.D. 311, was concealed, at some risk to himself, by Mensurius, who refused to give him up to the government. [MENSURIUS.] (Opt. i. 17.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (188), a deacon of Milan, sent by Ambrose with a letter to the emperor Theodosius (Ambrose, *Opp.* iii. 1109). [J. Ll. D.]

FELIX (189), a young monk of Adrumetum, who went with Florus to Uzalis, and there dictated to him the letter of St. Augustine which caused so much disturbance among the brethren. In company with Cresconius and another Felix, who, from some unknown cause arrived later than his companions, he took a journey to Hippo to confer with Augustine on the matter. They were in a great hurry to return home before Easter, but Augustine prevailed on them to remain till after the festival, perhaps because of the late arrival of the other Felix, and thus gained time to explain the questions to them more fully. (Aug. *Epp.* 214, 215, '216; Tillemont, 318, vol. xiii. pp. 873–878; Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* xxiv. 45, 46.) [CRESCONIUS (4), EVODIUS (3), FLORUS (12).] [H. W. P.]

FELIX (190), another monk of Adrumetum, companion of the preceding (August. ep. 215 al. 47). [C. H.]

FELIX (191), deacon of the church at Ruspe, who, by his desire to secure the appointment of an unsuitable person during the Vandal persecution, was the means of preventing for some years the election of a bishop. He endeavoured to arrest the consecration of Fulgentius by very questionable and even violent means, A.D. 502. He failed in his attempt, and was subsequently subdued into obedience by the gentle spirit of Fulgentius, who shortly afterwards ordained him as presbyter. He died within the year 503. (*Vita Fulgentii*, c. xvii.; Migne, Patr. lxv. p. 134; Ceillier, xi. 5.) [FULGENTIUS (3).] [H. R. R.]

FELIX (192), deacon, one of the five legates whom Hormisdas specially instructed and sent in A.D. 519 to treat with John, bishop of Constantinople, and the whole Eastern church on the question of reconciliation with the Western (Baronius, *Annal.* ix. a. 519, 2). The legates appear to have remained some time in the East, and to have kept Hormisdas acquainted with the course of events, especially as to the circumstances and motives of the riots that were occurring in Thessalonica and all through the East. The legates returned to Rome in A.D. 520. (*Ib.* a. 520, 28. See the whole proceedings in Mansi, *Concilia*, viii. 441 sq.; Hormisdae Papae *Epistola et Decreta*, epp. 31 sq. ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. lxiii. 435 sq.) [J. G.]

FELIX (193), African monk, the head of the little monastery in Byzacena to which Fulgentius retired shortly after his entrance upon the monastic life. (*Vita Fulgentii*, cc. 8–11, 15, in Boll. *Acta SS.*, Jan. i. 35–38, Patr. Lat. lxv. 124 sq.) Felix strove to induce Fulgentius to assume chief command. He consented to undertake the educational department only, while Felix retained that of the property. The friendship of these two men was ardent and prolonged. They fled together, before an incursion of barbarians, to Sicca Veneria or Siccensis, and there endured great indignities from an Arian priest, who also bore the name of Felix. The monk Felix displayed a beautiful spirit of self-renunciation. Fulgentius, in his search for austerity and severity of rule, deserted Felix more than once, yet it was through Felix and his monks that Faustus ordained Fulgentius: and when that father was subsequently made bishop of Ruspe, and when he erected a monastery in close contiguity to his church, he persuaded Felix to come and preside over it; transferring to it the majority of his own monks, so that leaving the remnant of his family under the deputy control of one Vitalius, the two houses were brought under the same management. During the double exile of Fulgentius, Felix appears to have retained the position, and his life must have been prolonged for some years after the death of Thrasimund in 523. On the return of Fulgentius, though a bishop, he resolved to conduct himself as monk, and to submit in the smallest matters to the authority of the abbat Felix (*ib.* c. 29). [FULGENTIUS (3).] [H. R. R.]

FELIX (194), an African abbat, termed by Victor Tununensis hegumenus or prior monasterii "Guillensis" and Gillitani" (*Chron.* s. a. 553, 557); the monastery is called "Gillitanum" by Vigilius likewise (*u. infr.*) He was excommunicated by Vigilius, bishop of Rome, for his loyalty to the "Three Chapters," at the same time with Rusticus and Sebastianus, A.D. 553 (Vigil. *Ep.* 14, *ad Rust. et Seb.* Migne, Patrol. lxix. 50 C; Mansi, ix. 359 A). He was sent into exile by the council of Constantinople, A.D. 553 (Vict. Tun. *u. s.* Migne, *Patrol.* lxviii. 960), and died at Sinope in Hellenopontus, A.D. 557 (Vict. Tun. *u. s.* 961). He is mentioned by Facundus Hermianensis (*cont. Mocian.* Migne, Patrol. lxvii. 855). [T. W. D.]

FELIX (195), subdeacon of Rome, directed by pope Gregory the Great in 599 to secure observation of the rules prohibiting bishops or clerics to have women residing with them. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. ix. ind. ii. Ep. 60. Pat. Lat. lxxvii. 996.) [C. H.]

FELIX (196), an abbat in Eumorphiana, one of the Ponza islands, off the coast of Campania. He was the bearer of a letter in 591 from Gregory the Great to the subdeacon Anthemius, the rector or defensor of Campania, who is directed to supply Felix with 1500 pounds of lead. (*Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. ep. 50, Migne, lxxvii. 513.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (197), mentioned by Alcuin in connexion with Elipandus and the Adoptionist controversy, different from Felix bishop of Urgel. Mabillon thinks he was abbat of Obo, a Benedictine monastery founded in 780 by Adelgaster the son of king Silo in Asturias. (Alcuin, *Opp.* ii. 587, col. 2, B, ed. Froben.; Mabill. *Annal.* ii. 273, num. 53; Pat. Lat. xcvi. 889.) [C. H.]

Martyrs, arranged in order of commemoration.

FELIX (198), commem. Jan. 5, martyr with Secundus, Honorius, and ten others in Africa, perhaps under Severus, A.D. 198. (*Martyr.* Hieron.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (199), commem. Jan. 7; martyr with Januarius at Heraclea, in Lucania probably. The *Mart.* Hieron. seems to celebrate them a second time on Feb. 14. (*Martyr. Rom.*, Hieron., Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (200), commem. Feb. 12; a reader and martyr of Abitina, in Africa, under Anulinus the proconsul, with Saturninus a presbyter, Dativus a senator, thirty other men, and seventeen women. [Dativus.] The *Acta* in which the examination of these martyrs is recorded are better attested than most of those which we possess. The martyrs suffered at Carthage in 304, under Diocletian and Maximian. The *Acta* seem to have been extracted by a Donatist within a century from their martyrdom out of the public registers. They were produced by the Donatists at the Conference of Carthage, 411, and received as genuine by the Catholic party. They are also cited by St. Augustine, *contra Cresconium* lib. 3, cap. 27, 29; *Brevicul. Collat. cum Donatistis* coll. diei tertii, cap. 17. The landlord of the house where the martyrs were seized at the celebration of the Holy Communion was also named Felix Octavius. There were two others also of the same name arrested with them, of whom nothing certain is recorded. Altogether four of the name of Felix were seized and put to death. (*Martyr.* Usuard.; Baluz. *Miscell.* t. ii.; Surius, i. 949, Feb. 11, on which day Baronius also commemorates them; Tillemont, *Mém.* v. 231; Ceillier, iii. 20.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (201), April 16. [Saragossa, Martyrs of.]

FELIX (202), commemorated April 21; martyr at Alexandria with Arator a presbyter, and three others. (*Martyr.* Usuard., Hieron.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (203), commemorated April 23: presbyter, martyred at Valence in Dauphiny with the deacons Achilleus and Fortunatus, said to have been sent out as missionaries by Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons. After great success in their work they were seized and put to death after various tortures by a general named Cornelius, in the beginning of the reign of Caracalla, about A.D. 212. (*Martyr.* Hieron., Adon., Usuardi, Notkeri; Tillemont, *Mém.* iii. 97.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (204)—May 18, bishop of Hispellum (No. **88**).

FELIX (205), commemorated May 24; martyr at Istria, a town on the border of Illyria, with Toellius, Servilius, and Silvanus. There is almost hopeless confusion in their history. Jerome places some of them, including Felix, in Syria, and the rest at Istria. (*Martyr.* Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (206), commemorated May 28; martyr in Sardinia, one of the usual places of Roman exile, with Aemilius, Trianus, and Lucianus (*Martyr. Roman. Vet.*, *Hieron.*, Adonis, Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (207), commemorated June 11; martyr with Fortunatus his brother, at Aquileia, under Maximian, A.D. 296. They seem to have been instances of the intermittent persecution, which went on here and there, especially among the military, under Maximian and Galerius, previous to the edict of Diocletian, which authorized a general persecution. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (208), commemorated June 23; presbyter and martyr at Sutrium, in Tuscany, under a prefect named Turcius. (*Martyr.* Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (209)—July 2, martyr with Felicissimus (8). [G. T. S.]

FELIX (210), commemorated July 6, a hermit and martyr at Apollonia under the emperor Numerian, A.D. 283. (Bas. *Men.*) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (211)—July 15, bishop of Pavia (No. **134**).

FELIX (212), commemorated July 17; martyr at Carthage, with eleven other Christians from the town of Scillita. They suffered in the persecution of Severus, A.D. 200 or 202, when Perpetua and Felicitas also were martyred. The names of his companions were Speratus, Martialis, Cythinus, Veturius, Aquilinus, Lactantius, Januarius, Generosus, Vesta, Donata, Secunda. Their *Acta* seem genuine, being strikingly confirmed in one particular by a contemporaneous document. The *Acta* call the proconsul under whom they suffered Saturninus, while Tertullian *ad Scapulam*, lib. iii. treating of persecutors of the church who had been divinely punished, says, "Vigellius Saturninus, who first used the sword against us, lost his eyes." Saturninus, however, seems to have used the deliberation in his course of action which was characteristic of legal procedure of this kind at Carthage. He called on the men to sacrifice on one day. On another day he called on the women to do so, and offered all of them time for consideration. One of them, Donata, replied, "We render honour to Caesar as Caesar, but worship and prayer to God alone." Persisting in their refusal, they were condemned to be beheaded. On receiving their sentence they thanked God, and as they came to the place of execution they fell on their knees and again gave thanks. The ancient Calendar of the church of Carthage, discovered by Mabillon and assigned by him to the 5th century, commemorates them on the same day. (*Martyr. Roman.*, *Vet.* Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, Notkeri, Wandalberti; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera.*) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (213), commemorated July 27; martyr at Nola. In several of the martyrologies he is noted with three women, Julia, Jucunda, Januaria, who suffered at Nicomedia. They all died probably in the Diocletian persecution. (*Martyr. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Notkeri; Ferrarius, *Catal. Generalis.*) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (214), commem. July 29, martyr in Africa with Niceta and Postiniana. Only found in *Martyr.* Hieron. which of course may have

helped the confusion about pope Felix II. (No. 2). [G. T. S.]

FELIX (215), commemorated Aug. 1; martyr under Diocletian and Maximian at Gerona in Spain. By his Christian energy in preaching God's word he rendered himself so remarkable that Dacian, the proconsul, notorious for his persecuting zeal, ordered him to be seized and then put him to death with various torments, to which the imaginations of the monks have added numerous miracles and angelic appearances. [Dacianus (1).] (*Martyr.* Adon., Usuard.; Gregor. Turon. *de Glor. Mart.* cap. 92.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (216), commemorated Aug. 22; martyr at Ostia with Martialis, Epictetus, Saturninus, Aprilis; apparently travellers or seamen who there suffered for Christ. (*Martyr.* Adon., Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (217), commemorated Aug. 30; presbyter and martyr at the second milestone on the road to Ostia. There may possibly, or even probably, be a confusion between this and the previous martyr, as both suffered in or about the same place. The Martyrologies, however, give more details about this man. He lived under Diocletian and Maximian, and suffered in the fresh persecution which ensued upon the publication of the fourth edict, April 30, 304. Having been racked and tortured by the prefect Draco, he was taken to several shrines and commanded to sacrifice. He steadily refused, and according to a monkish legend, worked so many miracles at each shrine as ought to have converted the most determined persecutor. A Christian encountering the martyr on his way to execution and stirred up with that mania for martyrdom which then seized men like an epidemic, cried out that he also was a Christian; whereupon he was seized, and executed in company with Felix. His name being unknown, the Christians denominated him Adauctus, because he was added to the crown of St. Felix. The confusion about this commemoration among the authorities is almost inextricable. Hieronymus notes him on Aug. 29, with four women, of whom one is Adausia. Bede (ed. *Colon.*), on Aug. 30, commemorates Felix the bishop of Tubzoca in Africa, among whose fellow martyrs was Audactus, a presbyter. In ed. *Boll.* of Bede both Felix of Rome and of Africa are noted on that day. All efforts to unravel the matter would now be hopeless. (*Martyr.* Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, Notkeri, Wandalberti.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (218), commemorated Sept. 24; martyr at Autun, with Andochius a presbyter and Thyrsus a deacon, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161–180, probably about the same time as the martyrs at Lyons, A.D. 177. (*Martyr. Roman.*, Hieron., Bedae.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (219), commemorated Oct. 12; martyr with 4976 others, bishops, priests, deacons, and laymen, in Africa, under Hunneric, A.D. 477. Cyprian and Felix were the most distinguished presbyters who suffered at that time. They were martyrs in behalf of the Catholic faith as against Arianism, which Hunneric and the Vandals supported. The numbers may seem large, but all the authorities represent the Arian persecution of North Africa, which lasted from A.D. 429 to 523, when the accession of Hilderic brought peace, to have been a very frightful one. (*Martyr.* Adonis, Usuardi; Victor Vitensis, *de Persecut. Vandal.* l. 2.) Victor was himself a bishop of Vita in Numidia, and exiled by Hunneric. Other authorities for the Vandal persecution are the life of St. Fulgentius, who was distinguished in the persecution of Thrasimund, A.D. 496, contained in *Bibliotheca Max. Patrum*, tom. ix. pp. 4–16; Procopius, *de Bell. Vandal.* c. 7, 8; Gibbon, cap. xxxvii. Ruinart, the last editor of Victor Vitensis, has illustrated the whole subject with a copious and learned apparatus of notes and supplement. [G. T. S.]

FELIX (220)—Oct. 24; martyr. (No. **174**.)

FELIX (221)—Nov. 5. The *Hieronymian Martyrology* commemorates him in Italy on Nov. 1, and places a Felix in Africa on Nov. 5. Baronius places him under Trajan, while the acts of Caesarius place him under Claudius Nero. Tillemont considers the whole story of this Felix and his fellow-martyrs, Eusebius, Caesarius, and Julianus at Terracina, to have been very much corrupted. [Caesarius (1).] He says pithily that it is best to leave them in the number of those whose saintliness we are sure of, but of whom we know nothing else. (*Martyr.* Hieron., Bedae, Usuardi, Wandalberti; Tillemont, *Mem. Eccles.* ii. p. 574.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (222), commem. Nov. 6; martyr at Toniza in Africa. St. Augustine, when expounding the 127th Psalm, is said to refer to him where he says, "Felix martyr, verè felix et nomine et coronâ, cujus hodie dies est." (*Martyr.* Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FELIX (223)—Nov. 15; martyr (**122**).

FELIX, martyrs. See also Nos. **32**, **121**.

Miscellaneous.

FELIX (224), addressed by Sidonius Apollinaris (ii. *Ep.* 3) in a letter of congratulation on his elevation to the dignity of patrician. [R. T. S.]

FELIX (225), a notary to whom Fulgentius of Ruspe addressed a work entitled *De Trinitate*, in thirteen chapters. He is addressed in endearing terms, and reminded that he is surrounded by those who are infected with various errors. Fulgentius furnished him with a practical *vade mecum* of the orthodox faith. The only authority to which he appeals, with the exception of one quotation from Augustine, is Holy Scripture. [Fulgentius (3).] (Fulg. *Opp.* p. 498 in Migne, Patr. lxv.; Ceillier, xi. 50.) [H. R. R.].

FELIX (226) GALLUS, friend of Cassiodorus. He was advanced to the consulship by Theodoric, in recognition of his public services (Cassiod. *Var.* lib. ii. Ep. i. and ii.). He is probably the same person whom Cassiodorus eulogizes (*Var.* lib. xi. praef.) as having assisted him in the composition of the epistles contained in the first ten books of *Varieties*. [E. M. Y.]

FELIX (227), chartularius and "vir consularis," commended by Gregory I. to Maximian

bishop of Syracuse. Gregory writes to him more than once, and in one letter apologizes if any property under the charge of Felix has been wrongfully occupied by officers of the church, and orders restitution. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib, ii. indict. x. ep. 27; lib. ix. indict. ii. ep. 14. Migne, lxxvii. 560, 959.) [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (228), a lapsed Christian in Africa in the diocese of Caldonius, with whom he was connected (*Proximus mihi vinculis*, v. l. ap. edd. *Vicinus*), who subsequently confessed and suffered banishment and confiscation; he had been an assistant presbyter (?) to one Decimus (Presbyterium subministrabat sub Decimo, v. Fell); was married to Victoria, who, as well as one Lucius, shared his fall and recovery. (Cyp. *Ep.* 24.) [E. W. B.]

FELIX (229), a Christian who begged the prayers of St. Fructuosus of Tarragona on his way to martyrdom. Fructuosus replied, "I must pray for the whole Catholic church, East and West." (Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* 220; Ceillier, *Aut. Ecc.* ii. 388.) [Fructuosus (1).] [R. T. S.]

FELIX (230). [Minutius Felix.]

FELIX (231), "Comes Sacrarum Largitionum" under the emperor Julian (*Cod. Theod. IX.* xlii. 5, March 9, A.D. 362). In that capacity he was also a member of the imperial "consistorium," and is mentioned as such in the Theodosian Code (xi. xxxviii. 5: March 23, 362).

Previous to the accession of Julian, Felix had professed to be a Christian, but with the change of masters he became a fierce pagan (Libanius, *pro Aristoph. Op.* ed. Morell. ii. 218; Theodoret, *H. E.* iii. 12; Philostorg. *H. E.* vii. 10), and was one of the three officers who were sent by Julian to spoil the great church at Antioch; on which occasion he is related to have said, "See with what vessels the Son of Mary is served!" (Theodoret, *u. s.*) His death soon after was sudden and appalling (Ammian. Marcellin. xxiii. 1, before Jan. 1, 363; Sozomen, *H. E.* v. 8, s. f. Theod. iii. 13: Philostorg. *u. s.*). [Elpidius (36).] [T. W. D.]

FELIX (232), condemned with Jovinian as sharing his heresy by pope Siricius, and by St. Ambrose and other bishops assembled at Milan (Amb. *Opp.* iii. 1044). [J. Ll. D.]

FELIX (233), a Manichaean teacher, with whom Augustine held a public disputation, Dec. 7 and Dec. 12, A.D. 404 (Augustin. *Retract.* ii. 8, *Op.* i. 633, ed. Migne, Patrol.; *de Act.* c. *Felice Manich.* ibid. 521). It seems to have been a judicial proceeding, Felix being in custody, and his books under "public seal" (Possid. *Vit.* c. 16, act. ii. 1, 553, *u. s.*). Five years before this the emperor Honorius had addressed an edict to Dominator, then "vicarius" of Africa, commanding him to exercise especial vigilance for the suppression of Manichaeism (*Cod. Theod. XVI.* v. 35, June 17, A.D. 399), and this is an example of the vigilance which had been thus evoked. Gothofred ascribes the edicts of Honorius against Manichaeism to the influence of Augustine (*n. in d. l.*).

If the letter of Augustine to "a certain Manichaean presbyter" (*Ep.* lxxix. *Op.* ii. 272, *u. s.*) was addressed to Felix, he was the successor of Fortunatus at Hippo [Fortunatus (48)]. Augustine describes him as "ineruditus in liberalibus literis" (*Retract.* u. s.). On the second day of the disputation Felix was persuaded to recant and subscribe a written anathema of Manes. He appears to have been then set at liberty (act. ii. c. ult. 551, *u. s.*). [Faustus (34).] [T. W. D.]

FELIX (234), a person to whom St. Augustine wrote in reply to a letter concerning a young lady placed under the protection of the church until she came of age. Felix seems to have been the husband of her aunt, and her mother was alive, though absent from some cause, but her father was dead. A proposition had been made to marry her to the son of one Rusticus, who was still a pagan, but she herself appears to have wished to take religious vows; but St. Augustine's letter is to the effect that, until she was of age to judge for herself, and unless her mother should appear, which was quite possible, the church, to whose care she had been committed, could not properly relinquish the charge of her, and that for the present neither marriage nor a monastic life could be decided for her; but that the church could not, so long as she remained under its care, allow her to be betrothed to an unbeliever. The letters of Augustine on this subject are addressed to Felix, perhaps the girl's uncle, to Benenatus, a bishop under whose care she appears to have been, and to Rusticus. (Aug. *Epp.* 252, 253, 254, 255; Tillemont, vol. xiii. p. 261.) [H. W. P.]

FELIX (235), uncle of Flavian, the instructor of Paulus Diaconus. Paulus (vi. 7) says of him during the reign of Cunipert, 680–702, "Eo tempore floruit in arte grammatica Felix." He was liberally patronized by the king. [A. H. D. A.]

FELIX (236), presbyter. Alcuin has a metrical inscription: "Ad Aram SS. Thaddei, Felicis, Samsonis." The line referring to St. Felix runs—

"Presbyter et vero dictus cognomine Felix."

(Alcuin. Carm. 143, *Opp.* i. 219, ed. Froben.) [C. H.]

FEME, daughter of Cairell, virgin and martyr, commemorated on Sept. 17 (*Mart. Doneg.*), was one of the many children of Dediva, daughter of Trena, of the race of Eoghan son of Niall. Adam King (Bishop Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, i. 162) commemorates "S. Eupheme, virgin and martyr under Diocletiane, A.D. 290," at Sept. 16; on the same day the *Breviary of Aberdeen* has a commemoration of St. Euphemia and her companions; and among the notes left by O'Clery (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, p. xliv.) is a reference, along with another, to "Euphemia i. ꝑeme vv. et martyres ambo 16 seu 17 Septembr." It is possible that the Irish Feme may be a reflection of, or mixed up with, the Greek martyr Euphemia, in whose church the fourth general council met at Chalcedon, in A.D. 451, and who is venerated on Sept. 16. (Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.* lib. ii. c. 3; Fleury, *Eccl. Hist.* B. xxviii. § 1, Oxford, 1843, vol. iii. 331–32; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Sept. 16; *Kal. Drummond*, Sept. 16, in Bishop Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 24, calling her "Sancte Eufemie.") [J. G.]

FEOCA, ST., an Irish devotee, who gave name to the parish of St. Feock, on Falmouth harbour, in Cornwall, where the Celtic tongue was still spoken down to 1640. It is possible that the name is the same as that of St. Fiecc, bishop of Sletty, in Ireland, to whom is doubtfully attributed the famous hymn in praise of St. Patrick. (Todd, *St. Patrick*, 1864.) [C. W. B.]

FEOLCBERHT, presbyter in the diocese of Elmham, signs the synod of Clovesho, 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024.) [C. H.]

FEOLOGELD, the sixteenth archbishop of Canterbury (*M. H. B.* 616). Before he was raised to the archiepiscopal see he had been an abbat in one of the Kentish monasteries, and his name in that capacity occurs in several charters. Not to mention the spurious act of Bapchild, misdated 798 (Kemble, *C. D.* 1018; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 517), Feologeld, priest and abbat, is found among the Kentish abbats at the Council of Clovesho in 803 (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546); he attests an act of archbishop Ethelheard in 805 (K. *C. D.* 189), and one of king Cuthred the same year (*Ib.* 190). He is mentioned along with archbishop Wulfred, and abbat Wernoth of St. Augustine's as one of the chief members of a council at Acle in 810 (K. *C. D.* 256; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 567); consents to a grant of Ceolwulf, king of Mercia, in 823 (K. *C. D.* 217), and to the reconciliation of Wulfred and Cwenthrytha at the Council of Clovesho in 825 (K. *C. D.* 220; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 601). On the death of archbishop Wulfred he was elected to the archbishopric. According to the Chronicle, in 829 (which must be corrected to 831, both because of the error of two years in the computation of the chronicle and because Wulfred survived until the latter year, K. *C. D.* 227, dying on the 24th of March, *Ob. Cant.* in *Ang. Sac.* i. 53), archbishop Wulfred died, and after him abbat Feologeld was chosen to the archbishopric on the 7th of the Kalends of May; "and he was consecrated on a Sunday, the 5th of the Ides of June, and he died on the 3rd of the Kalends of September" (*M. H. B.* 344). It must be observed that this notice occurs only in one MS. of the Chronicle, all the others contenting themselves with the note under 830 [832]; "this year Ceolnoth was chosen bishop and ordained, and abbat Feologeld died." The day, however, given for Feologeld's consecration was a Sunday in 832, and as the name occurs in nearly all the lists of the archbishops, the authority of the single MS., which is a Canterbury MS., may be accepted as sufficient. Some few lists omit the name of Feologeld and substitute that of Swithred, of whom, however, nothing is known (*M. H. B.* 616). The pontificate of a few weeks was too short to contain any events of historical importance, and the name of Feologeld as archbishop is not found on coins or in charters. It would be interesting to know over what abbey he had presided before his promotion: it was probably in or near Canterbury, but we know too little of the constitution of the cathedral at the time to favour the conjecture that he may have presided as abbat over the monastery of Christ Church itself. See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 609; Elmham, p. 14. [S.]

FERADHACH [FEARADHACH] (**1**) Abbat of Saighir, now Serkieran, in the barony of Ballybritt, King's County, died A.D. 814 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 809, i. 421).

(**2**) Son of Scannal, scribe and abbat of Achadhbo-Cainnigh, now Aghaboe, in the barony of Upper Ossory, Queen's County, died A.D. 813 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 808, i. 421).

(**3**) Son of Seigheni, abbat of Reachrainn, now Rathlin island, off Antrim, died A.D. 799 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 794, i. 403; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 798). [J. G.]

FERDACHRICH (FEARDACHRICH, FERDACHRIOCH, FIRDACRICH) is etymologically "the man of two boundaries or countries."

(**1**) Abbat of Dairinis, died A.D. 744 (*Ann. Tig.*). He seems to have become mixed up in the Kalendars with St. Maccarthen of Clogher (MACCARTHEN). This Dairinis (Oak-Island) is identified as Molan or Molana, where St. Maelanfaidh erected an abbey or monastery at the mouth of the Blackwater, near Youghal, co. Waterford. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 742, i. 343; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 746.)

(**2**) Abbat of Imleach (Emly, co. Tipperary) and Leithghlinn (Leighlin, co. Carlow), died A.D. 742. (*Ann. Tig.; Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 737, i. 339.)

(**3**) Son of Conghalach or Congal, died A.D. 722. (*Ann. Tig.; Four Mast.* and *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 721.)

(**4**) Abbat and bishop of Armagh, succeeded Cele-Peter at Armagh, A.D. 758, and died A.D. 768. In the Irish Annals, Ferdacrich is always called abbat, but Ware, Lanigan, and other authors usually follow the *Psalter of Cashel* in placing him among the bishops or archbishops of Armagh. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 771, i. 376 n. [k], 377; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 767; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 19, §§ 13, 14; Ware, *Ir. Bps.* by Harris, 41; Stuart, *Armagh*, 94.) [J. G.]

FERDOMHNACH (FEARDOMHNACH, latinized FERDOMNACUS, and phonetically contracted into ERDOMHNACH), literally "churchman." (**1**) Abbat of Tuam, died A.D. 782, and commemorated on June 10 (*Mart. Doneg.*). He is included among the bishops of Tuam. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 777, i. 383; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 781; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 19, § 16.)

(**2**) Scribe of Armagh, died A.D. 732. (*Ann. Tig.; Four Mast.* A.D. 726; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 731; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. 163, but placing his death in A.D. 727.) [J. G.]

FERDULFUS, duke of Friuli, in the beginning of the 8th century. He bribed the Slaves to invade his duchy, and was ultimately killed in fighting against them. (Paulus Diaconus, vi. 24.) [A. H. D. A.]

FERFIO (FEARFIO), son of Fairbre, abbat of Kilcomreragh, Westmeath, died 762. O'Conor calls him "Abbas coadjutor Midiae," and "Predicator Midiae," but by a misinterpretation of the annals (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 757, i. 359, 360 n. [e]; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* iv. 99, at *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 761). [J. G.]

FERFUGILL (Fearfughaill, Firfuighill), of Clondalkin, bishop, commemorated on March 10, is not found in the *Mart. Doneg.*, but in *Mart. Tallaght* there is on this day "Firfuighill Eps." (Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xviii.) In his short memoir, Colgan (*Acta SS.* 577) states that he flourished after the middle of the 6th century, when, having been raised to the episcopal dignity, he governed the church of Clondalkin (now a parish and village in the baronies of Uppercross and Newcastle, co. Dublin), and that after a rule of many years, and the acquisition of a fame for sanctity, he died A.D. 783. Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. 202) places his death in A.D. 785, but the true date is A.D. 789 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 788; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 784, i. 391). [J. G.]

FERGEOLUS, Jan. 12, bishop of Gratianopolis (Grenoble), and martyr in the 7th century. (*Acta SS.* Boll. Jan. 1, 743.) [G. T. S.]

FERGHUS (Fearghus, Ferghass, Fergus, Fergusa), from 'fear' a man and 'gus,' strength or valour (Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 2 ser. 152). In *Mart. Doneg.* there are eleven dedications to saints of this name, and in *Mart. Tallaght* thirteen, called Ferghus, Fergus, and Fergusa, but of most of these, as usual, we know merely the feast. [Fergus.]

(1) Of Drumlethglas, commemorated Mar. 30. He was son of Aengus, and descended from Caelbhadh king of Ireland, (*Four Mast.*). Ware (*Irish Bishops*, by Harris, 194) places him second in the list of bishops at Down, but Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 12, § 1) and Reeves (*Eccl. Antiq.* 142–44) consider him the first. His death is entered at different years in the Irish Annals from A.D. 557 to 589, but the true date is probably A.D. 584 (*Ann. Tig.*). He appears to have been a distinguished person, for the fact of his having founded Cill m-Bian (a place now unknown) is mentioned, along with his death, in all the *Annals*. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 211.)

(2) Son of Cathal, a bishop, died A.D. 765 (*Four Mast.*), but his place in Ireland is unknown. [J. G.]

FERGIL (1), the Geometer. [Virgilius.]

(2) Feirghil of Cill-mor-Eimhire, now probably the church of Kilmore-Oneilland, co. Armagh, died A.D. 770. (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 769; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 765, i. 367, 368 n. °.)

(3) Ua Taidhg, scribe of Lusca, now Lusk, co. Dublin, died A.D. 800. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 795, i. 405; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 799.) [J. G.]

FERGNA (Feargna, Fergnaus, Virgnous). These are some of the forms of a name which is found among the Scotch and Irish saints, and is etymologically the diminutive from the Irish "ferg," anger.

(1) Brit, fourth abbat of Iona, and bishop, commemorated on March 2. Of this person, Colgan (*Acta SS.* 448–50) gives a life which gathers up under eight heads the most of what is known or imagined about him. He was of noble Irish extraction, being son of Failbhe, who was descended from Conall Gulban through his son Enna Boghaine. He followed his relation, St. Columba, to Iona, and, as his disciple, so progressed in learning and virtue as to merit participation in a heavenly vision, as related by St. Adamnan (*Vit. S. Colomb.* iii. c. 19). He became abbat of Iona, A.D. 605, on the death of St. Laisren (*Ann. Tig.*) In that office he continued till his death A.D. 623. A gloss on Mar. O'Gorman calls him a bishop, and this is followed in the entry of his death and feast in the *Four Mast.* (A.D. 622) and *Mart. Doneg.* (March 2), but the *Ann. Inisfall.* (A.D. 616), *Ann. Ult.* (A.D. 622), *Ann. Tigern.* (A.D. 623), *Mart. Tall.* and *Kal. Drum.* merely call him abbat. Such an exceptional appointment as a bishop-abbat at Iona at that period, and especially when taken in connexion with the testimony of Bede (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 4) that the abbat was always a priest, cannot be entertained by Dr. Reeves as other than a later fabrication. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 370 n.[10], 481 n.[22]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 14, § 12; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* vi. 245, Ind. Chron. A.D. 598, 623; Reeves, *Adamnan.* 223–24, 372, 463; Bollandists, *Acta SS.* Mar. 2, t. i. 125, placing him among their pretermissi: O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, iii. 41–2; C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. pt. i. 287; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c. ii. pt. i. 135; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 151 sq.; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 6, 199, 336; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, 81.)

(2) In his *Vit. S. Columbae* (iii. c. 23), St. Adamnan tells of a Feargna who retired from the monastery in Iona, and spent twelve years as an anchoret at Muirbulcmar, on the island of Hinba, one of the Garveloch islands on the west of Scotland. He was at Cluain-Finchoil in Ire and with Lugaidh, when the death of St. Columba was revealed to the latter by a vision. It seems evident from Adamnan's narrative that this Feargna or Virgnous could not have been the abbat of Iona, but only a hermit in the solitary island Eilean na Naomh, where the beehive cells of the recluses are still to be seen (Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 131, 246; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 322 sq., Edinb. 1874). [J. G.]

FERGUS (Fergusianus) **(1)**, bishop and confessor, has his legend given in the *Breviary of Aberdeen* (Prop. SS., pars aestiv. ff. 163–64), but in the other Scotch kalendars is usually called Terguse and Tergusius. The truth of the legend seems wonderfully confirmed by the church dedications which mark his route, and appear to stamp the story as a genuine tradition. Probably of Irish birth, and after being many years in Ireland as a bishop, he came with a few presbyters and clerics to the western parts of Scotland, and settled for a time in Stratherne, where he founded three churches, Strogeth, Blackford, and Dolpatrick, all dedicated to St. Patrick. Thence he went north to Caithness (Cathania), where for some time he occupied himself in converting the barbarous people by his doctrine and by his life; there we find Wick and Halkirk dedicated to him. Passing southward again, he visited Buchan in Aberdeenshire, and built a basilica at a place called Lungley, now the parish of St. Fergus; Dyce in the same county was dedicated to him. Still southward, on the same coast, and beside Montrose in Forfarshire, a chapel was dedicated at Inchbrayoch to St. Fergus. And at Glammis in the southwest of the same county the legend gives the place of his rest; this, the church of Glammis,

is dedicated to St. Fergus, and there there are St. Fergus's cave and his well. A pious abbat of Scone is said to have carried off St. Fergus's head long after to the monastery of Scone, where it must have remained till the year 1503, when king James IV. had a silver case provided for it, and made his "offerand to Sanct Fergus heide in Scone." The carrying the head to Scone might suggest a reason for the curious fact of a close connexion existing between the church of Caithness and the abbey of Scone, and of the abbat of Scone holding a prebend in the cathedral church of Caithness; but on the other hand we find offerings made from that county to "God and St. Michael" and to the canons remaining at Scone, without any reference to St. Fergus (C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* i. pt. i. p. xxiii. n.; ii. pt. ii. 621–22). His festival is variously given from Nov. 15 to 18, and his time is uncertain. (*Book of Deer*, pp. iii–iv.; C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* i. p. xxiii. and *Sket. Earl. Scot. Hist.* 5, 71–2, 124, and al.; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 168, 219, 242, 336–38; Ogilvie, *Christ. in Buchan*, 14–5, 34, 43–5; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 232–33; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, &c.*, ii. pt. i. 7, 116, 141; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 199.)

(2) Son of Conall, Erenach of Armagh, died A.D. 732 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 731).

(3) Bishop of Duleek, co. Meath, died A.D. 783 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 782).

(4) [FERGHUS.] [J. G.]

FERGUSTUS, a bishop, but of what place is unknown. Along with "Sedulius Britanniae Episcopus de genere Scotorum," he signed the canons passed at the council held in Rome, under pope Gregory II. A.D. 721, as "Fergustus Episcopus" (Mansi, viii. 109). There was sufficient intercourse at that period between Rome and Britain to account for the appearance of a Pict from Ireland being found at the threshold of the apostles, but we have hardly sufficient material for otherwise identifying him or fixing his see if he had one. Dempster ascribes to him *Commentarium in Evangelium S. Matthaei*, lib. i., and says Bale calls him Pergustus. [FERGUS (1).] (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, &c.* ii. pt. i. 7, 116, 141; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 232; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 337–38; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 16, wks. vi. 331.) [J. G.]

FERMERIUS (popularly FRAIGNE), ST. and confessor in Angoulême, and the isle of Bouin, in the department of La Vendée, commemorated Aug. 30. The Bollandists identify him with St. Fremerius, martyr in the diocese of Bazas. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 842, Oct. i. 32.) [S. A. B.]

FEROX, bishop of Macriana Major, a place in Byzacene, present at Carth. Conf. in A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 402, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FERRANDUS, deacon of Carthage, disciple of Fulgentius of Ruspe. [FULGENTIUS (3).]

FERRANUS, "Episcopus Culdaeus in Scotia," is mentioned by the Scotch annalists, and placed by Dempster in the middle of the 8th century, but by Leslcy in the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th. The former says he wrote *Sermones pios*, lib. i., and Camerarius places his feast on May 24. (Boethius, *Scot. Hist.* vi. f. 99; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 292: Leslaeus, *de Reb. Gest. Scot.* lib. iii. 117; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 150; Tanner, *Bibl.* 278; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 237, 338.) [J. G.]

FERREOLUS (1), June 16, presbyter and martyr at Besançon. He suffered with Ferrutio, a deacon. They are said to have been sent there by Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons. (*Martyr.* Hieron., Wandalberti (which place the commemoration on Sept. 5), Adonis, Bedae, Usuardi; Greg. Turon. *de Glor. Mart.* c. 71; *Gall. Christ.* xv. 4; Tillemont, *Mém.* iii. 98; Surius, *Vitae SS.* t. ii. and t. vii.) A street in Besançon is called Rue des Martyrs, as being the traditional place of their sufferings. [G. T. S.]

FERREOLUS (2), Sept. 18, martyr at Vienne in Gaul, under Maximian, about A.D. 304. He was a military tribune when the persecution broke out. For a time he exercised his influence to protect Christians like St. Julianus, who had taken shelter with him. At last, seeing the speedy advent of the persecution, he advised them to fly, and prepared himself to meet the coming storm. The prefect, Crispinus, shortly afterwards called on him to sacrifice. Upon his refusal, he was tortured and imprisoned. In his Acts we read of a miraculous deliverance from the prison-house, which, however, admits of a perfectly natural explanation, in the secret presence of many Christians among the officials. Being recaptured, he was put to death by beheading. (*Martyr.* Hieron., Bed., Adon., Usuard.; Greg. Turon. *Lib. de Mirac. Juliani*, cap. ii.; Sidon. Apoll. lib. vii. ep. 1, *ad Mamercum*; Venantius Fortunatus, lib. viii. car. 4; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera.*) [G. T. S.]

FERREOLUS (3), ST., fifth bishop of Uzes, succeeding his uncle St. Firminus, and followed by Albinus. He is said to have been born in the province of Narbonne, of noble parents named Ansbertus and Blithild, or Blitildis, A.D. 521. Among his ancestors he numbered the emperor Avitus and two prefects of Gaul, while on the mother's side he was a grandson of king Lothaire I. At the age of seven he was sent in company with his uncle St. Firminus, who was then only twelve years old, to Roricius, bishop of Uzes, and his great uncle, for instruction in letters and religion. At the age of thirty-two, upon the death of his uncle, he was consecrated to the see, A.D. 553. He is said to have striven earnestly for the conversion of the Jews, who were numerous in the province, mixing freely with them and inviting them to his table, so freely indeed, that his enemies accused him to king Childebert of plotting with them against the throne and country. He was summoned to the palace and sent into exile at Paris, where he remained three years, until the king, being convinced of his innocence, remitted him to his diocese with presents. On his return he convened a diocesan synod to discuss the means of converting all the Jews of the district. Many, it is said, became Christians, and the stubborn were compelled to labour on the earth or emigrate elsewhere. He died A.D. 581 (*Gall.*

Christ. vi. 613), and is commemorated Jan. 4. Gregory of Tours says, "At this time died Ferreolus, bishop of Uzes, a man of great sanctity and full of wisdom and understanding, who, in imitation, as it were, of Sidonius, compiled several books of letters" (*Hist. Franc.* vi. 7). According to the *Chartae Fontanellenses* (*Spicilegium*, ii. 263), he suffered martyrdom. There is still extant a rule composed by him for a monastery, which he built at Uzes, and which was called after him. Before instituting it, he submitted it to the criticism of Lucretius, bishop of Die. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxvi. 959; cf. Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs sacrés* xi. 312, for a short statement of it.) [S. A. B.]

FERREOLUS (4), ST., fourteenth bishop of Limoges, succeeding Exotius and followed by Asclepius. In the eighteenth year of his reign (A.D. 579), Chilperic I. laid very heavy taxes on his kingdom, which caused great distress and riots. At Limoges Marcus the royal commissioner was saved from the popular fury by the intervention of Ferreolus. The bishop rebuilt the church of Briva Curretia (Brive-la-Gaillarde). In A.D. 585 he was present at the second council of Mâcon. He is said to have died A.D. 595. He is commemorated Sept. 18. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 29, vii. 10; Mansi, ix. 957; *Vita S. Aredii*, ss. 16, 17 in Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. i. 352; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 1127, 1138; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 503.) [S. A. B.]

FERREOLUS (5), twenty-fourth bishop of Autun, succeeding Racho, and followed by St. Léger. His name occurs in the *Gesta Dagoberti I. Regis*, cap. xxxvii. (Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 1411), and in a charter of the same king in favour of the *matricularii* of the monastery of St. Denys (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxx. 535). He was present at the council of Châlons (circ. A.D. 650), and died in 657. The see remained vacant for two years. (Mansi, x. 1193; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 348.) [S A. B.]

FERREOLUS (6), ST., thirteenth bishop of Grenoble, succeeding Clarus, and followed by Boso, is said to have been martyred A.D. 683, but accounts differ as to the manner of his death. According to the Breviary of Vienne (Jan. 16), he was killed by a blow from a staff while preaching to the people of Grenoble. But Saussaius (Jan. 12) makes him one of the victims of Ebroin, mayor of the palace, by whom he was first driven from his see and afterwards murdered. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. 1, 743; *Gall. Christ.* xvi. 222.) [S. A. B.]

FERREOLUS (7). [ERNAN.]

FERRIOLUS, bishop of Osca (Huesca), in the province of Aragon, between A.D. 803–809. He is also called bishop of Aragon, and again "Episcopus in sancto Petro et in Iacca." Huesca was the metropolis, but being in the hands of the Moors, the bishop resided at Jacca till such time as Huesca could be recovered, when Jacca was to take the position of a suffragan see. (Anysay, *Fundacion de Huesca*, p. 351; Gams, *Series Episc.* 36.) [L. D.]

FERROCINCTUS, one of the bishops who subscribed the third council of Paris (A.D. 557) without appending his see. Le Cointe conjectures him to have been the fifth bishop of Evreux, succeeding Licinius and followed by Viator. (Mansi, ix. 747; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 557, n. xxxvii. tom. i. 829; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 567.) [S. A. B.]

FERRUTIO, martyr. [FERREOLUS (1).]

FERRUTIUS, Oct. 28, a military martyr at Mainz, probably about the year A.D. 296, when a considerable number of soldiers suffered. In Gaul, as in Africa, an idea seems to have just then got abroad among many, that the Roman military service was utterly unlawful for Christians. [FABIUS (2) VICTOR, FABIUS (3).] Ferrutius having resigned his post was seized, imprisoned, and starved to death by his commanding officer. His memory is preserved for us in a sermon preached by Moginhard, a monk of Fulda, upon the translation of his relics to the newly-founded monastery of Bleidenstadt, three miles from Mainz, A.D. 850. A church had been previously dedicated to him by Riculfe, archbishop of Mainz, A.D. 812. (*Martyr. Rom.*; Ceillier, xii. 523.) [G. T. S.]

FESTUS (1), Sept. 19, deacon of Beneventum, who, when visiting St. Januarius his bishop at Puteoli, where he had been arrested for the sake of Christ, was also seized by a magistrate named Timothy, cast to the beasts, and beheaded. He suffered under Diocletian and Maximinian, A.D. 304. [JANUARIUS.] (*Martyr. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi; Basil. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

FESTUS (2), bishop of Strategis, a town of unknown position in the ecclesiastical province of Hellas, supposed to be Stratus in Acarnania. He was one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 696; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 222.) [L. D.]

FESTUS (3), a pupil of St. Basil, who addressed to him and Magnus (probably Festus's brother), a letter of earnest affection, reminding the young men how he had planted the seeds of piety in their hearts, had watered them with his prayers, and entertained good hope of their bringing forth worthy fruit. Basil testifies to the delight of imparting knowledge to those who will open their minds to receive it; and rejoices in the thought that, though separated from them, he can still instruct them by his letters, if only they will attend to his words. (Basil, *Epist.* 294 [210].) [E. V.]

FESTUS (4), a Christian in the imperial service, possessing authority, perhaps as a landed proprietor, over many persons in the diocese of Hippo Regius. In pursuance of the edict of Honorius, A.D. 405, he appears to have written letters with the view of reclaiming these persons from Donatism, but without success. St. Augustine wrote a letter to him describing the excesses and inconsistencies of the Donatists, and justifying the imperial proceedings against them, but recommended that instead of communicating directly with these persons, Festus should send out trustworthy agents who should confer with him in the first instance, and arrange the plan of operations for endeavouring to reclaim them (Aug. Ep. 89). [H. W. P.]

FESTUS (5), a Roman senator, and father of Elpis, reputed to have been the wife of Boethius. He is probably the same person who is coupled with Symmachus by Ennodius (*Puraen. Didasc.*). [E. M. Y.]

FESTUS (6), bishop of Satafis, in the province of Mauretania Sitifensis; summoned to a conference at Carthage, and subsequently banished by the Vandal king Hunneric, A.D. 484. (*Notitia* in Victor. Vit. 59, Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 271.) [L. D.]

FESTUS (7), patrician of Rome, employed by king Theodoric on an embassy to the emperor Anastasius when Anastasius II. was elected pope, A.D. 496. He was mixed up in the attempts to heal the breaches of the churches. He was addressed by the apocrisiarius of the church of Alexandria at Constantinople, requesting communion with the Roman see. When pope Anastasius died, A.D. 498, Festus returned to Rome, having made a secret arrangement with the emperor Anastasius that the bishop of Rome should subscribe the Henoticon. On his arrival he found that Symmachus was chosen to succeed Anastasius II., and in order to fulfil his engagement he procured the election and consecration of Laurentius, and got up an accusation against Symmachus. Theodoric, however, determined in the favour of Symmachus, and the schism was healed by Laurentius's acceptance of the bishopric of Nocera. (Mansi, viii. 194, 246; Ceillier, *Aut. Sacr.* x. 519, 521.) [L. D.]

FESTUS (8) (FUSCUS), bishop of Capua, who complained to Gregory the Great that he was despised by the clergy and citizens of Capua. He died before Gregory, who, after the death of Festus, ordered the restitution of a sum of money which he had unlawfully taken from his archdeacon. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. iii. indict. xi. epist. 34 in Migne, lxxvii. 631; lib. v. indict. xiii. epist. 13, 14 in Migne, 734; lib. v. indict. xiii. epist. 33 in Migne, 759.) [A. H. D. A.]

FESTUS (9), bishop of Merida, from about 672 to about 680. He is known to us only from the speech of Egica (687–701) annexed to the acts of the sixteenth Council of Toledo [EGICA]. From this we learn that at the beginning of Wamba's reign "Theudemund Spatarius noster" [THEUDEMUND], was, at the instance of Festus, then bishop of Merida, degraded by Wamba from the noble class and obliged to fill the office and perform the duties of numerarius at Merida. What was the reason of Festus's appeal to the king and what part exactly the bishop played in the transaction is far from clear. It is a curious instance of the infliction of a purely secular punishment by ecclesiastical means. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiii. 218; Tejada y Ramiro, *Coll. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.* ii. 584.) [M. A. W.]

FESTUS (10), Dec. 21, martyr in Tuscany, with a companion named John. (*Martyr. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi; Ferrarius, *Cat. SS.*) [G. T. S.]

FETHAIDH (FETHADIUS) is commemorated on March 31 in the Irish *Martyrologies*, and Colgan (*Acta SS.* 799) has a short notice of Fethadius, whom he seeks to identify with Feadhach, son of Cormac, abbat of Louth, Slaine, and Duleek, who died in A.D. 789, but the identification is no more than conjecture. [J. G.]

FETHCHU (FEDCHON, FEDHCHU, FETHCON) At July 6 and 23 in *Mart. Doneg.* there are commemorated Fedhchu, of Uamadh Fubi, and Fethchu; in *Mart. Tallaght* they are Fedchon niad or Fedchonniad and bishop Fethcon. Colgan at March 12 (*Acta SS.* 588) gives a memoir of a Fetchuo or Fiechno, whom he identifies with Fechno or Fetno companion of St. Columba. [FECHNO.] [J. G.]

FFAGAN (Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.* 154), legendary British bishop. [FAGAN.]

FFILI, ST., a Welsh saint, to whom Rhos Ffili (or Rhos Sili) in Gower is dedicated. He is placed by Rees among the saints who flourished between A.D. 566 and 600. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 277.) [C. W. B.]

FFINAN, ST., an Irish saint, to whom Llanfinan in Anglesey is dedicated. There is also an Irish saint called Ffinian, who is said to have visited St. David at Menevia, about 530, and to have built three churches. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 239; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 160.) [C. W. B.]

FFLEWYN. [FLEWYN.]

FFOMREU, abbat of St. Illtyd, or Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire, witness to the deed of restoration of Abermenci by king Ithael to bishop Berthgwyn of Llandaff, in the latter part of the sixth or early in the seventh century. (*Lib. Land.* by Rees, 429.) [J. G.]

FFRAID. [FRAID.]

FIACC (FIECH, FIECUS), bishop of Sleibhte (now Sletty), commemorated October 12. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Oct. vi. 96–106, and Suppl. tom. 119–121) have compiled a memoir, which contains almost everything known about him, and the date they assign is "sub saeculi V., ut apparet, finem." We are told in the *Annot. Tirechan* that St. Patrick conferred the degree of bishop upon him, so that he was the first bishop that was ordained among the Lagenians, and St. Patrick gave a "Cumtach" or box to St. Fiacc, containing a bell, a "menster" or reliquary, a crozier, and a "poolire" or book satchel. He also left seven of his people with him (Petrie, *Round Towers of Ireland*, 338; Wilson, *Prehist. Annals*, 657). But in teaching the faith, St. Fiacc is often styled not merely bishop, but archbishop of Leinster: thus the ancient *Scholia* upon *The Hymn of St. Fiacc in Praise of St. Patrick* (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* n. [18]) states the fact of his consecration as bishop, and then adds "tandem Lageniae Archiepiscopus institutus; quo etiam munere ejus Comorbani sive successores abinde funguntur." (See also Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 8 n. [7], 265, col. 1, and *Acta SS.* 217 n. [29]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 274, 278.) But this notion has arisen from a misinterpretation by Colgan of the title applied to St. Fiacc by the Scholiast, and the adoption of an official designation which was not used in Ireland till the 12th century. The word in the original Irish of the Scholiast is Ard-Epscop, but

this is not equivalent to Archi-Episcopus, laying no claim to jurisdiction, and signifying nothing more than a "distinguished prelate," like 'Ard-righ,' an eminent king, or 'Ard-file,' a chief poet. (See the whole question exhaustively treated by Dr. Todd in his *St. Patrick*, 14–19, and *Book of Hymns*, Fasc. ii. 299–303.) He was honoured throughout Leinster, and when he died his relics were long after preserved at Sletty, and regarded with the utmost veneration. (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 4, bb.) As to the time when St. Fiacc flourished, there is nothing but tradition to guide us in determining. Dr. Todd (*Book of Hymns*, Fasc. ii. 293) thus sums up:—"The year 418 will be about the year of his birth; and if he survived St. Patrick, whose death is generally dated 493, he may have lived to be about the age of 80 or 90. In this there is nothing improbable or actually incredible: and there remain no grounds for disturbing the chronological place assigned to Fiacc of Slebhte, in the traditions of the Irish church, as a contemporary and disciple of St. Patrick."

Two hymns have been attributed to St. Fiacc. (a) *The Hymn of St. Brigida the Virgin* (Colgan, (*Tr. Thaum.* 542: see also 545 n. [80], 609, col. 1); but it could not have been written by St. Fiacc, who predeceased St. Brigida (Lanigan, i. c. 9, § 5; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 3, 162; Ware, *Ir. Writ.* i. c. i.) (b) *The Hymn of St. Fiacc in Praise of St. Patrick* is more commonly regarded as authentic: it belongs at least to a very early date. It was first published by Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 1–3) in A.D. 1647, and placed at the head of his other *Lives of St. Patrick*. He has given the Irish and a Latin translation, followed by "Scholia veteris scholiastae." A critical edition of it is promised in the *Book of Hymns of the Ancient Irish Church*, by Dr. Todd (*Fasc.* ii. 287 sqq.); but as yet (1878) only part of the Introduction has been published. "The narrative is short and simple. It recounts the saint's baptismal name,—the names and rank of his father and grandfather,—his captivity in Erinn,—his passing over the Alps into Italy for his education,—his return again to Erinn, in the reign of Laeghairé Mac Neill, to convert the descendants of Eber and Eremon,—how King Laeghairé's Druids foretold his success, and the destruction by him of the pagan system,—the founding of 'Dun-da-leathglas' (now Downpatrick) and of Armagh,—his last illness,—his receiving the communion from the hands of Bishop Tassach,—the wonders that happened at the time of his death,—and of his spirit passing 'into the loving friendship of the Son of Mary'" (O'Curry, *Lect. Man.* and *Cust. Anc. Ir.* ii. 75, which is evidently in favour of acknowledging its authenticity). (On St. Fiacc, see Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 6, § 5; Todd, *St. Patrick* pass. and *Book of Hymns*, Fasc. ii. 287 sq.; *Book of Rights*, by O'Donovan, 194; Duffus Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. ii. 788; Nicolson, *Irish Hist. Libr.* 50; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* ut supra and *Acta SS.* 111, c. 4, 114 n. [13], 115 n. [14], 166, c. 3; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 374, 410, 424–5; and Ind. Chron. A.D. 448; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, iii. 243, 347, 397; Petrie, *Round Towers of Ireland*, 193, 338; Tanner, *Bibl.* 279; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 435 sq.)
[J. G.]

FIACHNA, a diminutive of Fiach, a raven.

(1) It is a name which we find in the Irish Kalendars on March 30 and April 29, but without any distinct identification. The Scholia on the *Felire of Aenghus the Culdee* calls the latter "monk of Mochuda" (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 114 n. [2], 115), and O'Clery (*Ib.* 91) thinks it probable that either one or other of the two Fiachnas may be the person of whom Cuimin of Condeire gave the character, that he never pronounced a bad word, but always a word pleasing to God, and of whom he further suggests that he was, perhaps, of the race of Eoghan, son of Niall.

(2) Fiachna Ua Maicniadh, abbat of Cluainfearta-Brenainn, now Clonfert, county Longford, died A.D. 752 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 747; *Ann. Ult.* 751.)

(3) Companion of Columba. [FECHNO.]
[J. G.]

FIACHRA (FIACHRIUS, gen. from FIACHRACH), (1) abbat of Conwal and Clonard, was widely venerated throughout Ireland on Feb. 8. He had dedications in the county of Kilkenny. In *The Felire of Acngus*, he is praised as "Fiachra—a manly man, the noble abbat of Irard," and he gave the viaticum to St. Comgall, of Bangor [COMGALL (1).] He flourished in the beginning of the seventh century. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 406, c. 5, *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 43; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xv.; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 412; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* iv. 184; *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* ii. 214-15; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 317; Fleming, *Coll. Sacr.* 312–313.)

(2) Son of Fothadh, abbat of Baslick, near Ballintober, county Roscommon, died A.D. 759. (*Four Mast.*)

FIACHRAIDH (FIACHRA), son of Fiacc, is commemorated in the Irish *Martyrologies*, and in the Scoto-Irish *Kalendar of Drummond Missal* on October 12, and specially called the son of St. Fiacc. He was born probably before St. Fiacc met with St. Patrick, and was promoted to the episcopate; but beyond his being commemorated at Sletty, where it is likely that he lived with his father, we know nothing more of his history. [FIACC.] (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 273; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xxxvi.; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 182 n. [204]; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 25.) [J. G.]

FIACRIUS, sometimes FEFRUS, Fr. FIACRE. (Probably Irish-Gaelic *Fiachra* [gen. *Fiachrach*] from *Fiach* a raven, and *-ra* or *-raidh*, a collective suffix. *Fiach* also signifies value, worth, &c.)[a]

Fiacrius, a saint of Gaul, was almost certainly by birth an Irish Celt. Hector Boece, indeed, (*Hist. of Scotland*, ix. 19), claims him as a fellow-countryman, saying that he was a younger son of Eugenius IV. king of Scotland, who withdrew from his father's court out of desire for an ascetic life; but it is far more probable that he was one of the great body of Irishmen who in the 6th and 7th centuries were driven by an impulse of missionary zeal to visit the continent of Europe [MISSIONS, in DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY, p. 1208]. Early in the 7th

[a] For this etymology the writer is indebted to the Rev. James Gammack of Drumlithie.

century he came to Meldae (now Meaux) in the Neustrian kingdom, and presented himself to Faro, the bishop of that see. The bishop assigned him a spot in the woods on his own domain, where he might build his hermitage. There he cleared a space, and built an oratory in honour of St. Mary the Virgin, with a hut near it in which he dwelt. The subsequent history of the saint differs little from that of many of his contemporaries; what we can discern through the cloud of legend which surrounds him is, that his fame spread, and that his chapel became the resort of pilgrims from the neighbouring districts (*Chron. de St. Denys*, in Bouquet, iii. 279). He is said to have died Aug. 30, A.D. 670. His *cultus* (says the Bollandist editor of his life) soon spread far and wide through Gaul, and many chapels were dedicated in his honour in which miracles were believed to be wrought. His name is found on Aug. 30 in many ancient martyrologies, not only Gallican, but also Scotch and Irish. He has an office in many Gallican Breviaries (Mabillon, *Ann. O. S. B.* p. 344), and also in one of Aberdeen (*Acta SS.* 599). In a collection of Irish Masses published at Paris by O'Kenny (1734) is found for Aug. 30 a "Missa S. Fiacrii Confessoris, Hiberniae Principis, ecclesiae et dioecesis Meldensis patroni generalis" (*Acta SS.* 599). The hymns and legends of the Breviaries all agree in the few particulars of his life which are given above, though there is considerable variety in the wonders which they relate. One of the most constant legends, of a woman who reported him to be a sorcerer after witnessing one of his miracles, is evidently intended to account for the fact that women were excluded from his chapels. The real explanation probably is that Fiacrius brought with him from Ireland the Rule of St. Columba, which forbids women to enter a monastic church; and that this restriction was maintained, out of respect for the saint, even when a Benedictine priory rose on the site of his cell. At all events there was a prevalent belief that "all wemen that gangis in his chapell wil be other blind or wod" [mad] (Boece, trans. by Bellendene, ix. 19); and so strong was this belief that even as late as 1641, Anne of Austria, when she went to pay her devotions at his shrine, did not venture to enter the chapel which contained it, but remained outside the grating.

The wonders related of Fiacrius are generally miracles of healing; in particular (Mab. *Acta* § 13), he used to heal those who suffered from a fleshy tumour called *viscus*, and his relics are said to have retained the same power; hence that particular tumour gained the name of "le fic de S. Fiacre."

The name of St. Fiacre is however still better known, as applied to a hackney-carriage. The history of this use of the name appears to be as follows. In the year 1640, one Sauvage first set up in Paris an establishment of carriages for hire. This man rented for the purpose of his business a large house in the Rue St. Martin, called the "Hôtel de St. Fiacre," from an image of the saint, which was over the gateway; from the principal station of the coaches, the name passed to the coaches themselves (Littré's *Dictionnaire*, s. v.). Hefele (*Beiträge zur Archäol.* ii. 299) says that the drivers placed an image of Fiacre on their carriages, and regarded him as their especial patron.

(The authorities for the life of St. Fiacre are found in Surius, viii. 745, ed. Turin, 1877; in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Bened.* saec. ii. p. 598 ff.; and in the Bollandist *Acta SS.* Aug. 30, vol. vi. p. 604 ff. with the *Comment. Praevius* of Stilting. There is a *Histoire de Saint-Fiacre* by A. J. Ansart, Paris, 1782, which the writer has not seen. See also Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* i. 272–274.) [C.]

FIANA, in an Irish Life of St. Barry of Cork, is represented as belonging to a female school which that saint had at Loch Irce, and as giving the last sacrament to him at Cloyne before his death (Caulfield, *Life of St. Fin Barre*, v.). [J. G.]

FIANAMHAIL (FIANAMHLA, FIANNAMHLA), son of Gertide (Gertnide, Gertighe), abbat of Clonard, co. Meath, died A.D. 736 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 731; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 735.) [J. G.]

FIANCHU, abbat of Lughmadh, now Louth, died A.D. 770 (*Four Mast.*), or abbat of Luigne, now Lune, co. Meath, died A.D. 774 (*Ann. Ult.*); evidently both belong to the same individual. [J. G.]

FIANGALACH, son of Anmchadh, son of Maelcuraich, abbat of Inisboffin in Loch Ree, co. Longford, died A.D. 750 (*Four Mast.*). [J. G.]

FIANGUS, abbat of Roscrea, in the barony of Ikerrin, co. Tipperary, died A.D. 805 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 800, i. 411). [J. G.]

FIANNACHTA (FIANACHTACH) of Ferns, co. Wexford, died A.D. 799 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 794, i. 403; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 798). [J. G.]

FIARI, bishop of Agen. [FOEGADUS.]

FIARMUS, bishop of Viseo. [FIRMUS (12).]

FIBICIUS, ST., 22nd bishop of Treves, Nov. 5, succeeding Maximianus and followed by Rusticus. Le Cointe believes him to have been abbat of St. Maximin before his elevation to the episcopate in A.D. 498. (*Annal. Eccl. Franc.* an. 498, n. v. tom. i. p. 201.) His date suggests that he may be identical with the Felix bishop of Treves, who granted permission to St. Goar to build a church in his diocese. (*Vita S. Goaris*, Surius, *de Probat. Sanct. Hist.* Jul. vi. tom. iv. 91; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 335; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 379, 526.) [S. A. B.]

FIDELIS (1), April 21, martyr in the Diocletian persecution, at Edessa with his mother Bassa and his brothers Theogonius and Agapius. Encouraged by the exhortations of Bassa her sons suffered first, and then she also was beheaded. (*Martyr. Rom.* ed. Baron.) [G. T. S.]

FIDELIS (2), Oct. 28, martyr under Maximian, A.D. 304, at Como. (*Martyr. Rom.* ed. Baron.) [G. T. S.]

FIDELIS (3), wife of Pneumatius, and addressed with him in a consolatory poem of considerable length by Paulinus of Nola on the death of her son Celsus. The poem is chiefly on the resurrection of the dead. (Migne, Patrol. Lat. lxi. 688.) [L. D.]

FIDELIS (4), companion of St. Teilo from Armorica in the 6th century, and included among

the clerical witnesses to grants of land to St. Teilo. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 253; *Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 351–52, 365–67; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* vi. 80.) [J. G.]

FIDELIS (5), ST., priest, abbat. [FIDOLUS.]

FIDELIS (6), ST., commonly accepted as bishop of Merida before Masona (who presided at C. Tol. iii. in 589), and placed therefore by Florez between 560 and 571. His life rests entirely upon the testimony of the not very satisfactory piece of writing known as the *Opusc. de Vita et Miraculis Patrum Emeritensium*, and attributed in the MSS. to a certain Paulus Diaconus (not to be confounded of course with his famous namesake of Lombard memory).

Fidelis, according to this life, was the successor and adopted son of Paulus bishop of Merida. A company of Greek merchants visiting Merida were entertained by the bishop, and in return sent him a present by the hands of a boy whom they had brought with them as a servant. The bishop was struck with the boy, asked him his name and history, and discovered that he was his own sister's son. He immediately claimed him from the merchants, sent a message through them to his sister, and thenceforward the boy was brought up at Merida. He was, of course, dedicated to the church, and made a deacon in due time. Paulus in his old age took a strange and uncanonical step with regard to Fidelis. "Hunc sibi successorem elegit, moxque etiam in loco suo se vivente ordinavit, et omnium bonorum suorum haeredem instituit," coupling the legacy with the condition that, if after the death of Paul, the clergy of Merida confirmed the appointment of Fidelis, the money should pass at Fidelis's death to the see of Merida; if they did not confirm it, because of those "insidiae facibus succensi," the money was to remain at Fidelis's absolute disposal.

After Paul's death, what he had foreseen happened. "Quidam pestiferi homines" began to make objections to Fidelis's appointment. The dread, however, of the alienation of Paul's property from the church finally silenced all opposition, and the objectors, "plus inviti licet quam sponte se pedibus ejus prostraverunt." Thus it came about that the church of Merida became equal if not superior in riches to any in Spain. The principal events of Fidelis's pontificate—leaving the miracles out of count—appear to have been the rebuilding of the episcopal palace (atrium), and the restoration of the church of St. Eulalia. The old palace fell just after the bishop and all his clergy had quitted it on their way to Mass. The new house was made far more splendid than the old. Its pavement and walls were adorned with shining marbles. Afterwards the church of St. Eulalia (see Prudentius's famous description of its architecture in the 4th century, *Peristeph.* Hymn 3) was restored in a wonderful manner, and high towers were added to it. At last, after many marvellous appearances of saints and angels, Paul was warned by a vision, seen not by himself but by a certain religious man of the town, of his approaching death. Like St. Fructuosus and St. Isidore, he had himself carried into the church, and there distributed large alms to the poor, remitting, moreover, all debts owing to him, and returning the *chirographa* and *cautiones* he had received on account of them. He died in the church, and was buried with his predecessor.

Seven churches are named as existing in or close to Merida in the life of Fidelis, and others are vaguely mentioned under the general title of *basilicae martyrum*. In the early part of the document, of which this life forms a part, we read of more than one monastery in the immediate neighbourhood of Merida, so that the impression left on the mind is one of the great ecclesiastical importance of the city. No such information remains to us as to the ecclesiastical state of any other Spanish town under the Goths. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiii. 176, 350; Gams, *Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, II. i. 425; Bolland. *AA. SS.* Feb. 1.) [M. A. W.]

FIDELIS (7), according to the list of Muelinen's *Helvetia Sacra* (i. 8), eleventh bishop of Constance, elected A.D. 681 on the death of Gangulphus, and followed by Theobald. His name is omitted from the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (v. 893). [S. A. B.]

FIDELIS (8), an abbat living in Asturias, addressed by Elipandus in a letter, A.D. 785. Beatus, a monk of Asturias, together with Etherius, afterwards bishop of Osma, had exerted themselves with success in combating the Adoptionist views, whereupon Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo, wrote an angry letter to Fidelis, wherein he says "that those who do not confess that Jesus Christ is the adoptive Son according to His humanity, but not according to His divinity, are heretics," and, remarking on the youthfulness of Eterius, compares Beatus to Bonosus the Photinian, and Faustus the Manichee, and finally implores Fidelis to root out the Beatian heresy. In the second book of his answer Beatus calls Fidelis "frater," so that though Elipandus wrote to him as if he was an Adoptionist, he really held the true faith; he is said to have shewn the letter to no other persons besides Beatus and Eterius. (Frober, *Alcuin*, ii. 587, 591, 585; Ceillier, *Aut. Sacr.* xii. 214.) [L. D.]

FIDENTIANUS, an African bishop, present at the council of Carthage, A.D. 416. (Aug. Ep. 175.) [H. W. P.]

FIDENTINUS, Donatist bishop of Gypsaria, a place in Mauretania Caesariensis, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 409, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FIDENTIUS (1), Sept. 27, martyr under Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 304, at Tudertum, in Umbria. They are said to have been born in Cappadocia, whence they came to Rome, where they were converted. Upon the outbreak of persecution they were arrested, tortured, and delivered to the commander of the first cohort for execution. The rest of their story is distorted with legendary miracles. (*Martyr. Rom.* ed. Baron.; Ferrarius, *Catalogus Sanctorum;* Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vii. 479–481.) [G. T. S.]

FIDENTIUS (2), bishop and martyr with twenty others, most probably in the Diocletian persecution. He is, perhaps, the same as Fidentianus, commemorated Nov. 15, in the *Rom. Martyr.* Baronius would identify them with twenty martyrs who suffered at Tarsus, in

Cilicia, but without any sound reason. In fact, all the evidence we possess concerning their history places them in Africa, and connects their martyrdom with Hippo. Within a century from the era of martyrs, A.D. 304, we find their *cultus* firmly established at that city, and honours so lavished upon them as would scarcely be paid to any but local heroes. A splendid church had by that time been erected and dedicated under their name; their Acts were publicly read in the church; sermons were preached about them by St. Augustine himself; and miracles, as he also testifies, were worked by their power. Thus we find by the title of Augustine's sermon 148, on the story of Ananias and Sapphira, that it was preached in the church of the Twenty Martyrs, at Hippo, on the first Sunday after Easter. Sermons 325 and 326 deal with their faith and constancy in suffering. They present us with the very words of the magistrate who endeavours to shake their resolution, as well as with the martyrs' replies, evidently drawn from the official Acts preserved in the provincial registry, as in the case of Felix the reader of Abitina [FELIX (200)]. St. Augustine had a profound belief in their miraculous powers. We therefore find the Twenty Martyrs introduced in the *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xxii. c. 8, to prove that miracles have not ceased since the world believed in Christ. (Ceillier, iii. 95; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 182.) [FLORENTIUS (48).] [G. T. S.]

FIDENTIUS (3), one of the Donatist bishops who petitioned Constantine that some Gallic bishops should be appointed as judges in the case of Caecilianus. (Opt. i. 22.) [H. W. P.]

FIDENTIUS (4), bishop of Cafala, in the proconsular province of Africa; present at the conference between the Catholics and Arians, A.D. 411, where he declared that in his diocese there was no rival Donatist bishop; for, as Valentinian, the deacon of the Donatist archbishop Primian, added, one of the same name as the Catholic bishop had lately died in that see. (Mansi, iv. 110, 266; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 133; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 413, ed. Oberthür.) [L. D.]

FIDENTIUS (5), bishop of Diana (Zanah), a town in the interior of Numidia, north-west of Lambesa (Ant. *Itin.* 34, 3), present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 445, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FIDENTIUS (6), Donatist bishop of Cullita, perhaps Chullu (el Quoll), on the sea-coast of Numidia, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 404, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FIDENTIUS (7), bishop of Tucci (Martos), one of the suffragans of Seville, from about 616 to about 633. His signature appears among those of the second council of Seville (619), at which Isidore and Fulgentius were present, and in 633 his vicar, Centaurus, signs for him at the fourth council of Toledo in the first place among the vicars, as representing the senior bishop of those unable to attend personally. (*Esp. Sagr.* xii. 389; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 355-385.) [M. A. W.]

FIDENTIUS (8), with the consent of the duke of Friuli, founded an episcopal see for himself at Castrum Juliense (Julia Carnica, now destroyed), c. 725, and was followed in the see by Amator. (Paulus Diaconus, vi. 51.) [A. H. D. A.]

FIDENTIUS (9). In the preface to the work of St. Agobard against the Adoptionist opinions and writings of Felix of Urgel, which was composed A.D. 818, the author states that his own work is really a summary of the writings of others on the same point, amongst whom he mentions Fidentius, an ecclesiastical writer otherwise unknown. (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, iv. 572.) [L. D.]

FIDES (1), Aug. 1 (Usuardus and *Rom. Mart.*), June 23 (Notkerus), Sept. 16 (*Bas. Men.* and Symeon Metaphrastes); martyr with her mother, Sophia, and her sisters, Spes and Charitas. [CARITAS.] [G. T. S.]

FIDES (2) (ST. FAITH), Oct. 6; virgin and martyr at Agen in Aquitaine, in the Diocletian persecution, under the president Dacian, 304. Her example encouraged St. Caprasius to endure martyrdom. [CAPRASIUS.] (*Mart. Rom.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi, Notkeri, Rabani; Tillemont, iv. 543, 752; Surius, vii.) Her name of St. Faith was attached to seventeen churches in England besides the crypt of old St. Paul's. In art she is represented with a bundle of rods or a brazen bed in her hands. (J. H. Parker, *Cal. of Angl. Ch.* 121.) [G. T. S.]

FIDHAIRLE Ua Suanaigh, abbat of Rathain (now Rahin), commemorated Oct. 1. After the expulsion of St. Carthach Mochuda (May 14) from Rathain or Rathin near Tullamore in the King's County, about A.D. 630, the place falls nearly out of sight till Fidhairle Ua Suanaigh founds it anew, and becomes its patron. He was brother of Fidhmuine Ua Suanaigh and Fidhgus Ua Suanaigh; also uterine brother of Dichlethe O'Triallaigh, of Aedhan of Cloonoghill, and of Colman Ua Fiachrach of Templeshanbo (*q. v.*). He died A.D. 763 (*Ann. Tig.*), and is said by Mac Firbis to have had a church at Kinsale, co. Cork. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 758, i. 361; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* ii. 256, iv. 99; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Oct. 1; *Mart. Doney.* by Todd and Reeves, 265.) [FIDHMUINE.] [J. G.]

FIDHBHADHACH (1), abbat of Bangor, died A.D. 767 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 762; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 766.)

FIDHBHADHACH (2), Of Cill-Delge, now Kildalkey, co. Meath, died A.D. 753. (*Four Mast.*) [J. G.]

FIDHMUINE (FIMOYNE, FINNGUIN,) Ua Suanaigh of Raithin (now Rahin), commemorated on May 16. With Fidhairle and Fidhgusa his brothers, he was son of Fiodhbhadach, son of Cuduiligh, descended from Fiachra, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin, his mother being Fearamhla or Ferbla, daughter of Dima Dubh, of the same house. Fidhmuine died, according to the accurate entry in the *Ann. Tigernach*, in A.D. 757. The *Ann. Clonmacn.* add slightly to our information: "A.D. 751, Luanus alias Fimoyne O'Swanaye of Rahin, died." He was anchoret at Rahin near Tullamore in the King's County, and is also designated by O'Clery (who however

errs in calling him son of Cuduilech) as of Inis Baithin, now Ennisboyne, in the parish of Dunganstown, co. Wicklow. In the Scoto-Irish *Kalendar of the Drummond Missal* (Bishop Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 13) he is commemorated on the same day and called Finnguin. [J. G.]

FIDIOLUS, bishop of Rennes. [FEBEDIOLUS.]

FIDOLUS (popularly FALE or FIDELE), ST., priest and abbat at or near Troyes in the 6th century, was born of noble parents in the city of Clermont. From his early years he seemed marked out for the service of God, and in due time entered the ranks of the clergy. In an expedition of king Theoderic against his native city he was taken prisoner with many others. As his captors were returning with him through the territory of Troyes, they were met by Aventinus, the abbat of a monastery at or near that city, who had been warned in a vision to ransom Fidolus, and adopt him into his community. Twelve pieces of gold was the sum demanded and paid. By his diligence and obedience in the monastery, Fidolus strove to repay the debt. As time went on he was chosen first to be prior, and then, upon the death of Aventinus, abbat of the foundation. In this office he was remarkable for his meekness and austerity, and his pre-eminent sanctity was attested by numerous miracles. He is commemorated May 16. This account is from a meagre life, first published by Camusat, and afterwards more correctly by the Bollandists. The authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* adjudge it from its style to the close of the 6th century, forty or fifty years after the saint's death. Another life is to be found in Mabillon's *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* evidently of a later date, which amplifies the former only to make it incorrect, as, for instance, where it treats as contemporary Theoderic, the brother of Theodebert, who was reigning in A.D. 596, and Camelianus, the bishop of Troyes who was present at the first council of Orleans in 511. Who the Theoderic of the earlier life may have been, is not clear, but probably he was the eldest son of Clovis I., in which case the expedition will be either that recorded in Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 37, or iii. 14, 15. The site of Fidolus's monastery is also doubtful, some placing it at a little town called Insula on the Seine, about two leagues from Troyes, others within the walls of Troyes, and others again in the suburbs of that city, where afterwards a church in honour of St. Aventinus was built. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 588; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 196, Venice, 1733; Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens*, iii. 406; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 415, 416; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 531.) [S. A. B.]

FIDUS (1), African bishop, applied to Cyprian and Council, (1) to complain of bishop Therapius having readmitted to lay communion a lapsed presbyter, Victor, before due and sufficient penance. (2) To state, and to ask for an affirmation of, his opinion that infants ought not to be baptized within two or three days of their birth, alleging both the law of circumcision, and stating that it was repugnant to the feelings to give the kiss of peace to a newborn child. Cyprian replies to Fidus for the council (3rd Carth. A.D. 258), (1) censuring, but declining to reverse the action of Therapius; (2) disagreeing with Fidus, both as to the law and the sentiment. (Cyp. Ep. LXIV.) The Epistle very useful to Augustine in his controversy with Pelagians. [E. W. B.]

FIDUS (2), bishop of Joppa, one of the fourteen bishops who took part in the synod summoned by Eulogius, metropolitan of Caesarea, at Diospolis, A.D. 416, stigmatized by Jerome as "a miserable little synod," in which Pelagius was acquitted of heresy (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 1532; August. *contr. Julian.* c. 5). We find Fidus afterwards at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, at which he warmly espoused the cause of Cyrillus, whose letter against Nestorius he declared to be such as might have been written by the Holy Spirit Himself (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 468), while that of Nestorius was far removed from the truth, and approached very near the evil doctrine of Paul of Samosata (*ibid.* 477). He signed the sentence of deposition against Nestorius (*ibid.* 540), and the anathema against any who should compose another creed (*ibid.* 690). Fidus visited the celebrated solitary, St. Euthymius, at his laura, in company with his nephew Fidus, afterwards bishop of Dor, and Anastasius, afterwards patriarch of Jerusalem. (Cyrill. Scythop. *Vita S. Euthym.* c. 60.) [E. V.]

FIDUS (3), bishop of Dor in Palaestina Prima, nephew of the preceding. He, while still a lector, accompanied his uncle, the bishop of Joppa, and Anastasius, on a visit to St. Euthymius (Cyrill. Scythop. *Vita S. Euthym.* c. 60). He was ordained deacon by Anastasius immediately after he became bishop of Jerusalem, A.D. 458, was despatched to Euthymius to request him to allow him to visit him, and shew the truth of his prophecies of his elevation to the episcopate (*ibid.* 96). [ANASTASIUS.] On the death of Euthymius he accompanied Anastasius, as his deacon, to his obsequies, and was left by him at the laura to erect a suitable tomb (*ibid.* 110, 111). Having been despatched by Martyrius, bishop of Jerusalem, to Constantinople with letters to the emperor Zeno and the bishop Acacius relative to the Aposchistae, on his voyage out he was shipwrecked at midnight, and having given himself up for lost he saw a vision of Euthymius, who told him that the journey he proposed would bring no advantage to the church, and that he was to return home, and assure Martyrius that the schismatics would soon return to the unity of the church. He also commissioned Fidus to convert his laura into a coenobium, to be erected around his sepulchre (*ibid.* 113–115). In obedience to the vision, with the sanction and aid of the patriarch, he pulled down the scattered cells and erected a monastery, of which Cyrillus gives a lengthened description (*ibid.* 116–121), which was dedicated with great pomp by Martyrius, A.D. 484 (*ibid.* 122). In that or the following year, Fidus became bishop of Dor (*ibid.*). Nothing more is known of him. He died before A.D. 518. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 575.) [E. V.]

FIGULUS, an ecclesiastical writer, known only from the citations by Smaragdus abbat of Saint Mihel (9th century) in his sermons on the Epistles and Gospels for the year, which are abridgments of the writings of twenty fathers of the church. Between Isidore of Seville and Bede he places Figulus; perhaps the name is corrupted.

(*Hist. Litt. de la France*, iv. 444; Ceillier, *Aut. Sacr.* xii. 256.) [L. D.]

FILACRIUS (Hilarius), bishop of Novara, 552. For his tombstone and epitaph, see Cappelletti. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiv. 447; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 693.) [A. H. D. A.]

FILBRITH, bishop of London. [Eadberht.]

FILEAS (Usuard. *Mart.* Feb. 4), bishop of Thmuis. [Phileas.] [C. H.]

FILETUS, apparitor to the office of the court of Africa, mentioned in the history of Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 344, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FILIANUS, fifth bishop of Soissons. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 332.) [R. T. S.]

FILIARGIUS, bishop, who subscribed the third council of Arles in 461. (Isid. Mercat. in Pat. Lat. cxxx. 382.) [C. H.]

FILIBERTUS (Alcuin, Carm. 76, *Opp.* ii. 212, ed. Froben), abbat and founder of the monastery of Jumiéges. [Philibertus.] [C. H.]

FILIMIRUS (Filmirus), bishop of Lamego in Lusitania, signing the acts of the eighth council of Toledo in 653, and of the tenth in 656. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 158; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448, iv. 158.) [M. A. W.]

FILLAN, with Felan, Filan, and Phillan, seems to be the Scotch form of the Irish Faelan, and the person so named at Strathfillan was no doubt an Irishman, yet as his legend is purely Scotch, and his name of St. Fillan is associated with a memorable epoch in Scotch history, it seems best to treat him under this designation. For the sake of clearness, however, it may be mentioned that two Irish saints of the same name had their churches in Perthshire, viz.: Faelan Amlobhar, of Rath-erann (June 20), whose dedication is at St. Fillan's in the parish of Comrie, at the east end of Loch Earn, [Faelan, (1)], and Faelan Maosgna or Moescna who is the present St. Fillan of St. Fillan's in the *quoad sacra* parish of Strathfillan, which is part of the extensive parish of Killin. His legend is given in *Brev. Aberdon.* (Prop. SS. pars hyem. ff. xxvi.–vii.), and quoted at length by Bishop Forbes (*Kal. Scott. Saints*, 342–43). The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Jan. 9, tom. i. 594–95) have a notice, "De S. Filano sive Felano Abbate in Scotia," mostly taken from Camerarius and Boethius, with the *Chron. Pasel.* and *Brev. Aberd.* Colgan (*Acta SS.* 49) has a memoir similarly compiled; so also Baring-Gould (*Lives of the Saints*, Jan. 9, i. 127–28); and O'Hanlon (*Irish Saints*, i. 134–44) devotes to his Life an article of three chapters, and treats it with great fulness and lucidity.

Fillan was a son of Feradach, or Feriath, of the race of Fiatach Finn, by Kentigerna, daughter of Cellach Cualann, king of Leinster. The date of Fillan is very doubtful, as his legend is evidently full of anachronisms, introduced in order to magnify the saint. The Bollandists follow Camerarius in placing him in the 7th century, and Colgan suggests the beginning of the 9th, but the middle of the 8th seems the most probable date for his death. His chief dedications were at Killin and Strathfillan, where his memory was cherished and miraculous gifts zealously resorted to, specially in mental diseases, till even a late date (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* new ser. iv. 259 sq.). His cave is shewn at Pittenween, Fifeshire; his name is found corrupted in Killellan, near Lochalsh, in Ross-shire, and Killallan, an old parish in Renfrewshire; and his wells in other places may mark dedications. (For his dedications, see Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 344–46; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 139.) There are three of St. Fillan's relics of special interest, viz. his arm, bells, and crozier. (*a*) The estimation in which St. Fillan was held in Scotland was greatly enhanced by the part he was supposed to take in procuring for the Scots the victory at Bannockburn, he and his arm having been specially venerated before the battle, as related in Bellenden's *Boece*, ii. 390 sq., and as attested by the subsequent gifts to St. Fillan at the priory built and dedicated to St. Fillan at Strathfillan (*Ulst. Journ. Arch.* ii. 213–4; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xii. 122 sq.). (*b*) The Coygerach, Quigerach, Quigrich, or Pastoral Staff of St. Fillan, which was carefully preserved till a recent date at Killin in the custody of the hereditary keepers named Dewar, who had it by regular infeftment, and who carried it with them to Canada, has been brought back to Scotland, and was presented to the National Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on March 22, 1877, when the late Dr. John Stuart, secretary of the society, read a long, learned, and very interesting paper on St. Fillan's crozier and on his legend generally. (For the literature of the Coygerach, see *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* ii. 12–5, iii. pt. ii. 233–34, xii. 121, 122 sq.; *Spald. Cl. Miscell.* iii. pp. xxi. 237; Wilson, *Preh. Ann. Scot.* 664–65; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 366–67; *Archaeol. Scot.* iii. 289; C. Innes, *Sket. Ear. Scot. Hist.* 389–94, 623–24; *Black Book of Taymouth*, xxxv.–vii.; Chambers, *Encyclopaedia*, iv. 324–25, and *Book of Days*, i. 78–9; *Rec. Priory Isl. May*, lxxi.) (*c*) There are two famous bells of St. Fillan, viz. the Buidhean at Strowan, and the bell which was stolen by an English traveller in 1798 from the gravestone on which it had lain from time immemorial in the churchyard of Strathfillan, Perthshire, and after being out of sight for seventy years was recovered by the late Bishop Forbes of Brechin, and the earl of Balcarres in 1869, and is now preserved in the above-named Museum, Edinburgh. (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* i. 18–22, viii. 265–76; *Old Stat. Acc. Scot.* xvii. 377–78; Wilson, *Preh. Ann. Scot.* 345–6, 662–63.) [J. G.]

FILLEUL, bishop of Rouen. [Flavius (6).]

FILMIRUS, bishop of Lamego. [Filimirus.]

FILOCALUS, FURIUS DIONYSIUS, calligrapher to pope Damasus. The Damasine inscriptions in the catacombs are formed in letters of peculiar beauty, so that a fragment belonging to one of them can be easily recognized (see Vol. I. p. 784). What is known as the Liberian catalogue of the popes formed part of a collection made in the year 354, the ornamented title-page of which bore the inscription "Furius Dionysius Filocalus titulavit." Mommsen

(*Ueber den Chronographen vom Jahre* 354; *Abhandlungen der königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft*, i. 585) identified the writer with the artist of a Damasine fragment preserved at the Vatican, "Scribsit Furius Dion." All possibility of doubt was removed in 1856 by the discovery (De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, i. 116) of the epitaph of pope Eusebius, ending—

> Scribsit Furius Dionysius Filocalus,
> Damasis [Damasi sui, *De Rossi*] pappae cultor atque amator.

De Rossi gives the name Filocalian to the collection just mentioned, objecting to Mommsen's designation by the year 354 on the ground that what was done in that year was in substance the reproduction of a work made twenty years previously. [See CHRONICA HOROSII.] [G. S.]

FILOLOCIUS (PHILOLOCIUS), bishop of Adrumetum, the capital of Byzacene, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 403, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FILTERIUS, a Gallic bishop (see unknown), is one of those to whom the letter of pope Celestine, on behalf of Prosper and Hilary, is addressed. (Ceillier, *Aut. Sac.* x. 277.) [R. T. S.]

FILTIOSUS, bishop of Agger in the Byzacene province of Africa, one of the Catholic bishops summoned to Carthage for a conference with the Arians by the Vandal king Hunneric, and subsequently banished A.D. 484. He is identified by some with Fusculus, one of the bishops who were severely beaten by Hunneric before their banishment. (Victor Vit. *de Pers. Vandal.* ii. 21; *Not. ad.* 57; Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 72.) [L. D.]

FILUMENUS, a Donatist, perhaps a bishop, who, after the decision of the Roman Court of Inquiry in favour of Caecilianus, requested the emperor that he should be detained, for peace' sake, at Brescia, while Eunomius and Olympias were despatched to Africa to ascertain the true position of the rival parties. (Vol. I. 368; Opt. i. 25.) [H. W. P.]

FIMOYNE. [FIDHMUINE.]

FINAN, FINNAN. This name assumes a great variety of forms, and, being radically the diminutive of Finn (white), is the Irish equivalent of the Latin albinus. It is found as Finan, Finnan, Finnen, Finden, Finnia, Finian, Finnian, Findian, either simply or with a Latin termination; there is also Finnio, Vinnio, and Vinnianus, to which the Scotch add Wynnin, the Italian Fridian and Frigidian, and the Irish Findbarr or Finnbharr. It was a favourite name in Irish Monasticism. [FINNIAN, FRIDIAN, and WYNNIN.]

(1) Son of Erannán, is commemorated in the Irish Kalendars on Feb. 12, having died A.D. 676 (*Ann. Tig.*). O'Conor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* iv. 60 n. [4]) seeks to identify him with that St. Finan, the "soldier of Christ," who, after being present at the battle of Druim-ceatt, A.D. 563, "blamelessly led the life of an anchoret for many years near Durrow," and survived to tell St. Adamnan (*St. Columb.* i. c. 49) the events of the battle. But evidently the dates will not admit of this, and Dr. Reeves (*Adamnan*, 96) seems to prefer Colgan's suggestion (*Tr. Thaum.* 380 n. [103]) that the anchoret was Finan Lobhar. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 505; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 47; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xv.; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 284 n. [f].)

(2) Son of Fergna, Oct. 4, disciple of St. Fintan of Clonenagh. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 352, c. 19; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 518, 588.)

(3) Son of Pipan, of Rath, commemorated Nov. 25. He was son of Pipan, son of Amalgaidh, of the race of Conal Gulban; he thus was brother of St. Failbhe (Mar. 22), who died A.D. 679, the eighth abbat of Iona. His church was at Rath or Tempul-Ratha, in Cinel-Conaill, and is now known as Raymunterdoney, in the county of Donegal (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 46, c. 1, and *Tr. Thaum.* 380 n. [103], 481 n. [21], 490 n. [60]; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 376, who says he is locally called Peenan).

(4) Son of Rimhidh, bishop, commemorated on Jan. 8. Of this person no particulars are known, and yet he must have been one of much importance, as he is mentioned in all the Irish *Annals and Martyrologies*; he died A.D. 660 (*Ann. Tig.*). At A.D. 656, the *Ann. Clonmacn.* calls him "Fynian mac Rivea Bushop." He may possibly be the bishop of Lindisfarne, who is commemorated on the following day, and died in the year 661 [FINAN (7)]. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 133, 144; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 11; Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 71, 250, 347.)

(5) Cam, of Ceann-Eitigh, now Kinnitty. There are three lives of this saint mentioned by Hardy (*Descrip. Cat.* i. 127–28, 788). Born at Corca Duibhne, now Corkaguiny, in Kerry, he was early associated with St. Brendan (May 6) of Clonfert, whose pupil he is said to have been, and with St. Senan (Mar. 1–8) of Iniscathy or Scattery Island, to whom he appears to have been related. He belongs to the 6th century, and his monastery is believed to have been destroyed by the northern pirates. But a bee-hive house of Cyclopean style preserves the memory of his sojourn in Kerry; it "is situated on Church Island, in Lough Lee or Curraun Lough, on the boundary of the baronies of Iveragh and Dunkerrin, in the county of Kerry, and four miles to the north of Derrynane abbey, in Irish Doire Fhionáin, which derives its name from the saint." His name is also preserved in Rahinnane, Finan's rath or fort, now a townland near Ventry. (Petrie, *Round Towers*, 130–1; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* viii. 430; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 525, c. 20, 529 n. [16], 534, c. 27, 540 n. [21], and *Tr. Thaum.* 380 n. [103]; Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 3rd ed. 148; Nicolson, *Ir. Hist. Libr.* 46.)

(6) Lobhar (The Leper), of Swords, Mar. 16. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Mart. 16, tom. ii. 439–42) give, after a learned commentary as preface, a life of St. Finan (communicated by Henry Fitzsimon, but belonging to the 11th century). He was a native of Ely O'Carrol, in King's County, and flourished after the middle of the 6th century. He is connected with four Irish dedications; (*a*) Swords, near Dublin. (*b*) Innisfallen, an island in Lough Lein or the lower Lake of Killarney, in Kerry. (*c*) Ardfinan, in the county of Tipperary; he has

probably given his name also to Kilfinane, in Limerick, where his well remains and his festival was celebrated. (*d*) Clonmore; probably the Clonmore in Carlow. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 215, 276–77, 627–28, and *Tr. Thaum.* 349, 400, 404, 451 n. [80], 490 n. [59], 509, c. 7; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 11, § 10, iii. c. 18, § 3; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 279; Ware, *Ir. Ant.* c. 26; *Mon. Hib.* 60, 68; Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 3 ed. 147–48, 2 ser. 78. In Scotland he had dedications at Elan Finan or Sunart, Argyleshire; Mochrum, Wigtonshire; Migvie, Aberdeenshire; Abersnetheck in Monymusk, Aberdeenshire; and perhaps Kilfinan, Argyleshire, but some count Finan of Lindisfarne, its patron. In the Dunkeld Litany he is called Finnanach among the holy bishops, or Finnane in the list of holy abbats. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, pp. lviii. lx. 347; C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. 14–5, 49, 199.)

[J. G.]

FINAN (7) (Finanus, Finnan), a monk of Hii, or Iona, who succeeded Aidan, in A.D. 652, as bishop of Lindisfarne. He was ordained in Scotland, according to the rite of the Columban church, of which he was a member, and was sent to Lindisfarne when the vacancy took place. Finan rebuilt the church "more Scottorum," and made it worthy, as Bede says, to be the seat of a bishopric. The standard was not a high one. The church was constructed only of oaken planks, thatched with reeds. This was afterwards dedicated by archbishop Theodore in honour of St. Peter. (Bed. iii. 25; Symeon, *H. E. D.* i. 4.) Aidan and Finan had under their charge the whole of Northumbria. The mission of archbishop Paulinus came to an end in A.D. 633, and, after a brief interval, the monks of Hii stepped in, and worked the neglected diocese. Lindisfarne was selected to be the seat of the bishopric instead of York, because it was nearer to Hii, and in its situation was the counterpart of that island. The missionaries also had a fuller scope there for their ascetic life than they could have found in the old Roman capital. The system carried out at Lindisfarne was that of Columba at Hii. The monastery was governed by an abbat, selected by the bishop, with the consent of the brethren, and all the clergy inside and outside the monastery, including the bishop, observed the monastic rule. (Bed. *Vita Cuth.* c. 16; Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 157–159.) The system was then at its best. Missionary exertion extended far and wide, and its fruits were visible in the numbers who were baptized and educated, in the churches that were built, in the monasteries which were founded and endowed. (Bed. *H. E.* iii. 3.)

Finan had two great missionary successes beyond the boundaries of Northumbria. Peada, son of Penda, king of Mercia, sought the hand of Alchfleda, a daughter of Osuiu of Northumbria. Osuiu made the adoption of Christianity by the suitor and his people the condition of his consent to the union. Peada assented, being chiefly influenced by Alchfrid, Osuiu's son, who was already his brother-in-law. He was baptized therefore by Finan, with all his suite, in one of the royal vills near the Tyne. Bede calls it *Ad Murum*, which is probably Benwell. Four priests, Cedd, Adda, Betti, and Diuma, went back with Peada as missionaries. Of these, Diuma was ordained afterwards by Finan, as the first bishop of the mid-English and Mercia. (*H. E.* i.i. 21.) The special connexion between Northumbria and Mercia, in addition to the over-lordship of Osuiu, contributed largely, no doubt, to this religious victory. Another triumph followed. Sigebert, king of the East Saxons, was converted to Christianity by Osuiu, and was also baptized by Finan at *Ad Murum*. Sigebert asked for missionaries, and Cedd was sent to him from Mercia. On one occasion, when Cedd, who had been a monk of Lindisfarne, returned home to confer with Finan his superior, his old master, pleased with his success, sent for two other prelates and ordained him bishop. (*H. E.* iii. 22.)

Finan was of course a rigorous observer of the Columban method of observing Easter. Whenever anyone came into Northumbria from France or Kent, Finan invariably heard that his practice was at variance with the Roman usage. There were some in Northumbria who upheld that use, such as James the Deacon, whom Paulinus had left behind him, queen Eanfleda with her chaplain and suite, and, notably, an ecclesiastic of the name of Ronan, who, although a Scot by birth, had learned in France or Italy the incorrectness of the Northumbrian practice. With Finan Ronan had many an argument on the subject, but in vain. Bede says that Finan had a "ferox animus," which was impervious to reason. (*H. E.* iii. 25.)

Finan died on the 31st August, A.D. 661. There is a notice of him in the *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 21, founded chiefly upon Bede. See also Colgan's *Acta SS. Hiberniae*, i. 357; Hardy's *Catalogue*, i. pt. 1, 259; and Forbes's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, 348–9. Finan's opposition to Rome deprived him of a place in the Roman calendar. He is to be found, however, in the old Scottish lists, and there is a notice of him in the *Aberdeen Breviary*. [J. R.]

FINAN (8), abbat of Clones, in the barony of Dartry, co. Monaghan, succeeded Nuada, A.D. 751, and died A.D. 778 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 773; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 777). [J. G.]

FINBAR. [Barry and Finnbhar.]

FINBIL, abbess of Cluain-Bronaigh, now Clonbronay, in the barony of Clonard, co. Longford, succeeded Ellbrigh in 785 as the fifth abbess, and died in 809 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 804; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 808). [J. G.]

FINCAN, FINCANA (Fincane, Fintana, Frinseca), Oct. 13, daughter of St. Donald of the Glen of Ogilvie, in Forfarshire; probably in the beginning of the 8th century. She is the patron saint of Echt, Aberdeenshire, and perhaps has given her name to Kilfinichen in Mull, in Argyleshire (C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. pt. i. 314), but Dr. Reeves (*Adamnan*, 66) thinks St. Finchan has a preferable claim. (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 278; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 168; Boethius, *Scot. Hist.* ix. c. 25; *View Dioc. Aberd.* 636; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott Saints*, 135, 164, 214, 239, 347. [J. G.]

FINCHAN (Findchan, Finnchan), commemorated Mar. 11. In the Irish kalendars there are five saints of this name, and the *Mart. Tallaght* calls the one commemorated on Mar. 11, Finnchan ainc i finemh, or

"Finnchan of long-continued sufferings." Finchan had come with St. Columba from Ireland, and so approved himself as to be made overseer of the monastery at Artchain in Tiree. There he ruled prudently for some years, till returning to Ireland he met with Aedh Dubh, a notoriously cruel and bloody man. When Finchan came back to Artchain he had Aedh with him, having, as is said by Colgan, induced Aedh to give up the royal crown for the monk's cowl. So high was his opinion of his penitent, that in the course of time he sent for a distant bishop to have him ordained, and laid his right hand upon the head of Aedh along with the ordaining bishop's. This sacrilegious ordination was severely denounced by St. Columba. Finchan wiped out the stain of his crime by suffering, but the date of his death is unknown. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 346, c. 36, 379 n. [79], 426, c. 97, 490 n. [65], 502, col. 1; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 11, § 14; Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq.* 279, and *Adamnan*, 69–71, with the elaborate notes on the whole procedure; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 7–10; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, 93; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 347–8; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 94, 130; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, &c.* ii. pt. i. 107.) His name is found in Kilfinichen or Killinchine, in the island of Mull, and his chair is pointed out above the church; his Scotch name is St. Fink, and under that designation Bendochy, Perthshire, is dedicated to him. (C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. pt. i. 314; *Old Stat. Acc. Scot.* xix. 342, 359; *New Stat. Acc. Scot.* Argyle, 296–97; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 66, 145; Scott. *Fast. Eccl. Scot.* iii. pt. i. 83; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 347–48.) [J. G.]

FINCHELL (FINCHEALL, FINNCHEALL, FINNOHELL, FINDCHE, FINNCHE) was commemorated at Sliabh-Guaire, now Slieve-Gory, a mountainous district in the barony of Clankee, co. Cavan, on Jan. 25, but is otherwise unknown. She may also be the Fincheall, virgin, of April 24. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 27, 421; *Mart. Tall.* in Kelly, *Cal. Irish Saints*, xiii.; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 437.) [J. G.]

FINCHU (FINNCHU, FINNCHUA, FINNCHUO), son of Finlogh, of Brigown, commemorated Nov. 25. His Life in Irish is preserved in the *Book of MacCarthy Reagh*, a MS., now better known as the *Book of Lismore*. Finchu was baptized by St. Ailbhe, was a pupil of St. Comgall (May 10), and was seven years in the abbacy of Bangor after St. Comgall, but there is no mention of him as such in the Irish *Annals*, and Sillanus or Silvanus is given (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 423; *Mart. Doneg.* Feb. 28) as St. Comgall's immediate successor. His name seems to have been originally Chua, with the surname Finn, and by transposition Finnchua. His life was one of extreme austerity in accordance with the spirit of his age or the ideas of a later date (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 317–19; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 381, referring to Fleming, *Coll. Sac.* 314). In the *Felire of Aengus* he is said to have settled at Croich, co. Monaghan, but his chief residence was at Bri-gobhann, now Brigown, near Fermoy, in the baronies of Condons and Clangibbon, co. Cork. (*Book of Obits, C. C. Dublin*, pp. lxxxiv.–v. 182.) [J. G.]

FINCON (SINCON, *Ann. Tig.* A.D. 757), abbat of Lismore, co. Waterford, died A.D. 757. (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 756.) [J. G.]

FINGAL (FINGHAL), of Lismore, co. Waterford, died A.D. 746 (*Ann. Tig.; Four Mast.* A.D. 741; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 745). [J. G.]

FINGAR (GWINEAR, WYNNER), ST., an Irish saint who gave his name to the parish of Gwinear, close to the Hayle estuary in Cornwall. There is a "passio" of him and his sister Piala, falsely attributed to St. Anselm. (Migne, *Anselm*, ii. 326–334.) It was written at the request of some member of St. Fingar's church, perhaps in the 12th century, the age of religious biographies and commemorative legends. It is quite unhistorical, except perhaps so far as the names are concerned. The name Gwinear gives the Cymric form of the word meaning "white," which in Irish is Finn. The legend makes Fingar to be one of St. Patrick's converts in Ireland, a son of king Clito, who in anger drives him out, and he flies to Brittany. After returning, he again sets out with his sister Piala, and lands in the port of Hayle, where they suffer martyrdom at the hands of king Theodoric, and a sacred fountain still marks the spot. This may have taken place about 450. (See the *Acta Sanctorum*, 23 March, iii. 456–59, and supplem. 144; Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, i. 59, No. 167.) It is possible that a different life was seen by Leland. (*Itin.* ed. 1744, vol. iii. fol. 4.) [C. W. B.]

FINGINN (FINGHIN), son of Fiachra, has his obit given in the *Irish Annals* at A.D. 619 (*Ann. Tig.; Four Mast.* A.D. 614; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 618). [J. G.]

FINIAN. [FINAN and FINNIAN.] Finianus Scotus, abbas Culdeus, is said by Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 286) to have flourished A.D. 402, and written *De Vita S. Eusebii*, lib. i. He is commemorated Feb. 22 (Tanner, *Bibl.* 280), but he is probably a reflexion, in Dempster's hands, of St. Finnian, bishop of Clonard, who had a commemoration on Feb. 23. [J. G.]

FINIAN, abbat of Swords. [FINAN (6).]

FINK. [FINCHAN.]

FINLAGAN, a saint having dedications in Argyleshire. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 348.) [FINNLUGH.] [J. G.]

FINNBHAR is variously represented as BAIRRE, BARRE, BARRINDUS, BARRY, FINBAR, and FINDBAR; it is also equivalent to FINAN, FINNIAN, &c., and literally means "light-haired." This variety of synonymous names is a cause of great confusion and difficulty. [FINAN.] (Reeves, *Adamnan*, 103; Caulfield, *Life of St. Fin Barre*, 11, n. [b].) (1) Son of Aedh, of Inis-doimble, abbat, commemorated July 4. This saint, who is to be distinguished from Barry of Cork [BARRY], being of the race of Eochaidh Finn Fothart, and family of St. Brigida, was abbat of Inis-Doimble, now Little Island, near Waterford. St. BARRFINN was his brother (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 187, 299). He was a companion of St. Moechoemocus, and with many others is said to have been trained under

St. Comgall of Bangor, so that he would belong to the beginning of the 7th century (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 590, c. 11, 597 n. [14]). Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 17, § 5) suggests that Inis-Doimble may really have been Inishlounaght, co. Tipperary, where St. Mochoemocus for some time lived.

(2) Mac Ua Bairdene does not find a place in the Irish Kalendars or in the *Felire of Aenghus*, yet his death is given in the *Four Mast.* and *Ann. Ult.* in the year 437. If he was a son of Restitutus, the Lombard, who is said to have been brother-in-law of St. Patrick, he yet is never quoted among the nephews of the apostle of Ireland. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. p. 132 n. [k]; Petrie, *Round Towers*, 166–67; Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 226 n. [6]; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 381 sq.) [J. G.]

FINNCHAN. [FINCHAN.]

FINNCHU, FINNCHUA, FINNCHUO. [FINCHU.]

FINNE, priest of Druim-licce, is commemorated on Feb. 9, and is, O'Hanlon thinks, of an early date. His dedication is probably now Drumlease, co. Leitrim. (See an interesting account of the place and its patrician foundation in O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 433–37.) [J. G.]

FINNIA, FINDIA. On Sept. 28 the *Felire of Aenghus* commemorates "the two shining Finnias," and the second hand inserts the name in *Mart. Doneg.* (by Todd and Reeves, 261), but their history is unknown. One called Fine or Finnia died abbess of Kildare, A.D. 805 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 800; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 804; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 152); and another was sister of St. Ita or Mida, daughter of Cennfaeladh (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 73, c. 2). [J. G.]

FINNIAN, FINDIAN, FINIAN, FINNEN. Among the Irish saints in the sixth century a foremost place is held by the two Finnians, who connected the period of St. Patrick and St. Brigida with that of St. Columba and St. Comgall. The word Finnian appears to be the diminutive of Finn, 'white,' and as a name has a great variety of forms. [See FINAN and FINNBHAR.]

(1) Of Clonard, bishop or abbat, commemorated Dec. 12. This early Irish saint, the master of so many Christian teachers, has a place in all the Irish Kalendars, and is commemorated in the Scotch *Kal. Drummond.*, *Kal. Celt.*, and *Mart. Aberd.* (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 36, 92, 137). Colgan (*Acta SS.* 393 sqq.) has published one life "ex codice MS. Salmanticensi," and the special office of St. Finnian; Hardy (*Descript. Cat.* i. pt. i. 128–29, pt. ii. 789) notices four Lives of St. Finnian, and Nicholson (*Irish Hist. Lib.* 46) refers to a Life in Trin. Coll. Dublin. A Life in Irish is in a thick quarto volume, among other Irish Lives, in the Burgundian Library at Brussels (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* iii. 485).

St. Finnian was descended from Ailill Telduib, from whom he had the designation Ui-Telduib; his mother was named Talech; he was a native of Leinster. For deeper insight into spiritual truth he crossed the Irish Channel to the city of Kilmuine or Menevia, and placed himself under SS. David, Cathmael, and Gildas, with whom some say he remained thirty years, but the time was probably much shorter. During that time he is said to have founded three churches, which are now entirely unknown, unless one of them be Llanfinan subject to Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog, Anglesey (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 239–40; Williams, *Em. Welshm.* 155–56). Returning to Ireland he is said to have founded several churches, his chief foundation being at Clonard, in the county of Meath, from which scholars came out in as great numbers, in the words of Ussher, as Greeks of old from the sides of the horse of Troy. The usual number ascribed is three thousand, and O'Clery (*Mart. Doneg.*), following Mar. O'Gorman, calls him "a doctor of wisdom, and tutor of the saints of Ireland in his time." He is always known as "the preceptor of the twelve apostles of Ireland" (Todd, *St. Patrick*, 99 n. [1]; Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* i. 208). It is now impossible to establish the date of his commencing his work at Clonard, but considering the celebrity to which it attained, and the dates of those connected with it, it could scarcely have been later than A.D. 520. Even his ecclesiastical position there is undetermined; in the later accounts of him he is called, as by Ware, bishop of Clonard, but the probability is that he was never more than abbat, and it is noteworthy that neither in his *Acts*, nor in the Irish *Kalendars* is he called a bishop. Ware says he wrote some *Prelections* and other things, but nothing is extant. He is reported to have preached before St. Brigida, visited St. Enna at Aran, prophesied the birth of St. Columba of Iona, and received the viaticum from St. Columba of Tirdaglas. He died in the year 550 (*Ann. Tig.*), or 552, when so many died of the cron-chonaill, or yellow jaundice, and was buried at Clonard. His chief feast is Dec. 12, but he is also commemorated on Feb. 23.

(2) Of Moville, bishop, Feb. 11 and Sept. 10. In the more purely Scotch Kalendars he is commemorated as Wynnin, also Femin, Vimin, and Vinnin. By the Welsh he is called Winnin. There seems to be little doubt but Finnian of Moville and Wynnin of Kilwinning in Ayrshire are the same person. But the same cannot be said of Fridian bishop of Lucca. [FRIDIAN.] Capgrave (*Nov. Leg. Angl.* fol. cxlvii. b) gives an English or British Life of "St. Finan, bp. and confess.," and there seems to be a life or lives preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* iii. 480, 485). For the rest we are obliged to have recourse to the lives of St. Fridian and contemporary Irish churchmen.

St. Finnian of Moville, near Newtown-Ards, co. Down, belongs to the second order of the Irish saints, and is venerated as the patron saint of Ulster, especially in the county of Down. His father was Cairpre, of the royal house of the Dal Fiatach, his mother was Lassara or Lassair (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 649, c. 5; Todd, *Book of Hymns*, Fasc. i. 99 n. [d]). His education was first under Colman of Dromore, co. Down; by whom he was next recommended to the school of St. Caelan or Mochaoi of Nendrum (now Mahee island, in Strangford Lough), who died A.D. 497. St. Mochaoi sent him to the Magnum Monasterium in Britain, to be under bishop Nennio. The late Dr. Todd (*Book of Hymns*, Fasc. i. 103–8) concluded that that monastery, called also Futerna, Rosnat, and Candida Casa, was the

celebrated foundation of St. Ninian at Whithern, Wigtonshire (see also Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 9, n. [17]; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 48–53). From the school of Nennio he proceeded to Rome, and (according to the *Life* by Capgrave) staying seven years there was promoted to the priesthood. On returning to his native country, he formed a celebrated school at Moville, at which most of the chief Christian teachers were educated. This institution is of peculiar interest as carrying on the tradition of St. Ninian at Whithern, while that of Clonard derived its tradition of learning from the Welsh schools. Both influences were at work simultaneously in forming the minds of the future Irish teachers and missionaries, as the custom then was to make a circuit of the schools. Of Finnian's consecration to the episcopate we have no account. He was one of the chief preceptors of St. Columba, and is always mentioned by St. Adamnan (*Vit. St. Columbae*, ii. c. 1, iii. c. 4) with the deepest respect. The beauty of his sacred books seems to have been very noticeable, and the affection he had for them brought him into collision with two other famous ecclesiastics in ways peculiarly characteristic of the period, and to have given rise to a war which sent Scotland its greatest teacher. (For the dispute about St. Columba's copy of the Psalter, made from St. Finnian's manuscript against his will, and for the consequences attendant on the decision, see COLUMBA (1); and for the legend told of the same St. Finnian refusing to lend St. Fintan of Dunbleisch a copy of his Gospels, see FINTAN (6).) The year of his death is stated in the Irish Annals with only slight variation, and probably was A.D. 579 (*Ann. Tig.*). His great foundation was Moville, but he is also named as the founder of Dromin, co. Louth, and here the dispute between him and St. Columba concerning the manuscript is said to have occurred. (Todd, *St. Patrick*, 102–6, 120–21, and *Book of Hymns*, i. 97–108; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 151, 188, 380, and *Adamnan*, lxxii. lxxiv., 103, 198; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 192–95; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 522–23; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 45, 243; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 396–97, ii. 486.) [J. G.]

FINNLUGH (FINNLOG, FINNLOGA). Son of Diman, of Tamlacht-Finnlogha, Jan. 3, descended from Fiatach Finn, monarch of Ireland (Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq.* 202, 353; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 7). He was brother of St. Fintan of Dunbleisce [FINNTAN (6)]. The Irish church which commemorates him is that now known as Tamlacht Finlagan, near Newtown-Limavady, co. Londonderry. He is perhaps the St. Finlagan who has given his name to Loch Finlagan in the parish of Kilarrow in Islay [FINLAGAN].

[J. G.]

FINNSEACH (FINNSECH, FINNSEGH, FINSECHA, FINSICHE), etymologically "white woman." (1) Virgin, who had a dedication at Slieve Gorey, a mountainous district in the barony of Clankee, co. Cavan; her chief festival was Oct. 13, but she seems also to have been commemorated on Feb. 17. (*Book of Rights*, by O'Donovan, 188 n. [v]; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 605; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 361; Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 2nd ser. 9; *Mart. Doneg.* Oct. 13; *Kal. Drum.* Oct. 13.)

(2) Virgin, commemorated on Nov. 9, and had her dedication at Croaghan, in Mowney, in the barony of Lower Ormond, co. Tipperary (*Mart. Doneg.* Nov. 9; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, vii. 85). [J. G.]

FINNTAN (FINDAN, FINTAN, FINNTEN), a common Irish name, which is the same as Finan and Finigan, being the diminutive of Finn, and signifying "little white-haired man."

(1) Son of Aedh, abbat, commemorated Sept. 19. Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 357, c. 31, 384 n. [27], 490 n. [67]) strives to identify him with the Finten, son of Aedh, who (Adamnan, *Vit. S. Columb.* ii. c. 31) accompanied St. Columba across Drumalban in Scotland, and founded the monastery of Kailliau-inde; but where this was is unknown.

(2) Son of Gabhren, of Clonenagh, commemorated Feb. 17. Hardy (*Descript. Cat.* i. pt. i. 192, pt. ii. 789) notices the Lives given by Colgan and the Bollandists. O'Hanlon (*Irish Saints*, Feb. 17, ii. 574–98) goes fully into details. In most of the purely Scotch Kalendars he is confounded with St. Finan, bishop of Lindisfarne, whose feast was on the same day.

The father of St. Finntan belonged to the house of Eochaidh Finn Fothart in Wexford (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 355, c. 2; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 252, 287). His mother's name was Findath. He was probably born about the year 525 or 530, as being slightly St. Columba's junior, and received his education under St. Columba of Tirdaglas, having for his fellow-pupils St. Caemhan of Enach-Truim, and St. Mocumin. While yet a young man (juvenis) he founded the monastery of Clonenagh near Maryborough, Queen's County. There he established about A.D. 548 one of the famous schools of Ireland, and pupils came to him from all the country, the most illustrious being St. Comgall abbat of Bangor.

Of the monastic rule of St. Finntan we have no detailed account, and no trace of it is extant; but both for himself and his pupils he prescribed the utmost severity, so that he was called "chief head of the monks of Erin." Like hermits, they laboured with their own hands, and for a plough used a light hoe. They denied themselves all flesh-meat, and had not even a cow to supply them with milk. The discipline at Clonenagh was deemed unwisely severe, and St. Cainnech is said to have been the means of having had the rule considerably softened. The *Book of Cluain Eidhneach*, said by tradition to have been written by St. Finntan, is one of the numerous class of lost books of Ireland. In Keating's time in the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was preserved and highly prized, but it has since disappeared (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 590–2), and we have no distinct account of its contents. The year of St. Finntan's death is uncertain: Colgan and Ussher say he flourished A.D. 550–60; Ussher (Index Chron.) puts his death at A.D. 603, which is the date in the *Ann. Tigernach.*, and Ware (*Ir. Writ.* c. 13) apparently accepts it; but Colgan (*Acta SS.* 355 n. [28]), followed by Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 229), says he must have died long before St. Columba, whose death took place A.D. 597. Kelly (*Cal. Ir. Saints*, 74–5) says he was called Stationarius, because he prayed with his arms extended like a cross.

(3) Munna, commemorated Oct. 21. The proper name of this saint was Finntan, but the surname Mun, Munna, Munnhu, Munnu, Mund, Mundus, has almost entirely supplanted the original name in Scotland: whether singly, however, or in combination, Finntan Munna introduces us to one of the most famous of the contemporaries of St. Columba, and to one who is highly venerated both in Ireland and in Scotland. The oldest notice of him is given in his *Acts*, found in the *Codex Marsh.*, in primate Marsh's library, Dublin (v. 3, 4, fol. 127–129 b); in the *Codex Salmant.* in the Duke of Burgundy's library at Brussels (fol. 137–140): and the latter portion in Codex E, 3, 11; Trin. Coll. Dubl. fol. 105 a. (See Reeves, *Adamnan*, pp. xxv.–vi. 22, and Hardy's *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. i. 226, pt. ii. 789.) According to the Scotch legend he took the monastic habit at Hy under St. Columba, and built many monasteries in the province of Argyle, but on St. Columba's death he returned to Ireland, where he died.

In its details the Irish Life of St. Finntan is in several respects fuller and also different. He was son of Tulchan, of the race of Niall of the Nine Hostages. His mother was Fedelyn, of the race of Maine, and he had a sister, St. Coinchenn the Devout [COINCHENN (2).] There appears to be no doubt that he was in his early years under St. Comgall at Bangor, but that he was also under St. Columba at Kilmore, as stated in his Life, appears to be fabulous. His great foundation was at Teach-munna, the "House of Munna," now Taghmon, in the county of Wexford, where he is said (*Mart. Doneg.*) to have had two hundred and thirty monks in his monastery. In St. Finntan's day the Paschal controversy ran high, and St. Finntan successfully for the time took the old Scotic side, having as his chief opponent St. Laserian or Molaissi abbat of Old Leighlin. (See Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 501–5, Ind. Chron. A.D. 630; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 26–8; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 15, § 6, for St. Finntan's position in the dispute.) He died in his own monastery at Taghmon, in A.D. 635 (*Ann. Tig.*), and is very highly spoken of by St. Adamnan (*Vit. S. Columb.* i. c. 2). He is said to have been a leper. *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 253 n.[l].

(4) Maeldubh succeeded St. Finntan at Clonenagh, and died A.D. 630 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 626). He is commemorated on Oct. 20. (*Acta SS.* Oct. 20, tom. viii. 896–98; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 355, c. i., 385; Lanigan, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 12, § 11; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 279; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 657.)

(5) Abbat of Druimhing, commemorated Oct. 10. Druimhing is identified by O'Donovan (*Four Mast.* i. 450 n. [d]) as probably the place now called Dromin, situated near Dunshaughlin, in the county of Meath. There is a small ancient church (now in ruins) dedicated to him on the hill of Howth, in the diocese of Dublin (*Book of Obits C.C. Dublin*, xliv.).

(6) Of Dunbleisce, commemorated Jan. 3. Of this saint there is a memoir given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 11–12) but it is of very little value. He appears to have been under a St. Comgall, probably the abbat of Bangor. His foundations were Dunbleisce, now Doone, and Kell-Finntain, supposed to be Killfinan, both in co. Limerick. At Kilfountain, near Dingle in Kerry, there is a pillar-stone, on which is engraved the name Finten, the saint from whom the place derived its name, but he may not have been the patron of Dunbleisce (*Journ. Kilkenn. Archaeol. Soc.* new ser. ii. 189; *Arch. Cambr.* 3rd ser. i. 103). If he lived in the time of St. Comgall of Bangor, he flourished in the end of the 6th century (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 12, § 2, 32; Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. ii. 789; Kelly, *Cal. Irish Saints*, 50).

(7) Bel-na-psalm, commemorated March 27. On this day the *Martyrologies of Donegal* and *Tallaght* commemorate St. Finntan Bel-na-psalm, Os-psalmorum, or Mouth of the Psalms, and Colgan (*Acta SS.* 771) gives a short notice, "De S. Fintano Psalmicano." In his Index Chron. Colgan says, "S. Fintanus, dictus Os Psalmorum," flourished A.D. 598. (Kelly, *Cal. Irish Saints*, 106.)

(8) Corach, bishop of Clonfert, commemorated Feb. 21. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Feb. 21, tom. iii. 235) place him among their pretermitted saints, and O'Hanlon (*Irish Saints*, ii. 657–60) attempts to give a critical memoir founded on Colgan's short account of the saint. In this Colgan (*Acta SS.* 385) states that he was both abbat and bishop, and as such ruled several churches for many years. (*a*) Leamchuill, now probably Laughel, Queen's County. (*b*) Clonenagh, near Maryborough, Queen's County, where he either lived or was buried. (*c*) Clonfert in Connaught, where by an unusual arrangement he held both the abbacy and the episcopate at the same time. (*d*) Cluain aithchin in Leix, Queen's County, which was either founded or ruled by him. Colgan suggests several reasons for his receiving the name Corach, "a voice," and the most likely one is that he had a sweet tuneful voice and instructed the monks in some new mode of singing the hymns and services of the church. The year of his death is unknown; he probably flourished about the end of the 6th century, and was succeeded at Clonfert by St. Senach, who died A.D. 620, yet even the order of succession is not without great doubt. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 14, § 2; Kelly, *Cal. Irish Saints*, 77.)

(9) Son of Eochaidh, and brother of COLMAN (4) and COMAIGH, both of Slanore, was descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages, and is said to have lived at Bealach, but where this "road" or "pass" lay is unknown. His mother was Aiglenn, daughter of Lenin of Killiney, co. Dublin, and his feast Jan. 1. His usual name is Finntan Mac Echach. He probably belongs to the first half of the 7th century. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 5; *Mart. Tallaght.* in Kelly's *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xi.; *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. Ir.* 4 ser. iii. 48; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 24, ii. 557, 607; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 355, col. 1; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 173.)

(10) Inclusus. [FINTAN.]

(11) Of Oentrebh, abbat of Bangor, died A.D. 612 (*Four Mast.* and *Ann. Ult.*). Oentrebh is the old name of Antrim (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 237 n. [u]). Finntan was the fourth abbat, and held the abbacy for three years, between Sillan and Mac Laisre.

(12) Of Ros-coerach, disciple of St. Barry, at

Loch Irce (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 607; Caulfield, *Life of S. Fin Barre*, v.) [J. G.]

FINTAN, FINDAN, patron of Augia Rheni, now Rheingaw or Rheinau, near Schaffhausen, whose life was published by Goldastus (*Rer. Alaman. Scrip.* i. 318 sqq.), by Mabillon (*Acta SS. O. S. B.* tom. v. saec. iv. pt. i. 355), and by Zapf (*Itin.* tom. i. 233 sq.). Though an Irishman, he has no place in the Irish Kalendars. According to the Life, he was born in Leinster. His sister had been carried off in one of the earliest incursions of the Northmen, and Fintan being sent by his father in search of her, was himself taken captive by the same pirates; this must have been some years prior to A.D. 795. Slipping away from them as they rounded the north of Scotland, he committed himself to the waves, and was carried apparently to the coast of Caithness, where he remained with a bishop for two years. Thence he proceeded to Rome, visiting St. Martin's at Tours by the way; from Rome he went to Switzerland and lived with a nobleman for four years "in clericatu." He then became a monk at Rheinau in the fifty-first year of his age; and in the monastery, and as a monk in an adjacent cell, he spent twenty-seven years, his monastic profession being dated in A.D. 800, and his death in A.D. 827. Though not the founder of Rheinau, he was adopted as the patron, and his feast is Nov. 15. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 20, § 7; Reeves, *Adamnan*, pp. xxii.–iii.; Tanner, *Bibl.* 280; O'Conor, *Ep. Nuncup.* 61 and *Proleg.* ii. 186; Ware, *Ir. Antiq.* c. 24, and *Ir. Writ.* i. c. 6; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 16, wks. vi. 277, Chron. Ind. A.D. 795.) This St. Fintan or Findan is to be distinguished from one of the same name at Augia Dives, now Reichenau, whose feast is Nov. 16, and who is identified with St. Finntan of Lemchoill, or at least having his feast on the same day. [FINTAN (12).] [J. G.]

FINTAN, presbyter, confessor. (Usuard. *Mart.* Feb. 17.) [FINNTAN (2).]

FIONCIUS, bishop of Lamego, signs the acts of the fifteenth and sixteenth councils of Toledo in 688 and 693 [FILIMIRUS]. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 159; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 313-333.) [M. A. W.]

FIRMATUS, deacon, commemorated, with his sister, Flavia or Flaviana, virgin, at Auxerre, Oct. 5. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 163.) [C. H.]

FIRMIANUS, bishop of Centuriones in Numidia, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notitia*, 56 in Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 136.) [L. D.]

FIRMILIANUS (1), ST., bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, one of the greatest prelates of his time; a friend of Origen, ranked with Dionysius the Great, appealed to by Cyprian, and a rebuker of pope Stephanus.

In A.D. 232, tenth year of Alex. Severus, he already διέπρεπεν in his see (Eus. vi. 26, 27), though Cave (*Hist.* i. p. 123) speaks of A.D. 233 as the year of his elevation. When Origen soon after left Egypt, Firmilian induced him to visit the "climata" of Cappadocia, εἰς ἐκκλησιῶν ὠφέλειαν; subsequently he paid Origen long visits (χρόνους) in Judea to advance his own knowledge of theology, τῆς εἰς τὰ Θεῖα βελτιώσεως ἕνεκα. (Euseb. vi. 26, 27.)

We next hear of him (Euseb. vi. 46) as urging Dionysius of Alexandria to attend the council of Antioch, held for the repudiation of Novatianism (cf. Routh, *R. S.* iii. 51). Dionysius did not attend, because the death of Fabius, bishop of Antioch (who had leant towards that system) and the succession of Demetrian rendered it in his opinion needless.

In A.D. 256 he is addressed by Cyprian in a letter now lost as to the Asiatic practice of baptizing into the church those who had been already baptized by heretics. In his long reply (Cyp. Ep. 75) he describes it as impossible to add much to the strength and importance of Cyprian's arguments (which he had himself committed to memory) and his letter is little more than a digest of those arguments. The resemblance of its language to Cyprian's has been treated as suspicious, but while it is so close that it must be from the same hand, there is abundant indication of a Greek original [CYPRIANUS, note x, p. 751]. He is quite clear as to the antiquity of the practice in Asia, which he regards as ratified by the council of Iconium (Synnada unnamed) in the instance of the Montanists. It is possible that to those councils severally are due the forty-fifth and forty-sixth Apostolic Canons, two of the five which have been disallowed by popes. He speaks of several meetings of the Cappadocian bishops, and of one having occurred immediately before his writing. Baronius, Labbe, and other Roman writers have been anxious to prove that the baptismal dispute originated with Firmilian and the East, preferring this collision with separate churches to one with the patriarch of Africa. But the attempt is against the whole tenor of Cyprianic correspondence as well as the express statement of Eusebius (vii. 3).

To Firmilian the see of Jerusalem appears to be the central see, so far as such an idea arises. He presided at Antioch, A.D. 266, in the first synod held to try Paul of Samosata, and visited Antioch twice on this business. (*Concil. Antioch. contr. Paul. Samos.* in Routh, *R. S.* iii. 304; Euseb. lib. vii. c. 30.) Imposed upon by Paul's promises, he procured the postponement of a decision against him. But when it was necessary to convene a third synod, A.D. 272 (Labbe considers that there were only two, though the two previous visits might seem to imply two already), Firmilian, who was to have again presided, died on his journey at Tarsus. Oct. 28 is the day observed in his honour in the Menologium.

To the eyes of contemporaries he may well—with his forty years of influential episcopate, and the magnificent associations connected with him as the friend of Origen and Dionysius, as appealed to by Cyprian, as censuring Stephanus himself—have seemed the most conspicuous figure of his time. Thus in Dionysius he appears as heading the list of the "περιφανέστεροι whom alone he names," and Nicephorus collects from his authorities that he was περιφανὴς ἀνὴρ καὶ ἑκατέρας γνώσεως ἠκριβουμένας ἔχων τὰς ἕξεις, skilled alike in philosophy and theology.

Routh (vol. iii. p. 149) points to him as one of the oldest authorities who states with precision the Anti-Pelagian doctrine. Basil (*de Spiritu Sancto*, xxix.) speaks of his λόγοι as early testi-

monies to the exactness of his own doctrine, and quotes his agreement with Cyprian on baptism in the epistle to Amphilochius (*Ep.* 188). The fact that he is not mentioned by Jerome among ecclesiastical writers shews that he cannot have been voluminous. A book upon the persecutions is absurdly attributed to him by Moses Chorenensis. (Routh, *R. S.* vol. i. p. 103.)

[E. W. B.]

FIRMILIANUS (2), successor of Urbanus as governor of Palestine in the reign of Maximin, whose chief agent he was in the persecution of the Christians in those parts. The horrible tortures which he employed are described at length by Eusebius. The best known of his victims is PAMPHILUS. After the death of Maximin he was beheaded by order of Licinius, probably in A.D. 313. (Euseb. *de Mart. Pal.* chaps. viii. ix. xi.) [M. F. A.]

FIRMINUS (1), bishop of Mimate (Mende); commemorated on Jan. 4. Some argue that he must have lived between St. Privatus, who was slain in the time of Gallus and Valerian, and Genialis, who subscribed the first council of Arles, 314. He may possibly have preceded the first of these. His body is said to have been found *ipso revelante* at La Canourgue (Canonica). (*AA. SS.* Jan. i. 93; *Gall. Christ.* i. 86.)

[R. T. S.]

FIRMINUS (2) I., bishop of Amiens, a native of Pampeluna. He was the son of Firmus, a senator of Pampeluna, and became the earliest convert of HONESTUS the apostle of Pampeluna. There he was subsequently ordained a bishop by Saturninus bishop of Toulouse, but apparently only as a missionary bishop for Gaul, though he has been reckoned (Gams, *Ser. Ep.* 62, 487) first bishop of Pampeluna. In Gaul he is said to have preached in the districts of Albi, Auvergne, Angers, Beauvais, and Amiens. Of the last he was reckoned the apostle and first bishop. He is said to have been martyred by order of the Roman governor, and was commemorated on Sept. 25. But his death is placed at various dates, from the apostolic age down to A.D. 303, and our knowledge of his history rests wholly upon the authenticity of his acts, given at great length by the Bollandists, who defend them (perhaps not very successfully) against the arguments of Tillemont, in his article on St. Saturninus. (*Mém.* vol. iii. 303; *AA. SS.* Sept. vii. 51; *Gall. Chr.* x. 1150.) [R. T. S.]

FIRMINUS (3) II., bishop of Amiens, cir. 370 or 380, said to have been baptized by Firminus I., and to have ruled the see for forty years. (Boll. *AA. SS.* 1 Sept. i. 175.)

[R. T. S.]

FIRMINUS (4), driven from Italy under the Arian king Theodoric, and having found refuge at Metz was there chosen bishop on the death of Adelphus. But the duration of his episcopate is variously stated at eight and twenty-eight years. (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 684.) [R. T. S.]

FIRMINUS (5), a native of Toul, raised late in life to the bishopric of Verdun; died A.D. 502, when Clovis was besieging the town. [EUSPICIUS.] (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 1165.)

[R. T. S.]

FIRMINUS (6), ST., fourth bishop of Uzes, born in the province of Narbonne, of noble parentage, about A.D. 516. At twelve years he was sent to Uzes with Ferreolus his brother Ansbert's son, and his successor in the bishopric, then seven years old, to be instructed by his uncle Roricius. His progress was so rapid that in his twentieth year he was ordained a priest, though the canon was thereby infringed, and consecrated suffragan and successor of his uncle, upon whose death shortly afterwards he was appointed to the see in the 22nd year of his age (A.D. 538). In his episcopate the see of Uzes was separated from the archbishopric of Narbonne, and joined to that of Arles or Bourges. St. Firminus was present at the fourth council of Orleans in 541, the fifth in 549, and the second of Paris about 551. He is said to have been a joint author with Cyprian and Viventius of the life of St. Caesarius of Arles, and has been supposed by some to have been one of his disciples. Some verses of his contemporary, Arator (A.D. 490–556 or 560), sub-deacon of the church of Rome, prove that he was known beyond his country (quoted in the *Gall. Christ.* vi. 612). He died in 553, at the age of thirty-seven, and was commemorated Oct. 11. His tomb in the church of St. Baudilius was celebrated for its miracles in the 9th century. (See the letter of Annulo, bishop of Lyons, to Theodbold of Langres, s. 6, in Migne, Patr. Lat. cxvi. 81.) He is said to have built two churches at Uzes, and there was long existing an abbey called after him in the same city. He was succeeded by his nephew St. Ferreol. (Usuard. *Mart.* Oct. 11; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. v. 635; Mansi, ix. 120, 136, 740, Patr. Lat. lxvii. 1001, 1253; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 611.) [S. A. B.]

FIRMINUS (7), sixth bishop of Vence, following Prosper and succeeded by Deutherius (circ. A.D. 530–540). (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 1214.)

[S. A. B.]

FIRMINUS (8), bishop of Trieste, who with other bishops of Istria and north Italy, maintained a separation from Rome, on the question of the Three Chapters. He afterwards was reconciled to the church of Rome, and troubled, in consequence, by Severus, patriarch of Grado, head of the separatists. Gregory the Great in 602 writes to encourage him to be firm (lib. xii. 33, indict. v. in Migne, lxxvii. 1243); also in 603 to Smaragdus the exarch, asking him to protect Firminus. (Lib. xiii. 33, indict. vi. in Migne, lxxvii. 1283.) [A. H. D. A.]

FIRMINUS (9) (FIRMIUS), ninth bishop of Tarentaise, between St. Heraclius and Probinus about the commencement of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 702.) [S. A. B.]

FIRMINUS (10), bishop of Bieda (Bleva), south of Viterbo, present at the Lateran synod under Martin in 649, which condemned the Monothelite heresy. (Mansi, x. 867; Hefele, § 307.)

[A. H. D. A.]

FIRMINUS (11), said to have been 7th bishop of Lodève, succeeding Anatolius, and followed by Ansemundus (circ. A.D. 652), but the evidence of his existence is dubious. (*Gall. Christ.* vi. 528.)

[S. A. B.]

FIRMINUS (12), June 24; a military martyr with six others, in Armenia, under the emperor Maximin, A.D. 312. Some short time previously

Armenia, under the teaching of Gregory the Illuminator, had embraced the faith with enthusiasm. When, therefore, in May, 311, Maximin set a general persecution on foot throughout the East, the Armenians took up arms in defence of their oppressed brethren, and defeated the emperor with great loss. During this campaign our martyr seems to have suffered. (*Martyr. Rom.*; Eusebius, *H. E.* lib. ix. cap. 8–9; Mason, *Diocletian Persecution*, pp. 130, 325.) [G. T. S.]

FIRMINUS (13), a young man of high birth and godly parentage, to whom St. Basil wrote, c. A.D. 372, reproaching him for the paucity and brevity of his letters, and expressing the sorrow with which he had heard that he had deserted the ascetic life, and, following the example of his paternal grandfather, had adopted the military profession, and beseeching him to return to his home, and enter on the career of civil distinction open to him (Basil. *Epist.* 116 [174]). Firminus at once yielded to Basil's remonstrances, and wrote, stating that through the influence of powerful friends he felt sure of obtaining his discharge, and declaring his resolution to adopt a celibate life (*ibid.* 117 [234]). [E. V.]

FIRMINUS (14), a layman of Caesarea, whose friendship Chrysostom formed during his stay in that city on his way to Cucusus A.D. 404. Chrysostom wrote to him on his arrival there to announce the safe accomplishment of his journey, his satisfaction with Cucusus, and the kindness of its inhabitants (Chrysost. *Epist.* 80). [E. V.]

FIRMINUS (15) of Arles, at whose request Sidonius Apollinaris published his ninth book of Epistles (ix. *Ep.* 1; Ceillier, x. 394). [R. T. S.]

FIRMUS (1), bishop of Verona, probably early in the 3rd century. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 551; Cappelletti, *Chiese d'Ital.* x. 740.) [R. S. G.]

FIRMUS (2), martyr of Carthage, A.D. 250. [ARISTO.] [E. W. B.]

FIRMUS (3), Aug. 9, martyr with Rusticus at Verona, 304. He was sprung from a noble family in Bergamo, which rendered his steadfast adherence to the faith the more obnoxious to the emperor Maximian, who at the time was carrying on the persecution with great vigour in north Italy, being a resident at Milan. Firmus was arrested, and in company with a relative, Rusticus, led before the emperor, and by him delivered over to the prefect Anulinus, who took them to Verona, and there put them to death. A story prevailed of the bodies having been taken to Africa and subsequently brought from thence to Verona, which gave rise to a controversy for centuries between the two towns as to which of them possessed the remains, until the question was settled by St. Charles Borromeo in the year 1575 solemnly transferring the relics from a tomb in the suburbs to the cathedral. (*Martyr. Rom.* ed. Baron.; Petrus de Natal., *Catal. SS.* lib. 7, cap. 42; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 419–423.) [G. T. S.]

FIRMUS (4), Feb. 4, martyr; whose name appears nowhere save in the local offices of the church at Genoa. He probably is the same as the Firmus commemorated on Feb. 2, as a martyr at Rome, A.D. 304, with Fortunatus, Felicianus, Candidus, and twenty-four others. (*Mart. Rom.*, Hieron., Usuardi; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. i. 960.) [G. T. S.]

FIRMUS (5), June 24, one of the seven brothers; military martyrs, in Armenia, under Maximin. [FIRMINUS (12).] [G. T. S.]

FIRMUS (6), June 1; martyr in Greece under Maximin, A.D. 312. (*Mart. Rom.*; Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

FIRMUS (7), a Moorish chief, who revolted against the Romans in the reign of Valentinian. Our chief authority is Ammianus Marcellinus (xxix. 5). From him we learn that Firmus was the son of Nubel, the most powerful of the Moorish chieftains. The revolt soon assumed serious proportions, and Count Theodosius, father of the future emperor, was sent to quell it. He seemed for a moment to have gained his object, whereupon Firmus had recourse to a new expedient. He sent Christian envoys, thinking thereby to mollify his opponent, and he was not disappointed. This unnatural alliance appears from St. Augustine to have been permanent and well-known; since he reproaches the Donatists for having employed this "barbarus rex," whom he characterizes as "Hostis immanissimus Romanorum," to persecute their enemies the Rogatists, and for recognising him as a legitimate king (*Cont. Parminianum*, i. 10, 11), so much so, that the Rogatists gave them the nickname of Firmiani (*Ep.* 87, Migne). In the latter passage, he also mentions an atrocious act of a Donatist bishop of Rusiccada, who formed a plot with Firmus to come into his city and exterminate the Catholics. The revolt appears to have begun in the middle of 372; since Romanus, who was superseded by Theodosius, is mentioned as count in June of that year (*Cod. Theod.* ad loc.). It must in that case have lasted at least two years, since Ammianus (ch. 6, 1) makes it contemporary with the revolt of the Quadi, which occurred in 374. It is referred to briefly by Zosimus (iv. 16), Orosius (*Hist.* vii. 33), and Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Miscell.* lib. xii.), who quotes Orosius. Symmachus (*Ep.* i. 64, al. 58) apparently alludes to it, when he says that the barbarians seized a large treasure when they took Caesarea.

There is a medal extant, of uncertain date, with the inscription, D. N. Firmus P. F. Aug. which Spanheim (*de Praest. et Usu Numm. Antiq.* Diss. xi. p. 364, ed. Amst. 1717) thinks to be our Firmus. This may certainly be supported by Zosimus (loc. cit.). Other authorities have supposed the name to be another form of Firmius, a tyrannus in the time of Aurelian. [M. F. A.]

FIRMUS (8), ST., bishop of Tagaste in the African province of Numidia, mentioned by St. Augustine in his *De Mendacio* (xiii. 23), as protecting a fugitive, "for," said he, "I can neither tell a lie by saying that I have not concealed him, nor can I deliver him into your hands." So great was his constancy even when brought before the emperor that he preserved the man who had thrown himself on his protection. He is commemorated on July 31. (*AA. SS.* Boll. Jul. viii. 180; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 299.) [L. D.]

FIRMUS (9), a presbyter in the beginning of the 5th century; an active man and trusted with matters of importance. He visited St. Jerome at Bethlehem first in the year 405, and was charged by him with letters for St. Augustine (*Ep.* 115, 116, ed. Vall.). He was again with Jerome ten years later, and was requested by him to take charge of the property of Eustochium and the younger Paula at Ravenna on his return to Italy in the year 415. He afterwards proceeded to Africa, where he was in communication with St. Augustine (Jerome to Augustine, *Ep.* 134, ed. Vall.). We hear of him again as the bearer of a letter from Sixtus (afterwards pope) to Augustine and Alypius, and again returning with the answer in the year 318 (Aug. *Ep.* 191, 194). [W. H. F.]

FIRMUS (10), a bishop of the Cappadocian Caesarea, who was present at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and took a rather conspicuous part in its proceedings. He protested against deferring the opening of the council for the arrival of John of Antioch, and called upon Memnon, the bishop of Ephesus, to state how many days had elapsed since the sessions ought to have commenced (Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 450). On the arrival of the legates of the Roman see, and the reading of the letter of pope Coelestinus, Firmus declared that the sentence against Nestorius contained in it should be regarded as final, and Nestorius pronounced canonically deposed (*ibid.* 618). He highly praised Cyril's exposition of the Nicene faith for its clearness, which left nothing doubtful, and for its perfect consistency with the Catholic faith (*ibid.* iv. 163). He was one of the delegates to Theodosius (*ibid.* 1313). He was deposed by the Oriental party at Tarsus (*Tray. Iren.* cc. 38, 66, 136, 141, 201), notwithstanding the high commendations lavished on him by John of Antioch (*ibid.* c. 4). Forty-five letters of Firmus were published by Muratori from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library (*Anecdot. Graec.* Patav. 1709, also in Migne, Patrol. lxxvii. p. 1477 sqq.). These are charming examples of a refined epistolary style, short, bright, playful, and very interesting from the light they throw on the manners of the age. They do not touch at all on theological questions. He died A.D. 439 (Socr. *H. E.* vii. 48). [E. V.]

FIRMUS (11), bishop of Tipasa in the African province of Numidia, one of the delegates of his province to the council assembled at Carthage by Boniface A.D. 525 (Mansi, viii. 647). His name is found amongst the five African bishops present at the first session of the council of Constantinople, A.D. 553; but this may have been a successor to his see of the same name. (Mansi, ix. 174; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 327.) [L. D.]

FIRMUS (12) (FIARMUS, FARMUS), bisnop of Viseo, one of the suffragan churches of Merida, in the years 638 and 646, the dates of the seventh and eighth councils of Toledo, the acts of which he signs. Before and after the Suevian occupation of Gallicia, Viseo was a suffragan church of Merida; but during the rule of the Suevi it was transferred to Braga. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 314; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 423–448.) [M. A. W.]

FLABIANUS, the name of two African bishops, one of Bulula in Byzacena, the other of Vicus Pacis in Numidia, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484, after the conference at Carthage between the Arians and Catholics. (*Notitia*, Victor. Vit. 57 in Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 137, 353.) [L. D.]

FLABIANUS. [FLAVIANUS.]

FLACCIANUS (1), a proconsul of Africa, though at what time is uncertain, mentioned by St. Augustine as a man of ability, education, and judgment. Licentius, one of the interlocutors in the dialogue *contra Academicos*, gives him as an instance of a man who, though unwillingly, could not help bearing witness to the correctness of the conjectures made by a notorious conjurer named Albicerius. One of these was that without previous information, as was said, he named correctly a property which Flaccianus was about to buy, and another that being asked of what Flaccianus was thinking, he quoted, though an illiterate man, a line of Virgil which he had then in his mind. He is also mentioned by Augustine as having brought to his notice a prophecy concerning our Lord delivered by the Erythraean Sibyl. Augustine is also said to have written several letters to him, which are lost. (Aug. c. *Acad.* i. 18, 21; *Civ. Dei*, xviii. 23; Tillemont, vol. xiii. p. 33.) [H. W. P.]

FLACCIANUS (2) (FLAVIANUS), bishop of Rhodope. Baronius quotes a Vatican manuscript purporting to be an epistle of Flaccianus, or perhaps Flavianus, a bishop of Rhodope, to Peter Fullo, patriarch of Antioch, charging him with Arianizing in his interpolation of the Trisagion. The writer says he has been driven to find refuge at Rome from the spiritual tempests of the east. Baronius, placing him in 483, conjectures he may have been among the bishops who came from Egypt with John of Alexandria to Rome. The epistle is probably spurious, but Le Quien thinks the person to whom it is attributed a real one, and puts him among the bishops of Trajanopolis, the metropolitan see of the province of Rhodope. (Baron. ann. 483, lxii.; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1195.) [C. H.]

FLACCILLA (1), empress and saint, first wife of Theodosius I.

I. *Name.*—A medal, engraved by Du Cange and by Baronius, has the inscription "Ael. Flaccilla Aug. By the Greek writers, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Nicephorus, etc., the name is given as Παακίλλα. Others, *e.g.* Philostorgius (*H. E.* x. 7) call her Placidia. The treatise of Faustinus *de Trinitate*, which professes to be written at the request of the empress, who, from all internal evidence would seem to be Flaccilla, is entitled in the ordinary editions, "Ad Gallam Placidiam." There seems, therefore, to have been a confusion, owing to the similarity of the names Placilla and Placidia, between the subject of this article and the well-known Galla Placidia.

II. *Origin, etc.*—Claudian tells us that she was by birth a Spaniard (*De Laud. Ser.* 69), and Valesius (Not. ad Soz. *H. E.* vii. 6. 3) concludes that she must have been the daughter of Antonius, prefect of Gaul, and consul in 382. This is founded upon Themistius (Or. xvi. p. 203 D,

ed. Harduin.), who says that Theodosius conferred the consulship upon his κηδέστης. This, says Valesius, can be no other than Antonius, his father-in-law. The words, however, seem hardly to warrant such an assumption of certainty. We gather from St. Jerome (*Ep.* 79. 2, Migne) that her sister was the mother of Nebridius, who married Salina, daughter of the Moorish prince Gildo. [GILDO.]

III. *Life and Character.*—Her marriage with Theodosius probably took place in 376, since her eldest child seems to have been born in 377. She was the mother of Arcadius and Honorius, afterwards emperors, and of a daughter Pulcheria, who died just before her mother, and who is commemorated in a funeral oration by St. Gregory Nyssa (vol. iii. p. 863, Migne's ed.). Some think that the Gratian mentioned by St. Ambrose (*de Ob. Theodos.* § 40, Migne) was also her son, but St. Gregory Nyssen (*de Plac.* ad fin.) tells us plainly that she had only three children. The *Chron. Pasch.* (ad ann. 386) makes a mistake with regard to her, calling her the second wife of Theodosius, which is obviously incorrect (cf. esp. Soc. *H. E.* iv. 31, 18). Her many virtues are celebrated by St. Ambrose, St. Gregory Nyssen, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Nicephorus, among Christian writers, and equally by the heathen Themistius.

Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 6. 3) calls her πιστοτάτη φύλαξ τοῦ δόγματος τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου, and narrates how she deterred the emperor from having an interview, as he had intended, with the Arian Eunomius.

Theodoret (*H. E.* v. 19) tells us that so far from being elated by her high position, she made herself the servant of the lowest, and used to visit the hospitals and the homes of the sick and to minister to them with her own hands; also, that she continually reminded her husband of the gratitude which he owed to God for His many gifts, and by this means nourished the seeds of good within him. St. Ambrose (*de Ob. Theodos.* § 40, ed. Migne) speaks of her as "fidelis anima Deo."

Themistius (*Or.* xix. p. 231 A) tells us that it was by her advice that the emperor pardoned the conspirators in 385 [THEODOSIUS], and that in this, as in other cases, their sentiments were in perfect harmony—συμψήφου τῆς ὁμοζύγου οὔσης αὐτῷ καὶ ἀεὶ βουλευούσης εἰς μίαν.

Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* xii. 42) repeats almost verbally the account given by Theodoret.

IV. *Death, etc.*—She died apparently in 385, on Sept. 14 (cf. Tillemont, *Emp.* vol. v. note 25 on Theodosius), at Scotumis, in Thrace, whither she had gone for the sake of the waters. St. Gregory, to whom we owe this last piece of information, pronounced her funeral oration, which is still extant (vol. iii. p. 878, in Migne's edition of his works), in which he praises her throughout as a model of Christian virtues. (Vid. also Zonaras, xiii. 18.)

The *Chron. Pasch.* (l. c.) and Du Cange (*Cpolis. Christ.* ii. 5. 3) mention a palace at Constantinople, called after her name. A brazen statue erected to her at Antioch was destroyed shortly after her death in one of the tumults which arose on the subject of taxing, and the affection which the emperor entertained for her memory is strikingly shewn by the signal vengeance which he resolved to exact, and which he was afterwards persuaded to mitigate (Theod. *H. E.* v. 20; Niceph. *H. E.* xii. 43). Tillemont (*Emp.* vol. v. art. 26) says that the Greek church reckons her as a saint. This is founded upon the Menaea for Sept. 14, where the words are: "Καὶ μνήμη τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης βασιλίσσης Πλακίλλης, συζύγου γενομένης τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου," followed by the following lines: "Φθαρτὸν λιποῦσα στέμμα γῆς ἡ Πλακίλλα, ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἄφθαρτον εὕρηκε στέφος. Αὕτη πάντα τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν νοσούντων ἐπιμελείᾳ πρὸς Κύριον ἐξεδήμησε." The Bollandist writer on September 14 contends that this commemoration is not sufficient to justify Tillemont's conclusion, since the bishops of the sixth general council are immediately afterwards commemorated in much the same way, and since she is not mentioned in the Menologia, Synaxaria, Typica, etc. His conclusion is "Flaccillae mentio est in Menaeis impressis sed potius tanquam venerabilis quam ut Sanctae." In Ferrarius, however (*Catal. Sanct. qui in Mart. Rom. non sunt*), she is mentioned as being commemorated at Constantinople, on Aug. 14, which seems hardly to bear out the statement of the Bollandist writer "Apud Ferrarium memoria est Placillae, tanquam imperatricis beatae memoriae," meaning apparently *not as a saint.* The fact that she is not commemorated in the Roman calendar seems therefore to have prejudiced the Bollandist writer unduly against her claims, and Tillemont's conclusion is apparently the more correct of the two. [M. F. A.]

FLACCILLA (2), elder daughter of the emperor Arcadius by Eudoxia, born in 397. (Marcellinus, *Chron.*) She apparently died young, as she is not mentioned by Sozomen or Philostorgius among the children of Arcadius. (Cf. Philost. xi. 6; Soz. *H. E.* ix. 1.) [M. F. A.]

FLACCILLUS (FLACILLUS), Arian bishop of Antioch, A.D. 333–342. There is a very remarkable discrepancy as to the true form of the name of this bishop. Jerome, in his *Chronicle*, calls him Placillus; Sozomen, Placetus or Placitus (*H. E.* iii. 5); Theodoret, Flacitus (*H. E.* i. 21), while Athanasius (*Apol.* ii. pp. 797, 799) and Eusebius (*in Marcell.* lib. iii. pr. p. 57), followed by Theophanes, write the name Flacillus. He appears in the modern catalogue of the patriarchs of Antioch as Placentius (Neale, *Patriarchs of Ant.* p. 156). After the deposition of Eustathius, A.D. 331, the episcopal succession was singularly rapid. Eulalius held the see but three months, Euphronius, the immediate predecessor of Flaccillus, only fifteen. The episcopate of Flaccillus was much longer, lasting, though the exact dates are uncertain, about nine years. Nothing is known of Flaccillus previous to his becoming bishop of Antioch on the death of Euphronius, and little is recorded of him as bishop save his official acts. He presided at the council of Tyre, 335, held, by the emperor's desire, to investigate the charges against Athanasius, and joined in the sentence of deposition pronounced upon him. From Tyre he passed on with his episcopal brethren to Jerusalem to celebrate the dedication of the Church of the Resurrection, which took place Sept. 13 in that year. Tillemont thinks it probable that Flac-

cillus resided at the council which succeeded the solemnities of the consecration by which Arius and Euzoius were admitted to communion as orthodox believers, who had suffered from the calumnies of jealous rivals. Six years later, we find him occupying the same position at the celebrated "Council of the Dedication" held at Antioch, 341 (Socr. ii. 8, 9; Soz. iii. 5). Flaccillus is associated by Theodoret with his two Arian successors, Stephen and Leontius, as men whose unjust and impious deeds it would require a volume to recount (Theod. *H. E.* ii. 24). No definite charge, however, is specified. Flaccillus must have had some reputation for erudition, since Eusebius dedicated to him his work against Marcellus of Ancyra, with the request that he would make any additions or corrections he might think desirable (Euseb. *in Marcell.* l. iii. pr. p. 57). He must have died about A.D. 345, and was succeeded by Stephen. [E. V.]

FLACCUS (1), bishop of Sanis or Sanaus, in Phrygia Pacatiana, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 805; Mansi, ii. 695.) [L. D.]

FLACCUS (2), bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia Salutaris. One of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325 (Mansi, ii. 695); subsequently he joined the Eusebians, and was one of the Easterns whose "indecent and suspicious flight" provoked the anger of the Council of Sardica, A.D. 347. His name is appended to the letter to the churches, which the seceders published at their synod at Philippopolis. (Mansi, iii. 140; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 834.) [L. D.]

FLACCUS (3) ALBINUS. [ALCUIN.]

FLACHERTAC. [FLAITHBHEARTACH.]

FLACILLUS, bishop of Jassus, on the coast of Caria, present at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 913; Mansi, vii. 156.) [L. D.]

FLAITHBHEARTACH (1) Abbat of Cill-mor-Emhir, now Kilmore, situated three miles to the east of Armagh, died A.D. 812. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 807, i. 419.) [J. G.]

(2) Flaithbheartach or Flachertac, son of Loingseach, became monarch of Ireland A.D. 722, and after reigning seven years, retired A.D. 729 to Armagh, where he died in monastic seclusion, A.D. 760 (*Four Mast.*) or more truly A.D. 765. (*Ann. Ult.* A D. 764.) [J. G.]

FLAITHGHEAL (FLAIGHEL), son of Taichleach, abbat of Druim-ratha, said by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 876) to be a church in Leyney, Connaught, died A.D. 793. (*Four Mast.* A.D. 788; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 792.) [J. G.]

FLAITHNIA (FLAITNIA), son of Congall, and called The Wise, died A.D. 715. (*Four Mast.* A.D. 713; *Ann. Ult.* A D. 714.) [J. G.]

FLAITHNIADH, son of Congall, abbat of Clonfert, co. Longford, died A.D. 781 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 381, A.D. 776); but in *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 782, there is the obit of Mac Flaithniadh, abbat of Clonfert. (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* iv. 111.) [J. G.]

FLAMERIS, abbat of Chinon. It is stated in the Life of St. Germanus of Paris by Fortunatus that a letter which Flameris received from Germanus was the means of curing a sick monk, who was allowed to moisten the signature with his tongue, and so receive the precious ink into his system. (*Vit. S. Germ.* § 58, in Mabill. *Acta SS. O. S. B.* i. 230, and in Pat. Lat. lxxii. 72.) [C. H.]

FLAMINA, May 2, virgin and martyr in Gaul during the Diocletian persecution. She suffered under the president Blasius. She was particularly venerated for her influence on sore eyes. The offices of the church of St. Hilarius, near Clermont, under whose altar she rests, had a prayer to God that by her intercession the worshippers might be protected from all diseases of the eyes. (Ferrarius, *Catal. SS.*; *Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. i. 181–183.) [G. T. S.]

FLANN (FLAINN, FLANNUS) meaning "red" or "crimson," is used as a proper name, and the latinized form is Florentius or Florence: its original idea was probably a ruddy-faced man (Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 2 ser. 145).

(1) Febla, of Armagh, commemorated April 24. His name does not appear in the Irish Kalendars. He succeeded Segene at Armagh A.D. 688, where he is called abbat, bishop, and archbishop, and was there for twenty-seven years. The most celebrated event of his rule was the assembling of the synod at Tara in Meath, about A.D. 697 (Petrie, *Tara Hill*, 171–2). There were forty bishops or abbats presided over by Flann Febla; and the best known person present, and the person at whose suggestion the convention is said to have been held, was St. Adamnan (Sept. 23), abbat of Hy. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 454, col. 1) had a copy of the acts of the synod, and copies of the same are now preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels (No. 2324), and in bishop Marsh's library, Armagh, in a book entitled, *Presidents of See of Armagh*, MS. (*Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad.* xviii. 172, Antiq.): they have been printed by Martene (*Thesaur. Nov. Anecd.* tom. iv. col. 18), and are probably the eight canons known as the "Cain Adhamnain." [ADAMNAN (2).] (Reeves, *Adamnan* l., li., 178, 179; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii., c. 11, § 10; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 473, col. 2, 566, and *Tr. Thaum.* 218, col. 1, 503.) He died A.D. 715. (*Ann. Tig.*; Stuart, *Armagh*, 94.)

(2) Foibte (*Ann. Ult.*), Foirbte (*Ann. Tig.*), son of Fogartach, died A.D. 716 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Ann. Ult.*, A.D. 715). [J. G.]

(3) Sinna Ua Colla, abbat of Clonmacnoise, one of the Ui-Creamhthainn, died A.D. 726. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 323.)

(4) Abbat of Bangor. At Dec. 15, in *Mart. Doneg.*, there is merely the commemoration of "Flann, abbat of Beannchor." In the Irish Annals he is entered as St. Flann of Aentrebh (the ancient name of Antrim), abbat of Beannchair; he died A.D. 728. (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 722; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 727; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* ii. 236, iv. 80; Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq.* 63, 277, 278, 381.)

(5) Son of Conaing, abbat of Cill-mor-dithraibh (now probably Kilmore, co. Roscommon,

founded by St. Columba), was murdered: the *Four Mast.* say in A.D. 730, the *Ann. Ult.* in A.D. 734 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 327; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* iv. 85).

(6) Beg, commemorated July 17. By Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 509, c. 8), and Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. 171) he is identified with the "Flann, son of Ceallach, son of Crunmael, bishop of Reachrainn," who died A.D. 739 (*Ann. Tig.*). Lanigan accepts this Reachrainn as the small island Rachlin, Rathlin, or Ragharee, off the coast of Antrim; but O'Donovan is unable to decide whether it is that or the island of Lambay, off Bregia, near Dublin (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 336 n. [z], 337; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* ii. 243, iv. 88; Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq.* 249, 292).

(7) Febla, abbat of Gort-conaigh, a monastery in the barony of Cremorne, co. Monaghan; died A.D. 740 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 739).

(8) Aighle, bishop of Aughrim, a village in the county of Galway, died A.D. 741 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 338 n. [e], 339; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 740).

(9) Ua Dachua (Hui Dochruea, *Ann. Ult.*), abbat of Inishkeen, co. Monaghan, died A.D. 771 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 770; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 766, i. 369).

(10) Bishop, wise man, and abbat of Inishkeen, co. Monaghan, died A.D. 784 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 384, n. [w], 385).

(11) Finn, commemorated Jan. 14. On this day the Irish Calendars commemorate Flann Finn, of Cuilinn, in the vicinity of Corcach (*Mart. Doneg.*, *Mart. Tallaght*). As appearing in the *Felire of Aenghus*, he probably flourished not later than the eighth century. He is to be distinguished from Flann Finn, son of Maeltuile Ua Crunnmaeil, chief of Cinel Eoghain, who died A.D. 698 (*Four Mast.*), and from Flann Fina, who was known by this name in Ireland, but in England as Aldfrid son of Oswy king of Northumbria.

(12) Son of Ceallach, abbat of Finnghlais, scribe, anchoret, and bishop, died suddenly A.D. 812 (*Ann. Ult.*, A.D. 811; *Four Mast.*, by O'Donovan, A.D. 807, i. 419). [J. G.]

FLANNAN, of Killaloe, commemorated Dec. 18. The name is etymologically the diminutive of Flann. Of this saint there appear to have been two lives, which are now lost. Hardy (*Descript. Cat.* i. 228) notices a *Vita S. Flanniani Episc. Laonensis*, in MS. Bodl. Rawl. B. 505.

Flannan was the son of Toirdhelbhach, latinized Theodoricus, king of the Dalcassians in Munster, who became a monk at Lismore after he had endowed his son's church at Killaloe with ample revenues, and thus prepared his own final resting-place. Flannan had one of the famous schools of Ireland at Killaloe. Colgan calls him "Episcopus Luanensis," and Ware, the first bishop of Killaloe, having been consecrated at Rome by pope John in A.D. 639; but Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 19, § 2) wholly doubts the tale of his Roman visit, and even the date of his consecration. Dr. Petrie, however (*Round Towers*, 281), seems more inclined to accept the legend. Besides his dedication at Killaloe, the island Inis-flannan in Lough Corrib and Irosflannan Point, with the ruins of St Flannan's church in Manin Bay, preserve the memory of this saint. In Innisboffin island there is Tobar Flannain (O'Flaherty, *Iar-Connaught* by Hardiman, 24, 109, 111, 112, 116); and he has probably also given their name to the Flannan islands, to the west of Lewis (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 350; Martin, *West. Isles*, 15–18, 2nd ed.). [J. G.]

FLAVIA DOMITILLA. [DOMITILLA.]

FLAVIANA (FLAVIA), virgin, sister of the deacon Firmatus, commemorated at Auxerre, Oct. 5. (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Hieron. Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 163.) [C. H.]

FLAVIANUS, bishop of Rome. [FABIANUS (1).]

FLAVIANUS, bishop of Antioch. [FABIUS (1).]

FLAVIANUS (1) (FABIANUS), bishop of Eliberi; signing 14th among the nineteen bishops present at the council of Eliberi in 305. The see of Eliberi (so spelt on Gothic coins, Ptolemy wrote Illiberis, Pliny Iliberi), now represented by Granada, makes its first appearance in history with this bishop. (As to the site of Eliberi *vid.* Dozy's "Observations géographiques sur quelques anciennes Localités de l'Andalousie" in his *Recherches*, i. 328.) For a clever attempt to give historical form to the famous legend of the seven apostolic men, amongst whom St. Cecilius is made bishop of Eliberi, see Gams, P.B. *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, i. 76–178. (*Esp. Sagr.* xii. 111; Aguirre-Catalani, vol. ii.) [M. A. W.]

FLAVIANUS (2), said to have been bishop of Teate (Chieti), c. A.D. 320–340. (Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 875.) [R. S. G.]

FLAVIANUS (3), bishop, supposed to have belonged to the province of Cappadocia, yet not clearly referred to any see, though by Ceillier (vi. 215) called bishop of Cappadocia, and regarded by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 9 Mart. ii. 9) as Flavian patriarch of Antioch at the same period. [FLAVIANUS (4).] (Tillemont, *Mém. Hist. Eccl.* ix. 589, Paris, 1703.)

About the year 393, Gregory of Nyssa wrote to Flavian (ep. i.), as he did to other bishops, complaining of the treatment he had received at the hands of Helladius, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and demanding satisfaction; the letter to Flavian is long and interesting, giving an account of his hurried flight from Sebaste, his unwelcome interview with Helladius, and his delight at escaping from him safe and well. He then reviews his whole relation to Helladius as one of entire superiority. [J. G.]

FLAVIANUS (4) I., bishop of Antioch, 381–404. Flavianus was born at Antioch, of a distinguished and wealthy family. He had several brothers and sisters. One of the latter, who had survived all the rest, was living with him in A.D. 387, in very feeble health, at the time of his journey to Constantinople to appease the wrath of Theodosius. He was still very young when the death of his father left him heir of the family property, which was of considerable amount.

When bishop he continued to occupy the family mansion at Antioch, which he devoted to the reception of the sick and distressed of his flock. We know nothing of Flavianus's early training, or of his instructors in the faith. Chrysostom, in his highly-coloured eulogium pronounced on receiving ordination to the priesthood at his hands, records that although reared in the midst of affluence, he was remarkable from his earliest years for his temperance and control over his bodily appetites and for his contempt of luxury and a rich table. Although the premature death of his father deprived him of parental control at an early age, and he was exposed to the temptations incident to youth, wealth, and good birth, he overcame them all. From his youth he devoted himself to a religious life, sparing no pains to obtain complete self-mastery, and to cultivate his spiritual faculties. He adopted the strictest asceticism, and according to Theodoret (*H. E.* ii. 24) at the time that a half-concealed Arianism was carrying all before it, and Catholic truth was systematically discouraged, he together with his friend and fellow-champion of the orthodox faith, Diodorus (afterwards the celebrated bishop of Tarsus), left his home and adopted the life of a solitary. The sad necessities of the times soon recalled the two friends to Antioch, where, while still laymen, they exerted a powerful influence in favour of the truth, and by their zealous exertions kept alive an orthodox remnant in the midst of the dominant Eusebians. The crafty Leontius (*ὁ ἀπόκοπος*) was then the intruding bishop of Antioch, who while a Eusebian at heart sought by concealment of his real sentiments to avoid a breach with the Eustathian or orthodox party, and by a temporizing policy to preserve a hollow peace in his church. The adroitness with which the party to which Leontius belonged eluded any distinct declaration of their belief on the most critical questions, and veiled their heresy by dogmatical statements which, true as far as they went, fell short of the full Catholic belief, menaced the faith with formidable perils. From the time of the expulsion of Eustathius, c. A.D. 328, the orthodox party at Antioch had been destitute of a head, and as the counsel of Eustathius himself before he quitted Antioch was that his adherents should maintain the unity of the church, and, in spite of his illegal deposition, continue in communion with his successors in the see, there was no small risk of their being gradually absorbed by the Eusebians, and losing their hold of the Catholic faith. This danger was strenuously met by Flavianus and his friend Diodorus. They rallied the faithful about them, and by their example and influence accustomed them to assemble round the tombs of the martyrs, where they held nocturnal meetings for worship, and exhorted them to adhere steadfastly to the faith. As a powerful instrument for kindling zeal, Flavianus and Diodorus are said by Theodoret to have revived the practice of the antiphonal chanting of the psalms, which tradition ascribed to Ignatius. (Theod. *H. E.* ii. 24; Socr. *H. E.* vi. 8.) The statement of the Arian historian Philostorgius that they altered the lesser Doxology from its older form, "Glory be to the Father by" or "in the Son," to that now used (Philostorg. *H. E.* iii. 13), though, as St. Basil has shewn, when charged with introducing a similar novelty, at variance with facts (*De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 29 [70]), probably contains so much of truth that until the rise of the Arian heresy had rendered caution in theological phraseology necessary, the various traditional forms of the doxology had been used indifferently, and that Flavianus and Diodorus were among the first to enforce the exclusive use of the form which was least susceptible of any heterodox perversion. The measure adopted by Leontius to check the growing influence of these religious gatherings by causing them to be transferred from the martyries without the walls to the churches of the city, had the effect of increasing their popularity and strengthening the cause of orthodoxy. Flavianus and Diodorus became all powerful at Antioch. Leontius was unable to resist their wishes. The threat of withdrawing from his communion and travelling to the west to lay their remonstrance before Constantius and the Occidental bishops compelled him to retrace his steps, and inhibit the audacious Arian Aetius from the exercise of the functions of the diaconate to which he had admitted him. (Theod. *H. E.* ii. 24.) [AETIUS.]

Leontius is reported to have said, pointing to his white hairs, "When this snow melts there will be plenty of mud," meaning that his death would be followed by grave disturbances. (Soz. *H. E.* iii. 20.) The history of the next twenty years fully proves the truth of his words. His successor in the see of Antioch was Eudoxius, the profane and intriguing bishop of Germanicia, the open patron of Aetius. On his promotion to the see of Constantinople in A.D. 360, and the deposition of his successor, the excellent Meletius, Euzoius, the old comrade of Arius, was made bishop of Antioch A.D. 361, and Arianism at once assumed the ascendancy. Euzoius was repudiated with horror by all the orthodox. Those who up to this time had remained in communion with the bishops recognised by the state, now separated themselves altogether and recognised Meletius alone as their bishop. The old Catholic body, however, who bore the name of Eustathians, could not bring themselves to submit to the authority of a bishop consecrated by Arians, however orthodox, and continued to worship apart from their Meletian brethren, as well as from Euzoius. They had as their head Paulinus, a presbyter so highly esteemed by all parties that even Euzoius abstained from any interference with him, and permitted him to hold his religious assemblies in a small church in the new city, situated on an island of the Orontes. (Socr. *H. E.* iii. 9.) This schism between two orthodox bodies, who should have united in defence of the common faith, was the cause of much pain to Athanasius and the orthodox. A council was held at Alexandria, early in A.D. 362, one object of which was the healing of those unhappy dissensions. The wise decision that Paulinus and his flock should unite with Meletius, who had now returned from exile, was unhappily rendered nugatory by the pre-eipitancy of Lucifer of Cagliari, who, instead of accompanying Eusebius of Vercellae to Alexandria, had gone straight to Antioch to accommodate matters, and now perpetuated the schism by ordaining Paulinus bishop. Eusebius, who soon followed him to Antioch, could do no more than

lament the irreparable mischief caused by Lucifer's rash act. The schism thus openly declared lasted till A.D. 415, and was productive of the greatest injury to the church. (Socr. *H. E.* iii. 6; Soz. *H. E.* v. 12; Theod. *H. E.* iii. 5.) Flavianus, however, still continued the ruling spirit at Antioch, and during the unhappy dissensions and severe persecutions of the next twenty years proved the zealous champion of orthodoxy. He and his friend Diodorus having been raised to the presbyterate did much to supply the place of their beloved bishop Meletius during his lengthened banishments. Flavianus's zeal for the truth and courage in maintaining it in the face of fierce opposition was proved during the reign of Valens, when the Arians, secure of imperial favour, tyrannized over the orthodox at their will. Valens took up his residence at Antioch in June A.D. 370. This was the signal for a violent persecution of the orthodox. Meletius was banished for the third time, and the duty of administering to the faithful and supporting them under their prolonged trials devolved on Flavianus and Diodorus. The Catholics having been deprived of the use of their churches took refuge among the ravines and caverns of the abrupt mountain ranges which overhang the city. Here they met for worship, exposed to all the inclemency of the elements, and liable to the assaults of a rude soldiery, by whom they were repeatedly dislodged, and compelled to find another place of assemblage. At one time the banks of the Orontes, at another the "Campus Martius" of the city, resounded with the psalms and hymns with which their indomitable leaders sought to kindle their courage. Theodoret tells us that Flavianus abstained from preaching in public, committing that office to his more eloquent companion Diodorus, whom he furnished with the subjects of his discourse, and scriptural arguments in support of his theses. (Theod. *H. E.* iv. 25.) The obstinacy with which the orthodox, when driven from one place of assemblage, gathered in another, irritated Valens exceedingly. Many were seized and cruelly punished, and not a few were put to death. The favourite death was drowning. The palace occupied by Valens stood on an island of the Orontes, and, by an anticipation of the "noyades," of a later age, the faithful were taken out in boats and thrown out to perish on its rapid waters. (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 17.) We have no evidence that Flavianus was a sufferer in this persecution, but it is difficult to see how so pronounced a leader of the orthodox could altogether escape. The persecution, which had already relaxed, ceased entirely with the death of Valens in A.D. 378. The exiles for the faith were everywhere recalled, and Meletius quickly resumed the charge of his Antiochene flock. His official recognition as the Catholic bishop of Antioch was more tardy. Gratian had commanded that the churches should be given up to those prelates who were in communion with Damasus, bishop of Rome, and that the Arian intruders should be expelled. Easy as the execution of this enactment might be elsewhere, a small difficulty was caused at Antioch by the presence of two bishops with equal claims to orthodoxy, Paulinus and Meletius, to whom a third was added, Vitalian, who held Apollinarian views. Sapor, a military officer high in command, to whom Gratian had committed the execution of the edict, was naturally no judge of theological niceties and was much perplexed how to decide. Flavianus came to the rescue and, by cleverly framed questions, involving the critical points, addressed to the other two bishops, convinced Sapor that the right lay with Meletius. The separation, however, still continued. Paulinus declined the proposal of the peace-loving Meletius, that they should unite their flocks, and that placing the volume of the Gospels on the vacant episcopal throne, each should recognise the other as of equal authority with himself, and that at the death of either the survivor should be the sole bishop. The unhappy Antiochene schism continued to divide the Christian world. The Oriental churches recognised Meletius, while the West and Egypt maintained the cause of Paulinus. (Theod. *H. E.* v. 1–3.) Three years later, A.D. 381, Flavianus accompanied Meletius to the council of Constantinople, where he signed, as a presbyter, with Elpidius (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 955). At the death of Meletius, which took place during the session of the council, Gregory of Nazianzus, who had reluctantly succeeded him as president, entreated his brother-bishops to take the opportunity of healing the lamentable schism, by recognising Paulinus as the orthodox bishop of Antioch (Greg. Naz. *de Vita Sac.* v. 1572, sq. p. 757). But this, however right in itself, would have been to give a triumph to the Westerns. The council was composed of Oriental bishops only. Unworthy jealousy prevailed over the interests of the church, and, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of the aged Gregory, Flavianus was elected as the successor of Meletius. We cannot altogether excuse Flavianus for thus allowing himself to be the instrument of perpetuating the schism. His act becomes less pardonable if it is true, as Socrates and Sozomen state (Socr. *H. E.* v. 5; Soz. *H. E.* vii. 3, 11), that he was one of the six leading clergy of Antioch, who had bound themselves by an oath at the death of either Meletius or Paulinus not to seek the bishopric themselves, but to acknowledge the survivor as the rightful bishop. This charge, however, rests solely on the authority of Socrates and Sozomen, whose accuracy is far from being unquestionable, and its truth is rendered very doubtful by the absence of any reference to it in the letters of Ambrose, or any of the contemporary documents published by the adherents of Paulinus during the progress of the controversy. The consecration of Flavianus was performed by his life-long friend, Diodorus of Tarsus, and Acacius of Beroea, and received the ratification of the council. Paulinus remonstrated in vain (Theod. *H. E.* v. 23), but his cause was sharply maintained by Damasus and the Western bishops, as well as by those of Egypt; while even at Antioch, though the majority of the Meletian party welcomed Flavianus with joy, as seeing their beloved bishop revive in him (Chrys. *Homil. cum Presbyt. fuit ordinatus*, § 4), some, indignant at the breaking of an engagement, real or implied, separated from his communion, and connected themselves with Paulinus (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 11). The West refused all intercourse with Flavianus, and the council, meeting at Aquileia in the September of the same year, wrote to Theodosius in favour of his rival, Paulinus,

and requested him to summon a council at Alexandria, to decide that and other controverted questions. Theodosius thought it better that the council should be held at Rome. The Eastern prelates were invited, but declined to attend, and held a second synod of their own at Constantinople in 382. Perfect unanimity could not be secured even here, as the bishops of Egypt, Cyprus, and Arabia recognised Paulinus as the rightful bishop, and demanded the banishment of Flavianus, who was supported by the bishops of Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria (Socr. *H. E.* v. 10). A synodal letter was, however, despatched to Damasus and the Western bishops which, among other subjects, recognised Flavianus' ordination as legitimate. (Theod. *H. E.* v. 9.) Paulinus himself attended the council at Rome, accompanied by Epiphanius and Jerome, the latter of whom espoused his cause very ardently. The result of this council was to confirm the West in their refusal to acknowledge Flavianus as a canonically elected bishop. It is said they even went so far as to excommunicate him and his two consecrators. (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 11.) Meanwhile the two rival bishops continued to exercise the episcopal functions among their respective flocks. The consequences of thus setting up church against church were very disastrous. Church discipline became impossible, when the attempt to exercise it led to a desertion to the opposite camp. Such a transference of allegiance was rendered easier by the difference between them being simply one of church order, not of doctrine. Some time after his consecration, Flavianus, accompanied by Acacius of Beroea and other bishops, together with some leading laymen, paid a visit to the celebrated solitary, Marcian, with the hope of inducing him to receive holy orders; but the aged ascetic maintained an obstinate silence, and the deputation had to depart baffled. (Theod. *Vit. Patr.* iii. 4.) Early in his episcopate, Flavianus exercised his authority against the Syrian sect of fanatical perfectionists known as Euchites or Messalians. To make himself acquainted with their doctrines, which it was their habit to conceal, he condescended to an act of deception which we cannot but condemn. Having summoned Adelphius, the head of the sect, to a conference, he threw the old man off his guard by professions of friendship and of a simple desire to become acquainted with his tenets, and thus led him to a full declaration. On this he threw off the mask, denounced his heretical views in the strongest terms, and expelled him and his adherents. (Theod. *H. E.* iv. 11.) Adelphius professed penitence, and he desired to be re-admitted with his followers to the church. These overtures were rejected at a synod held by Flavianus. He had previously received a synodical letter of a gathering of bishops held at Side, under Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, acquainting him with the principle held by the sect that the end sanctifies the means, and that falsehood for a good end was no sin; and warning him not to be too ready to credit their professions. Flavianus wrote to the bishops of Osrhoene respecting the punishment and excommunication of the Messalians, for which he received a letter of thanks. Flavianus also wrote to an Armenian bishop, remonstrating with him for patronizing these pestilent heretics. (Photius, *Cod.* lii. p. 37; Theod. *Haer. Fab.* iv. 11, p. 243.)

In A.D. 386 Flavianus ordained Chrysostom presbyter. Chrysostom, on the occasion of his ordination, or very soon after it, preached an inaugural discourse in the presence of his bishop, on whom he passed a very laboured eulogium, which, however well deserved, a modern standard of good taste would have reserved for another occasion. (Chrys. *Homil. cum Presb. fuit ordinatus*, § 3, 4.) The sedition at Antioch on the occasion of the destruction of the Imperial Statues, A.D. 387, shewed the noble, self-sacrificing character of Flavianus in its grandest colours. His absence from the episcopal palace during the first violence of the storm had prevented his doing anything to arrest its fury. But when the brief fit of popular madness was over, and the Antiochenes awoke to a sense of their danger, Flavianus at once yielded to their entreaties to become their advocate with the emperor, with whom he was a favourite, and endeavour to appease his just wrath. Regardless of his advanced years, the dangerous sickness of his only surviving sister, the inclemency of the season, and the length and difficulty of the journey, the dauntless old man started immediately on his errand of mercy. In the words of Chrysostom—"Having learnt that the good shepherd layeth down his life for his sheep, he took his departure, venturing his own life for us all, notwithstanding there were many things to forbid his absence and enforce his stay. For this reason he would encounter every danger, and nothing would avail to detain him." (Chrysost. *de Statuis*, iii. 1; xxi. 3.) The success of Flavianus's mission has been stated in another article. [CHRYSOSTOM, I. p. 521.] It was instant, and it was complete. His wrath having had time to cool, Theodosius was already disposed to mercy; and his favourable disposition towards the Antiochenes was confirmed by the tears and pathetic appeals of the aged bishop, who had risked so much to offer his intercession in person. If Flavianus's bearing is more submissive—it might be almost called abject—than appears to us consistent with the dignity of a Christian bishop pleading for his flock, we must remember the difference between Eastern and Western feeling towards those invested with sovereign authority, and rejoice that his intercession proved so effectual. Theodosius granted a free pardon to the city of Antioch, and urged Flavianus to lose no time in returning, that he might relieve the people of Antioch from the agony of suspense. After the severe strain and anxiety of the last few weeks, Flavianus was unequal to a rapid journey. An express courier was therefore despatched to convey the joyful tidings. The bishop followed at a more leisurely pace, but reached Antioch in time to keep the Easter festival, and had the happiness of finding his aged sister still alive. (Chrysost. *de Statuis*, xxi.) The next year, A.D. 388, witnessed the death of Paulinus. This event, however, had not at once, as might have been hoped, the effect of healing the schism; for on his death-bed, in direct violation of the nineteenth and twenty-third canons of the council of Antioch, Paulinus, without the authority of a synod, or the assistance of any other bishop, had taken the

ill-advised step of consecrating Evagrius, a presbyter of his church, his successor. (Socr. *H. E.* v. 15; Soz. *H. E.* vii. 15; Theod. *H. E.* v. 23.) The scandal of this long-continued schism was deeply felt in the West, and was a cause of trouble to Theodosius, in whose esteem Flavianus stood high. Accordingly, on his return to Constantinople from the West in A.D. 391, he proposed to Flavianus, whom he had summoned to meet him, to appear in person at a synod to be assembled at Capua. Flavianus excused himself on the ground that the winter was just setting in, but promised to obey the emperor's bidding in the spring, and returned to Antioch. (Theod. *H. E.* v. 23.) Though there is some discrepancy as to whether the Western bishops actually joined communion with Evagrius, there is no doubt that their feeling was strongly in his favour, and that they were indisposed to admit the claims of his rival. Flavianus had some reason to fear that the Western synod would not be altogether impartial in its decision; and, not quite confident of the soundness of his own cause, he declined to attend. It is probable that Evagrius was there. Whether Ambrose or Siricius took part in it is uncertain. The feeling manifested was strongly against Flavianus, but no decision was come to in his absence, and the final adjudication was entrusted to Theophilus of Alexandria, and his suffragans, who had remained neutral. (Ambros. *Epist.* lvi. (ix.).) Flavianus disregarded the summons addressed to him by Theophilus, and seems to have appealed to another synod which he urged Theodosius to summon in the East. Ambrose wrote to Theophilus, sharply condemning Flavianus for having recourse to state aid and imperial rescripts to support him in his disobedience to ecclesiastical authority, and for seeking to impose on the bishops—many of whom were old and poor—the trouble and expense of travelling to another synod. Ambrose and the other leading Western prelates were urgent with Theodosius to compel Flavianus to come to Rome and submit to the judgment of the church. Flavianus replied to the emperor with much dignity, that, if the question were one of heterodoxy or immorality, he would not shrink from the trial; but if his episcopal seat only was the object of attack, he would prefer to resign it altogether. The emperor might assign the see to whom he pleased. Such magnanimous sentiments were in harmony with Theodosius's own generous heart. He admired his courage and his wisdom, and commanded him to resume the government of his church. (Theod. *H. E.* v. 23.) Flavianus's refusal to submit to the arbitration of "the haughty and tyrannical Egyptian" received the high commendation of Nestorius. (Mercator, tom. ii. p. 86, § 5.) The knot which seemed insoluble was, before long, cut by the death of Evagrius. Flavianus's influence prevented the election of a successor. The Eustathians, however, still refused to acknowledge Flavianus as their bishop, and continued to hold their assemblies apart. (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 15; viii. 3; Socr. *H. E.* v. 15.) This separation continued till the episcopate of Alexander, A.D. 414 or 415. The division between Flavianus and Egypt and the West was finally healed by Chrysostom, who took the opportunity of the presence of Theophilus at Constantinople, for his consecration to that see in A.D. 398, to induce him to become reconciled with Flavianus, and to join with him in despatching an embassy to Rome to supplicate Siricius to recognise Flavianus as the canonical bishop of Antioch. The deputies chosen for this mediation were Acacius of Beroea, and Isidore, presbyter and hospitaler of Alexandria, for whom Theophilus had striven to obtain the bishopric of Constantinople, to whom Flavianus added some leading presbyters of his church. Their mission was entirely successful. All were heartily weary of the schism which was a discredit to the church, and were glad to have a decent excuse for bringing it to an end; and Acacius, who was the chief of the mission, returned to Antioch bringing letters of communion from Rome and Egypt. (Socr. *H. E.* v. 15; Soz. *H. E.* viii. 3; Theod. *H. E.* v. 23.) As a proof of the cessation of all angry feeling, and a means of conciliating his opponents, Flavianus put the names of Paulinus and Evagrius on the diptychs. (Cyril Alex. *Epist.* 56, p. 203.) Flavianus lived just long enough to see with sorrow the deposition and exile of his beloved and distinguished son in the faith, Chrysostom, against the injustice of which he protested with his last breath. His death may probably be placed in A.D. 404. (Pallad. *Dial.* p. 144; Soz. *H. E.* viii. 24; Theophan. p. 68.) He governed the church of Antioch for twenty-three years; and Tillemont thinks it probable, from chronological considerations, that he lived to the age of ninety-five years. The Greek church has commemorated him on Sept. 26.

Flavianus was more famous as a bishop than as a writer. He left behind him certain homilies, of which a few fragments are preserved to us by Theodoret and others. Theodoret in his *Eranistes* quotes one on Joh. i. 14 (*Dial.* i. p. 46), another on St. John the Baptist (*ib.* p. 66), on Easter, and the treachery of Judas (*Dial.* iii. p. 250) or the *Theophania*, and a passage from his commentary on St. Luke. (*Dial.* ii. p. 160.) His homilies are also quoted in the proceedings of the council under John of Antioch, and that of Chalcedon (Facund. lib. viii. c. i. 4, p. 319; Labbe, iv. 830); and by Leontius, in *Nest.* et *Eutych.* (p. 979). (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* vol. x.) [E. V.]

FLAVIANUS (5), bishop, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 417, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FLAVIANUS (6), Donatist bishop of Pauzera, a place in Numidia, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 417, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FLAVIANUS (7), bishop of Philippi in Macedonia. He acted as proxy for his metropolitan Rufus bishop of Thessalonica, and sat among the metropolitans at the general council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. In the first session he suggested the second and third summons to Nestorius, that nothing required by ecclesiastical procedure should be omitted; he asked for quotations from the ancient fathers of the church on the points in which Nestorius was said to have erred from the faith, proposed that these should be inserted in the acts of the council, and took an active part in all its proceedings. (Mansi, iv.

1132, 1133, 1183; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 68; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 430, xxvii.) [L. D.]

FLAVIANUS (8), eighteenth bishop of Constantinople, between Proclus and Anatolius. The length of his episcopate is a little uncertain, but it was about two or three years. He is described by Nicephorus as being at his election guardian of the sacred vessels of the great church of Constantinople, with a reputation for a heavenly life.

At the time of Flavian's consecration Theodosius was staying at Chalcedon. Chrysaphius his minister appears to have immediately inaugurated his scheme against the new patriarch. He suggested that the emperor should ask Flavian to send him some kind of present or firstfruits in acknowledgment for his elevation. Flavian replied by returning what seems to have been a common compliment on such occasions, some fresh loaves or cakes. These were rudely rejected by the insolent eunuch, who wrote back that the emperor required something in the shape of gold. The prelate answered that unless he used some of the sacred vessels for the purpose, he had nothing of the kind. The ill-will of Chrysaphius achieved its object, for the courageous integrity of the churchman stirred up great bitterness against him; and by some means Pulcheria was kept ignorant of the discreditable proceeding.

Two methods of attack against Flavian now presented themselves to the scheming brain of the minister; the direct subversion of the authority of the emperor's sister Pulcheria and the support of Eutyches, one of the archimandrites of Constantinople, a theological opponent of the archbishop. Stirring up the jealousy of the empress Eudocia, he persuaded her to weary her husband with entreaties that he would remove a person who seems to have been a kind of secretary of state to Pulcheria. Baffled unexpectedly at this point, the wife and the chamberlain tried another; Pulcheria had devoted herself to a religious life; let the emperor order the prelate to ordain her a deaconess. Theodosius, like most weak men, content with his recent firmness, easily gave way at this second assault to the redoubled importunities of Eudocia. Flavian, receiving the emperor's command to ordain the princess-minister, was beyond measure grieved, for he foresaw the scandals which would arise from this dangerous plot. He was obliged, however, for the moment to submit to his prince; and meantime sent a message to Pulcheria, begging that she would give orders to refuse him admittance to her presence "lest I should be forced to do something which would annoy you." Pulcheria divined the scheme, and to avoid a struggle retired to Hebdomum, where for a time she led a private life (Theoph. *u. infr.*).

Flavian having assembled a council of forty bishops, Nov. 8, A.D. 448, to compose a difference between Florentius bishop of Sardis, metropolitan of Lydia, and two bishops of his province, in the chapter-house or council hall of the great church of Constantinople, Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum appeared and presented his indictment against Eutyches. The speech of Flavian remains: "What has been read has indeed confounded me, because it brings a charge of so heavy a kind against the reverend presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches. But (to the bishop of Dorylaeum) let your reverence condescend to visit him and argue with him about the true faith, and if he shall be found in very truth to err, then he shall be called to our holy assembly, and shall answer for himself." For the particulars of the great controversy thus inaugurated we must refer to the articles Dioscorus and Eutyches, confining ourselves here to what more immediately concerns Flavianus. When, for instance, on Aug. 8, 449 the Latrocinium assembled at Ephesus and Eutyches was introduced, he made this violent harangue against the archbishop: "Bishop Flavian," he said, "has had no regard for the appeal which I made to you, nor any respect for my white hair and the combats I have fought with the heretics; he has condemned me with all his authority. He gave me to be torn in pieces as a heretic by the mob assembled for that purpose in the Cathedral and in the Place; providence alone preserved me. He caused my sentence to be read in different churches, and subscribed by monasteries: and that is never done even against heretics. He sent it to the East, and in many places made many bishops and monks sign it who had not been judges; whereas he ought to have begun by sending it to the bishops to whom I had appealed."

We need not repeat what has been so fully described elsewhere, the violent proceedings to which this address was a prelude. On Aug. 11, 449, Flavian expired at Hypepe in Lydia, from the effects of the barbarous ill-usage to which he had been subjected.

When Pulcheria returned to power, after her brother's death, she sent for Flavian's remains, which had been buried obscurely after his death. They were brought with great pomp to Constantinople. It was more like a triumph, says the chronicler, than a funeral procession. Pulcheria, his unfailing supporter, had not been able to prevent the troubles from falling on her faithful ally which had caused his death; but she could shew his dead body all the honour which affection and respect could dictate.

Among the letters which touch on the career of Flavianus, may be mentioned the reply of Petrus Chrysologus, archbishop of Ravenna, to a circular appeal issued by Eutyches against his condemnation by Flavian; the letter of Theodoret congratulating Flavian on his condemnation of Eutyches; another from the same, complaining of an uncanonical condemnation by Dioscorus at a council of Alexandria, and begging him to take the violated canons under his protection; and another from Theodoret, when the bishops of Syria had taken up Theodoret's defence, which was one of twenty-two with which he entrusted the deputation which they sent to Theodosius. Leo, who was plunged in the profoundest grief, wrote him a beautiful letter before hearing that he was dead.

(Leo. Mag. *Epist.* 23, 26–27, 28, 44; Facund. *Pro Trib. Capit.* viii. 5; xii. 5; Evagrius, ii 2, &c.; Liberatus Diac. *Breviar.* xi. and xii.; Soz. *H. E.* ix. 1; Theoph. *Chronogr.* pp. 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, &c.; Niceph. Constant. xiv. 47. [W. M. S.]

FLAVIANUS (9) (Florianus), bishop of Placentia (Piacenza), c. A.D. 449–451. He succeeded St. Maurus, and appears to have held his office

for less than two years. Majorianus bishop of Placentia subscribed the synodal letter at Milan in 451. (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 97, ed. Migne; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 248; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* xv. 14.) [R. S. G.]

FLAVIANUS (10), ST., bishop of Adramyttium in the province of Asia, present at the Latrocinium Ephesinum, 449 (Mansi, vi. 932); his name was subscribed in his absence by Hesperius of Pitane at the instance of Stephen of Ephesus to the definition of the faith that was read before the emperor Marcian at the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 168; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 701.) [L. D.]

FLAVIANUS (11), bishop of Gabala in Syria, south of Laodicea. He signed the synodical epistle of the province of Syria Secunda to the emperor Leo, in reference to the murder of Proterius, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 551; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 798.) [J. de S.]

FLAVIANUS (12), twelfth recorded bishop of Paris, between Felix and Ursicinus, about A.D. 480, judging from his position in the list, which is here undated. (*Gall. Christ.* vii. 15.) [R. T. S.]

FLAVIANUS (13), bishop of Caesena (Cesena), c. A.D. 465–499. He was succeeded by Ignatius. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 441; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* ii. 527.) [R. S. G.]

FLAVIANUS (14), bishop of Vamalla in Mauretania Sitefensis, banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 60 in Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Af. Chr.* i. 346.) [L. D.]

FLAVIANUS (15), patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 489. [FRAVITTA.]

FLAVIANUS (16) II., bishop of Antioch, 498–512. Vacillating in faith, and of little moral strength, he occupied a more prominent than honourable position in the unhappy dissensions which troubled the Eastern church at the close of the 5th and beginning of the 6th century in connexion with the Monophysite troubles at Alexandria, and the deposition of Acacius by pope Felix, A.D. 484. After much unworthy compliance with the demands of the emperor Anastasius, he was ultimately driven from his see, and ended his life in banishment A.D. 518. He had previously been a monk in the monastery of Tilmognon, in Coele-Syria (Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 32), and at the time of his elevation to the episcopate filled the office of "apocrisiarius" or nuncio of the church of Antioch at the imperial court of Constantinople (Vict. Tun. *Chron.*; Theophan. *Chronogr.* p. 122). Before his consecration Flavian passed for an opponent of the decrees of Chalcedon, and on his appointment he sent Solomon, a presbyter of Antioch, to announce the fact to John Haemula, bishop of Alexandria, and to convey letters of communion with the request that he would grant the same to him (Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 23). He speedily, however, withdrew from intercourse with the patriarchs of Alexandria, and joined the opposite party, uniting his name with Elias of Jerusalem, and Macedonius of Constantinople (Liberat. c. 18, p. 128). Flavian soon found a bitter enemy in the turbulent Monophysite, Xenaias or Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis, originally a Persian slave, raised to the episcopate by Peter the Fuller, who pursued him with uncompromising hatred, never resting till he had succeeded in working his overthrow. On Flavian's declaring for the council of Chalcedon Xenaias denounced his patriarch as a concealed Nestorian. Flavian made no difficulty in anathematizing Nestorius and his doctrines. Not content with this concession, Xenaias demanded that he should anathematize Diodorus, Theodore, Theodoret, and a host of others, declaring that unless he publicly condemned them he was himself a Nestorian, even if he should anathematize Nestorius ten thousand times over (Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 31). On his refusing, Xenaias stirred up against him the party of Dioscorus, in Egypt, and uniting with himself Eleusius of Sasima, and Nicias, of the Syrian Laodicea, personal enemies of Flavian, he laid a complaint against Flavian as a Nestorian before Anastasius, A.D. 307 (Evagr. *u. s.*; Theophan. p. 128). Anastasius used a severe pressure, to which Flavian thought it most politic to yield partially, vainly trusting that his concessions would satisfy his enemies, and that they would allow him to live in peace. He convened a synod of the prelates of his patriarchate which drew up a letter to Anastasius confirming the three first councils, passing over that of Chalcedon in silence, and anathematizing Diodorus, Theodore, and the others. It was asserted that Flavian also added some clauses respecting the two natures, at variance with the decisions of Chalcedon (Evagr. *u. s.*; Theophan. p. 129; Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 1414). These concessions provoked fresh demands. Xenaias, whose object was Flavian's overthrow, pursued his advantage, and required of him a formal anathema of the council of Chalcedon, and all who admitted the two natures. On his refusal, Xenaias again denounced him to the emperor, who received with cold aversion the complaints and remonstrances addressed to him, as well as the formal profession of belief in which Flavian declared his acceptance of the decrees of Chalcedon, only so far as they condemned Nestorius and Eutyches, not as a rule of faith. The untiring Xenaias having gathered the bishops of Isauria and others induced them to draw up a formula of faith anathematizing Chalcedon and the two natures, and as Flavian and Macedonius refused to sign this, they declared them excommunicate, A.D. 509 (Evagr. *u. s.*; Theophan. p. 131). The next year we find the vacillating Flavian receiving letters from Severus, the uncompromising antagonist of Macedonius, on the subject of anathematizing Chalcedon, and the reunion of the Acephali with the church (Liberat. c. 19, p. 135). This intelligence so irritated Macedonius that he pronounced an anathema on his former friend, and drove with indignation from his presence the apocrisarii of Antioch (Theophan. p. 131). On the expulsion of Macedonius, A.D. 511, Flavian yielded to the emperor so far as to recognise his successor Timotheus, on being convinced of his orthodoxy, but without disguising his displeasure at the violent and uncanonical measures by which he had been deposed. This exasperated Anastasius, who readily acceded to the request of Xenaias and Soterichus that a council should be convened, ostensibly for the more precise declaration of the faith on the points at issue, but really to bring about the deposition of Flavian and Elias of Jerusalem.

The synod met at Sidon early in A.D. 512. About eighty bishops assembled, under the joint presidency of Xenaias and Soterichus. Flavian and Elias resorted to unworthy means to secure themselves from the menaced deposition. They sent adulatory letters to Anastasius, containing fresh concessions, which even went so far as to reject the decrees of Chalcedon, but diplomatically concealing their divergence of opinion on other critical points. The council was broken up by the emperor's mandate, to the extreme vexation of Soterichus and Xenaias, without pronouncing any sentence on the two patriarchs (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 1414; vii. 88.; Theoph. p. 131; Coteler. *Monum. Eccl. Graec.* iii. 298). Their reprieve, however, was but short. Anastasius was easily convinced that he had been made the dupe of disingenuous declarations, and that Flavian and Elias secretly held to the decrees of Chalcedon, which they had openly repudiated. These calumnious charges received the powerful support of the Monophysite leader Severus, then at Constantinople, who became his successor in the see of Antioch. Elias managed to retain his see for a time through the intercession of St. Sabbas. As for Flavian his perplexities were increased by the inroad of a tumultuous body of monks from Syria Prima, clamouring for the anathematization of Nestorius and all supposed favourers of his heretical doctrines. Some of the rabble of Antioch, bribed, it was said, by Xenaias, joined this turbulent body, but the citizens generally rose against them, slew many of them, and threw their bodies into the Orontes. The confusion and bloodshed was increased by the appearance of a rival body of monks pouring down from the mountain ranges of Coele-Syria, eager to do battle in defence of their metropolitan and former associate. Flavian was completely unnerved, and as the only means of restoring peace to the city, and maintaining his see, he yielded to the demands of the stronger party, and pronounced a public anathema in his cathedral on the decrees of Chalcedon, and the four so-called heretical doctors. This was a severe mortification to his enemies, who were determined to get rid of him in order that his patriarchate might be given to one of their own party. The old charges of disingenuousness were revived, and he was accused to the emperor of condemning with his lips what he still held in his heart. The guilt of the recent disturbances at Antioch was also attributed to him, which afforded the civil authorities a sufficient pretext for desiring him to leave Antioch for a time, as the only way of restoring quiet. His quitting Antioch was eagerly seized on by the emperor as an acknowledgment of guilt. He declared the see vacant, and sent Severus to occupy it, and at the same time banished Flavian to Petra, in Arabia. Here he spent the last six years of his life. His death is placed by Moschus close to that of his chief enemy, the emperor Anastasius, in July, 518. Flavian's restoration to his see was one of the points demanded by Vitalian in his rebellion, A.D. 513 or 514 (Eutych. Alex. *Annal. Eccl.* p. 140; Marcellin. *Chron.*; Theophan. p. 134; Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 32). Flavian is commemorated as a confessor by the church of Rome, together with Elias of Jerusalem, on July 4. (Baron. *Annal.* 496–512; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* xvi. 675–680, 703–708.) [E. V.]

FLAVIANUS (17), bishop of Cotena in Pamphylia, present at the council held at Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536, which condemned Anthimus. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1010; Mansi, viii. 1147.) [L. D.]

FLAVIANUS (18), bishop of Vercelli, c. 536. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xiv. 365; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 762.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLAVIANUS (19), bishop of Crotona, c. A.D. 537. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ix. 528.) [R. S. G.]

FLAVIANUS (20), bishop of Como, 542. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xi. 313; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 261.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLAVIANUS (21), 14th bishop of Le Puy, succeeding Forbius or Fortius, and followed by St. Aurelius, in the latter part of the 6th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 690.) [S. A. B.]

FLAVIANUS (22) (FLAVINIANUS, FLAVIGNIANUS), ST., a bishop of Autun, placed by the authors of the *Gallia Christiana*, following Le Cointe, twenty-first in the series, between Lefastus and Auspicius, about A.D. 610. He was commemorated Aug. 23. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 347; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 610 n. ii., 614. n. xiv., tom. ii. 598, 663.) [S. A. B.]

FLAVIANUS (23), bishop of Utica, the well-known town in proconsular Africa, subscribed the letter of his province to Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, against the Monothelites A.D. 646. (Mansi, x. 942; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 363.) [L. D.]

FLAVIANUS (24) (FLAVINUS), bishop of Novaria (Novara), c. 660. He was preceded by Vigilius (or perhaps Virginius), and followed by Pamphronius. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 948; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* xiv. 448.) [R. S. G.]

FLAVIANUS (25) II., bishop of Como, 692. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xi. 318; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 262.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLAVIANUS (26), bishop of Tortona, 769 at earliest. (Ughelli gives 765.) One of a somewhat doubtful list of bishops. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xiii. 672; Ughelli, iv. 628.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLAVIANUS (27) (FABIANUS), May 25, a deacon and martyr in Africa with SS. Montanus, Lucius, Julianus, and four others. They were all disciples of St. Cyprian, and in holy orders. Arrested by the proconsul Maximus soon after the death of St. Cyprian, they were detained in prison for several months. In the spring of A.D. 259 they were brought up for examination. The friends of Flavianus endeavoured to secure his safety by denying that he was a deacon and therefore outside the scope of the emperor's edict, which ordained death against the clergy alone. (Cyprian's *Epist.* 82, *ad Successum.*) Flavianus, however, avowed that he was a deacon, and suffered three days after his companions. The acts of these martyrs are described by Ruinart as "worthy of all faith, and such as may be numbered among the most precious and truthful monuments of antiquity." They are divided into two parts—1, a letter which they wrote to the faithful from prison; 2, the narra-

tive of their death, written at the command of Flavianus by a Christian who was an eye-witness thereof. (*Mart. Rom.*; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 229; Ceillier, ii. 389; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 262, v.) [G. T. S.]

FLAVIANUS (28), governor of Syria in the time of Diocletian, and charged with carrying out the law against Christians, A.D. 303. (Eusebius, *Mart. Pal.* ap. Migne, Patr. Gr. xx. 1458.) [J. G.]

FLAVIANUS (29), Jan. 30, martyr in the Diocletian persecution at Centumcellae (Civita Vecchia), where he appears to have discharged the office of deputy-prefect under the prefect of the city of Rome, whose jurisdiction extended 100 miles from the city. Baronius commemorates him on Jan. 28. (*Martyr. Rom.*, Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FLAVIANUS (30), vicarius of Africa, 377. In the October of that year, the emperor Gratian addressed an edict to him commanding him to see that all churches then occupied by the Donatists were given up to the Catholics, and ordering all private houses used by the Donatists as places of meeting to be confiscated (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. vi. 2). Flavian was himself a Donatist (Augustin. ep. 87, § 8 in Patr. Lat. xxxiii. 296); he was also a friend and a correspondent of the Athenian sophist Himerius. (Photius, *Biblioth.* ccxliii.) [T. W. D.]

FLAVIANUS (31), praetorian prefect at the time of the death of Valentinian II. He had a reputation for skill in augury, and encouraged Eugenius to rebel against Theodosius, assuring him of victory. (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 22. 5; Zosim. i. 11.) He was prefect of Italy and Illyria in 382, 383, and 391, and consul in 394. He was the brother of Symmachus, many of whose letters to him are extant, comprising the whole of the second book according to the present arrangement. He comes before the notice of students of church history in connexion with St. Ambrose. It was at the request of Flavianus that Eugenius restored the altar of Victory at Milan. (Paulin. *Vit. Amb.* xxvi.) In consequence of this, St. Ambrose refused to accept his presents for the church, and so enraged Flavianus that, on his departure from Milan, he threatened as soon as he returned to make the church a stable for his horses, and to force the clerics to serve as soldiers. (Paulin. *Vit. Amb.* xxxi.) However, he did not live to carry out his threat. He seems to have died soon afterwards in guarding the Alps against Theodosius I., A.D. 394. Theodosius, after his victory, restored much of the property of Flavianus to his son, who bore the same name, and was afterwards prefect of Rome in 399.) (Symm. *Ep.* iv. 7.) [M. F. A.]

FLAVIANUS (32), a presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of Hermillus, or Hermaus, in Constantinople. He subscribed the deposition of Eutyches at the council of Constantinople in A.D. 448. (Labbe, iv. 232 B.) [C. G.]

FLAVICHO, succeeded Euphronius as bishop of Autun. Cir. A.D. 500. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 340.) [R. T. S.]

FLAVINUS, bishop of Novara. [FLAVIANUS (24).]

FLAVINUS, thirty-seventh bishop of Chartres, following Hado and succeeded by Godalsadus, perhaps late in the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1102.) [S. A. B.]

FLAVITA, bishop of Constantinople. [FRAVITTA.]

FLAVIUS (1) LATINUS, legendary bishop of Brixia (Brescia), c. A.D. 84 or 90, preceded by St. Clateus a martyr, and followed by St. Apollonius. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 728; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xi. 550.) [R. S. G.]

FLAVIUS (2), bishop of Antioch. [FABIUS (2).]

FLAVIUS (3), addressed in a letter by Dionysius of Alexandria in A.D. 260 or 261 on the Paschal question. (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. c. 20.) [J. G.]

FLAVIUS (4) BOETHIUS, Roman senator, belonging to the Anician family, and probably the sole consul in the year 487 (Clinton, *Fast.* i. 700); he is probably, and is usually regarded as, the father of the celebrated statesman and philosopher Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxiii. 555; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, x. 645) [BOETHIUS], though Baronius (*Ann.* a. 487, i.) identifies the consul in A.D. 487 with the philosopher. He seems to have died while his son was yet young (Boethius, *Consol. Phil.* ii. 3), but nothing is definitely known. (Gibbon, *Hist.* c. 39; Robertson, *Ch. Hist.* iii. c. 6.) [J. G.]

FLAVIUS (5), bishop of Chartres. His date is approximately fixed by the fact that his successor was ruling in A.D. 490. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1095.) [R. T. S.]

FLAVIUS (6) (FLIEU, FILLEUL), ST., sixteenth bishop of Rouen, following St. Gildardus, or Godardus, and succeeded by St. Praetextatus; was present at the second council of Orleans in A.D. 533, the third in 538, and the fourth in 541. He is commemorated Aug. 23. (Mansi, viii. 838, ix. 20, 120; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 10; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 640.) [S. A. B.]

FLAVIUS (7), seventeenth bishop of Rheims, succeeding Romanus and followed by Mapinius, was present at the council of Clermont, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 863; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 13.) [S. A. B.]

FLAVIUS (8), ninth bishop of Châlon-sur-Saône (Cabilo), succeeding St. Agricola and followed by Lupus; secretary, or referendarius, to king Guntram. He subscribed the first council of Mâcon (581), that of Lyons in 583, the second of Valentia, and the second of Mâcon (both in 585), and in 591 was present at Nanterre at the baptism of Clotaire. In the *Epitomata* of Fredegarius to the history of Gregory of Tours, he is said to have favoured the faction of Gundoald, who came to France from Constantinople, asserting himself to be the son of Clotaire. He is said to have founded or restored the monastery of St. Peter in the suburbs. The date of his death is unknown. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 46, x. 28; Mansi, ix. 937, 944, 946, 958, x. 469; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 867.) [S. A. B.]

FLAVIUS (9), bishop of Porto, signs the acts of the tenth council of Toledo, A.D. 656, in the thirty-sixth place, before fourteen other bishops. (*Esp. Sagr.* xxi. 30; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 158; Mansi, xi. 43.) [M. A. W.]

FLAVIUS (10), bishop of Derthona (Tortona), probably between A.D. 765 and 786. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* iv. 855; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* xiii. 672.) [R. S. G.]

FLAVIUS (11), May 7, bishop and martyr at Nicomedia with his brothers Augustine and Augustus. (*Mart. Rom.*; *Mart.* Hieron., Rabani, Usuardi, Adonis, Notkeri.) [G. T. S.]

FLAVIUS (12), a title of dignity frequently used by the Lombard kings as a prefix to their names. (Paulus Diac. *Gest. Lang.* iii. 16, 27; *Catalogus Regum Langob.* in *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Lang.* 1878, p. 504.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLAVOSUS, Donatist bishop of Cigisa, Cicsita, or Sigisa, a town of proconsular Africa, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 460, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FLESAUR, a surname of Ethelfrid king of Northumbria (Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* in *M. H. B.* 74 b, 76 a). Henry of Huntingdon speaks of the same king, "Edelfert qui vocatur ferox," "Edelfert rex ferus," which determines the meaning of the word. (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* ii. in *M. H. B.* 714 d, e.) [C. H.]

FLEWYN (FFLEWYN), Welsh saint of the beginning of the sixth century, son of Ithel Hael, and brother of Gredifael. The two brothers were made superintendents of the monastic school at Tywyn ar Daf, Carmarthenshire; Flewyn is patron and founder of Llanfflewyn, a chapel subject to Llanrhyddlad, in Anglesey (Rees, *Welsh Saints* 187, 223, 324; Williams, *Emin. Welsh*, 156; *Myv. Arch.* ii. 42, 44). [J. G.]

FLIEU, bishop of Rouen. [FLAVIUS (6).]

FLOBARGISUS (FLOBRIGIS, FLOGIBRIS), bishop of Salzburg (Juvavia) in A.D. 739 (Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 307; Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* xi. 6). But in quoting the names of the early bishops of Salzburg, Pertz (*ib.* ix. 757, n., 760, n.; xi. 19) does not attach much value to the lists he uses. In the *Ser. et Success. Salisb. Ant.* (No. 6, Salib. 1682) he is said to have ruled thirty-six years, and died in 747. [J. G.]

FLOCELLUS, martyr at Autun under Antoninus. (Baron. *A. E.* ann. 154, iii.) [C. H.]

FLOCOALDUS (FOCOALDUS, FOCALDUS, SOCOALDUS), twenty-fourth bishop of Auxerre, succeeding St. Tetricus and followed by Savaricus, at the commencement of the 8th century. He is said to have died on March 15, after an episcopate of 5 years 4 months and 10 days, and to have been buried in the church of St. Eusebius. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 270.) [S. A. B.]

FLODULFUS, bishop. [CLODULFUS.]

FLOGIBRIS, bishop of Salzburg. (Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* ix. 757.) [FLOBARGISUS.] [J. G.]

FLORA (1), addressed by Ptolemaeus. [PTOLEMAEUS.] [G. S.]

FLORA (2)—July 29. Virgin, and martyr, with Lucilla, at Rome under Valerian and Gallienus, A.D. 258. She suffered with twenty-two others. A sermon of Petrus Damianus on them is extant. (Pet. Dam. *Opp.* par. ii. p. 500, in Pat. L. cxliv. 1025; *Mart. Rom.*; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 262. lvii.) [G. T. S.]

FLORA (3), lady of rank, mother of Cynegius. [CYNEGIUS (2).]

FLORBERTUS (1) (FLOREBERTUS, FLORIBERTIUS), thirty-first or thirty-second bishop of Liége, succeeding St. Hubert, whose son he was, and followed by Fulcarius. He is said to have been abbat of Stavelo (Stabulaus), a monastery in the diocese, before his elevation. His death is placed in A.D. 745, after an episcopate of about eighteen years, in which he enriched the church with many gifts. He was buried in the church of St. Lambert, in the same tomb with Peter and Andoletus, who suffered martyrdom with that saint. (*Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, tom. i. 145, ed. Chapeauville, Liége, 1612; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 830.) [S. A. B.]

FLORBERTUS (2), first abbat of the monastery of Ghent. He received St. Livinus and his companions after their departure from Ireland. (*S. Livini Vita*, 22; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 338.) It was at his request that St. Livinus wrote an epitaph on St. Bavo, the martyr of Ghent, which, with an accompanying letter, he sent to the abbat. Both are in elegiac verse, and are extant. (Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 345.) [S. A. B.]

FLOREIUS, a presbyter of Eporedia. [EULOGIUS (9).]

FLORENCIUS, bishop of Merida. [FLORENTIUS.]

FLORENCIUS, bishop of Saetabis, signs the acts of the fourth and fifth councils of Toledo, 633 and 636. He is the second bishop of the see known. Saetabis (referred to by Silius Italicus, *Punic.* iii. 373) is the modern Xativa, and we have no mention of the see after the Moorish conquest. (*Esp. Sagr.* viii. 47; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385-405.) [MUTTUS.] [M. A. W.]

FLORENDUS (FLORENDINUS), tenth bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, following Amandus, and succeeded by Providerius, in the latter half of the 5th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 862.) [S. A. B.]

FLORENTIA—Nov. 10. Martyr with Modestus and Tiberius in the Diocletian persecution at Agatha (Agde). (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi, Wandalberti; Petrus de Natal. lib. 10, c. 46.) [G. T. S.]

FLORENTIANUS (1), bishop of Midia in Numidia, banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 56 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 227.) [L. D.]

FLORENTIANUS (2), bishop of Utica. [FLORENTINUS (5).] [C. H.]

FLORENTIANUS (3), bishop of Vicus Pacis in Numidia, present as the delegate of his province at the council held by Boniface at Carthage A.D. 525, where he made excuse for

the absence of his primate (Missor) on the ground of old age, and handed his letter to the archbishop. (Mansi, viii. 638, 647; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 553.) [L. D.]

FLORENTINA (1), a young lady to whom St. Augustine wrote expressing his willingness to give her all the help in her studies that he could give. He enlarges on the great responsibility of all who profess to teach, and reminds her that after all God is the true imparter of all knowledge. (Aug. *ep.* 266.) [H. W. P.]

FLORENTINA (2), ST., the sister of Leander, Isidore, and Fulgentius; younger than Leander, and older than Isidore, who was the youngest of the family. When the family exile took place she was young. "You have, therefore," says Leander in the last chapter of *Lib. ad Florentinam*, "no recollections which need stir your soul with longings (to return), and blessed art thou who knowest nothing of what I suffer." After their parents' death Leander, metropolitan of Seville before 579, assumed the position towards her of guardian and parent, and at an unknown date, but in any case before Leander's death in 600, she became a nun. Tradition places her convent near Astigi (Ecija), of which her brother Fulgentius was bishop, and identifies its site with a little village on the banks of the Xenil, called Nuestra Señora del Valle, whither a procession goes every year from the Hospital of Santa Florentina in Ecija. According to various MS. breviaries (the evidence of the breviaries, however, in such points as these is seldom worth much), she was not only superior of her own convent, but of many others which voluntarily placed themselves under her guidance—a position of which there is no trace in any of the contemporary documents. To her, after her profession, Leander addressed the treatise which Isidore (*de Vir. Ill.* cap. xli.) calls *de institutione virginum et contemptu mundi libellum*, and which is commonly known as the rule of St. Leander, or the Libellus ad Florentinam. There is no indication in it that Florentina was at the time it was written the superior of her convent. On the contrary, the *senior* who, in cases where it was necessary to distinguish within the convent walls, between the high-born and wealthy and the poor and low-born, "is to be praised, if she bear herself discreetly towards individual persons, adjudging to each what is necessary"—and with regard to whom, Leander directs, when forbidding private property in the convent, "Whatever thy hand shall touch, seniori ostende, in communi repone," seems to be distinct from the Soror Florentina to whom the treatise is addressed. Florez gives the name of the superior as Turtura (*Esp. Sagr.* x. 120), supposing that the famous passage at the end of the rule—"Noli ab eo avolare nido ubi turtur reponit pullos suos. Simplicitatis filia es, quae Turture nata es . . . Turturem pro matre respice. Turturem pro magistra attende," etc.—from which the name of Turtura as the wife of Severianus, and mother of Florentina and her brothers, was commonly obtained by older writers, really refers to the abbess of Florentina's convent, and that she, and not the wife of Severianus, was called Turtura. The passage, however, must always remain of doubtful meaning. The rule opens with a long introduction in the form of a letter devoted to the praises of virginity, and consists of twenty-one chapters. Intercourse with women still in the world must be avoided by the nuns; communication even with holy men is forbidden; they must be frugal in eating and drinking, and persevering in reading and prayer. The Old Testament is to be read in a spiritual sense; in fasting regard is to be paid to the weak and infirm; wine is only to be used as a medicine; they must remain within the convent (in monasterio), must avoid all appearance of vita privata, and not imitate those virgins who remain in the world (cap. 17). Can. 13 of the council of Eliberi, and Gams's remarks upon it (*K. G.* ii. (1) 64) may be compared with this last passage. These women vowed to celibacy, but remaining in their parents' or relations' houses, represented in Leander's time the older type of monachism which existed before the conventual type. Of this older type Eulalia of Merida is commonly taken as the most famous Spanish representative (although neither in the *Acta*, nor in Prudentius's well-known hymn, is there any mention of *vows* in her case, whereas the council of Eliberi speaks of "virgines *dicatae Deo*, and of the *pactum virginitatis*"). One sees from the *Libellus ad Florentinam* that in Leander's time the practice, though still continued, was discredited and passing away, and we remember no later notice of it in Spain. For certain modern instances of it elsewhere see Gams, *l. c.*

Leander's, however, was not the only rule which Florentina possessed, if we are to take the words "Habes Regulam quam sequaris" (cap. 14) in the sense which Gams assigns to them (*K.-G.* ii. (2) 45). It is doubtful, however, whether the word *regula* is not used here in the same sense as the word *exemplum* farther down, and does not refer to the example of the Virgin Mary, quoted in this same chapter. We know of only one earlier Spanish treatise on Virginity, that of Hosius, of Cordova, also addressed to his sister (Isid. *de Vir. Ill.* cap. v.). Considering the familiarity which Isidore, Leander's pupil, shews with this and other lost works of Hosius, it is not improbable that Leander may have modelled his own treatise upon it. The last chapter of the *Regula* is full of interest for the light it throws upon the early history of the family to which the brother and sister belonged. We have already quoted part of it (see above, and under FULGENTIUS). Towards the end Leander asks for his sister's prayers: "Nor do thou forget our younger brother, Isidore, whom our common parents left under God's guardianship to the care of his surviving brothers and sister (tribus superstitibus germanis), and thus joyfully, and without fear for his infancy, departed to God . . . . Love him the more dearly and pray the more to Jesus for him as thou knowest him to have been the more tenderly loved by our parents . . . . For I am well assured that thy virginal prayer for us will touch the Divine ear." It was at Florentina's request that this younger brother in after years, drew up, in the height of his reputation, the treatise, *Contra Judaeos* (Isid. *Opera*, ed. Arevalo; Braulion's list of Isidore's works appended to the *De Vir. Ill. Esp. Sagr.* vi. 468). Gams thinks that Florentina outlived all her brothers. There is, however, no evidence one way or the other. Her

remains, according to Florez, shared the same fate as those of her brother Fulgentius (q. v.). Her festival is on June 20. (*AA. SS.* June, iv. 18. 21; *Esp. Sagr.* x. 119; Gams, *K.-G.* ii. (2) 43; Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyr. Hisp.* iii. 555, prints the *Lib. ad Floren.* entire. It is also given in the *Cod. Reg.* ed. Brockie, i. 405, and cap. 21, in *Esp. Sagr.* ix. App. 5.) [M. A. W.]

FLORENTINUS. See also FLORENTIUS.

FLORENTINUS (1) (FLORENTIUS), bishop of Treves, succeeded St. Severinus, and said to have been martyred. Our only information, however, with regard to him comes from the Roman Martyrology and the Treves breviary, in which he is related to have lived and suffered in the 4th century, before the conversion of Constantine. But the Bollandist Van Hecke swells these small materials by a long dissertation to prove that Christianity in Gaul, and at Treves in particular, had its origin in the apostolic age. Herein he differs from the Bollandist author of the life of St. Maternus. (*AA. SS.* 17 Oct. viii. 16.) [R. T. S.]

FLORENTINUS (2), bishop of Merida. [FLORENTIUS (8).]

FLORENTINUS (3) (FLORENTIUS), Donatist bishop of Adrumetum, in Byzacene, present at the Donatist council of Cabarsussis, A.D. 393. (Aug. *En. in Psal.* 36, c. 20.) [H. W. P.]

FLORENTINUS (4), the name of three bishops at the Carthaginian conference of 411, viz. one (also called FLORENTIUS) of Hippo Diarrhytus, or Zaritus, in proconsular Africa (Ben. Zert.), assistant on the Catholic side (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 288, 345, 425, ed. Oberthür); (Donatist) of Furni in Byzacene (*M. V. D.* p. 447); (Donatist) of Tubusuptus or Thugusubtus in Mauretania Sitifensis (Borj Ticla, *Ant. Itin.* 32, 2). (*M. V. D.* p. 440). [H. W. P.]

FLORENTINUS, bishop of Tenedos. [FLORENTIUS (19).]

FLORENTINUS (5), bishop of Utica, and another bishop, of Tusurus in the Byzacene, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 55, 57 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 342, 362.) [L. D.]

FLORENTINUS (6), bishop of Tisili, in the proconsular province of Africa, present at the council of Carthage, A.D. 525. (Mansi, viii. 648; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 328.) [L. D.]

FLORENTINUS (7) (FLORENTIUS), the first known bishop of Clusium (Chiusi), c. A.D. 465. He was at the council held at Rome in that year. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iii. 667; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* xvii. 576.) [R. S. G.]

FLORENTINUS (8), bishop of Paestum (Capaccio), c. A.D. 499, attending the Roman synods of Symmachus (Mansi, viii. 235 B, 269 A; Volti, *Vescovi Pestani*, p. 1). Ughelli (*Ital. Sac.* vii. 465) misreads the name Laurentius. [C. H.]

FLORENTINUS (9), bishop of Ancona c. 603 Florentinus archdeacon of Ancona (No. 17), has been supposed identical with this bishop, but it seems more probable that our bishop had been previously a deacon at Ravenna (No. 18), and that he was chosen bishop of Ancona on the recommendation of Gregory the Great. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 373; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* vii. 27–29.) [R. S. G.]

FLORENTINUS (10), bishop of Gubbio (Eugubium), present at the Lateran synod concerning the election of popes and image worship under Stephen IV. in 769. (Mansi, xii. 715; Hefele, § 343.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLORENTINUS (11), a Christian official to the count of Africa, who had carried off Faventius by force, and to whom St. Augustine wrote on the subject (*Ep.* 114). [FAVENTIUS (1).] [H. W. P.]

FLORENTINUS (12)—Sept. 27. Martyr with Hilarius at the village of Sémont, near Autun. He had been a soldier, but retiring therefrom he devoted himself to the religious life. In one of the irruptions of the barbarians his tongue was torn out, after which, continuing to preach, he was beheaded. He died about A.D. 406. His relics were translated in A.D. 855 to the abbey of Ainay-de-Lyon. His acts are extant in a twofold shape, one longer, the other shorter. They were written by a monk of the abbey of Bonneval after the translation of the relics. They are of course very corrupt. There has been a long controversy between Mabillon, Castellanus, Ruinart, and others about the exact place of his martyrdom, some contending for the ancient town of Sion in the Rhone valley in Switzerland, others for Sémont and Suin in France, of which there is a full account in the Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vii. 404–427. (*Mart. Rom.* Hieron., Usuardi; Ruinart, *Hist. Persec. Wandal.* p. 409; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vii. 420; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 734.) [G. T. S.]

FLORENTINUS (13), a presbyter of Idassa, a place in Numidia. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 437, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FLORENTINUS (14), a correspondent and friend of Sidonius Apollinaris. Ambitious like many others of possessing a letter from Sidonius, he wrote to the bishop complaining of his delay in coming to see him and in writing to him. Sidonius, either not inclined to encourage his admirers in this way, or too modest to think his compositions of any consequence, disappointed Florentinus by this brief reply, "I come and I write." (Sid. Apol. *Ep.* 19, in Migne, Pat. Lat. lviii.) [C. H.]

FLORENTINUS (15), first abbat of the monastery of the Apostles at Arles, established by St. Aurelian. He is said to have been born in 483, made abbat in 548, and to have died in 553. Januarius, a monk of the same foundation, composed on the occasion of the translation of his remains, in 588, from the monastery burial-ground to the church of the Sancta Crux, an acrostic epitaph, which is given by Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 39. He was commemorated on April 12, as the day of his death, and May 21, the day of his translation. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 599.) [S. A. B.]

FLORENTINUS (16), Irish missionary at Amboise, said by Ussher (*Eccl. Ant.* c. xvi. wks.

vi. 309–10, and Ind. Chron.) to have lived in A.D. 560, but the dates and facts of his life are confused. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 16, § 16; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. 24, tom. x. 850–58.)
[J. G.]

FLORENTINUS (17), archdeacon of Ancona. He was one of three candidates recommended to pope Gregory to succeed to the vacant see of Ancona, the others being Rusticus deacon of Ancona, and Florentinus deacon of Ravenna. Gregory hears this character of him, that he is well versed in the Scriptures, but too bowed down by age, and too parsimonious, and moreover has solemnly sworn never to be a bishop. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. xiv. ind. vii. ep. 11 ed. Migne); Jaffé (*Reg. Pontif.* 153) dates this letter Dec. 603. The vacancy appears to have been filled by either this Florentinus or the following; see Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Ital.* vii. 28, 190).
[C. H.]

FLORENTINUS (18), deacon of Ravenna, one of three candidates, and the most popular, recommended to pope Gregory for the vacant see of Ancona. (See preceding article.) In the case of his being appointed it would be necessary, Gregory observes, to procure the free approval of his own bishop, whose consent ought not to appear constrained by any mandate of the pope. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. xiv. ind. vii. ep. 11 ed. Migne.) [FLORENTINUS (9).]
[C. H.]

FLORENTIUS (1), sixth recorded bishop of Tongres, between St. Severinus and Martinus, belonging apparently to about the year 230, judging from his position in the list, which is here dateless and without further record. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 809.) [R. T. S.]

FLORENTIUS (2), the first known bishop of Pisaurum (Pesaro), c. A.D. 247. He is said to have built a cathedral at Pesaro, and to have placed in it the relics of the martyr St. Terentius. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 948; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iii. 340.) [R. S. G.]

FLORENTIUS (3) PUPPIANUS, a bishop and confessor in the Decian persecution, of whom nothing is known but what is contained in Cyp. Ep. 66. He had written a slanderous letter to Cyprian and receives a warm and singular reply. He had apparently written to him as "Thascius Cyprianus," omitting the specially Christian name Caecilius [CYPRIAN], and the reply is headed, "Cyprianus qui et Thascius Florentio qui et Puppiano," &c. Through the epistle he calls him Puppianus carefully, as if to annoy, and quotes with precision the Caecilius Cyprianus Episcopus Christianorum of the edict. He sarcastically contrasts with his own exile "the dignity of charity and martyrdom," "the highest sublimity of martyrdom," which Florentius had attained, and asks him to confirm him in the episcopate. Florentius had doubted the truth of his visions, and Cyprian promises to inquire in vision whether he may admit him to communion. Pearson (p. 47) takes Florentius to have been a Novatianist, but it may be doubted, considering this last threat, whether the "cum in ecclesia esses et mecum communicares" is more than a sneer (like that of Firmilian to Stephen), as if he had excommunicated himself. [E. W. B.]

FLORENTIUS (4) I. (FLORENTINUS), bishop of Vienne, martyr, cir. A.D. 253. Ado in his *Chronicon* (*Aet. Sext.* ann. 241) calls him Florentinus, and says he was eminent in life and learning in the reign of Gordian, and remained until the time of Gallienus and Volusinian, when he was exiled and martyred. In his *Martyrology* Ado records him as Florentius under Jan. 3, and calls him eighth bishop of Vienne. (See also Boll. *Acta SS.* 3 Jan. i. 127; *Gall. Chr.* VI. 10.)
[C. H.]

FLORENTIUS (5), bishop of Treves. [FLORENTINUS (1).]

FLORENTIUS (6), bishop of Ancyra in Phrygia Pacatiana; one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325 (Mansi, ii. 695), and afterwards one of the Eusebian seceders to Philippopolis from the Council of Sardica, 347. (Mansi, iii. 139; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 799.) [L. D.]

FLORENTIUS (7), bishop of Puteoli (Pozzuoli), c. A.D. 355. He appears to have been deposed for misconduct, but to have returned and taken repossession of his see (by force, as would appear from the expression "eam ecclesiam invasit") fifteen years after his condemnation. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 318; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xvii. 681.) [R. S. G.]

FLORENTIUS (8) (FLORENCIUS, FLORENTINUS), bishop of Merida from about 321 to about 357. Our first notice of him is probably as the Florentius Diaconus, who accompanied his bishop, Liberius, of Merida, to the first council of Arles (A.D. 314). Among the signatures to the council of Sardica, he appears as "Florentius ab Spaniis de Emerita"; and later on his name became well known from the strange story of his death given in the *Libellus Precum* of Marcellinus and Faustinus, addressed to Valentinian and Theodosius (Sirmond. i. 136). According to these Luciferian presbyters, Florentius, for the sin of having continued in communion with Hosius of Cordova after his signature of the Sirmium Formula, was stricken with a sudden and awful death in the church of Merida, before a great concourse of people. Twice he fell senseless, and twice recovered sufficiently to remount the episcopal throne. The seat, however, again repelled him "ut quasi indignum," and he fell for the third time and expired. The writers of the *Libellus* call the whole "great city of Emerita" to witness to the truth of their story. It may no doubt have a basis of truth; various forms of sudden and fatal illness would present the appearances mentioned; but considering the accounts given in the same document of the deaths of Hosius and Potamius, and the animus of the whole, not much faith need be given to the story. Florentius was probably the first Metropolitan bishop of Merida. On the subject of the changes in the church organisation of Spain during the 4th century, see Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. (1) 166. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiii. 133; Harduin, i. 259.) [M. A. W.]

FLORENTIUS (9), bishop of Cahors about the year 370. He may be the same whom Paulinus of Nola addresses (lib. iv. *Ep.* 30). He was succeeded by his brother Alethius, mentioned by Gregory of Tours. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* ii. 13; *Gall. Christ.* vii. 575.) [R. T. S.]

FLORENTIUS (10), bishop of Ravenna, appears to have succeeded Probus in that see, c. A.D. 361, and to have been followed by Liberius, c. 374. He is said to have been a man of great learning and eloquence. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 330; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 26.) [R. S. G.]

FLORENTIUS (11) II., bishop of Vienne, assisted at the Council of Valence, A.D. 374, and may possibly have presided there as metropolitan. (Ceillier, iv. 600; Tillemont, iii. 623; Labbe, *Conc.* ii. 904; *Gall. Christ.* xvi. 10.) [R. T. S.]

FLORENTIUS (12) (FLORINTIUS), sixth in the list of bishops of Arretium (Arezzo), between Severianus and Maximus, succeeded A.D. 375, died A.D. 377. (Ughel. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 409.) [C. H.]

FLORENTIUS (13), bishop of Adrumetum. [FLORENTINUS (3).]

FLORENTIUS (14), bishop of Hippo Diarrhytus. [FLORENTINUS (4).]

FLORENTIUS (15), African bishop, whose name, as well as that of Secundinus, is associated with that of St. Augustine in a letter concerning Leporius, addressed to Proculus and Cylinnius. (*Ep.* 219.) [LEPORIUS.] [H. W. P.]

FLORENTIUS (16) (FLORENTINUS), bishop of Tibur (Tivoli). His accession is variously stated at from A.D. 402 to 417. He appears to have died c. A.D. 449. Innocent I. once wrote to him, reproving him for having infringed on the diocesan rights of Ursus bishop of Nomentum. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. *216; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* vi. 654; Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacr.* vii. 525.) [R. S. G.]

FLORENTIUS (17), A.D. 448, bishop of Sardis and metropolitan of Lydia. He had a difference with two bishops of his province. This gave occasion to Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, to assemble a council, probably of prelates who were at that city on various business. The best known present are Saturninus of Marcianople, Basilius of Seleucia, Seleucus of Amasea, and Julian of Cos. The council assembled in the chapter-house of the cathedral. (Ceillier, x. 669; Labbe, vi. p. 495.) [W. M. S.]

FLORENTIUS (18), a bishop of the Western church, whose name stands at the head of the 117th letter of Theodoret. This has, with reason, been thought to have been a circular letter addressed to the Occidental bishops generally. It was written at the same time with that to pope Leo (*Epist.* 113), A.D. 449, after Theodoret had been deposed by the Latrocinium of Ephesus, and when attempts were being made to drive him into exile, and was conveyed to the West by two chorepiscopi, Abramius and Hypatius, and Alypius, the exarch of the monks of the diocese of Cyrrhus. Theodoret exhorts his correspondent to come forward as the champion of the apostolic faith, and help in driving away the heresy then troubling the East, and not to look coldly on those who, like himself, were suffering for the truth's sake, but give them the benefit of his protection, and thus prove to his enemies that they could not have their own way in everything (Theod. *Epist.* 117). [E. V.]

FLORENTIUS (19), bishop of Lesbos, Tenedos, Proselene, Aegiali, according to signatures affixed to the third and sixteenth acts of the council of Chalcedon. He appears also as "Episcopus, Lesbi, Tenedi, Hellesponti" (in the acts of the "Robber" Council), "Episc. Lesbi, Tenedi" (Act. vi. Chalced.), and as "Episc. Lesbiteriae" (Lesbi Tenedi? synodal letter to Leo I., Leo Mag. *Ep.* 98, 1106, Migne; *Oriens Christ.* i. 949). Though he was present at the Robber Council at Ephesus in A.D. 449, and assented to the condemnation of Flavian and Eusebius, he appears to have recognised his error before the council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, at which he was also present, and on the orthodox side. At this latter council his weakness prevented him from writing, and he employed a chorepiscopus, by name Euelpistus, to subscribe for him. (Mansi, vi. 932, vii. 160, 408—here described as "of Mitylene," 436; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 955.) [C. G.]

FLORENTIUS (20), bishop of Hadrianopolis in Pisidia; present at the oecumenical Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451; he also signed the synodal letter of Pisidia to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1049; Mansi, vii. 160, 571.) [L. D.]

FLORENTIUS, bishop of Clusium. [FLORENTINUS (7).]

FLORENTIUS (21), one of three bishops, Severus and Equitius being the others, to whom pope Simplicius wrote, Nov. 19, 475. (Mansi, *Concil.* vii. 973; Jaffé, *Regest. Pontif.* 49.) [C. H.]

FLORENTIUS (22), bishop of Centenaria, in Numidia, banished by Hunneric, 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 56 in Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 136.) [L. D.]

FLORENTIUS (23), bishop of Nova Germania in Numidia, banished as the preceding. *Notitia*, 56; Morcelli, i. 244.) [L. D.]

FLORENTIUS (24), bishop of Semina in proconsular Africa, banished to Corsica as the preceding. (*Notitia*, 56; Morcelli, i. 274.) He died in Corsica, and was venerated there as a saint, though his remains were carried into Italy (*AA. SS.* Boll. ii. Jun. 179). [L. D.]

FLORENTIUS (25), ST., eighth bishop of Orange, between Verus and Vindemialis. According to the *Proprium* of the church of Placentia in Italy, where he is commemorated Oct. 17, he was a native of Tours. He subscribed the council of Epaon, A.D. 517, and the fourth of Arles, A.D. 524. A bishop of his name too was present at the first of Lyons in 517, but it is doubtful whether the signature belongs to him or the bishop of St. Paul de Trois-Châteaux, who was contemporary with him. His death is placed about A.D. 526. He was honoured as the patron of the town of Florentiola, in the diocese of Placentia, which possessed his relics, the translation of which was commemorated March 19. (Ado and Usuard. Oct. 17; Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 380, cxxiv. 585; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 76; Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* viii. 565, 570, 627, Flor. 1759–98; *Gall. Christ.* i. 767.) [S. A. B.]

FLORENTIUS (26), 11th bishop of St. Paul de Trois-Châteaux, succeeding St. Michael and

followed by Heraclius. He is known only by his subscription of the council of Epaon (A.D. 517). He must be distinguished from the priest of this diocese (45), who wrote the life of St. Rusticula. (Mansi, viii. 565; *Gall. Christ.* i. 707.) [S. A. B.]

FLORENTIUS (27), bishop of Lamsorta, in Numidia; present at the council of Carthage A.D. 525. (Mansi, viii. 647; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 198.) [L. D.]

FLORENTIUS (28), bishop of Campilia, in the district of Massa Populonia in Etruria, c. 540–546; possibly bishop of Populonia itself; but he is of doubtful authenticity. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xvii. 681, 724; *Acta Sanct.* Boll. 15 Mai. iii. 470.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLORENTIUS (29), bishop of Matelica. His name is joined with that of pope Vigilius in the Damnatio Theodori, *i.e.* the document issued by Vigilius in Constantinople, August 551, and containing sentence of deposition against Theodore Askidas, bishop of Caesarea, and Mennas, patriarch of Constantinople. (Mansi, ix. 60; Hefele, § 264.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLORENTIUS (30), bishop of Epidaurus (Ragusa) in Dalmatia, c. A.D. 600. (Farlati, *Illyric. Sacr.* vi. 410.) [J. de S.]

FLORENTIUS (31), the name of two bishops in the proconsular province of Africa, viz. of Eguges and of Zempta (Zenta), who signed the letter of the synod of his province, which was sent to Paul patriarch of Constantinople against the errors of the Monothelites, A.D. 646. (Mansi, x. 941; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 370). [L. D.]

FLORENTIUS (32), ST., twentieth bishop of Strasburg, succeeding St. Arbogastus and followed by Wiggernus, or Wiggerus (A.D.679–687), was born in Ireland. Together with his predecessor, also an Irishman, and two others, he came to Alsace early in the reign of Dagobert II., possibly in company with that prince, who upon his father Sigebert's death (c. A.D. 655) had been privily sent away to Ireland by Grimoald the mayor of the palace, and did not return to his kingdom till about the year 670. In Alsace he settled himself in the forest of Hasle or Haselac, near where the Bruscha flows from the Vosges, and built, probably with Dagobert's aid, the monastery of Haselac at about six leagues from Strasburg. Elected to the bishopric upon the death of Arbogastus, he founded at Strasburg the monastery of St. Thomas, mainly as a refuge and house of entertainment for the Irish. He retained the friendship of Dagobert, whose daughter he was said to have freed from demoniacal possession, or according to another account restored to speech and sight. After an episcopate of eight years he died A.D. 687, on Nov. 7. He was buried in the monastery church of St. Thomas, but at the beginning of the 9th century his remains were translated to Haselac by Ratho, one of his successors in the see. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 782, 831; Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical Hist. of Ireland*, xviii.; *Florentii Vita*, Surius, *de Vitis Prob. Sanct.* Nov. 7; *Vita S. Deodati*, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iii. 873; Mabill. *Ann. Bened.* an. 676, n. lxiv. tom. i. p. 533.) [S. A. B.]

FLORENTIUS (33), June 1, martyr at Perugia with Marcellinus, Cyriacus, Faustinus, and Julianus under Decius, A.D. 250. The *Rom. Mart.* commemorates them on June 5. (*Rom. Mart.* ed. Baron.; *AA. SS. Boll.* Jun. i. 33–37.) [G. T. S.]

FLORENTIUS (34), July 15, martyr at Carthage with the deacon Catulinus. [CATULINUS (2).] [G. T. S.]

FLORENTIUS (35), July 25, martyr with Felix. They were natives of Sipontum, an ancient town in Apulia. They belonged to a body of eighty-three soldiers who suffered martyrdom at one time under Maximian at Furconium, a town of Central Italy. (*Martyr. Rom.* ed. Baron.; Ferrarii, *Catal. SS.*; *Acta SS. Boll.* Jul. vi. 167.) [G. T. S.]

FLORENTIUS (36), Oct. 13, martyr by burning at Thessalonica in Maximin's persecution, A.D. 312. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron.; Basil. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

FLORENTIUS (37), May 11, martyr at Osimo (Auximum), not far from Ancona. He suffered with Sisinius, a deacon, and Diocletius under Maximian. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron.) [G. T. S.]

FLORENTIUS (38), Oct. 10, martyr at Bonn with Cassius and many others. Probably they were soldiers, as Bonn was the headquarters of a legion, and a fortress. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron.; *Mart.* Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

FLORENTIUS (39), Oct. 27, martyr at Trois-Châteaux. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron., Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FLORENTIUS (40), presbyter and confessor, commemorated on Sept. 22; placed by Usuardus "in pago Pictavensi," and by the Bollandists at a mountain of Gaul called Glonna, at the extremity of Aquitaine, near the Loire (*Acta SS.* 22 Sept. vi. 410–438).

According to his very legendary Acts, which are said to belong to the 9th century, Florentius came to Lyons, thence proceeded to Tours and thence to Glonna, where he built an oratory. He paid a yearly visit to St. Martin at Tours, lived to the age of 123 years, of which 63 were after the death of St. Florianus, and was buried at Glonna. [J. G.]

FLORENTIUS (41), priest of a church near Subiaco, where St. Benedict of Nursia had one of his twelve monasteries. It was to avoid the jealousy of Florentius at his growing fame that St. Benedict removed from that spot to Monte Cassino. (Mabill. *Annal. Bened.* p. 53.) [C. H.]

FLORENTIUS (42), father of St. Nicetius (Nizier) of Lyons. The story is that the see of Geneva being vacant, Florentius, who was a senator, was chosen for the office, the king confirming the election. Coming to his house he announced the fact to Artemia his wife, who exclaimed, "Cease, I pray you, to desire this bishopric. In my womb I carry a bishop of your own flesh!" Florentius thereupon declined the office, in compliance with the text of Scripture which said, "In all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice." Gen. xxi. 12. (Greg. Tur. *Vitae Patrum*, viii.) [S. A. B.]

FLORENTIUS (43), a recluse in the district of Nursia. For the story of his friend Eutychius

and himself, see Greg. Mag. *Dial.* (lib. iii. cap. 15 in Migne, lxxvii. 249), and Mabillon (*Acta Sanctorum, O. S. B.* i. 120). [A. H. D. A.]

FLORENTIUS (44), subdeacon of Rome. He was elected by the Neapolitans as their bishop, but not being able to make up his mind to accept the appointment, he took to flight. Gregory, distressed, wrote to Scholasticus, judge of Campania, to assemble the people of Naples for a new election. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. iii. ind. xi. ep. 15); Jaffé (*Reg. Pont.* p. 102) dates this letter Dec. 592. The bishop who succeeded was Fortunatus (No. **21**). [C. H.]

FLORENTIUS (45), a presbyter of Trois-Châteaux, author of the life of St. Rusticula, an abbess of the monastery of St. Caesarius at Arles (Mabillon, *Acta SS. Benedict.* ii. 139). It was written soon after her death, A.D. 631, at the instance of her successor, Celsa. Its literary style is good. (Ceillier, xi. 695.) [S. A. B.]

FLORENTIUS (46), magister officiorum under the emperor Constantius II. He was son of Nigrinianus, and acting for the magister officiorum in A.D. 355 (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rer. Gest.* xv. 5, 12); in his official capacity he presented to the emperor Constantius the two books which Lucifer of Cagliari wrote in behalf of St. Athanasius. They were so bold and outspoken that the emperor directed Florentius to return the codex to Lucifer, and ask definitely if he acknowledged it to be his. Florentius's letter accompanying the codex and Lucifer's reply, acknowledging the authorship to the fullest extent, are given in Migne (Patr. Lat. xiii. 935–6). In the days of Julian (A.D. 361) he was banished to the island of Boa or Bavo, on the coast of Dalmatia. (Amm. Marcell. *ib.* xxii. 3, 6; Tillemont, *Mém. Hist. Eccl.* vii. 517; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, iv. 242.) [J. G.]

FLORENTIUS (47), a wealthy man of Italy who retired to Jerusalem to pursue the monastic life late in the 4th century. He was known to Jerome, Evagrius, Heliodorus, and Rufinus; but Jerome had not actually seen him when their correspondence took place in the year 374. Florentius had already at that time established himself at Jerusalem, and was becoming known throughout the world for his kindness and munificence towards the strangers who went there. Heliodorus (afterwards bishop of Altinum), who had gone with Jerome to Antioch in 374, appears to have gone on to Jerusalem, leaving his friend behind. At Jerusalem he was entertained by Florentius, and on his return gave a glowing description of his charities. Jerome begs Florentius to be the intermediary of his correspondence with Rufinus, and asks him to transmit several books to him, and promises others in return. We hear nothing of him after Jerome himself went to Jerusalem; perhaps he may have died early; perhaps he may have taken the part of Rufinus in the controversy between the two former friends. But in the year 382, when Jerome wrote the continuation of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, he thus speaks of him (sub ann. A.D. 378): "Florentius, Bonosus et Rufinus insignes monachi habentur; e quibus Florentius tam misericors in egenos fuit ut vulgo pater pauperum nominatus sit." (Jerome, *Ep.* 3–5, ed. Vall.; id. *Chron.* loc. cit.) [W. H. F.]

FLORENTIUS (48), tailor of Hippo Regius, who, having prayed to the Twenty Martyrs for means to buy himself clothing, found on the shore a fish, from whose inside the cook extracted a gold ring, which he sold and purchased what he required. (Aug. *Civ. Dei*, lib. xxii. cap. 8, § 9.) [FIDENTIUS (2).] [H. W. P.]

FLORENTIUS (49), a Donatist, accused by Victor bishop of Sufeta, or Sufes, a town of Byzacene (Esbyah, Ant. *Itin.* 47, 5), of persecution and illegal imprisonment during three years. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 426, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FLORENTIUS (50), one of the chief ministers of state at Constantinople under Theodosius II. and Marcian, a man of the highest reputation for soundness of faith, purity of life, and statesmanlike wisdom (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 220). He was consul in A.D. 429, patrician in 448, prefect of the praetorian guards, and before 449 had six times attained the high dignity of prefect of the East, which was bestowed on him a seventh time by Marcian in the first year of his reign, A.D. 450. In A.D. 428, when he was prefect of the East for the first time, two new enactments were addressed to him by Theodosius; the one for the punishment of heretics; the other forbidding the prostitution of their children and slaves by parents and masters (Theodos. *Novell.* pp. 30, 32). Both of these laws are attributed by Baronius to the powerful influence of Nestorius, then bishop of Constantinople (Baron. *Annal.* 428, § 26), but it is probable that Florentius lent his powerful aid. The nobility of his character is shewn by his offering one of his estates to make up for any loss the imperial treasury might suffer by the diminution of the odious tax on prostitutes, an offer which it is said Theodosius had the meanness to accept.

In A.D. 448, when Flavian had resolved to put Eutyches on his trial for heretical doctrine, the powerful influence exercised by him on the emperor through the eunuch Chrysaphius was shewn by Theodosius's demand that Florentius should have a seat at the synod as his representative. It was no new thing for imperial officers to be present at ecclesiastical synods, but hitherto the ostensible reason was to ensure the preservation of order, and to regulate external matters. But the ground expressly assigned by the emperor for requiring the admission of his officer of state, viz. that the matters under discussion concerned the faith, was a startling innovation which Flavian was by no means ready to accept. Besides, that a layman should be deputed to watch over the maintenance of sound doctrine implied a distrust of the synod's orthodoxy and sense of justice, which could not fail to be felt as insulting. Flavian withheld his consent as long as he dared. Magnus the Silentiary had several interviews with him before he would give way, which he did finally so as to make it appear that he was only yielding to superior force (Acac. *Histor. brevicul.* p. 112; Liberat. *Breviar.* c. xi.; Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 247). On the opening of the trial a letter was read from the emperor desiring the

admission of Florentius to the synod. Flavian replied that everybody knew the soundness of Florentius's faith, and that he might take his place in the council if Eutyches wished it. Eutyches replying that he would consent to anything God and his holiness the bishop thought right (*ibid.* 220). Florentius was sent for. He took his seat among the metropolitans, next to Seleucus, bishop of Amasea (*ibid.* 238; Liberat. c. xi. p. 60). Florentius disclaimed all desire to dogmatize, or to forget his position as a layman; but it is evident that he took a very leading and authoritative part in the discussion, and manifested a strong leaning towards the acquittal of Eutyches. But his efforts to induce the archimandrite to acknowledge the two natures in Christ, or, at least, to adopt language which might satisfy the council, were fruitless, and he was compelled in the interests of orthodoxy to give the word for his condemnation (*ibid.* 507, 517). As Eutyches left the hall, which was resounding with the acclamations of the assembled bishops at the much-desired sentence, he lodged with Florentius an appeal against his condemnation to the churches of Rome, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, which he asserted he had just publicly made, but which in the uproar had been disregarded. Florentius ran to apprise Flavian of it in order that it might be entered on the minutes of the trial. But the bishop had already left the hall of judgment, and availed himself of the plea that the trial was closed to exclude the registration of the appeal (*ibid.* 244).

Eutyches having taxed Flavian with having falsified the records of the proceedings of the synod, an investigation was held in the following April to examine and verify them, at which Florentius virtually presided at the command of the emperor and the desire of Eutyches, who evidently expected greater impartiality from a layman, accustomed to judicial proceedings, than from a prejudiced clerical body (Liberat. *Breviar.* c. xi. p. 60; Labbe, iv. 250). On the deacons of Eutyches requiring to be present to watch the case for their master, he overrode the opposition of Flavian to their appearance (*ibid.* 239), and compelled the reluctant Aetius, who had acted as notary, to produce the minutes of the trial. No inaccuracy of importance was detected, though Eutyches complained that there were many omissions. The most important of these was the absence of any mention of the appeal he declared he had made to the leading Christian churches, which was consequently disallowed (*ibid.* 242–247). When the council of Chalcedon met for the consideration of the doctrines of Eutyches, Florentius was present, with other high civil dignitaries; but there is no record of the part he took.

We have a letter to Florentius from Theodoret, written A.D. 449, defending himself from the charges of unsoundness in the faith, protesting that he holds and ever has held the truth as delivered by the apostles and prophets, and taught by Ignatius, Eustathius, Basil, and other chief doctors of the church, and declared by the Nicene fathers, and beseeching Florentius to close his ears against all calumnies against him (Theod. *Epist.* 89). Isidore of Pelusium also wrote to him to complain of a bad governor named Gigantius, whom he begs Florentius to treat as he deserves (Isid. Pelus. *Epist.* lib. i. 486). We have a letter to him from Firmus of Caesarea, begging his acceptance of some Easter gifts (*σύμβολα*). (Firm. *Epist.* 29.) [E. V.]

FLORENTIUS (51), father of Gregory bishop of Tours. He was the son of Georgius, a member of one of the senatorial families of Auvergne. Gregory relates that he was cured of an attack of recurrent fever by the prayer of St. Martius, abbat of Clermont. (*Vitae Patrum*, xiv. 3.) [S. A. B.]

FLORESINDUS, metropolitan of Seville from about 682 to before 693, signing the acts of the thirteenth council of Toledo, summoned by Ervig in 683. He signs last among the metropolitans. At the fourteenth council of Toledo, 684, he is represented by the abbat Gaudencius. At the fifteenth council, 688, he signs in the third place among the metropolitans. (*Esp. Sagr.* ix. 224; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270, 287, 304, 313; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. 2, 219; Mansi, xi. 1075, 1091, xii. 21.) [M. A. W.]

FLORIANI. Under this title, with the alternative names Carpocratiani and MILITES, Philaster (57) describes a sect of heretics who denied the resurrection and judgment, who disbelieved Christ's birth from a virgin, and who taught and practised immorality. Philaster had given a separate article to the CARPOCRATIANS, and the name Milites would rather lead us to think of those Gnostics whom Epiphanius (xxvi. 3) calls *Στρατιωτικοί* and Phibionites. The name Floriani does not elsewhere occur, and all that can be said about it is that there seems no reason for connecting it with FLORINUS. [G. S.]

FLORIANUS (1), bishop of Caesena, in Gallia Cispadana, a member of the Court of Inquiry held at Rome concerning Caecilianus. (Opt. i. 23.) [CAECILIANUS (2).] [H. W. P.]

FLORIANUS (2), Donatist bishop of Putiza, a place in Numidia, prevented by illness from attending the Carthaginian conference, but having given his signature as a member of the same, A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 430, 432, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FLORIANUS, bp. of Placentia (Piacenza). [FLAVIANUS (9).]

FLORIANUS (3), bp. of Oderzo (Opitergium) in Venetia. He was desirous of martyrdom, and is supposed to have been martyred c. 620, probably by the Lombards according to tradition. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, x. 322, 323.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLORIANUS (4), bishop of Piacenza, c. 648. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xv. 15; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 198.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLORIANUS (5), said to have been 25th bishop of Arles, following St. Virgilius, and succeeded by Cyprianus, or Theodosius, in the early part of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 541; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 604, n. viii. tom. ii. 563; Gams, *Series Episc.* 493.) [S. A. B.]

FLORIANUS (6), May 4, martyr in the Diocletian persecution at Lorch (Laureacum), the chief town of Noricum Ripense. The president

of Noricum, one Aquilinus, as soon as the edict of persecution arrived, called upon the officials to sacrifice. Florianus held the important post of "princeps officiorum." He refused to obey, and was sentenced to be flung into the Anisus with a stone tied round his neck. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron., Usuardi, Rabani, Notkeri, Wandalberti; Surii, *Vit. SS.* t. iii.) [G. T. S.]

FLORIANUS (7), addressed in a letter which is attributed to St. Ambrose. He is represented as having asked direction from St. Ambrose on the subject of repentance and amendment. The letter is given among St. Ambrose's works as genuine in the Roman edition (tom. v. p. 202, *Ep.* 29, Rom. 1582), but is reckoned spurious by the Benedictines (Patr. Lat. xvii. 749 sq.) and by Ceillier (xi. 511). Florianus is otherwise unknown. [J. G.]

FLORIANUS (8), abbat, addressed in a poetical epistle by Arator, who compliments him as being spiritually instructed in the grace of Christ, but he is not otherwise identified (Patr. Lat. lxviii. 63 and note). He is said by Ceillier (xi. 197) to have been abbat of Romain Moûtier in the present canton of Vaud. [J. G.]

FLORIANUS (9), martyr with Calanicus and fifty-eight others at Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis), between Jerusalem and Gaza. According to the Roman martyrology he suffered at the hands of the Saracens, who invaded Palestine and took Jerusalem by an honourable capitulation in A.D. 637, Heraclius being emperor. We read, however, of no persecution of Christians by them at that time. But in 614, the Persians under Chosroes took Jerusalem by assault, when ninety thousand Christians are said to have been massacred. (Baron. *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 610, 614, 626, 627.) [G. T. S.]

FLORIBERTUS, bishop of Liége. [FLORBERTUS.]

FLORIDA, virgin, Jan. 10, mentioned by Gregory of Tours (*de Glor. Conf.* c. 43, ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 81) as buried at Dijon in the same church as St. Paschasia. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 617; Ferrarius, *Cat. Gen. Sanct.* 20; Usuard. *Mart.*). [J. G.]

FLORIDUS (1), bishop of Tivoli (Tibur), supplied Gregory the Great with material for his Dialogues. (*Dial.* iii. 13, 35 in Migne, lxxvii. 241, 301.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLORIDUS (2), bishop of Tarrazona (Turiasso). Among the signatures to the so-called *Decretum Gundemari* (A.D. 610) is found "Fluridius Ecclesiae Tyrasonensis Episcopus subscripsi" [GUNTHIMAR], (*Esp. Sagr.* xlix. 114; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 324.) [M. A. W.]

FLORIGENIUS, Irish saint. [BLATHMAC.]

FLORINA, May 1, virgin and martyr in Auvergne, probably during the ravages of the Alemanni in Gaul, A.D. 365–368. (*AA. SS. Boll.* Mai. i. 47; Ammianus, lib. xxvi. xxvii.; Gibbon, cap. xxv.) [G. T. S.]

FLORINUS (1), for some time in the latter half of the second century a presbyter of the church of Rome, which office he lost on account of his having fallen into heresy. He is known to us by two notices (v. 15, 20) in the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, who drew his information from works written by Irenaeus in opposition to Florinus. One was a letter to Florinus, of which Eusebius has preserved a most interesting fragment, in which Irenaeus records his youthful recollections of Polycarp, representing how that bishop, whose good opinion he remembered Florinus had once been anxious to gain, would have been shocked at his present opinions. Scholten, in order to save a theory of his from destruction, has found it necessary to assail the genuineness of this letter (*Der Apostel Johannes in Kleinasien*, p. 41), but his arguments are too weak to need refutation, and the fragment contains unmistakeable internal evidence of genuineness. It states that Florinus at the time of his acquaintance with Polycarp was doing prosperously at the royal court in Lower Asia, Irenaeus being still a boy. It has not been found possible to explain the expression "royal court" by referring to any known sojourn of an emperor in Asia Minor within the limits which the chronology demands, and Lightfoot has plausibly suggested (*Contemp. Rev.* May 1875, p. 832) that the expression may have been loosely used of the court of T. Aurelius Fulvus, afterwards the emperor Antoninus Pius, and who was proconsul of Asia, A.D. 135 (Le Bas and Waddington, *Fastes des Provinces asiatiques*, p. 724). Florinus may possibly have come from Italy in the proconsul's retinue. The title of the letter to him was 'On Monarchy, or that God is not the author of evil,' and Eusebius remarks that Florinus seems to have maintained the opposite opinion concerning God. It would be rash in us, who have not seen the letter, to assert that this inference of Eusebius was erroneous, but since the characteristic of dualism is not to make God the author of evil, but to clear Him from the charge by ascribing evil to an independent origin, the title would lead us to think that the letter was directed not against one who had himself held God to be the author of evil, but against one who had charged the doctrine of a single first principle with necessarily leading to this conclusion. And we should have supposed that the object of Irenaeus was to shew that it was possible to assert God to be the sole origin and ruler of the universe without holding evil to be his work. However this may be, later writers have naturally followed the report of Eusebius. Philaster (79) having described it as the heresy of COLLUTHUS that he denied things evil to be God's work, contrasts with this the doctrine of another unnamed heretic, who taught that things which God made were in their own nature evil. Augustine (66), in other respects following Philaster, calls the anonymous heretic Florinus, and with little probability, as we shall presently see, makes him the founder of a sect of Floriniani. He probably arrived at this result by combining the notice in Eusebius with Philaster's mention in another place of Floriani. The great work of Irenaeus does not mention Florinus, and has nothing which we can conjecture as likely to have been common with the letter of which we have been speaking. The tract of Tertullian against Hermogenes in some measure deals with the same subject, but freely as Tertullian used the

labours of others, and of Irenaeus in particular, there is nothing which entitles us to say that he employed the letter to Florinus. If Florinus ever in a heretical sense made God the author of evil, his errors afterwards took the opposite direction, and he became a Valentinian. It was in reply to him that Irenaeus composed his work *On the Ogdoad*, to which he must himself have attached considerable value; for he prefixed to it an adjuration to ensure fidelity in his transcribers, which pleased Eusebius so much that he not only copied it into his ecclesiastical history, but prefixed it to his own work on Chronology. Concerning the time of the controversy of Irenaeus with Florinus, we have to balance the arguments that, if it had taken place before the publication of the treatise on heresies, we should expect to find some trace of it in that work; and, on the other hand, that, after the publication of a treatise which deals so fully with the whole subject of Valentinianism, a separate treatise on the Ogdoad would have been unnecessary. The scale seems to be turned in favour of the later date by the fact that there is extant a Syriac fragment (Harvey, ii. 457), which purports to be an extract from a letter of Irenaeus to Victor of Rome concerning Florinus, a presbyter, who was a partisan of the error of Valentinus, and had published an abominable book. No such letter is mentioned by Eusebius, but otherwise the extract presents no ground for suspicion. The letter calls the attention of the bishop of Rome to writings which would seem to have been uncensured by him, and which were doing mischief, as bearing the authority of a presbyter of his church. It may be inferred that however the doctrines of Florinus may have verged on Valentinianism, he had not formally joined that sect, else he could not have retained his position. Whether the interference of Irenaeus was followed by the deposition or the retractation of Florinus, it does not appear that he was the founder of any heretical sect; probably he did not long survive, for he must have been a considerably older man than Irenaeus. He is not named by Epiphanius, by Philaster, or by Pseudo-Tertullian, who has so many notices of Roman heretics; and it is likely, therefore, that he was not named in the earlier work of Hippolytus, nor in the lectures of Irenaeus, on which that work was founded; he is not named in the later work of Hippolytus, nor by Tertullian. This silence is not easily explained if either Florinus or any school of Floriniani were a source of danger to the church after his exposure by Irenaeus. [G. S.]

FLORINUS (2), bishop of Cesena. [FLORIANUS (1).]

FLORINUS (3), a Greek, eighth in the list of the bishops of Eugubium or Gubbio in Umbria, between Decentius and Anastasius, A.D. 426. (Ughel. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 634.) [C. H.]

FLORIUS, bishop of Cesena. [FLORUS (5).]

FLORIUS, bishop of Aemonia (Cittanova) in Istria, about ten miles north of Parenzo, c. 524. On a journey to Constantinople he died at Pola. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, viii. 747; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 229.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLORIUS, Oct. 26, martyr at Nicomedia with Lucianus and some others; in the Decian persecution, Sabinus being proconsul. (*Rom. Mart.* ed. Baron.) [G. T. S.]

FLORUS (1), said to have been bishop of Calaris (Cagliari), in the 2nd century. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiii. 48; Cossu, *Città di Cagliari*, &c., p. 56.) [R. S. G.]

FLORUS (2), traditionally the first bishop of Lodève; but according to the Sammarthani the ancient tradition rests on no evidence. (Tillemont, *Mém.* iv. 506; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 526.) [R. T. S.]

FLORUS (3), one of twelve Gallic bishops congratulated by Leo the Great, Aug. 22, 449, on the consecration of Ravennius by them to the see of Arles (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 40). He occurs again among about 40 Gallic bishops in the synodal letter of Ravennius to Leo, and likewise in Leo's reply. (Leo Mag. *Epp.* 99, 102, ed. Migne, Patr. Lat. liv.; Mansi, *Concil.* vi. 161, 181.) [C. H.]

FLORUS (4), bishop of Amisus or Pompeiopolis, in Pontus, A.D. 590. He was born at Constantinople. His father's name was Florus, and his mother's Euphemia. He is stated to have attained to great knowledge and skill both in secular and sacred literature. He married, and had two sons, but in later life took monastic vows. He was later made bishop of Amisus, a town which being close to Eupatoria shared with it the common name of Pompeiopolis. He held his see under the younger Justin, Tiberius, and Mauritius. In the Μηναῖον of the Greek church his name is found to be celebrated on Dec. 18. (Basil. *Menol.*) [F. A.]

FLORUS (5), bishop of Cesena, c. 588. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, ii. 530; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 445.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLORUS (6), the name of three Italian bishops, viz. of Cesena, Forconium, and Foligno, who signed the second epistle of pope Agatho, which was sent in 680 after a synod in Rome to the third council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 303, 315; Hefele, § 314; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 421.) [A. H. D. A.]

FLORUS (7), bishop of Mentesa, signs the acts of the thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth councils of Toledo, 683, 688, 693 (Mansi, xi. 1076; xii. 22, 84). The see of Mentesa disappears at the time of the Moorish invasion. Taric destroyed the town, and Florus is the last bishop. (*Esp. Sagr.* vii. 260; Roderic. Tolet. lib. iii. cap. 22, ap. Schott, *Hispania Illustrata*; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 287, 313, 333.) [PARDUS.] [M. A. W.]

FLORUS (8), a Roman officer, probably consular of Numidia, A.D. 303, by whom the persecution against the Christians was carried on with extreme severity. (Böcking, *Not. dig. Occ.* p. 17; Optatus, iii. 8; Aug. *cont. Cresc.* iii. 27, 30.) [H. W. P.]

FLORUS (9)—Aug. 18. Martyr with Laurus his brother in Illyricum under Licinius, between 313 and 315. They were twins, and natives apparently of Byzantium, where they were employed by two Christian sculptors, Procu-

lus and Maximus, who suffered martyrdom there. Upon this Florus and Laurus escaped into Illyricum, where they obtained employment from the president of the province. Pleasing him by their skill, they were sent to the emperor Licinius, who was then probably living at Sirmium, the capital of Illyricum. He gave them orders to erect an idol temple, which they did, but ended by dedicating it to the true God and breaking the idols, for which the emperor cast them into a deep well. Their relics were translated to Constantinople in the time of Constantine the Great. (*Martyr. Rom.* ed. Baron., Usuard.; Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

FLORUS (10), deacon of the church of Syracuse, accompanied his bishop, Chrestus, to the council of Arles (A.D. 314), and was his only companion, though the invitation of the emperor (Eusebius, x. 5) allowed two ecclesiastics to go. (Mansi, ii. 475; Ceillier, ii. 628.) [J. G.]

FLORUS (11), magister officiorum under Theodosius the Great in the Eastern empire in A.D. 381. At the end of that year he became pretorian prefect. During A.D. 381–3 many of the imperial decrees are addressed by Theodosius to him for execution (*Cod. Theodos.* i. pp. 107–115, ed. Ritter), entrusting him, among other duties, with the putting down of the heathen sacrifices, and with the establishing an inquisition against the Manichean and Encratite heretics. [J. G.]

FLORUS (12), circ. A.D. 426, a young monk of Adrumetum. He made a visit to a monastery at Uzalis with his friend Felix, another young monk. Here he read Augustine's letter (No. 194) to the presbyter Sixtus. It struck him so much, that he asked permission of the monks of Uzalis to make a copy, and transcribed it at the dictation of Felix. After their sojourn at Uzalis, Florus went on to Carthage, Felix returned to Adrumetum. Here Felix read the letter to the brothers of that house. Some of them considered it fatal to the doctrine of free-will; and, when Florus returned, accused him of being the author. The monastery was in quite a turmoil of theological disputation, of which the abbat Valentinus was kept in ignorance. Florus felt himself obliged to tell him the truth of the matter; whereupon Valentinus read the letter, recognized the style of Augustine, and allowed one of the recalcitrant brothers, Cresconius, to make a pilgrimage with Felix to Hippo, which restored peace to the monastery. When they arrived, the bishop explained the letter to Sixtus, and wrote a letter on the subject to the abbat of Adrumetum and his confraternity. He had intended to give them other treatises on the subject of Pelagianism, but they were unwilling to wait until copies were made. He kept them, however, till after Easter, to give them more complete instruction on the theory of grace. Besides a second letter to Valentinus, he composed for them the treatise *De Gratiâ et Libero Arbitrio*. He subsequently received a letter from the abbat, and a visit from Florus. This gave rise to his chapter on the subject in the *Liber Retractationum*, where he explains that he had been under the impression that the disputants of Adrumetum had maintained that free-will was denied in defending grace. (Augustinus, *Liber de Gratiâ et Libero Arbitrio; Liber Retractationum II.* 66; *Epist.* 194, &c.; Patrol. Lat. xxxii. 656, &c.; Ceillier, ix. 513.) [W. M. S.]

FLORUS (13), a Gallic noble in the middle of the 6th century, said to have shewn St. Maurus the spot whereon to build his monastery and to have entrusted his son Bestulphus to the saint for education, an example that was followed by many other nobles. (Wend. *Flor. Hist.* an. 553, ed. Coxe.) [C. H.]

FLORUS (14), Dec. 22, martyr at Ostia, with Demetrius and Honoratus. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

FLORUS (15), martyrologist, called by Cave (*Script. Eccl. Hist. Lit.* i. 632) monk of the Gallican congregation of St. Trudo in the diocese of Lyons, about the year 760, but more frequently identified with Florus Magister, deacon or priest of Lyons, who was commentator on Scripture and one of the chief opponents of Joannes Scotus in the Predestinarian controversy about the middle of the 9th century. His personal history is thus doubtful, but his work in martyrology is very important from its close connexion with that of Bede. He is said to have materially enlarged the imperfect *Martyrologium* of Bede, and when Henschenius first discovered the complete *Martyrologium* in the library of M. Bouhier, the French senator at Dijon, and compared it with the fragment he had previously found in queen Christina's library at Rome, he imagined that in the different characters in which the former was written, he could detect the original *Martyrologium* of Bede and the later additions by Florus: and hence in the Bollandine edition (*Acta SS.* Jan. tom. i. 40 sq.) an attempt is made to distinguish the genuine work of Bede from the additions by Florus and others. But the original and additions are really indistinguishable, and there is no separate and entire *Martyrologium* of either; while the extent to which others may have extended the work of Florus is also unknown. Ado's *Vetus Romanum Martyrologium* (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 143 sq.) professed to be merely a filling in of martyrs to the days omitted by Bede and Florus, while Usuardus's *Martyrologium* was a condensing of the other martyrologies. The martyrologist Wandalbert (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxi. 577) expresses his obligation to a subdeacon of Lyons named Florus, who excelled in Scripture studies, but it is doubtful whether this is the martyrologist. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. ii. praef. p. v sq., giving Henschen's account of his finding the *Martyrologium* of Bede and the reasons for his distinguishing the parts belonging to Bede and Florus from others; see also *ib.* Jan. i. praef. Gen. § vi. p. xlviii, for the sources whence the *Martyrologium* is taken; Giles's Bede, iv. praef. pp. iii, iv; Migne, Patr. Lat. xciv. 799 sq. giving both the Cologne and Bollandine editions with Smith's preface and notes; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, xii. 485.) [J. G.]

FLOS, Dec. 31, martyr at Catana in Sicily with nine others. (*Rom. Mart.* ed. Baron.) [G. T. S.]

FLOSCULUS (Fusculus), thirteenth bishop of Orleans, succeeded St. Prosper, and died about the year 450. He is entitled martyr or confessor

in some MSS., but not in the Roman Martyrology, nor by Saussaye in the Gallican. There is a strange legend that St. Evurtius, on occasion of a difficulty in selecting a bishop, caused Flosculus when a mere baby to take a name from the altar; whereupon the child cried three times "Anianus is bishop," and spoke no more for a year. His feast is kept on Feb. 2. (Hieron., Usuard., *Mart.*; *Gall. Christ.* viii. 1413.) [R. T. S.]

FLUMINIUS, bishop of Tabudium (Tabuda) in Numidia, banished by Hunneric, 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 56 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 294.) [L. D.]

FOALDUS, bishop of Lyons. [FULCOALDUS.]

FOCALDUS, FOCOALDUS, bishop of Auxerre. [FLOCOALDUS.]

FOEGADIUS (FAEGADIUS, PHAEBADIUS, SEGATIUS, SABADIUS, or PHITADIUS, called in Gascony ST. FIARI), bishop of Agen. His name, which suffers many corruptions, appears to be Greek, a tongue then common in Aquitania. His accession to the episcopate was probably later than 347, since he is not mentioned in the acts of the Sardican council. He rejected the second Sirmian formulary sent by Constantius into Gaul, and refuted it in a work *contra Arianos*. He attended the council of Ariminum, and took an active part in the first proceedings, but refused to sign the Arian confession, even after nearly all his brethren had yielded. But, importuned by the prefect Taurus, he was at last deceived into subscribing by a trick of Valens, who to the statement Christ is "not a creature," had privily added the words "as other creatures." (Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 44.) Foegadius, on discovering the fraud, protested so vehemently as to clear himself in the eyes of all, and he attended the councils of Valence, 374, and probably that of Saragossa in 380 (Agen, belonging then to Spain), for the name Fitadius occurs among those subscribed, and his friend Delphinus, of Bordeaux, was there. He was alive in 392 when St. Jerome wrote his catalogue of illustrious men, but he was in decrepitude. St. Ambrose addressed a letter jointly to him (under the name Segatius) and Delphinus (Ep. 86, ii. 1106). The two books against the Arians were the only work of his which Jerome knew. It may be found in Patr. Lat. vol. xx. It is an able treatise, but contains nothing very remarkable, unless it be the definition (lib. i. cap. vii.) of substance in its ecclesiastical use. "Substantia dicitur id quod semper ex sese est; hoc est, quod propriâ intra se virtute consistit, quae vis uni et soli Deo competit." In addition to the above work the treatise *De Fide Orthodoxâ contra Arianos*, and the *Libellus Fidei*, which stood as Nos. 49 and 50 of the Orations of Gregory Nazianzen, really belong to Foegadius. They also are in Pat. Lat. vol. xx. The former is written to explain some points which had been misunderstood in the treatise against the Arians; the latter is a formal confession of orthodox faith. (Ceillier, *Aut. Eccl.* v. 372; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 895; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 427; Boll. *AA. SS.* Ap. 25.) [R. T. S.]

FOENDALACH (FOENDELACH, FOENNELACH), son of Maenach, bishop of Armagh, succeeded Ferdachrich or Ferdachry A.D. 768, but sat with difficulty for only three years, when Dubhdalethe obtained the primacy, Gormgal being an unsuccessful claimant at the same time. Foendalach lived till A.D. 794. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 19, § 14, c. 20, § 6; Ware, *Ir. Bishops*, "Armagh.") [J. G.]

FOILLANUS. [FULLANUS (2).]

FOLACHTACH (FOLACHTACHUS). (1) Son of Teach Tuae, abbat of Clonmacnoise, died A.D. 770 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 765; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 769). Teach Tuae, the House of St. Tua, now Taghadoe or Taptoo, is situated near Maynooth, co. Kildare, and Folachtach had probably been born there; the ancient church has disappeared, but the round tower remains to shew its ecclesiastical importance. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 368, n. p, 369.)

(2) Son of Sarfaeladh, abbat of Birr, died A.D. 765 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 760; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 764; Lanigan, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* iii. 192). [J. G.]

FOLCBERHT (1) An abbat who attests a grant of Offa to archbishop Jaenberht in 774 (Kemble, *C. D.* 121, 122); his name is attached also to questionable charters of the same king, granted to Worcester a little later (*ib.* nos. 145, 150).

(2) A priest of the diocese of Elmham, who attended the council of Clovesho in 803 (K. *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 547). [S.]

FOLCBURG, a nun of Bath, to whom, in conjunction with the abbess Bernguidi, Ethelmod, with the consent of king Ethelred of Mercia, gave land on the Cherwell. (K. *C. D.* 21.) [S.]

FOLCRED, a Mercian abbat, who attests an act recorded in the council of Cealchyth, probably belonging to the year 801 (Kemble, *C. D.* 116; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 531). [S.]

FOLCUINUS (FOLCWICUS, WOLTWICUS), noticed in the *Gallia Christiana* (v. 742) among the abbats of Weissenburg on the Lauter in Alsace, and (*Ib.* v. 663) among the bishops of Worms; he appears first as successor to Vernharius in the abbacy of Weissenburg and in the see of Worms in the year 766. He was buried in the nunnery of Mons Sti. Andreae, beside his predecessor Vernharius. [J. G.]

FOLLIANUS, martyr. [FAELAN.]

FOLRADUS, abbat. [FULRADUS.]

FONTEIANUS, bishop of Sagalassus, in Pisidia, present at the council of Chalcedon A.D. 451, signs the synodical letter of the council to Leo I. (Harduin, *Concilia*, ii. 369 E; Leo Mag. *Ep.* 98, 1106, Migne.) His name appears in the list of bishops signing the decrees of the council held at Rome in 503. The list, however, belongs certainly to some earlier council. (Harduin. ii. 987 E; Baron. 503, ix.; *Oriens Christ.* i. 1041.) [C. G.]

FONTEIUS (1), bishop of Vaison. He was bishop in 450, in which St. Leo wrote him a

letter (*Ep.* 50), and also in 472, the first year of the episcopate of Sidonius Apollinaris, who addresses him, describing him as charming in manner, yet without injury to his priestly dignity. (*Ep.* vi. 7, comp. with vii. 4.) (*Gall. Christ.* i. 921; Ceillier, *Aut. Sac.* x. 390.)
[R. T. S.]

FONTEIUS (2), bishop of Feltre, one of the ten bishops who signed a letter to the emperor Maurice c. 591, which was sent by certain bishops of Venetia and Rhaetia II. (after they had held a synod of which we have no record) to justify their refusal to condemn the Three Chapters (Mansi, x. 466; Hefele, § 281). His name is also in the list of those bishops who are supposed to have held a synod in 579 under Elias, archbishop of Aquileia, concerning the translation of his see to Grado (Hefele, § 280; Mansi, ix. 926). This synod is probably fictitious. (Mansi, ix. 929; *Chronica Patriarcharum Gradensium* in *Mon. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 393, and note by Waitz.) [A. H. D. A.]

FORANNAN (Farannan, Farnan, Forandanus, Forninnain). **(1)** Son of Aedh, commemorated Feb. 15. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 336–38) calls his father Quintus or Constans, descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages. While St. Forannan was preaching in Ireland, St. Columba went to Hy. When he returned, about A.D. 575, to heal the divisions of the church, a numerous assembly met together to welcome him. At that time St. Forannan is said to have received from St. Columba the church called at first All na fairgsiona, and afterwards All-Farannan, now Alternan, parish of Easkey, in the north-west of the county of Sligo. There he lived in a cave. Colgan (*Acta SS.* Ind. Chron.) says he flourished A.D. 565. He is probably the original of Ferranus in the Scotch annals (Reeves, *Culdees*, Evid. D.). He is not to be confounded with Forannan, son of Ronan, bishop of Wassor-on-the-Meuse in the end of the 10th century, commemorated on April 30 (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 463, cc. 51–6, 490 n. [35]; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 33–5).

(2) Abbat of Clonard, commemorated Feb. 12. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 338 n. [2]) has made the curious mistake of placing the death of this St. Forannan at A.D. 751, which is really (according to the *Four Masters*, whom Colgan usually follows) the year of the death of "S. Forannan, bishop of Meathas Truim," a place not yet identified [Forannan (4)] (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 353). St. Forannan of Clonard died A.D. 745 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 740; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 744; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 508).

(3) Abbat of Kildare, commemorated Jan. 15. In his list of the prelates of Kildare, Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 629, col. 1) attaches to this day the feast of St. Farannan, who was abbat of Kildare, and died in A.D. 697, according to the *Annals of Ulster* and of the *Four Masters*. He succeeded Loichene Meann, the Wise, in A.D. 697, but Colgan probably intends to identify him with the son of Aedh, whose feast is Feb. 15, as the Kalendars have no such name on Jan. 15 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 297, 299; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 219–20; Lanigan, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 19, § 4).

(4) Forandanus, bishop of Meathas Truim (*Four Mast.*) or Metuis tuirinn (*Ann. Ult.*), died A.D. 756 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 751; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 755), but his place is unrecognised.

(5) Scribe and bishop of Treoit, now Trevet, co. Meath, died A.D. 774 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 773; *Four Mast.* A.D. 769). In *Ann. Ult.* he is called Forninnain. [J. G.]

FORBFLAITH (Forbflait), daughter of Connla, abbess of Clonbroney, near Granard, co. Longford, died A.D. 780 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 779; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 775, i. 380, n. [z], 381). [J. G.]

FORBHASACH (Forbasa, Forbasach, Forbosach, Forbusaich). **(1)** Forbasa or Forbusaich, abbat of Rath-Aedha, now Rathhugh, in the barony of Moycashel, co. Westmeath, died A.D. 776 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 775; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 771, i. 375).

(2) Forbhasach or Forbosach, son of Maeltola, abbat of Roscommon, died A.D. 779 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 778; *Four Mast.* A.D. 774).

(3) Ua Cearnaigh, abbat of Clonmacnoise, and descended from the Ui-Bruiun, died A.D. 771 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 770; *Four Mast.* A.D. 766).
[J. G.]

FORBIUS (Fortius), thirteenth bishop of Le Puy, succeeding Faustinus, and followed by Flavianus, in the latter part of the 6th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 690.) [S. A. B.]

FORCRON (Forcronius), abbat of Clonmacnoise, in the barony of Garrycastle, King's County, died A.D. 686 (*Ann. Tig.*; *Four Mast.* A.D. 684).
[J. G.]

FORDRED. [Forthere, Forthred.]

FORMARIUS, a bishop of Cingulum (Cingoli) in the 6th century. It is uncertain whether he was the predecessor or the successor of Julianus, who held the see A.D. 544–559, and consequently whether he acceded c. A.D. 510 or 559. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, vii. 454, 465.) [R. S. G.]

FORMENIUS (Firmin, Firminus, Parmenius), a legendary king of Thrace, who had abdicated his kingdom and retired as a hermit among the Alps, at the time that Dathi, son of Fiachra king of Erinn, led his army as far as the Alps, and perished there by lightning in the beginning of the 5th century. Dathi's death is represented as a divine vengeance upon him for destroying St. Formenius's cell, with its round tower of sod and stones. This legend is given in the *Book of Lecan*, f. 302 b, and in the *Leabhar nah Uidhri*, f. 35, p. b. col. a; it is also quoted at length in Mac Firbis's *Genealogies, &c., of the Hy-Fiachrach* (by O'Donovan, pp. 18–23), and referred to by O'Flaherty (*Ogygia*, ii. pt. iii. c. 87, p. 351); Keating calls him Parmenius. [J. G.]

FORMERIUS, martyr. [Fermerius.]

FORMINUS, bishop of Blera (Bieda), c. A.D. 649. He sat in the Lateran council held by Martin I. in that year. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, vi. 180.) [R. S. G.]

FORTCHERN (1), son of Fedlimidh, commemorated Feb. 17 and Oct. 11. Of this saint we have several ancient notices, though none of

them actually taking the form of a Life. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 364–65) has a memoir; the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Feb. tom. iii. 13–15) give a Commentarius Criticus, quoting mostly from Ussher, Joceline, and Evinus. Ussher (*Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, Wks. vi. 413–14) and Todd (*St. Patrick*, 257–62) quote extracts from Tirechan from the *Book of Armagh* (fol. 16 a b). St. Fortchern was son of Fedhlimidh, son of Laeghaire king of Ireland, and his mother was Scotha, daughter of a British king. Under St. Patrick he laid aside all earthly pomp, became one of his "three smiths expert at shaping" (*Four Mast.* A.D. 448), and made bells, chalices, and other sacred vessels, in a place called Rath-aidne. At his master Loman's urgent desire before death, he accepted the episcopal charge of the church at Athtruim, now Trim, in Meath, but held it only three days, and then, retiring into entire privacy, built the monastery of Roscrea. St. Finnian of Clonard is stated to have stayed with him thirty years before going over to Britain. He is venerated on different days at different places: at Killfortchern in Idrone, in the present county of Carlow, on Oct. 11, and at Trim in Meath, along with other seventeen patrons, on Feb. 17, as a second dedication. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 273; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 137 n. [f]; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 150–51, 258–62; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. 427–29; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 558, 601–3.)

(2) Son of Deaga or Deagus, is classed among the ancient Irish writers, in company with Fiechus or Fiacc, Cennfaeladh, and Maelmuire; some fragments of his writings remain in Bodl. Laud. f. 95, and Cod. Stow. iii. f. 7, vi. f. 4. Tigernach is said to have drawn his materials from him, and Cennfaeladh to have interpolated his poetry. Though some place him as far back as the days of Julius Caesar, he probably belonged to the 7th or 8th century. (O'Conor, *Proleg.* ii. 66 sq. and *Epist. Nuncup.* 63, 100.) [J. G.]

FORTHERE (1) (FORTER), the second bishop of Sherborne (*M. H. B.* 620). He succeeded Aldhelm whose death occurred in 709, and was alive at the time when Bede completed his history (Bede, *H. E.* v. 18, 23); the venerable historian describes him as a man very learned in Holy Scripture. He ruled his diocese from 709 to 737, in which year he went with queen Frithogith of Wessex to Rome (*Chr. S.* M. H. B. 328), after which no more is heard of him. During this long time his name frequently appears in charters; in 712 as "famulus famulorum Dei," he was a benefactor to Glastonbury (Kemble, *C. D.* 63; *Mon. Angl.* i. 47); in 716 he attested the act of the council of Clovesho by which Wihtred's privilege was confirmed (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 300); his name is attached to two doubtful grants of Ine to Glastonbury in 725 (K. *C. D.* 73, 74), and to a similar charter of Ethelheard dated in 729 (*Ib.* 76). Glastonbury was locally within his diocese, and the fixity of his date was a great convenience to the forgers of these documents. A grant to Abingdon (*Ib.* 81), which purports to have been signed by Forthere "in Banesinga villa," is scarcely more trustworthy. There is also a charter of the date of archbishop Nothelm, which is attested both by Forthere and by his successor Herewald, a conjunction which, considering the circumstances of Forthere's resignation, raises a presumption in favour of its genuineness (K. *C. D.* 82). More interesting and undoubtedly trustworthy are the notices of Forthere which occur among the remains of St. Boniface; one of these is a letter of Brihtwald, archbishop of Canterbury, addressed to Forthere, in which he begs him to insist that Beorwald, abbat of Glastonbury, should release a captive girl, for whom her brother Eppa was ready to pay a ransom of 300 solidi (*Ep. Bonif.* ed. Würdtwein, No. 155; *Mon. Moguntina*, ed. Jaffé, pp. 48, 49). The other is a letter of bishop Daniel, of Winchester, to Forthere, recommending to him a newly ordained deacon, named Merwalh (*ib.* ed. Würdt. *Ep.* 148; *Mon. Mog.* p. 99). [S.]

FORTHERE (2), a priest, by whom St. Boniface sent letters and presents to bishop Daniel of Winchester, 732–746 (*Mon. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, p. 161). [S.]

FORTHRED (1) (FORDRED, FORTHREDUS), a Northumbrian abbat, who is mentioned in a letter from pope Paul I. to Eadbert king of Northumbria, in A.D. 757 or 758. It appears from it that Eadbert had deprived Forthred of three monasteries, which had been given to him by a certain abbess, viz., Staningagrave, Cuchawalda, and Donaemuthe, and bestowed them on a person of the name of Moll, Forthred's brother. Forthred went to Rome to complain, and Paul writes to Eadbert (archbishop Egbert's name being also inserted in the letter) desiring him to make restitution. The places referred to are probably Stonegrave in Ryedale, co. York, where there are some very early remains, the neighbouring church of Coxwold, and Jarrow on the Tyne, which is situated at the mouth of a rivulet called the Don (cf. Symeon, *Chron.* 33, and n.). The letter is printed in Wilkins, i. 144, and in Haddan and Stubbs, i. 394–6.

It is improbable, from the difference in date, that this Forthred is identical with a Mercian abbat of the same name, who died A.D. 803 or 805 (cf. Haddan and Stubbs, *ut supra*), or with Forthred, a priest, to whom Alcuin, about the same time, gave a general letter of recommendation when he was setting out for Rome (*Epp.* ed. Jaffé, p. 894). [J. R.]

FORTHRED (2), Mercian abbat, whose death is noted in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 803 (*M. H. B.* 341), to be corrected to 805. In the list of signatures to the act of Clovesho in 803 Forthred appears as a priest and abbat of the diocese of Leicester (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024). There is among Alcuin's letters (*Mon. Alcuin.* ed. Jaffé, p. 894) an epistle of commendation written in favour of a priest named Fordrad, who was going on pilgrimage; this possibly refers to the abbat. The earlier notice of an abbat, Forthred in Northumbria, can scarcely be referred to him. (See No. 2.) Forthred's name is attached to charters from 790 to 803 (*K. C. D.* 159, 161, 166, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 185, 1018, and 1020.) [S.]

FORTIS (1), ST., martyr and, according to a vague tradition, an early bishop of Bordeaux. Venantius Fortunatus, in a poem on Leontius, archbishop of the same diocese, tells him "tertius a decimo huic urbi antistes haberis" (Lib. i. cap. 15, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxiii. 78). As we have only eight names before that of Leontius,

Gams notes (*Ser. Episc.* 519) that four must have been lost, and suggests St. Fortis as possibly one of them. It has also been conjectured that he followed Orientalis, the first archbishop (A.D. 314), and suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Arians under Constantius, but by others that he preceded Orientalis, and suffered under some one of the pagan emperors. His day of commemoration is May 16. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 573.) He is not included in the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (tom. ii.). [S. A. B.]

FORTIS (2), a Donatist bishop mentioned in the history of the inquiry before Zenophilus. He endeavoured to reconcile Silvanus, Donatist bishop of Cirta, to Nundinarius, a deacon of the same church, who accused him of "tradition" and other crimes. He wrote letters to this effect to Silvanus, and to the clergy and elders of the church, and received one to the same effect from another bishop, Sabinus, imploring him, as a personal friend of Silvanus, to lose no time in effecting the reconciliation before the festival of Easter. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* iv. pp. 174–176, ed. Oberthür.) [NUNDINARUS, SILVANUS.] [H. W. P.]

FORTIS (3), Donatist bishop of Cedia, in Numidia, who joined with others in an address to Primianus and other Donatist bishops, requesting them to undertake the management on their side of the controversy to be held at Carthage, A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 429–432, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FORTIS (4), bishop of Caputcila in Mauretania Caesariensis; banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 58 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 120.) [L. D.]

FORTIS (5), archbishop of Milan, 641 to 643, lived at Genoa, and probably died there, as did several of his predecessors, after the invasion of the Lombards. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 132; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 67.) [A. H. D. A.]

FORTIS (6), bishop of Aga (Aggya) in the proconsular province of Africa, signed the letter of his province to Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, to warn him against the errors of the Monothelites, which he was favouring, A.D. 646. (Mansi, x. 942; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 71.) [L. D.]

FORTIUS, bishop of Le Puy. [FORBIUS.]

FORTUNA, martyr, Carth. A.D. 250. [ARISTO.] [E. W. B.]

FORTUNATA, Oct. 14, virgin and martyr at Caesarea in Palestine, under the proconsul Urbanus, in the Diocletian persecution. She suffered with Carponius Evaristus and Priscianus, her brothers. Her body is said to have been translated to Naples, out of the records of which church Baronius transferred her name to the Roman martyrology. He tells us that her relics were found at Naples, A.D. 1561, in the church of St. Gaudiosus. (*Mart.* Hieron.) Usuardus writes the name Fortunatus, and commemorates him as bishop of Tudertum. He also notes another of the same name on Oct. 15. [G. T. S.]

FORTUNATIANUS (1), bishop of Assurae in Afr. Procons. Lapsed (as a sacrificator; aras) in Decian persecution; endeavoured to resume office without penance, though admissible even with penance only to lay communion. Pamelius, copied by Fell, calls him a Novatianist; plainly wrong. Cyprian (Ep. 65) insists on his being repelled, and counsels other lapsed against forming a sect round him. [EPICTETUS (3).] [E. W. B.]

FORTUNATIANUS (2), bishop of Aquileia in the middle of the 4th century; known to us chiefly through St. Jerome, who includes him in his catalogue of Viri Illustres (c. 97). He was born in Africa, but became bishop of Aquileia in the reign of Constantius. In 343 he was present at Sardica (Mansi, iii. 39). He was a man of considerable influence, and judged less hardly of the semi-Arian opinions than most of the Catholics. He persuaded Liberius, the bishop of Rome, who was ready to go into exile for his faith, that he might properly subscribe the formula of the council of Sirmium; and he even went so far as to consent to the condemnation passed upon Athanasius in the council of Milan (A.D. 355. See Ceillier, iii. 523). He wrote a commentary on the Gospels, divided into sections or chapters, in an abrupt, unpolished style. Jerome condemns him vehemently ("detestabilis habetur") for the advice given to Liberius; but in his earlier days, when in the desert, Jerome highly valued his commentary, which he begged Paulus of Concordia to send him in the year 374 (*Ep.* 10, ed. Vall.), calling it "a pearl from the Gospels, the word of the Lord which is tried as silver." [W. H. F.]

FORTUNATIANUS (3), bishop of Capsa in the Byzacena, a town to be distinguished from the one of the same name in Numidia; present at the council held at Carthage by Gratus, A.D. 349: as his name occurs first among the Byzacene bishops he is supposed to have been primate of his province. (Mansi, iii. 153; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 119.) [L. D.]

FORTUNATIANUS (4), bishop of Sicca Veneria, an important town of Numidia, on a branch of the river Bagradas (Keff, Shaw, p. 95), perhaps the same person as the bearer of the letter to Paulinus (see No. 12). St. Augustine wrote a letter to him requesting him on his behalf to ask pardon of a bishop, not named, whom he thought that he had offended by some expressions in a letter concerning the seeing God in a merely human or physical sense. This Augustine declared to be impossible, for God is a spirit, and therefore not limited to time or space, but if his language had seemed to be in any way scornful or derisive, he desired to apologise. He proceeds to explain his meaning, viz., that God can only be seen on earth in a spiritual, or, to use his own expression, an invisible manner. He quotes on his own side Ambrose, Jerome, Athanasius, and Gregory Nazianzen, and shews that any other view of the question must savour of anthropomorphism. After the resurrection the human body will cease to be animal and become spiritual, but into any minute explanation of the matter he professes himself incompetent to enter, or to quote any authority on the point. "We know," he says, that we shall see God "as He is" (1 John iii. 2), and that He will be "all in all" (1 Cor. xv. 28), and that "without holiness no man can see" Him (Heb

xii. 14), and with these assurances he ought to be content. The courtesy and true humility of Augustine are no less conspicuous in this letter than his soundness of judgment (*Ep.* 148). To this letter, as well as to a previous one addressed to Paulina on the same subject, Augustine alludes in *Retract.* ii. 41, *Ep.* 148.

Fortunatianus appears also as one of the Catholic managers at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411, and to have taken an active part therein, as a zealous and keen champion of the Catholic cause, and remorseless in his criticism of the Donatist tactics, *e.g.* in sending incompetent representatives, deacons and presbyters, in the place of absent bishops, and for creating unnecessary delay in the progress of the proceedings. He also requested the president that the court might be cleared of strangers, whose presence interrupted them. At times his zeal carried him into irrelevant questions and bitter wrangling with these opponents, and for these excesses he received from the president more than one calm and just rebuke. On the third day Petilianus attempted to raise a storm against Augustine by asking who had ordained him. This called up Fortunatianus, who asked what this enquiry had to do with the real question before the conference, and drew forth the dignified reply of Augustine already described (Vol. I. p. 894). (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 288–552, ed. Oberthür.) The name of Fortunatianus, probably the same person, occurs in a letter to pope Innocent from the councils of Carthage and Milevis against Pelagianism, A.D. 46. (Aug. *Ep.* 175, 176.) [H. W. P.]

FORTUNATIANUS (5), bishop of Neapolis (Nabal, Shaw, p. 90), a seaport town on the east coast of proconsular Africa, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 404, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FORTUNATIANUS (6), Donatist bishop of Metae, a place in Numidia, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 404, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FORTUNATIANUS (7), Donatist bishop of Sememsalae, a place in proconsular Africa, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 451, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FORTUNATIANUS (8), Donatist bishop of Vensana, a place in Numidia, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 452, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FORTUNATIANUS (9), an African bishop, present at the synod of Hippo Regius concerning the appointment of Heraclius as successor to Augustine. (Aug. *Ep.* 213.) [H. W. P.]

FORTUNATIANUS (10), bishop of Aradia, a town in the proconsular province of Africa, which received its name from L. Aradius, the proconsul; one of the Catholic bishops summoned to Carthage for a conference with the Arians, A.D. 484, and subsequently banished to Corsica to cut wood for the royal fleet. (*Notitia*, Victor Vit. 55 in Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 82.) [L. D.]

FORTUNATIANUS (11), the name of four African bishops, viz. of Cilium, of Leptis Minor on the shore of the lesser Tyrtis, of Tagarbala, all in Byzacena, and of Naratcata in Numidia, banished to the deserts on the same occasion as the preceding. (Victor Vit. 57, 58; Morcelli, i. 140, 203, 239, 298.) [L. D.]

FORTUNATIANUS (12), a presbyter of Tagaste, by whom St. Augustine sent a letter to Paulinus and Therasia, some time between A.D. 394 and 410. (Aug. *Ep.* 80.) [H. W. P.]

FORTUNATIANUS (13), a heathen, yet advocate for his sister St. Victoria in the Diocletian persecution in Numidia. He tried to gain his sister off from death by suggesting that she was merely misled for a time, but she repudiated the evasive suggestion, and disavowed even his fraternal relationship except as he should keep the commandments of God. There is no notice of his conversion. (Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.* a. 303, lviii.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 518, 519; Ruinart, *Act. Sinc. Mart.* 389. All authorities follow the *Acta S. Saturnini et Soc. Mart. in Numidia.* See also Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, iii. 21.) [J. G.]

FORTUNATUS (1), bishop of Thuccaboris in Proc. Prov. of Africa, near Carthage. He attended all Cyprian's synods of which we have lists (his seniority identifying him), viz., Syn. Carth. 2 sub Cyp. de Pace, A.D. 252. (Ep. 57.) Syn. 4 de Basilide, A.D. 254. (Ep. 67.) Syn. 5 de Bap. 1, A.D. 255 (Ep. 70), and spoke seventeenth among the eighty-seven bishops of Syn. vii. de Bap. iii., possibly the same as **(2)** and **(3)**. [E. W. B.]

FORTUNATUS (2), to whom Cyprian's *De Exhortatione Martyrii* is addressed, is possibly the preceding. [E. W. B.]

FORTUNATUS (3), the colleague of Caldonius in the embassy to Rome (Cyp. Ep. 44 and 45). From the neighbourhood of the bishop of Thuccaboris (No. **1**) to Carthage, and his frequent presence there, one may conjecture that he was this colleague. [E. W. B.]

FORTUNATUS (4), the African bishop mentioned in Cyp. Ep. 56, is more likely to have come from the neighbourhood of Capsa. [AHIMNIUS.] [E. W. B.]

FORTUNATUS (5). Though he is named in some lists as an early bishop of Aquileia, it appears doubtful whether there was any bishop of that or similar name before Fortunatianus, who was present, 343, at the synod of Sardica. [FORTUNATIANUS (2).] (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 31; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* viii. 24–27.) [R. S. G.]

FORTUNATUS (6), bishop of Caesarea, the metropolis of Mauretania Caesariensis, present at the council of Arles A.D. 314. His name is inserted among the Gallic bishops. (Mansi, ii. 477; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 114.) [L. D.]

FORTUNATUS (7), bishop of Dionysiana in the Byzacene province of Africa, present at the council held at Cabarsussum in the same province, which is mentioned several times by Augustine, where the Maximianists condemned Primian, the rival Donatist bishop of Carthage A.D. 393. (Mansi, iii. 847; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 151.) [L. D.]

FORTUNATUS (8), probably ninth bishop of Naples, c. A.D. 344. He is recognised as bishop of Naples in a circular addressed to him and many others by the Arian bishops assembled in the "pseudo-synod" of Philippopolis in 343. He seems to have died before A.D. 359. (Mansi, iii. 126; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* vi. 42.) [R. S. G.]

FORTUNATUS (9), the name of six bishops present at the Carthaginian conference of 411, viz. the bishop of Capse (Gafsa, Ant. *Itin.* 77, 7), an important town south of Numidia; of Undesita, or Bajesita in Numidia; of Abensa in proconsular Africa; of Casae Calaneae in Numidia; (Donatist) of Vesceris, a town of Mauretania Sitifensis; of Rusucurris, Rusucurro, or Rusucurrium (Dellis, *Ant. Itin.* 16, 4), a seaport town of Mauretania Caesariensis. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 399, 404, 405, 419, 421, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FORTUNATUS (10), bishop of Cirta or Constantinia, chief town of Numidia, associated with St. Augustine on several occasions. He was present together with Alypius (*var. lec.* Absentius) and Augustine, when some of the clergy of Cirta put into their hands a letter, written no doubt by Petilian, Donatist bishop of Cirta, to his own clergy concerning the claims of Donatism. It was perhaps the same letter which a Donatist presbyter, at the command, he said, of an angel, placed in the hands of Generosus, a Christian gentleman, of whom we hear elsewhere as consular of Numidia. To this letter Augustine replied in his own name and in those of Alypius and Fortunatus. (*Ep.* 53; 1 *Petil.* i. 1, ñ. 99–228; *De Unico Bapt.* xvi. 29.) It was to Fortunatus that Augustine wrote concerning Faventius. He appears also as one of the seven Catholic managers at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411, but took no prominent part in the proceedings, except to remark on the delays caused by the Donatists. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 288–470, ed. Oberthür; Tillemont, 126, vol. xiii. p. 328–329; Ceillier, ix. p. 390.) He also appears to have joined in a letter concerning Pelagianism, sent to pope Innocent by the council of Milevis, A.D. 416. (Aug. *Epp.* 53, 176.) [FAVENTIUS (1).] [H. W. P.]

FORTUNATUS (11), bishop, to whom PRIMASIUS appears to have written three books (not extant) upon heresies. (Primasius, *Opp.* Prolog. ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. lxviii. 407; Tillemont, *Mém. Hist. Eccl.* xxxiii. 54.) [J. G.]

FORTUNATUS (12), bishop of Mozotcori in the Byzacene, banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 58 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 233.) [L. D.]

FORTUNATUS (13), the name of four bishops, viz. of Anagni, of Foligno, of Value near Solmona in Abruzzo, and of Sessa (Suessa) in Campania, present at the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th synods under pope Symmachus, from 499 to 504, according to the reckoning of Dahn (*Die Könige der Germanen*) who accepts, with a slight alteration, the arrangement of Hefele, § 220. (Mansi, viii. 234, 253, 268, 299, 315.) [A. H. D. A.]

FORTUNATUS (14), bishop of Catania (Catana), c. A.D. 514. He was sent with Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, and others by pope Hormisdas on an embassy to the emperor Anastasius in the year 515. (Mansi, *Concilia*, viii. 389; Jaffé, *Regesta Pontif.* 65.) [R. S. G.]

FORTUNATUS (15), bishop of Putput (Pupit), in proconsular Africa, present at the council of Carthage A.D. 525. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 258; Mansi, viii. 648.) [L. D.]

FORTUNATUS (16), bishop of Todi ("Tudertinae civitatis"), c. 528. His life and miracles are related by Gregory the Great. (*Dial.* i. 10, in Migne, lxxvii. 200–209; *Acta Sanctorum*, Boll. 14 Oct. vi. 520; Usuard. *Mart.*; Cappelletti, v. 218; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 1351.) [FORTUNATA.] [A. H. D. A.]

FORTUNATUS (17), VENANTIUS HONORIUS CLEMENTIANUS, bishop of Poitiers, and the last representative of Latin poetry in Gaul, was born about the year 530 at Ceneta, the modern Ceneda, in the neighbourhood of Tarvisium (Treviso). (*Vit. Sanct. Martin.* lib. iv. 668.) Nothing is known for certain of his family, but he seems to have resided at an early age at Aquileia, where he came under the influence of one Paulus, who was instrumental in his conversion. Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Langobard.* lib. ii. 23) relates that he studied grammar, rhetoric, and poetry at Ravenna. Here he became almost blind, but was restored to sight by the oil of a lamp which burned at the altar of St. Martin of Tours in the church of St. Peter and St. John. In fulfilment of a vow made in gratitude for his recovery, he set out on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Martin of Tours about 565. He himself describes his journey in his principal poem, the Life of St. Martin. Quitting Italy, he crossed the Alps, and, passing into Austrasia, visited the court of king Siegbert, by whom he was hospitably entertained, and for whom he composed an epithalamium, on the occasion of his marriage with Brunehault, couched in terms of extravagant flattery, which accord ill with the expressions of disgust levelled at the Northern barbarians in the dedication of his poems to Pope Gregory. Siegbert helped him on his way to Tours, and assigned him Sigoaldus as a guide (*Miscell.* ix. 20). Euphronius was at this time bishop of Tours, with whom, on arriving at his destination, Fortunatus entered into a close friendship (*Miscell.* iii. 1–3). After fulfilling his vow he continued to travel in Gaul, receiving everywhere the admiration and sympathy of the best Gallo-Roman society, and employing his time in correspondence with his former hosts, or in the composition of those fugitive poems which form the staple of his works. The disturbed state of his native country, owing to the incursions of the Lombards, seems to have been the prime cause of his prolonged sojourn in Gaul, but an additional inducement was the society of Rhadegund of Poitiers, for whom he conceived a Platonic attachment, which the imaginative genius of Aug. Thierry (*Récits mérovingiens*, tom. ii. rec. vi.) has invested with a romantic interest hardly warranted by the generally heartless and sensual tone of the poet's writings. Rhadegund was the daughter of Bertharius, king of the Thüringians, who, having been espoused against her will to Lothair I., king of Neustria, had separated from him, and retired in 550 to Poitiers, where she founded the convent of St. Croix,

more for purposes of literary than of religious seclusion, appointing her own domestic Agnes the first abbess. At what date Fortunatus visited Poitiers is uncertain, but it was no more than natural that a visitor of his literary eminence should find a welcome in the cultivated society of St. Croix, or have been induced to take up his residence as chaplain and almoner to the convent. Here he had abundant opportunity for indulging his literary and social tastes. Rhadegund, being in close relation with the most distinguished prelates of Gaul, not merely employed her poet-chaplain in correspondence with them, but despatched him from time to time on delicate missions, for which his courtly manners qualified him in no ordinary degree. In this way he became intimate with Gregory of Tours, Syagrius of Autun, Felix of Nantes, Germanus of Paris, Avitus of Clermont, and many others, to whom his poems are addressed. His leisure hours were employed in composing Lives of the Saints, Theological Treatises, and Hymns, among which latter are to be found the famous "Vexilla Regis," composed for a religious ceremony at Poitiers, and the "Pange Lingua," which, though generally ascribed to his pen, was more probably composed, as Sirmond has shewn (Sirmond *in Notis ad Epist.* Sidon. Apollin. lib. iii. ep. 4), by Claudianus Mamertus. After residing for some time at the convent of St. Croix, he was ordained priest, and, subsequently to the death of Rhadegund in 597, succeeded Plato in the bishopric of Poitiers; but this dignity he only attained shortly before his own death, at the commencement of the 7th century.

The works of Fortunatus Venantius comprise:—

(1) Eleven Books of Miscellanies, chiefly in elegiac verse, being a collection of fugitive pieces upon a great variety of subjects, interesting for the light they occasionally throw upon the manners of the time, or upon the history of art (*Miscell.* lib. i. 12; lib. iii. 13), but from a literary point of view all but worthless. Among them are to be found two prose treatises of doubtful authenticity on the Lord's Prayer, and on an epitomized version of the Aquileian creed of Rufinus.

(2) The Life of St. Martin of Tours in four Books, consisting of 2245 hexameter lines. This was hastily composed in the space of two months, and is little more than a metrical version of Severus Sulpicius's incomparably better prose. In the fourth book the saint is represented as prescribing to the poet a pilgrimage to his own relics at Tours, to which fiction we owe the latter's description of his travels.

(3) An elegiac poem in three cantos, unless they are three distinct poems, written in the character, and evidently under the inspiration of Rhadegund. The first, entitled "De Excidio Thuringiae," is dedicated to her cousin, Amalfred (or Hermanfred); the second is a panegyric of the emperor Justin II. and the empress Sophia, who had presented Rhadegund with a piece of the true cross; the third is addressed to Artachis, the young son of Amalfred, upon the death of his father.

(4) To these have been added in recent times —(i.) a collection of 150 elegiac verses addressed to Rhadegund and Agnes, which was discovered by M. Guérard in the Royal Library at St. Germain, and published by him in the twelfth volume of his "Notices des Manuscrits." (ii.) A short epigram "Ad Theuchildem," brought to light by Mai in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and first published in his *Spicilegium*.

(5) The Lives of Eleven Saints—St. Hilary of Poitiers, St. Germain of Paris, St. Aubin of Angers, St. Paternus of Avranches, St. Rhadegund of Poitiers, St. Amant of Rodez, St. Médard of Noyon, St. Remy of Rheims, St. Lubin of Chartres, St. Mauril of Angers, and St. Marcel of Paris—but the first book of the Life of St. Hilary and the lives of the three last-named saints are to be attributed in all probability to another name (see next article). To these must be added an account of the martyrdom at Paris (A.D. vii. Id. Octobr.) of St. Denys, St. Rusticus, and St. Eleutherius.

The following works of Fortunatus are lost:—

(1) The Life of St. Severinus (Greg. Turon. *de Glor. Confess.* c. 45).

(2) Hymns for all the festivals of the Christian year (Paul Diac. *Gest. Langob.* lib. ii. 23).

He is also said to have composed an Itinerary of his Travels, and a treatise upon the Art of Reigning addressed to Siegbert.

The poetry of Venantius Fortunatus represents the expiring effort of the Latin Muse in Gaul. Even the poet himself felt the decadence not merely of language, but of thought, which characterizes his verse:—

> "Ast ego sensus inops . . .
> Faece gravis, sermone levis, ratione pigrescens,
> Mente hebes, arte carens, usu rudis, ore nec expers."
> *Vit. S. Martin.* v. 26–28.

and it is difficult to dissent from the severe judgment he has passed upon himself. His style is pedantic, his taste bad, his grammar and prosody seldom correct for many lines together. Two of his longer poems, however, display a simplicity and pathos which are foreign to his usual style. One of these treats of the marriage of Galesuintha, sister of Brunehaut, with Chilperic; the other is the Elegy upon the Fall of Thuringia. For what is of real merit in these two pieces we are in all probability indebted to the genius of Rhadegund rather than to any sudden access of inspiration in the poet himself.

The first edition of the works of Fortunatus was published at Cagliari in 1573, but this contained only the hymns. The earliest edition which can lay claim to any completeness is that of the Jesuit Christopher Brower, published in 4to at Mainz in 1634. The best is that of Michael Angelo Luchi, 2 vols. 4to, Rome, 1786, which is reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. lxxxviii., together with an appendix containing the discoveries of Guérard and Mai.

For the life of the poet the reader is referred to Luchi's edition; to Ceillier's *Auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, tom. xi. p. 402; Augustin Thierry, *Récits mérovingiens*, tom. ii. Recit. vi.; and Ampère, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, tom. ii. ch. 13. [E. M. Y.]

FORTUNATUS (18), a bishop, see unknown, who has been confounded with Venantius Fortunatus bishop of Poitiers. He was born at Vercellae, migrated from Lombardy into Gaul, and became intimate with St. Germanus, who induced him to write the Life of St. Marcellus. He was in all probability the author of the first

book of the Life of St. Hilary of Poitiers, and of three other lives of saints ascribed to his more distinguished namesake. He died at Celles, in the diocese of Sens, cir. A.D. 569. (Rivet, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, tom. iii. p. 298.) [E. M. Y.]

FORTUNATUS (19), bishop of Forlimpopoli (Forum Popilii), merged in the 14th century in the see of Bertinoro, c. 582. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, ii. 440; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 598.) [A. H. D. A.]

FORTUNATUS (20), bishop of Treviso c. 599. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, x. 603.) For a long legend concerning bodies of saints brought from the east during his time see Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 490–496. [A. H. D. A.]

FORTUNATUS (21), bishop of Naples, who received letters from Gregory I. concerning the redemption of slaves bought by Jewish negotiators. See lib. ix. indict. iii. *Ep.* 36, Migne, 970. He received also many other letters, *e. g.* lib. iii. indict. xi. *Epist.* 63; lib. ix. indict. ii. *Epist.* 75 and 103; lib. x. indict. iii. *Epist.* 24 and 25. (Migne, lxxvii. 660, 1009, 1026, 1082, and 1083.) In the last two letters he is blamed for neglecting his monasteries and for avarice. He was present at the synod of 595, about the service of the pope, the goods of the church, etc.; and at the synod of 601, which tended towards the independence of monasteries from episcopal control. These are two separate synods according to Hefele, § 288, § 289. According to Jaffé (*Regesta Pont.* p. 114) there was only one synod, and that in 595 (Mansi, ix. 1228, x. 488). [A. H. D. A.]

FORTUNATUS (22), bishop of Fano, receives a letter from Gregory the Great (lib. vii. ind. xv. ep. 13; Migne, lxxvii. 867), allowing a special sale of sacred vessels for the redemption of captives only. (Cf. *Acta Sanct.* Boll. June 8; ii. 106; *Life*, by John, of Nonantula, with no important information.) [A. H. D. A.]

FORTUNATUS (23), intruding metropolitan or patriarch of Grado c. 628. He stripped the churches, was repelled from Grado apparently, and fled to Cormons ("super civitatem Aquileiam miliario 15"), see *Chronica Patr. Gradensium* in *Mon. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 394. The schism between Grado and Aquileia was not yet closed. [Epiphanius (24).] It seems possible, therefore, that, as he was unsound on the matter of the Three Chapters, he may have been a patriarch of Aquileia, endeavouring to obtain possession of Grado. An appeal was made by the bishops of Venetia and Istria in 628 to pope Honorius I., who wrote condemning and degrading Fortunatus, and recommending a new bishop. (Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* ep. 1562, p. 157. See also Pertz, *Monum. SS.* vii. p. 45, for the chronicle of Grado; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, viii. 69.) [A. H. D. A.]

FORTUNATUS (24), bishop of Osimo (Auximum), present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649, which condemned the Monothelite heresy. (Mansi, x. 866; Hefele, § 307.) He appears to be the first bishop of Auximum of certain date. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, vii. 493.) [A. H. D. A.]

FORTUNATUS (25), bishop of Sarsina (now united to Bertinoro), 702–730. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, ii. 488.) [A. H. D. A.]

FORTUNATUS (26), bishop of Pola, c. A.D. 806, succeeding Peter. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, viii. 803.) [R. S. G.]

FORTUNATUS (27), bishop of Trieste in 788; translated to the patriarchate of Grado in 802, succeeding John (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, viii. 682). In 803 he received the pallium from pope Leo III. His life was an eventful one. The murderers of his predecessor suspected him, probably correctly, of intending to avenge his death, and forced him to fly from his see. He went to France to Charles the Great, to whom he accused his enemies of partisanship for the emperor of Constantinople. Charles sent him back with a charter of confirmation given in the third year of his empire. Meanwhile his office had been usurped by a deacon named John, and he appears to have fled again into France. However, in 818 he obtained from Louis the Pious a charter confirming him in the patriarchate. In 821 he was accused of favouring the designs of Liudevitus, king of Pannonia, against Louis, and fled to Constantinople. There he remained three years, till 824, when he presented himself before Louis with other ambassadors from the emperor Michael. The king sent him to Rome to clear himself of the charge of treason before the pope, but he died soon after while still in France. He is described as a man of unbending spirit and distinguished virtue, and he is said to have conferred many benefits on his church, partly of his own munificence, partly by his influence with Charles the Great. His successor in the patriarchate was Venerius. (Ughel. *Ital. Sac.* v. 1180; Einhard, *Annal.* an. 803, 821, 824 in Pertz. i. p. 191, 208, 212; Bar. xiii. 802, x.; Pag. xiv. an. 821. xviii. an. 824. viii.)

Mabillon identifies him with the Fortunatus who, as abbat of Moyen Moutier (mon. Medianense), disputed with his monks as to the distribution of the revenues of the monastery, to the administration of the whole of which he laid claim. Smaragdus, abbat of the monastery of St. Michael on the Meuse, was deputed by the king to arrange the quarrel, which he did on the terms of the monks receiving a portion of the revenues for their due sustenance and the abbat taking the rest. The quarrel broke out afresh in the time of Hismundus, his successor. (Frotharii *Epist.* iii. in Migne, Pat. Lat. cvi. 865; Mabillon, *Annales*, xxvi. n. 83; xxviii. n. 27; xxix. n. 64; tom. ii. pp. 340, 414, 491.) [S. A. B.]

FORTUNATUS (28), July 12, deacon of the church at Aquileia, and martyr there under Nero, with its bishop Hermagoras. [Hermagoras.] (*Mart.* Usuardi, Adonis.) [G. T. S.]

FORTUNATUS (29), April 23, deacon and martyr at Valence. [Felix (203).] [G. T. S.]

FORTUNATUS (30)—Aug. 8. Martyr at Salerno in Italy with Caius and Anthes. They suffered under Maximian, A.D. 304, or thereabout, Leontius being proconsul. Their acts are extant, but in a very corrupt shape. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron.; *AA. SS. Boll.* Aug. vi. 163–169.) [G. T. S.]

FORTUNATUS (31), Aug. 23, deacon of the church at Belgrade, and martyr there with another deacon, Donatus, and several others of the clergy in the Diocletian persecution under Victorianus, president of Mysia. (Ferrarius, *Cat. SS.*) [G. T. S.]

FORTUNATUS (32), martyred with cruel tortures with his brother Felix [FELIX (207)], at Aquileia, in the reign of Diocletian; commemorated June 11. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

FORTUNATUS (33), martyred with Septimius, both of them readers, at Venusia, in the reign of Diocletian; commemorated Oct. 24. (Usuard. *Mart.*) [C. H.]

FORTUNATUS (34), Oct. 15, martyr at Rome, on the Aurelian Way (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron., Usuard.) at Capua with Lupilus (Ferrarii *Cat. SS.*). [G. T. S.]

FORTUNATUS (35), Jan. 9, martyr at Smyrna with Vitalis and Revocatus (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron., Usuard., Wandalbert.); in Africa (*Mart.* Hieron.). [G. T. S.]

FORTUNATUS (36), Feb. 2, martyr at Rome with several others. A curious instance of the way in which the number of martyrs was increased by the mistake of transcribers occurs in connexion with this name. Canisius, in his edition of the *Martyrologium Germanicum*, reads: "Eodem dieeâ ipsâ in urbe, triginta millium martyrum qui in persecutione Diocletiana coronati sunt." Canisius copied from Galesinius who used a codex which read thus: "et xxxiii. aliorum," and which he took as "XXXM," *Mart. Hieron.* seems to place their martyrdom on the Flaminian Way, at the 174th milestone from the city, a place now called Fossombrone. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron., Hieron., Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FORTUNATUS (37), subdeacon of Carthage (Cyp. Ep. 84.) [PHILUMENUS.] [E. W. B.]

FORTUNATUS (38), subdeacon of Carthage, bearer of Ep. 35 to Rome. (Cyp. Ep. 36.) [E. W. B.]

FORTUNATUS (39), presbyter of Carthage [DONATUS], one of the five who opposed the election of Cyprian (Cyp. Ep. 59), who subsequently became the pseudo-bishop of the lax party about Felicissimus, on the question of the lapsed (Ep. 14); consecrated by the excommunicated heretic bishop Privatus of Lambaese. [CYPRIAN.] [E. W. B.]

FORTUNATUS (40), deacon of the church of Nazianzus, and bearer of a letter from Gregory his bishop, to Alypius governor of Cappadocia; in an accompanying letter St. Gregory very highly recommends his deacon's probity, and recommends him to the governor's good offices. (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 84, in Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxvii. 155–7; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, v. 254.) [J. G.]

FORTUNATUS (41), a Donatist presbyter, of whom it was alleged at the council of Cabarsussis, A.D. 394, that Primianus had cast him into a sewer because he had baptized sick persons. [PRIMIANUS.] (Aug. *En. in Ps.* 36, 20; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 256, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FORTUNATUS (42), subdeacon, by whom pope Coelestine wrote to Patroclus bishop of Arles, A.D. 428. (Jaffé, *Regest. Pontif.*; Ceillier, *Aut. sacr.* viii. 130.) [C. H.]

FORTUNATUS (43), abbat of the monastery of St. Laurentius and St. Zeno, at Cesena in Romagna. Gregory the Great writes to Marinianus, archbishop of Ravenna, desiring that he shall be restored to his monastery, if it be found that he has been unjustly deposed. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. xiv. indict. vii. epist. 6. Migne, lxxvii. 1308.) [A. H. D. A.]

FORTUNATUS (44), abbat of a monastery called "Balneum Ciceronis" ("aut Puteolis, aut in agro Tusculano"), gave to Gregory the Great some of the materials for his Dialogues. (*Dial.* lib. i. 4, 10; Migne, lxxvii. 165, 209.) [A. H. D. A.]

FORTUNATUS, deacons who were martyrs. See Nos. **28, 29, 31.**

FORTUNATUS (45), one of the bearers of the letter of Clemens Romanus. [CLEMENS ROMANUS, I. 556, col. 2.] [G. S.]

FORTUNATUS (46), ANASTASIUS, prefect of the legion of Trajan, at the martyrdom of Marcellus the centurion, A.D. 298. (Ruinart, *Acta Sinc. Mart.* p. 303, 2nd ed.) [C. H.]

FORTUNATUS (47), a member of the Donatist congregation at Tacara, a town of Numidia, of which Verissimus was the bishop. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 401, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FORTUNATUS (48), a Manichaean presbyter with whom Augustine held a public disputation, at the request of his fellow-citizens, Donatists, and others, in the baths of Sosius at Hippo, August 28, A.D. 392. (Possidius, *Vit. Aug.* in Aug. *Op.* i. 38, ed. Migne, Patrol.; Aug. *Retract.* ib. 611; *Disp. contr. Fortunat.* ib. viii. 111.)

Fortunatus had a numerous following at Hippo, but being worsted by his great antagonist, he was compelled to flee from the city. He was soon succeeded, however, by another presbyter who seems to have been Felix. (Aug. *Ep.* 79. *u.s.* ii. 272.) [FAUSTUS (34), FELIX (233).] [T. W. D.]

FORTUNIO, martyr, Carthage, A.D. 250. [ARISTO.] [E. W. B.]

FORTUNIUS (1), Donatist bishop of Tubursicus or Tubursica, a town of Numidia, with whom St. Augustine held a controversy c. A.D. 397, of which he gives an account in a letter to the Donatists, Eleusius, Glorius and Felix (*Ep.* 44). Partly in consequence of the tumult, partly because of the unwillingness of the reporters to do their duty, no proper report was made of the controversy. Augustine therefore transcribed from memory as much as he was able to report, and laid it before his correspondents. The arguments used by Fortunius to support the principle of his sect appear to have been—(1) its universality; (2) the divine command to eschew false prophets, and the false charge so often made and refuted of the "tradition" on the part of Felix of Aptunga; (3) the complicity of foreign churches in the cruelties of Macarius; (4) a letter said to have been addressed by the council of

Sardica, A.D. 347, to the African bishops of the Donatist communion. To this Augustine replied by shewing the absence of authority to support this document, which was in truth of Arian origin. He also shewed that the Donatists were not the only persons who had suffered persecution, and that their having been exposed to it was no proof of their superior holiness. After shewing that evil persons are frequently tolerated by God, as for example the Traitor himself Judas Iscariot, Augustine enforced his favourite argument that on earth there must be toleration of evil until the time of final separation. When Fortunius eulogized Genethlius, a former bishop of Hippo, for his forbearance towards Donatists, Augustine remarked that on Donatist principles even he ought to have been rebaptized. After some further discussion, Augustine proposed that a conference should be held of ten persons on each side in some quiet place, and he undertook that all necessary documents should be forthcoming. (Aug. *Ep.* 44.) The name of Fortunius is mentioned as one of the bishops present at the council of Bagaia, A.D. 394, and it is very probable that this was the same person as the one mentioned above. (Aug. *cont. Cresc.* iii. 53, iv. 10.) [H. W. P.]

FORTUNIUS (2), a person unknown, who had married a woman, Ursa, probably before the wars of Alaric. She was carried off into captivity, and afterwards returned to find Fortunius married to another woman named Restituta. The question referred to pope Innocent was, which of the two was his wife. In his letter to Probus (*Ep.* 36, Migne, Patr. Lat. xx. 602), dated by Jaffé (*Regesta*, 26) between the years 402 and 417, Innocent decided, "fide Catholica suffragante," that Ursa, still alive and undivorced, was his only wife. (Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, vii. 524.) [J. G.]

FORTUNIUS (3), bishop of Regia in Numidia, banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 57 in Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 260.) [L. D.]

FORTUNIUS (4), bishop of Eugubium (Gubbio), c. A.D. 603. He succeeded St. Gaudentius or, according to Ughelli, Gaudiosus. Cappelletti doubts whether there was a bishop of Gubbio of that name. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 677; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* v. 380.) [R. S. G.]

FORTUNIUS (5), bishop of Cellae in the Byzacene province, a name common to several African towns, subscribed the letter of his province to Constantine the son of Heraclius, against the errors of the Monothelites A.D. 641, which was read at the first Lateran council. (Mansi, x. 927; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 134.) [L. D.]

FORTUNIUS (6), bishop of Ofita in the proconsular province of Africa, signed the letter of the synod of his province to Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, against the errors of the Monothelites, which he favoured, A.D. 646. This letter was read at the first Lateran council, 649. (Mansi, x. 940; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 250.) [L. D.]

FORTUNIUS (7), bishop of Carthage. There are no data for a precise chronology of his episcopate. Morcelli (*Afr. Chr.* iii. 365) makes his succession to Dominicus, after an interval, in 630, somewhat conjecturally. In 644 he is believed to have imbibed Monothelite opinions under the influence of Pyrrhus, who had then recently come as an exile into Africa and was a zealous proselytizer (Morcelli, 375). One of the speakers in the council of Constantinople, A.D. 680, remembered Fortunius having visited that capital and celebrated Mass in the church of St. Sophia during the patriarchate of Paulus (Mansi, xi. 594 e). This visit must have occurred before 648, when Paulus was deposed for Monothelitism. Morcelli (377) puts it in 646. His fraternizing with Paulus at Constantinople was regarded by his brethren in Africa as an open profession of heresy, and they seem to have construed his absence as a desertion of his church. A council was held without him in 646 at Carthage, the senior bishop, Gulosus of Pupa, presiding, and Monothelite doctrine was condemned. From that time Fortunius disappears, and Morcelli commences the episcopate of Victor. [T. W. D.]

FORTUNUS (also called FORTUNATUS), April 21, a martyr at Alexandria with Arator, a presbyter, Felix, and Vitalis. According to *Mart.* Hieron., Felix was son of Arator. In later martyrologies the ascetic views prevalent about clerical celibacy converted the word "filii" into "silvii," and another martyr was thus added to the list. (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuardi, Adonis.) [G. T. S.]

FORTY MARTYRS, THE. The following groups occur under this title:—

(1) Forty soldiers, March 9, who suffered under Licinius, 320, at Sebaste in Armenia. A list of their names is given in the martyrology of Ado under March 11. For their various festivals see art. SEBASTE, FORTY MARTYRS OF, in the *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* They were young, brave, and noted for their services. The emperor having ordained that the military police of the cities should offer sacrifices, the governor called upon these forty to comply with the law. They refused, and withstood every attempt by bribe or threat to influence their resolve. Thereupon a new punishment was devised. They were immersed for a whole night in a frozen pond in the midst of the city, and, to render their sufferings the more acute, a hot bath was placed within their sight ready for any who might choose to avail themselves of it, their doing so however being the sign of apostasy. The trial was too great for one. He left the pond and flung himself into the bath, gaining, however, nothing thereby, for as soon as he touched the hot water he died. The number of forty was not however broken. The sentinel who watched the bath had a vision. He saw angels descend and distribute rewards to all who were in the pond save to the one unhappy apostate. The guard at once stripped off his clothing and took the vacant place in the pond. The next morning they were all taken in vehicles and flung into fires. There was one Melito, younger and more vigorous than the rest, whose resolution they thought they might possibly yet shake. His mother, however, who was present, with her own hands placed him in the executioner's cart,

exhorting him thus: "Go, my son, finish this happy voyage with thy comrades, that thou mayst not be the last presented to God." Their relics were carefully preserved and carried to various cities, where many churches were built in their honour. The mother Emmelia, and the sister Macrina, of St. Basil obtained some for their monastery near the village of Annesi in Pontus, where already a church had been built in their honour (Greg. Nyss. *Vit. S. Macrin.*). Sozomen (*H. E.* ix. 2) tells a strange story about the adventures of another set of their relics. In addition to the authorities above quoted consult Pitra, *Analect. Sacr.* t. i. p. 599, in *Spicileg. Solesmense.* Their popularity throughout the entire East has ever been very great (cf. Dr. Zirecek, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*). In Burton's *Unexplored Syria*, App. ii., a church in their honour is noted at Hums, near Damascus; cf. also Melchior de Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 367.

(2) Another set of Forty Martyrs in Persia, 375, is commemorated on May 20 (Assemani, *Mart. Orient.* i. 141). Among them were the bishops Abdas and Ebed-Jesu. [EBED-JESU.] (Ceillier, iii. 82, 336; Bas. *Menol.*)

(3) Under Dec. 24 Forty Virgin Martyrs under the emperor Decius at Antioch in Syria are noted in *Mart.* Hieron., Adon., Usuard. [G. T. S.]

FOSSONIUS (FOSSONUS, COSONIUS), fifth bishop of Vermandois, between Maximus and Aeternus, or Fraternus. The first eleven bishops of this see are mere names undated; the twelfth was living in A.D. 511. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 979.) [C. H.]

FOTAIDE is the name given in the *Four Mast.*, A.D. 432, to the father of Calphran, father of St. Patrick, but he is usually called POTITUS in the Lives. [J. G.]

FOTHAD, the canonist, receives special honour from the Irish annalists for his efforts on behalf of the clergy. He was a teacher at Armagh and abbat of Fathan Mura, now Fahan (Upper), in the barony of Inishowen West, co. Donegal; he had been tutor of Aedh Oirdnidhe, monarch of Erinn A.D. 793–817, to whom on his accession he dedicated a Royal Precept or Rule of Government, a vigorous poem of seventy-two stanzas, still preserved in the *Book of Leinster.* He appears to have then, or some time after, been taken by Aedh into the number of his councillors. When Aedh assembled his forces consisting of clergy and laity, and led them into Leinster as far as Dun-Cuair (now Rathcore, a small village in the barony of Lower Moyfenrath, co. Meath,—*Four Mast.* i. 408 n. [d]), a controversy arose between the king and northern clergy whom he had compelled to accompany him to the war, the case was referred by king and people to the decision of St. Fothad. The clergy objected to being called to the field at the will of the king, and when the dispute was submitted to St. Fothad at the suggestion of Conmach, bishop of Armagh, he decided in the metrical sentence or "canon" from which his name "na canoine" is said to have been derived, exempting the clergy from all compulsory military service. And this sentence, being acquiesced in by king Aedh, continued ever after to be the rule throughout Ireland. It was as follows (from the *Four Masters*, by O'Donovan, i. 409):

"The Church of the living God, let her alone, waste her not,
Let her right be apart, as best it ever was.
Every true monk, who is of a pure conscience,
For the Church to which it is due let him labour like every servant.
Every soldier from that out, who is without [religious] rule or obedience,
Is permitted to aid the great Aedh, son of Niall.
This is the true rule, neither more nor less:
Let every one serve in his vocation without murmur or complaint."

(O'Curry, *Man. Cust. Anc. Irish*, ii. 61, 95, 175–76; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* iv. 132, 202, and *Epist. Nuncup.* 65; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 255; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 20, § 9.) This took place, according to the *Four Mast.*, in A.D. 799, but more correctly in A.D. 804. His name, however, may have been based upon his acquaintance with canon law. In Colgan's *Breve Chronicon* (*Tr. Thaum.* 292) there is at A.D. 799 "S. Fothadus cognomento De Canonibus, Doctor et Scriptor Ardmachanus, Scriptis et Sanctimoniâ claret." At A.D. 805 the *Ann. Inisfall.* have, as rendered by O'Conor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* vol. ii. pt. ii. 26), "Fothad Othna, *i. e.* Fothad Canoine [Fothadius Monasterii Othnae, *i. e.* Fothadius Canonum Scriptor] quievit," but according to the calculation (*ib.* ii. pt. ii. § 7) this date should be A.D. 819, which agrees with the corrected date of the *Ann. Ult.* "An. 818. Fothad monasterii Othnae moritur." [J. G.]

FOTINIANI. (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 6, 65, v.) [PHOTINIANI.] [T. W. D.]

FOTINUS seems to be the Scotch ecclesiastical name of Pothinus, bishop and martyr at Lyons, A.D. 177. (Miller, *Arbroath and its Abbey*, 162, 167; *View Dioc. Aberd.* 255; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 351.) [J. G.]

FOTINUS (Ambros. *de Fid.* i. 1), heretic. [PHOTINUS.] [T. W. D.]

FOUR CROWNED MARTYRS, Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, Victorinus, who suffered at Rome in the Diocletian persecution, and were commemorated on Nov. 8 (*Mart.* Adon., Us.). A martyrium in their honour existed at Canterbury from the earliest times of the Augustinian mission (Bed. ii. 7). For an account of their festival and other particulars, see *Dict. Chr. Ant.* art. CORONATI QUATUOR. [C. H.]

FRAECH (FIRAICH, FRAICH, FREGIUS, FROECH, FROEGIUS). Cruimther Fraech, *i.e.* priest Fraech, is commemorated, in the Irish *Kalendars*, at Dec. 20, as "of Cluain Collaing, in Muintir Eoluis," now Cloone, a parish in the baronies of Carrigallen and Mohill, the diocese of Ardagh, and the county of Leitrim. He was son of Carthagius, and of the race of Conmac, son of Fergus, son of Ross, son of Rudhraighe (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 598, c. 3; *Mart. Doneg.*, by Todd and Reeves, 343; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 142). He was maternal uncle of St. Berach (Feb. 15), of Cluain-cairpthe, and gave him baptism and the rudiments of education. [BERACH (2).] His exact date is not known, but he appears to have flourished about A.D. 570,

and thus been contemporary with many well-known saints and founders of schools and monasteries, such as St. Columba, St. Kevin, St. Comgall, the Finnians, the Brendans, and St. Daigh (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 340, cc. 2–4, 345, c. 2, 346, nn. [2–3], 753, c. 17, 756 n. [18], and *Tr. Thaum.* 410, c. 8; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 14, § 6). Etymologically, Fraech is the Irish for heath. (Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 2nd series, 99.) [J. G.]

FRAGITANUS, a priest of Cordova, unjustly deposed by the bishop of Cordova (probably Agapius) on his own authority only. The second synod of Seville, held A.D. 619 under the presidency of St. Isidore, ordered his restoration, and laid down the principle that no priest or deacon could be expelled from his office without the consent of a council. (*Esp. Sagr.* x. 233; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 355.) [M. A. W.]

FRAID, FFRAID, the Welsh form of St. Bride. [BRIGIDA.] (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 42, 51; *Welsh Saints*, 189–90; Williams, *Emin. Welsh*, 156–57.) [J. G.]

FRAMBALDUS, FRAMBAUDUS (FRAUBALDUS), abbat of Senlis (Silvanectum) and confessor, perhaps belonging to the first half of the 6th century, is fully treated of by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 16 Aug. iii. 300–302) in a commentarius prefixed to Labbe's *Elogium S. Frambaldi Abb. ex vet. Brev. Silvan.* According to the *Elogium* he was born in Aquitaine, of noble parents; when a priest, he went to Le Mans (Cenomannum) and retired with some brethren to a neighbouring wood. But regarding his life and acts there is the utmost uncertainty; to Ado, Usuardus, and even later martyrologists he was unknown. He was probably venerated at both Le Mans and Senlis, on Aug. 16 or 23. His relics are specially mentioned as having been preserved in the church of St. Frambaldus in Senlis. [J. G.]

FRAMBOLDUS, ST., fourteenth bishop of Bayeux, succeeding St. Gereboldus and followed by St. Hugo I. early in the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 350.) [S. A. B.]

FRAMECHILDIS, FRAMEHEUT, mother of St. Austreberta, and wife of the count Palatine Badefridus (Bauffroy). Her legend is given in the *Vita S. Austrebertae* (Bolland. *Acta SS.* 10 Feb. ii. 419–23), and again critically presented by the Bollandists (*ib.* 17 Maii, vii. 800–2). She flourished under king Dagobert I. (A.D. 628–638), and is venerated at Montreuil in Picardy on May 17, or, as some less probably say, 27. [J. G.]

FRAMENGERUS, twenty-sixth bishop of Noyon, between Guarulfus and Hunuanus, said to have sat two years, and died A.D. 723. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 985.) [S. A. B.]

FRANCILIO (GAMCILIUS, VINCILIUS), fourteenth bishop of Tours, following Leo, and succeeded by Injuriosus. He was a native of Poictiers, where his family was of senatorian rank. He had a wife, who was named Clara, but no family, and both were possessed of landed estates, the bulk of which they bestowed upon the church of St. Martin at Tours, the rest upon their relations. He held the see for two years and a half, dying A.D. 529. Gregory of Tours, who is the authority for all that is known of him, relates that on the night of the Feast of the Nativity ere he descended to observe the vigils, he bade his servant fetch him a draught, after swallowing which he immediately expired. Gregory infers that he was poisoned. He was buried in the church of St. Martin at Tours. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iii. 17, x. 31, § 14; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 19.) [C. H.]

FRANCIO, metropolitan bishop of Philippopolis in Thrace, present at the council of Chalcedon 451, and appears among the bishops who subscribed the synodal letter of the council to Leo I. (Harduin, *Concilia*, ii. 367 C; Leo Mag. *Ep.* 98, 1104, Migne; *Oriens Christ.* i. 1157.) [C. G.]

FRANCLA (FRACLA, FRANDA), one of the three sisters of SS. Tressan, Gibrian, &c.; she went from Ireland to Gaul in perhaps the 5th century, but her acts are unknown. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 8 Mai. ii. 298–9; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 377.) [J. G.]

FRANCO, seventh bishop of Aix, succeeding Avolus, and followed by Pientius (fl. circ. A.D. 566). Gregory of Tours has the following story of him. Childeric, chief of the household of king Sigebert, claimed some of the church lands of Aix. The bishop appealed to the king, who decided against him, and fined him 300 pieces of gold for wrongfully withholding lands from the payment of taxes. Returning to his see, the bishop threw himself upon the tomb of St. Metrias, the confessor of Aix, and exclaimed with tears, "No lamp shall be kindled here, nor psalm chanted, most glorious saint, until thou hast revenged thy servants upon their enemies and restored to holy church the lands taken from her." So saying, he threw thorns upon the sepulchre, and as he went out fastened the doors and placed more thorns against them. Childeric was forthwith stricken with a fever, but his pride was not broken till his sickness had lasted a whole year, when he sent messengers to restore the lands, and to offer by way of restitution 600 pieces of gold. This done, he expired where he lay, and the church was revenged upon her foes. (*Lib. de Glor. Confess.* lxxi.; *Gall. Christ.* i. 301.) [S. A. B.]

FRANCO I., 23rd bishop of Le Mans, between Josephus and Franco II., born at Hasbain of noble Frank parents. In his youth he repaired to Charlemagne's court at Aix, and in 794 was appointed by him bishop of Le Mans. The influence he had won at court he employed for the aggrandisement of his see. In 796 he obtained a grant of privileges from the king in favour of his diocese (Bouquet, v. 766). In 802 he extended his jurisdiction over the monastery of St. Calais (Carilefus) by means of forged records, as was said, which deceived the king's chancellor (Bouquet, v. 766). In the same year he obtained decree for the payment of certain church dues. And finally in 814 he received a confirmatory charter for the privileges of the church of Le Mans from Louis the Pious (Bouquet, vi. 459). He died in 816 at a place then called Baliau, one

of the possessions of the see, but was buried in the church of St. Vincent at Le Mans, where an epitaph fixed the duration of his episcopate at twenty-two years. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 356.)
[S. A. B.]

FRANCOLINUS, sixth bishop of Conserans, following St. Licerius. He subscribed the council of Narbonne, A.D. 788 or 791. His successors in the diocese are not known for nearly a hundred years. (Mansi, xiii. 823; *Gall. Christ.* i. 1127.)
[S. A. B.]

FRANTA, one of the obscure Suevian kings of Spain after the defeat of Rekiar in 456 by Theodoric II. of Toulouse. He appears to have been the head of certain Suevian districts, while Maldra was king in the north and west of Gallicia. "Suevi in partes divisi pacem ambiunt Gallaeciarum, e quibus pars Frantanem, pars Maldram Regem appellant," says Idatius. Franta belongs, therefore, to a time of confusion between the death of Rekiar and the accession of Remismund to the undivided monarchy at Frumari's death, when the Suevi, split up into various parties, were making the best head they could against the allied Goths and Provincials. The period was ended in 460 by the death of Frumari and by the renewal of the alliance between the Suevi and Goths, which alone enabled the Suevi to keep down the provincials of Gallicia. (Idatius, apud *Esp. Sagr.* iv.; Isid. *Hist. Suevorum*, id. vi.; Dahn, v. 565.) [M. A. W.]

FRATER, bishop of Geneva, said to have attended the council of Milan, A.D. 347, and died 361. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 369.) [R. T. S.]

FRATERNUS. The name occurs among the signatures to the epistle of the bishops of Gaul to Leo the Great, A.D. 451; and the lists of the see of Glandève identify him as bishop of that place (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 1236). [R. T. S.]

FRATERNUS, bishop of Auxerre. Gams (*Ser. Episc.* 501) says he was consecrated Sept. 26, A.D. 448, and slain by the Huns in Sept. A.D. 451. This supposes him to have immediately succeeded St. Germanus, but Tillemont (*Mém.* xv. 26, 838, 839) while shewing that the chronology of the period is very difficult, thinks that Alodius succeeded St. Germanus, and that, after Alodius died in 482, there was a vacancy for ten years; then Fraternus was appointed, and his death took place at the hands of the barbarians on the day of his consecration. The *Gallia Christiana* (xii. 266) and many martyrologies say he was martyred, but the Bollandists do not state this. (*Acta SS.* 22 Sept. viii. 135–138; see also Jul. ii. 670, vii. 280.) [J. G.]

FRATERNUS I. and II., bishops of Langres in the 4th or 5th century. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 516.) [R. T. S.]

FRAVITTA (Flavita, Flavianus, Phravittas, or Phraitas), 23rd bishop of Constantinople A.D. 489, between Acacius and Euphemius. Evagrius, Theophanes, and Liberatus Diaconus are very short in their account of him; the principal authority is Nicephorus Callistus. He relates that on the death of Acacius, the emperor Zeno placed on the altar of the great church of Constantinople two sheets of paper. One was blank; the other contained a written supplication to Almighty God that He would deign to send an angel to inscribe on the blank sheet the name of him whom he wished to be raised to the patriarchal throne. A fast of forty days was proclaimed, and all were exhorted to pray earnestly for a favourable issue. The church was given into the custody of a confidential eunuch, the imperial chamberlain, and the imperial seal was set on the casket in which the papers lay. There was a presbyter named Fravitta in charge of the church of St. Thecla, in one of the suburbs of the city. He appears to have been a Goth; at any rate, at the beginning of the century, a Goth of that name was consul and commander-in-chief of the forces of the East. Fired with the ambition of leaping into so magnificent a position at one bound, he sounded the integrity of the eunuch. Finding him accessible to gold, he paid him large sums, and made him large promises on the understanding that he would write his name on the blank sheet, and seal up the casket afresh with the imperial signet. At the end of the forty days the casket was opened; the name of the presbyter of St. Thecla was found; the emperor and the religious world of Constantinople rejoiced at the Divine interposition; and amid universal acclamations Fravitta mounted the chair of Gregory Nazianzen and of Chrysostom. But his abominable wickedness was not to remain hid. Death spoilt his calculations; within four months he had breathed his last, and the powerful eunuch was pressing his executors for the promised gold. Unable and unwilling to discharge so scandalous a debt, they fled to the emperor, and revealed the odious tale. Zeno was at first dumb with amazement; but though Fravitta was dead, the fraudulent forger remained to expiate his crime: he was turned out of all his employments and driven from the city. Zeno, ashamed of his failure, entrusted the election of the new patriarch to the clergy.

Such is the account of Nicephorus Callistus. In the correspondence between Zeno, Fravitta, and pope Felix on the subject of the appointment no trace is to be found of such a story. The fact that the replies of the bishop of Rome extol the piety of his most glorious son the emperor, and exhibit delight that so holy a person Fravitta had been from his childhood chosen by God to fill the see, cannot be construed into an allusion to so remarkable a mode of episcopal election. It is true that Fravitta shewed peculiar anxiety to secure the acquiescence of the Western patriarch in his elevation, and refused to ascend the vacant throne without his acquiescence; but there would be reason enough for that in the uncertain character of the times, the former banishment of his patron Zeno, and his own recent obscurity.

To strict theologians Fravitta must have been a strange enigma; for at one and the same time he wrote letters to Peter Mongus asking for his communion, and the synodal to pope Felix begging his sanction and co-operation. To shew an earnest of good intentions, this document was carried to Rome with another from the emperor, by the catholic monks of Constantinople, who had always kept distinctly separate from Acacius the late patriarch, and his friend Mongus. The accompanying letter of Zeno demonstrated great affection for Fravitta; he had only laboured for his appointment, because

he thought him worthy of the dignity; and to restore peace to the churches and unity to the faith.

Pope Felix was delighted with the letters, and had that of the emperor read aloud in presence of the deputation and of all the clergy of Rome, who repeatedly expressed loud approval. When the pope however wished the monks from Constantinople to engage for the rejection of the names of Acacius and Mongus from the diptychs, they replied that they had no instructions on the point. Felix therefore hastened to write to Zeno and Fravitta, disclaiming authority, but beseeching them as a matter of conscience. Before his letter reached Constantinople, Fravitta was no more.

Felix wrote also to Thalassius and other abbats of Constantinople forbidding them from communicating with their bishop until they should be authorized by the see of Rome. This was hardly in keeping with the disclaimers of the letters to Zeno and Fravitta. The joy of the pope, moderate as it must have been by this time, was altogether destroyed by the arrival at Rome of a copy of the letter which Fravitta had sent to Mongus. Directly contrary in tenor to that which Felix had received, this document actually denied all communion with Rome. The deputation of monks had not yet left for Constantinople, but the pope would not hear a word more from them. Whether Fravitta obtained his chair by the dishonourable means recorded by Nicephorus Callistus or not, he stands disgraced by this duplicity. (Niceph. Callist. xvi. 19. Pat. Graec. cxlvii. § 684, p. 152; Joann. Zonar. *Annal.* xiv. iii. Patr. Graec. cxxxiv. § 53, p. 1214; Liberat. Diac. *Brev.* xviii. Patr. Lat. lxviii.; Felicis Pap. *Epist.* xii. and xiii. Patr. Lat. lviii. p. 971; Evagr. iii. 23. Patr. Graec. lxxxvi. part 2; Theoph. *Chronogr.* 114. Patr. Graec. cviii. p. 324.) [W. M. S.]

FREARDUS, recluse, near Nantes. (Usuardus, *Mart.* Aug. 1.) [J. G.]

FREDEBERTUS, twelfth bishop of Angouléme, succeeding Damatius or Tomianus, and followed by Launus I., in the middle of the 8th century. He is said to have obtained the concession of a charter from king Pippin. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 982; Gams, *Series Episc.* 490.) [S. A. B.]

FREDEGAND (FRIDEGANDIS), commemorated July 17. He was one of the Irish missionaries who followed St. Fursey into Gaul, and he built his monastery upon the Sambre; it is now the monastery of St. Peter, and stands two miles from Namur. He was also held in special honour at Turvinum or Dorne, near Antwerp, as he is said by Miraeus to have died and been first buried there. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 51 n. [1], 96, c. 6, 292, c. 13, 299 n. [13]; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 462.) Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 281–2) has compiled a short notice of St. Fridegandis, mostly from continental sources, attributes to his pen *Homiliae de Sanctis*, lib. i. and says he flourished about A.D. 600 or 656. (Tanner, *Bibl.* 298.) [J. G.]

FREDEGARIUS. The name assigned to a chronicler, whose chief claim to attention arises from his taking up the history of France and Burgundy at the point where it is left by St. Gregory of Tours [GREGORIUS TURONENSIS], and continuing it to A.D. 641, with some incidental notice of events of his own time occurring as late as A.D. 656–658. The chronicler is distinguished from others of his name by the surname *Scholasticus*.

Authorities.—(1) His own work, for which see below; (2) Adrien de Valois, *Gesta Francorum*, lib. xv. Paris, 1646; (3) Fabricius, *Bibliotheca mediae et infimae Aetatis*. Discussions on this writer may also be found in the preface by Dom. Ruinart to his edition of Gregory of Tours and Frédégaire (Paris, 1699); in the notice prefixed by M. Guizot to his translation of Frédégaire, and in the article "Frédégaire," seemingly from the pen of M. Guadet, in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale* (Paris, Didot, 1856).

Life.—Of the career of this annalist we are wholly ignorant. Inasmuch as the only original portion of his writings is all but exclusively occupied with Burgundy, the very chronology being marked by the reigns of Burgundian kings, it is naturally inferred that he was an inhabitant of that realm. Adrien de Valois (better known by his Latinized title of A. Valesius) fixed upon Avenches as his birth-place, and maintained that he had found the name Fredegarius assigned to the chronicler in an ancient manuscript. The evidence for these statements seems but slight. D. Ruinart vainly sought the name, but as it had already been given to our author by Marquard Freher and Joseph Scaliger, it will probably be considered as his title for all time. As Fredegarius writes in the tone of a contemporary concerning events which occurred in the middle of the 7th century, we must assume that he flourished at that period.

Writings.—The *editio princeps*, published in 8vo. at Basle, in 1568, was printed as an appendix to the works of St. Gregory of Tours under the following title: *Fredegarii scholastici Chronicon, quod ille, jubente Childebrando comite, Pipini regis patruo, scripsit.* It consists of five books. The first three are a mere compilation from the works of Julius Africanus, St. Jerome, and the early Spanish chronicler, Idatius. The fourth book is an abridgment of the first six books of the history of St. Gregory of Tours; while the fifth is an independent continuation of the work of Gregory. This fifth book is naturally the one which has attracted attention. Besides the Basle edition, that of Ruinart, and the translation by Guizot already named, may be mentioned the transcript in the Lyons *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima* (tom. xi. pp. 815 et seqq.).

Frédégaire is strictly the chronicler as distinguished from the historian. He gives a dry summary of the invasions of Burgundy by barbarians, of inundations, of the death of a count by order of the king, without one word of regret at the national calamities, or any hint whether he regarded the death of the chieftain as a murder or a just punishment. He was probably a monk. Certainly his point of view, in the few passages where it is made manifest, is ecclesiastical. He naturally rejoices over the conversion of the Goths from Arianism; and relates with evident appreciation the boldness of St. Columbanus [COLUMBANUS] in bearing the wrath of Brunehild by his refusal to bless the illegitimate children of her son, king Thierri.

The above estimate will be found confirmed by Guizot (*l.c.*), who remarks on the downward course of the France of this period, and also by Sismondi in his *Histoire des Français* (tome i. chap. ix.). Sismondi, though not partial to St. Gregory of Tours, speaks feelingly of the descent experienced on turning from his works to those of this mere chronicler of events; but in turn evinces some gratitude, when he comes to a later generation, which had not even a Fredegarius to hand down its history. [J. G. C.]

FREDEGUNDIS, FREDEGUND, originally a slave of Chilperic I. (*Gesta Reg. Fr.* 31), became his wife by supplanting Audovera. Whilst Chilperic was absent on an expedition against the Saxons, Audovera brought forth a daughter. At Fredegund's instigation the daughter was baptized before the return of Chilperic, and Audovera was induced by Fredegund to hold the child at the font, thereby becoming godmother to her own daughter. Chilperic on his return discarded Audovera, compelling her to take the veil, and took Fredegund to his bed. (On the authenticity of this story v. Löbell, *Gregor von Tours*, p. 23, note.)

The position of Fredegund was little more than that of a concubine, one wife of many (cp. Löbell, pp. 21 sqq.); and in 567 Chilperic, in order to have a wife of equal station and rank to that of his brother Sigebert, married Brunchilde's elder sister, Galswintha, daughter of the Visigothic king Athanagild. Chilperic promised his father-in-law to discard his other wives. But before the year was out Fredegund recovered her influence. Quarrels arose between Fredegund and Galswintha; the unhappy Galswintha thought to be allowed to return home if she left her treasure behind. Chilperic dissimulated, and Fredegund had her rival foully murdered, and a few days afterwards was openly married to Chilperic (Fredegundim recepit in matrimonio, Greg. Turon. iv. 28).

The duty of revenging Galswintha's death devolved upon Sigebert, her sister's husband, and it would appear that he and his brother proceeded to take steps to depose Chilperic, but that an arrangement was arrived at by the intervention of Guntram, by which the wrath of Brunchilde and Sigebert was bought off by the presentation to Brunchilde of Galswintha's "morning-gift" of five Aquitanian cities. (Greg. ix. 20; see G. Richter, *Annalen d. Deutschen Reichs*, note, s. a. 567.)

Bloodthirsty though her contemporaries were (such as Goiswinda of Spain, Greg. v. 29, Austrechildis, Guntram's wife, *ib.* v. 36), Fredegund far exceeded them all. Her biography is simply a history of the murders she committed. She studied the art of assassination, and was no mean adept at it. See her address to the two clerks whom she employed in one of her attempts to murder Childebert. (Greg. viii. 29.) Having once begun the policy of getting rid of her enemies by assassination, she did not scruple to continue it to the end. She brought about the deaths of her stepsons Meroveus (v. 14, 19 s.f.) and Clovis (v. 40), she made more than one attempt on the lives of Brunchilde and Brunchilde's son Childebert (vii. 20, viii. 29, x. 18, also against Guntram viii. 43, 18), and an exceptionally horrible attempt with her own hand on her own daughter Rigunthis (ix. 34). According to the *Gesta* (c. 35) she caused her husband Chilperic to be murdered because inadvertently she had discovered to him her adulterous intercourse with Landerich. Löbell (p. 25, note) doubts the truth of this charge. Gregory has not alluded to it, nor does he ever mention Landerich. Compare, however, bk. vii. 7, where Childebert, in demanding the surrender of Fredegund, accuses her of this murder amongst others.

She crowned her wickedness in the eyes of her contemporaries by having Praetextatus, bishop of Rouen, who had given her mortal offence by blessing the marriage of Meroveus and Brunchilde, murdered before the altar, and by openly poisoning a Frank noble who protested against her wickedness (viii. 31, 41).

But her political assassinations were almost the least horrible that she committed. Her personal revenge was absolutely implacable. Once offended, she never rested satisfied with anything short of the blood of her victim. And her revenge was prompted by various motives, indignation at affront or false accusation, as in the case of Leudastes, towards whom she shewed the most calculating cold-blooded cruelty (v. 50, vi. 32); superstition, as in the case of Mummolus (vi. 35); and lastly, the frantic rage of disappointed passion or baulked vengeance (vii. 20, v. 19). No wonder that Guntram, her brother-in-law, calls her "an enemy of God and man" (ix. 20); and Gregory adds "that she had no fear of God before her eyes" (vii. 15). Devoid of natural affection as she generally appeared to be (vi. 23, cp. vii. 7), even she felt remorse for her wicked deeds when she saw her children dying before her face. Seized, Gregory says, with a tardy repentance, she addressed her husband thus: "Long has the divine mercy suffered our evil deeds; we have been warned by fevers and by other ills, but we have not repented. And now we are to lose our children, now they die, slain by the tears of the poor, the wailing of the widow, the sighs of the orphan. We are bereft, and without hope, none remains to us for whom to hoard. Do not our cellars overflow with wine, our granaries with corn, our chests with gold, silver, and precious stones? And yet the dearest treasure we possess, that we lose. Come, let us burn these unjust taxation rolls, let us be content with the revenue that satisfied our father Clotaire." The king hesitated. "What!" she cried, "you shrink? Follow me. Even though we lose our beloved children we shall at least escape eternal punishment." Chilperic yielded, the rolls were burned, and the tax remitted (v. 35, cp. also x. 11).

That she really ruled rather than Chilperic, or that at any rate she was the moving spirit in much political action that was taken, is evident from what has already been narrated or referred to, especially from the stories of Praetextatus and Leudastes. Nor was she without vigour and resources in adversity as well as in prosperity. On the murder of her husband she was left with her infant son Clotaire, apparently defenceless and surrounded by implacable and unscrupulous enemies. She took refuge and sanctuary at Paris, and was astute enough to place herself for the moment under the protection of Guntram, the least dangerous of her

enemies, escaping but only just escaping the vengeance of Childebert. "Let my lord come," she wrote, "and take the kingdom of his brother. I have a little child that I desire to place in his arms. For myself I submit to his rule" (vii. 4–6, 7). Subsequently she had to retire to Rueil (vii. 19), but even when her fortune was at its lowest ebb she still hoped to find an escape for herself by the murder of her foes (vii. 20). Later on her capital was at Tournai, and it was there that in order to maintain internal peace within her realm she caused three turbulent Frankish chiefs to be murdered at her table (x. 27). Apparently a rising took place, Fredegund was seized, and was to be delivered over to Childebert. She contrived, however, to raise a counter revolution within Childebert's kingdom in Champagne, and was herself rescued. Again she appealed to Guntram, and got him solemnly to preside at the baptism of Clotaire (x. 28). In 593 Guntram died, and Childebert became sole king of the Franks. Clotaire's kingdom and Fredegund's rule at this time appear to have embraced little more than the Frisian, Flemish, and Norman coast lands, the extreme north-west of Neustria (Bonnell, *Anfänge d. karol. Hauses*, p. 218). On Childebert's death, however, in 596, Fredegund seized Paris, Soissons, and other cities (Fred. 17) without warning or declaration of war (ritu barbaro), and ravaged the country around Soissons, defeating the forces of Theodebert and Theoderic at Lafaux (Fred. 17). A few months afterwards she died, in 597, and was buried in St. Germain-des-Prés, at Paris.

Even though she may not have been guilty of the murder of her husband, it is preposterous to attempt to exalt her in any way into a heroine. The eulogy upon her by Fortunatus (*Carm.* iv. 1) may have been prompted by flattery or fear. But apologies such as were made in the last century by M. Dreux du Radier (*Mémoires historiques etc. des Reines et Régentes de France*, vol. i. Amsterdam, 1776), and in this century by Luden, can only be maintained, as Löbell (pp. 342–4) has pointed out, at the expense of the authenticity of Gregory or of the character of the Frankish nation. Much relating to the history of Fredegund is to be found in Thierry's *Récits des Temps mérovingiens*. [T. R. B.]

FREDERICUS. [FRIDERICUS.]

FREDESINDUS (FRIDESINDUS), the first bishop of Braga after the Moorish invasion, according to a document said to have been discovered in the Braga archives in 1589 by Fray Geronymo de Roman, who left a MS. history of the church of Braga, from which Florez extracts. The document, from Roman's account of it (Florez does not seem to have seen it himself or even a copy of it), purported to be a donation by Alfonso the Chaste of certain parts of the diocese of Braga together with Braga itself to the bishopric of Lugo in exchange for territory taken from Lugo and given to the new church of Oviedo. (The bishopric of Oviedo was founded 802–812, Gams, *K. G.* ii. 2, 349.) The deed, however, describes an unsuccessful attempt made by Alfonso I. the Catholic (737–757) to restore the see of Braga in the person of Fridesindus in the seventh year of his reign, about 744 therefore. The attempt failed, says the document, because of the wars and uncertainties of the time, and Braga is now handed over to Lugo. As far as Alfonso I. and Fridesindus are concerned, the fact is *a priori* possible. Braga was one of the first towns deserted by the invaders at the time of the Berber insurrection [ALFONSO I.], and Alfonso may well have cherished the thought of incorporating part of Gallicia with the ancient metropolis and strong town of Braga, and may then have found his resources not equal to the task of re-population and defence against such straggling bands of Berbers as became the ancestors of the modern Maragatos, near Astorga and Leon [MARAGATOS]. But the ecclesiastical history of northern Spain in the 8th and 9th centuries, and indeed for a good deal later, is a chaos, through which, in the present state of information, it is almost impossible to see one's way, and these Oviedo and Lugo documents are specially suspicious. (*Esp. Sagr.* xv. 168.)
[M. A. W.]

FREDIANUS, bishop of Lucca. [FRIDIAN.]

FREDOARIUS, bishop of Acci (Guadix) after the Moorish invasion, about A.D. 720, according to Isidore Pacensis, who praises him for learning and piety, together with URBAN and EVANTIUS. (Isid. Pac. apud *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 297.)
[M. A. W.]

FREGUS, a man of holy life, whom St. Kentigern found on his death-bed in old age at a place called Kernach, now Carnock, in the parish of St. Ninian's, Stirlingshire. After his pious death on the following day, his body was placed on a wain drawn by two untamed bulls, brought by them to Cathures, now Glasgow, to a cemetery which had been consecrated by St. Ninian, and there buried by St. Kentigern, who thus seems to have had Glasgow pointed out as his dwelling-place. (See the legend in *Vita S. Kentegerni*, c. 9; Bp. Forbes, *Lives of SS. Nin. and Kent.* xliii. 50–2, 178–9, 329; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 184.) [J. G.]

FREHELM, an abbat whose death is noted by Simeon of Durham (*M. H. B.* 663), under the year 764. His name occurs as a priest abbat in the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*, p. 6. [S.]

FREOTHOMUND, an abbat in the diocese of Worcester, who attested the act of the council of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546.) His name, under the form of Friomund, is likewise appended to a charter of 824. (*C. D.* 218.) His monastery was probably Westbury. [S.]

FREOTHORED, a priest of the diocese of London, who attested the act of the council of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546.) [S.]

FREOTHUBERT, a priest of the diocese of Elmham who attested the act of the council of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 547.) [S.]

FRETELA, a learned man, living in Getica at the beginning of the 3rd century. He is known to us by the reply made by St. Jerome to a letter from him and his colleague Sunnias (Jerome, *Ep.* 106, ed. Vall.). It is not certain from Jerome's expressions what the condition of

his correspondents was. It might appear that they were, or had been, military men. Vallarsi in his note gives reason to think that they became bishops. [FRITILAS.] They were diligent students of Scripture, perhaps engaged in translating parts of it for the use of the northern tribes. Finding that in the psalter, of which they had Jerome's version made at Rome in 383, there were many things disagreeing with the LXX, they wrote to Jerome in the year 403, he living then at Bethlehem, to obtain an explanation of these differences. He replies at full length, going through the whole list of passages which they had sent him. He points out that the edition of the LXX called Κοινή, which they and most persons used, was faulty, and differed in many ways from the other versions given by Origen in the Hexapla; and that, when Greek versions of the Old Testament differed, recourse must be had to the Hebrew. Jerome dwells also with delight on the evidence given by the letter of Fretela and Sunnias that even among the Getae were now found students of Scripture, and that, while Greece preferred to live on in ignorance, the hands of men of the north, which had grown callous by handling the bow, now turned the pages of the Scriptures. It is from these expressions that Ceillier and others have assumed that Fretela and Sunnias were soldiers. [W. H. F.]

FREYDO (FRAYDO, FRAIDO), ninth or tenth bishop of Spires, succeeding Basinus or Otho, at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 717.) [S. A. B.]

FRIARDUS, recluse, has his history given as a moral tale by St. Gregory of Tours (*Vitae Patrum*, c. 10, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 300, 1054 sq.). He was specially pious as a youth. In manhood he retired with an abbat Sabaudus (or Baudus) and a deacon Secundellus, to an island called Vindunitum near Nantes, where he died and was buried. His death is said (*ib.*) to have taken place on Aug. 1, A.D. 576 or 577, but his feast was on Aug. 2. (Usuard. *Mart.* Aug. 1; Boll. *Acta SS.* 1 Aug. i. 56 sq.; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* ii. 188, Paris, 1666.) [J. G.]

FRICOREUS (FRICORAEUS, FRICHOR, FRICHORIUS, FRICORIUS), also called HADRIANUS on the continent on account of the harshness of the Irish name to the foreign ear, was a close companion of St. Caidocus, the apostle of the Morini, and their work is undistinguished. [CAIDOCUS.] He is mentioned with Caidocus in Alcuin's *Vita B. Richarii*, c. 1, according to one reading (Alcuin, *Opp.* ii. 176, ed. Froben). Fricoreus became an inmate of the monastery of Centula, and was buried there about the middle of the 7th century. In the 10th his tomb was prepared by abbat Angilbert, and an inscription placed on it, like that on St. Caidocus. (Hariulfas, *Cent. Chron.* i. c. 6, iv. c. 33; Boll. *Acta SS.* 31 Mai. 262; Mabillon, *Ann. Ben.* A.D. 615, 627; D'Achery, *Spic.* t. v. p. 176, t. vi. p. 429; O'Conor, *Epist. Nuncup.* 149, 228-9.) [J. G.]

FRIDEGANDIS. [FREDEGAND.]

FRIDEGILS, priest. [FRITHEGILS.]

FRIDERICUS (FREDERICUS, FRETIRICUS, FRICDARIUS, FRICDERICUS), brother of Theodoric II., king of the Visigoths, assisted Theoderic in the murder of their brother, Thorismond, in A.D. 452 or 453 (Idatius, *Chron.* A.D. 453; Dubos, *Hist. Crit.* i. l. ii. c. 19; Baronius, *Ann.* a. 451, li.). He complained to Hilary bishop of Rome, through a deacon named John of the irregular appointment of Hermes, A.D. 462, to the see of Narbonne, as related by St. Hilary in *Ep.* vii. to Leontius (Mansi, *Conc.* vii. 933–4; Migne, Pat. Lat. lviii. 24; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, x. 337). He fell in battle against Aegidius, the Roman commander, about A.D. 463. (Bouquet, *Recueil des Hist.* ii. 701, 704.) [J. G.]

FRIDERICUS, son of Felectus, Fava, or Phaeba, king of the Rugi, a Norican tribe. Felectus (see *Vita S. Severini Noricorum Apostoli* by Eugippius (Migne, Pat. Lat. lxii. 1167 sq.) was a friend to St. Severinus, but his wife Gisa was a bitter enemy, and Fridericus their son, though anxiously warned by the saint before his death, became a violent oppressor, and a sacrilegious robber. He is said to have been murdered by another Frederic, his nephew. (Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.* 482, 487, 488.) [J. G.]

FRIDESINDUS, bishop of Braga. [FREDESINDUS.]

FRIDESWIDA, ST. (FREDESWINDA, FREDESWYTHA, FRÉVISE, FREVISSE, FREWISSE, FRIDISWIDA, FRITHESWITHA), of Oxford. Her reputed period makes her just contemporary with Bede, her birth being placed cir. 650, and her death cir. 735; but she is not mentioned in Bede, nor does her name occur in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. Gosceline, who collected his early English memoirs just after the conquest, has none of Frideswide. Yet at the conquest neither her name nor her foundation had perished. She is named as having been buried at Oxford in the Anglo-Saxon catalogue of Saints printed in Hickes's *Thesaurus* (pt. iii. p. 120), and in the Oxfordshire *Domesday* the canons of St. Frideswide are mentioned. Her biography begins to be written in the twelfth century, to which period belongs a Bodleian manuscript life, noticed by Hardy (*Desc. Cat.* i. 462). William of Malmesbury too in that century gives an account of her in his *Gesta Pontificum* (p. 315, ed. Hamilton), and in his *Gesta Regum* (i. 297, ed. Hardy) he speaks of her monastery. His story of the saint has every appearance of a genuine tradition, being as vague and uncircumstantial as might be expected under the circumstances. She was a king's daughter; she refused her hand to a king, and to escape his importunity fled to Oxford, the suitor being smitten with blindness in attempting to gain the town. There she founded a monastery, ruled it, died, and was buried, and when Malmesbury wrote her house was still existing, occupied by regular canons. Malmesbury died about 1142, and wrote therefore a little before the date of the earliest recorded Oxford professor, Vacarius. This legend therefore would have been written just when Oxford University was commencing its historic life; but the legend gives no hint of St. Frideswide being as yet connected with Oxford in any tutelary sense. In 1180 occurred St. Frideswide's translation, afterwards commemorated on Feb. 12. This is briefly recorded as an event in the chronicle of Wykes

(Gale, ii. 22), but somewhat circumstantially described, though without a date, by prior Philip of St. Frideswide's, whose manuscript is placed by Hardy (i. 460) at about 1200. The translation was in this instance a removal of the relics from the obscure spot of their original interment in the church (on the site of the present Christ Church), to a conspicuous shrine in the same, and prior Philip's statement must be accepted as authentic, from his proximity to the event. The ceremony was evidently regarded as important. Wood understands from the prior's language that king Henry II. was present. The Bollandist questions this interpretation, and the language perhaps admits some room for question; but it is certain that Henry was at Oxford in Jan. 1180. At all events the king expressly sanctioned the proceedings, which were witnessed by the archbishop and several of the bishops and nobility. Wood states that it was from this date that St. Frideswide began to be regarded as the tutelary saint of the town and university, that her church became the mother church of both, and that a ceremonial procession of the municipal and academic bodies in common was made to it on certain stated occasions (see Wood, *Annals of Oxford*, ann. 1268). The significance of the event of 1180 will be appreciated when it is recollected that in 1187 or thereabouts is the first express mention, by Giraldus Cambrensis, of students coming to Oxford. The assemblage of prelates and nobles to create the festival of Feb. 12 would indicate that an effort was being made to promote the academic reputation of the place. It is, moreover, at this period, the reign of Henry II., that historians have seen the first revival of the English race and its commencing amalgamation with the Norman. It may have been a sign of this tendency, and a stimulant of it, that the English youth found a saint of their own ancient blood distinguished as their patroness when they flocked in to study under the shadow of the Norman castle. Henceforth, accordingly, St. Frideswide's tradition grows more definite. A fourteenth-century Lansdowne manuscript (Hardy, i. 462) names her father Didan, her mother Safrida; the suitor king is Algar, a Mercian; she dies and is buried at Thornbury, now Binsey, near Oxford, and her translation thence to Oxford takes place 400 years afterwards. In the fourteenth century again her story was told by John of Tinmouth, in whose roll of Anglo-Saxon saints she stands No. 122 (Smith, *Catalogue of Cotton MSS.* p. 29), and this memoir was adopted by Capgrave. Here likewise appear the names Didan, Safrida, Algar; but the burial and translation are placed at Oxford, as they also are in the traditions collected by Leland (*Collect.* vol. i. p. 342), who adds to our information, above eight centuries after the event, that the pious woman who taught Frideswide to be a saint was named Algiva.

On the whole, the defect of early mention in contrast with posterior and late celebrity need not create any suspicion against St. Frideswide. Her celebrity was factitious, but not her existence. It is in her favour that her principal commemoration day, Oct. 19, was that of her death, not that of her translation. It is also in her favour that through all the Danish period, when monastic history was blotted out of so many localities, Oxford was probably one of the safer parts of England, and Frideswide's foundation seems to have been nearly continuous as a religious house of some kind, so preserving a continuous and authentic memory of her. Malmesbury Abbey too, where William of Malmesbury wrote, was not a great distance off, and its history was nearly continuous from the heptarchy downwards, a circumstance which adds to the trustworthiness of its records; and this again is in her favour.

St. Frideswide had an office in the Sarum Breviary, and she occurs in our present calendar (Oct. 19), but only one church in England out of Oxford is known to have been dedicated in her name, that of Frilsham in Berkshire. In France she was the tutelary saint, as St. Frewisse, of Bomy in Artois. She also had her special offices in the Norman abbey of Fontenelle, out of the manuscript legendary of which house Mabillon has contributed to her published biographical literature. (Mab. *Acta SS. O. S. B.* iii. part i. p. 524.) Mr. J. H. Parker in his *Calendar of the Anglican Church*, gives an engraving of St. Frideswide from the *Evangelisterium* of cardinal Wolsey. It represents her carrying an abbatial staff, with an ox crouching at her feet.

The *Acta SS.* Boll. (Oct. viii. 560 sqq.) are very full on St. Frideswide, and print some of the MSS. noticed by Hardy. See also *Mon. Angl.* ii. 143. [C. H.]

FRIDIAN (FRIGDIAN, FRIGIDIAN, PHRIDIAN), of Lucca, commemorated Mar. 18. He is mentioned by Gregory the Great (*Dial.* iii. 9). For his Lucca episcopate see Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 794; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xv. 497, 498. Regarding this person we have a difficulty in obtaining a clear representation. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 633 sq.), O'Conor (*Rer. Hib. Script.* iv. 124, 125) and Ware (*Ir. Antiq.* c. 26), wholly identify him with St. Finnian (Sept. 10) of Moville. [FINNIAN (2).] But Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 10, § 6), Todd (*St. Patrick*, 102, n., and *Book of Hymns*, Fasc. i. 97 sq.), and Reeves (*Eccl. Ant.* 151) are of opinion that Finnian and Fridian or Frigidian are entirely different persons, whose histories are mixed up together in medieval legend. The bishop of Lucca may probably have been an Irishman, and born like St. Finnian in the province of Ulster, but no account or explanation can be given of the confusion in the *Acts*. Colgan (*ut supra*) gives two lives of St. Fridian, which are allowed by him to be of late compilation and are of nearly the same contents. According to Colgan's *First Life of St. Fridian*, bishop of Lucca, taken from the office of the saint that was celebrated at Lucca, the blessed Fridian, "ut prisci catholici tradiderunt," belonged to "Hibernia, an island of Scotia," and was educated from infancy in the love of Christ, and how to please Him. He was put under Mugentius, who was a bishop and taught him the liberal arts in a city called Candida. There Mugentius plotted against him, and fell in his own snare. Grieving over his enemy's death, he forsook his kindred and country (dimissâ gente et patriâ suâ), went into Hibernia, and took the religious habit at a place called Macbile. After performing many miracles on the quick and the dead, he left all and went to Italy. In Tuscany

he led an eremitic life, aiming always at perfection, and proving himself a truly faithful servant to Christ. At the urgent request of the clergy, and with the consent of the citizens, he became bishop of Lucca, where he laboured with great care and watchfulness for twenty-eight years, and built as many churches. But this *First Life* gives no account of his death or of leaving Lucca. Colgan's *Second Life of St. Fridian*, bishop of Lucca, and of the order of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, taken from a MS. in the Chartreuse of Cologne, goes over almost the same ground as the first, but gives additional particulars at the beginning and the end. He was the son of the great king of Ulster, whose name was Ultach (but Capgrave thinks this a mistake, and would regard Ultach as not a proper name, but an appellative equivalent to "of Ulster;" Colgan, *ut supra*, pp. 641, n. [3], 649, c. 5, Append.). Refusing his father's proposals of marriage, and despising earthly honours, he set out for Rome, and was honourably received by pope Pelagius (apparently the first of that name, A.D. 555–60). He afterwards returned with many gifts and relics, put himself under Mugentius at Candida, left that place for the reason given above, and, forsaking his nation and country, took up his abode at Macbile in Hibernia. But he went again to Italy, and died bishop of Lucca, in Tuscany. His body lay buried in the basilica of St. Vincentius, till the time of Charles and Pepin, the most serene kings, when John, bishop of Lucca, had the remains removed and placed in a splendid shrine, with all pomp and ceremony. It is plain that in these two Lives we are in the main upon a purely Scotic track, and can easily follow the saint as he attends the famous schools at Candida Casa and Moville, and perhaps pays a visit to the Continent. But the difficulty is, at the same time, to identify Fridian with the founder of the school at Moville, and to give any reasonable account of St. Finnian's being made bishop of Lucca, or of St. Fridian's coming to have such a purely Irish history. Butler (*Lives of the Saints*, iii. pp. 252–53), in giving a short account of St. Fridian, says he was the eleventh bishop from St. Paulinus founder of the church, and that he died A.D. 578, which is the year in which the *Ann. Ult.* place the death of St. Finnian. But Ussher and Reeves say he flourished about A.D. 570, and Colgan places his death about the year 595. Tanner (*Bibl.* 299) refers to *Liber de Canonibus* and *Canones B. Frigidiani* as works still extant, but erroneously attributed to St. Frigidian. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 463–466 on "Wynnin," and *SS. Nin. and Kent.* xlii.; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, Wks. vi. 412, and Ind. Chron. A.D. 570; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 10, § 6; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 102–5, and *Book of Hymns*, fasc. i. 98–100.) [J. G.]

FRIDOLIN (WINFRED), abbat of Seckingen, commemorated March 6. Of St. Fridolin, the Traveller, and abbat of Seckingen on the Rhine, we have a full account, from the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Mart. 6 tom. 429–40), and Colgan (*Acta SS.* 479–93). Baring-Gould (*Lives of the Saints*, March 6, iii. 91 sq.) has a memoir, with references to the continental authorities.

Fridolin was Irish by birth, and of noble descent, but we know neither his family nor native place; some would represent him as the son of a Scoto-Irish king. In Ireland he was ordained and taught: he sought for a wider field in France, and became a member of St. Hilary's monastery at Poictiers, where he became abbat, and rebuilt the church of St. Hilary, a work in which he was assisted by king Clodonaeus, who was either Clovis I. (A.D. 481–511), the founder of the Frank monarchy, or Clovis III. (A.D. 691–695). After depositing part of the body of St. Hilary in its new tomb, he took the relics he had reserved for himself, and went as far as the banks of the Moselle, where he founded the monastery of Helera. He next built a church amid the Vosges mountains, which was called, from its dedication, Hilariacum, and afterwards known as the monastery of St. Nabor. Thence he went to Strasburg, and Coire in the Grisons, and finally settled at Seckingen on an island in the Rhine above Basle. In this neighbourhood there is a circle of churches dedicated to St. Hilary and St. Fridolin, which seems to attest the historical reality of his work as one of the pioneers of Christian enterprise. He was at first received at Seckingen with the utmost rudeness by the inhabitants, but obtaining a grant of the island from the king he built a church and a double monastery, according to the Celtic custom (first one part for males, and then one for females), which was endowed by Urso, a nobleman of Glarus, a town and canton in the east of Switzerland. There he died, and his feast is March 6, but the year and even century of his death are uncertain. [J. G.]

FRIDUINUS (FRIDUCINUS), addressed by Alcuin in *Ep.* ccxx. (*Opp.* i. 283, 284, ed. Froben), and congratulated on his appointment to the charge of a monastery, which is evidently in a declining state, as he is reminded that the restorer is equal in merit to the original founder. The letter contains most excellent advice as to purity of intention and faithfulness in work, but there is nothing distinctive of locality. Carmen cclxxxii. (*ib.* ii. 258), in elegiac verse, is addressed to Friducinus, and is full of beautiful moral maxims. Froben (*ib.* i. 285, ii. 258) supposes that the person under these two forms of name was abbat of the monasteries of Jarrow and Wearmouth, and was next after Eadbaldus. But Raine (*Hist. and Ant. Durham*, ii. 1 sq., 66 sq., Surt. Soc.) thinks that these monasteries at the close of the 8th century are in total obscurity. (Migne, Patr. Lat. c. 498, 499; ci. 846.) [J. G.]

FRIGDIAN. [FRIDIAN.]

FRIGNUALDUS (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 12, note, A.D. 676), bishop subscribing charter of Osric, king of the Hwiccas, the true reading being probably Ercenuualdus. [ERKENWALD.] [C. H.]

FRIGYD, a nun of Hackness, who is mentioned by Bede (iv. 23) as receiving from the nun Begu an account of her vision at the death of St. Hilda. [S.]

FRISIUS, June 24, martyr, about A.D. 741, in the province of Aquitaine, celebrated for miracles upon epileptics. (*Acta SS. Boll.* Jun. iv. 818.) [G. T. S.]

FRISWIDE, abbess. [FRIDESWIDA.]

FRITHBERT, bishop. [FRITHOBERT.]

FRITHEGILS (FRIDEGILS), a priest of that northern monastery of which Ethelwulf wrote the metrical history. [ETHELWULF (2).] (*Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. iv. pt. 2, p. 324; compare *Lib. Vit. Dunelm.* p. 34.) [S.]

FRITHEGITHA (FRITHOGITHA), the wife of Ethelheard, king of the West Saxons, 728–739. In the year 736 or 737, probably the latter, she renounced the world, and, accompanied by Forthere, bishop of Sherborne, went to Rome, where she probably died. (*Chr. S. M. H. B.* 328; Flor. Wig. 542; H. Hunt. 727.) Her name is associated with her husband's in a grant to Glastonbury, dated 729 (Kemble, *C. D.* 76; *Mon. Angl.* i. 53), and she is mentioned in the grant of Taunton to Winchester as especially urging Ethelheard to make the gift. (K. *C. D.* 1002.) [S.]

FRITHEWALD (FRIDWOLD), an ealdorman of Surrey, who assisted St. Earconwald in the foundation of the abbey of Chertsey. He is described as a dependent of Wulfhere, king of Mercia (Kemble, *C. D.* 986, 987), and is said to have married Wilburga, a daughter of Penda, and sister of Wulfhere, by whom he became father of St. Osyth. *V. S. Osith*, ap. Surium, Oct. 7, f. 222; R. de Diceto i. 111, 115. The Chertsey Cartulary contains a charter of Frithewald, bestowing on Chertsey which he describes as founded first under king Egbert of Kent, 300 manentes on the banks of the Thames, and near the port of London. The charter is a fabrication of no authority, as is another granted by Frithewold and Earconwald together, to the same monastery (K. *C. D.* 986, 987), but the tradition which connects him with Chertsey is ancient and not inconsistent with probability. See Will. Malmesb. *G. P.* (ed. Hamilton), p. 143; Flor. Wig. *M. H. B.* 535; *Mon. Angl.* i. 422, 426. [S.]

FRITHOBERT (FREDBERT, FRIDENBERTUS, FRIOTHUBERT, FRITHEBRYHT) was consecrated bishop of Hexham, in the place of Acca, the friend of Wilfrid, on Sept. 8, A.D. 734 (Symeon, *Chron.* p. 12; Ric. of Hexham, p. 37). In A.D. 740, during the disgrace of Cynewulf of Lindisfarne, he had the charge of that see for a year (Symeon, *H. E. D.* ii. 2). There is little more known about him. He died on Dec. 23, A.D. 766 (Symeon, *Chron.* p. 22; Ric. of Hexham, p. 37; *A. S. C.*). At the translation of the remains of the saints of Hexham in A.D. 1154, Frithobert's bones were discovered, with an inscription on the coffer which contained them. (*Memorials of Hexham*, ed. Surtees Soc., pp. 199–200.) One of his teeth was among the relics at Durham. (*Hist. Dun. Scr. Tres.* app. p. 427.) [J. R.]

FRITHOWALD, a Mercian monk to whom, under the designation of "Monacho Winfridi Episcopi," a grant is made by Oshere, ealdorman of the Hwiccians, by the leave of Ethelred, king of Mercia. (Kemble, *C. D.* 17.) The charter is either corrupt or spurious. Bishop Winfrith had been deposed in 675, and might have been still alive, but the indiction given in the date does not agree with the year 680. [S.]

FRITHWALD (FREDWOLD, FRITHEWOLD, FRITHOWALDUS), succeeded Pecthelm as bishop of Candida Casa or Whithern in A.D. 735 (Flor. Wigorn. i. 54). He died in A.D. 764 (Symeon, *Chron.* 22). [J. R.]

FRITIGIL, a queen of the Marcomanni, at the end of the 4th century. She was so much impressed by what she heard of the Christian character of St. Ambrose, that she begged him to send her instruction in the Christian faith, and became a zealous believer. She travelled to Milan to see Ambrose, but arrived after his death. (Paulinus, *Vita Ambros.* § 37.) [J. Ll. D.]

FRITILAS, bishop of Heraclea, and metropolitan of Thracia. His name is of Gothic derivation and he may have been possibly the Fritilas or Fretelas to whom Jerome wrote his 106th epistle. [FRETELA.] He attended the third general council at Ephesus, A.D. 431, but seceded and signed the protest against the condemnation of Nestorius. (Mansi, iv. 1269; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1107.) [J. de S.]

FROARICUS, bishop of Porto (Portucale) from about A.D. 675 to 690, signs the acts of the third council of Braga, and of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth councils of Toledo. His absence from the fourteenth, which was somewhat hastily convened, immediately after the termination of the thirteenth, to meet the demands of some envoys from Rome [ERVIG, JULIAN], is easily explained by the distance of his see from Toledo. (*Esp. Sagr.* xxi. 30; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 262, 270, 287, 313.) [M. A. W.]

FRODA, an abbat who attests the grant of Ini to Malmesbury dated May 26, 704. (Kemble, *C. D.* 50.) [S.]

FRODOBERTUS, abbat of the Monasterium Cellense, near Troyes. His life, written by a monk of his own monastery, or perhaps by Adso abbat of Montdidier, was published by Camuza (Camusatus, *Prompt. Sacr. Ant. Tric. Dioec.* 1 sq. Trec. 1613); by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 8 Jan. i. 505); and by Mabillon (*Acta SS. O.S.B.* ii. 598).

He was born at Troyes and educated under Ragnegisilus the bishop (c. 650). After becoming a cleric he went to Luxeuil, and was there under abbat Walbert. After some years he returned to Troyes, and remained under bishop Bertoald (a. 658). But burning to be free from the world and all human conversation, he chose out a fitting place for his purpose, and procured a grant of it from king Clovis, in a marsh which lay in a suburb of the city of Troyes. There building this monastery, frequently called Insula Germanica (also Insula Trecensis and L'Ile), he formed a school which became famous, and died in the time of bishop Abbo (666–673). He was commemorated on Jan. 8. In the Life, he is said to have been a contemporary of the French kings Clovis son of Dagobert, and Clotaire his son, *i.e.* Clovis II. and Clotaire III. [J. G.]

FRODOMUNDUS (ROTMUNDUS), twelfth bishop of Coutances, succeeding Hughierius or Hilderic, and followed by Willebertus. He was

the founder of a nunnery, dedicated to St. Mary, in his diocese, as appears from an inscription discovered in the 17th century, and given by Mabillon in his *Annales* ad an. 677, n. lxxvi. tom. i. p. 538. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 866.) [S. A. B.]

FROILA (1), bishop of Mentesa. He signed the acts of the eighth council of Toledo, A.D. 653. (Florez, *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 260; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448; Mansi, x. 1222.) [PARDUS.]
[M. A. W.]

FROILA (2), brother of Alfonso I. (the Catholic) king of Asturias. He is mentioned by Sebastian of Salamanca (*Esp. Sagr.* xiii. 481) as having shared in his brother's successful forays against the Moors, that is to say, according to Professor Dozy's most interesting explanation of this period from Arabic sources (*Recherches*, etc. i. 126), in his expeditions over that tract of deserted country lying between the mountainous districts of northern Gallicia, Asturias, and Cantabria, and the frontier line of Coimbra, Coria, Talavera, Toledo, Guadalajara, Tudela and Pampeluna, upon which the Berber insurrection (*l. c.* p. 128) followed immediately by the great famine of 750–755, had obliged the invaders to fall back towards the middle of the 8th century. Alfonso's and Froila's expeditions, therefore, were not exactly victorious campaigns, as the Christian chroniclers represent them. Rather the two brothers seem to have explored the abandoned districts, to have put to death what Mussulmans remained, and to have carried back with them the Christians of the deserted towns, most of whom had embraced Mohammedanism under the rule of their conquerors (Dozy, *l. c.* from the *Akbar Madjmoua*, fol. 75 r), but who now gladly returned to their old faith. (Omnes quoque Arabes occupatores supradictarum civitatum interficiens, Christianos secum ad patriam duxit (Alfonso). Seb. Sal. cap. 13.) Froila was the father of Aurelius and Veremundus (Bermudo I.), both of whom were among the successors of Alfonso I. (Seb. Sal. cap. 17, 20.)
[M. A. W.]

FROILA (3) I. (FRUELA), king of Asturias from 759 to 768, son of Alfonso the Catholic and of Pelayo's daughter Ermesinda.[a] He reigned eleven years with considerable success, both at home and abroad. Sebastian of Salamanca (circa 880) speaks of his many victories over "the Cordovan enemy, *hostem Cordubensem*," and especially mentions a battle at Pontumio, in Gallicia (to the north-east of Tuy), where 54,000 infidels perished—"quinquaginta quatuor millia Chaldaeorum"—a number only to be outdone by the slaughter at Covadonga! The Mussulman general Haumar, son of Aderrahman Ibn Hiscan was taken prisoner, and put to death. On this defeat, the Mohammedan annalists, so far as Prof. Dozy's *Recherches*, vol. i., enable us to consult them, are silent, although Ibn Khaldoum (Dozy, l. c. p. 101) speaks of Froila's constantly increasing power, and of the recovery by him of certain important towns, in which last particular, however, he appears to confuse him with his father, Alfonso I. Later on a rebellion of the Basques, who had never acknowledged the authority of the Gothic kingdom for long together (Dahn, v. 199), and who were now a thorn in the side of the new state, was put down and punished. A certain young girl, by name Munia (q. v.), among the captives, attracted Froila's attention. He made her his wife, and she became the mother of his famous son, Alfonso the Chaste (Seb. Sal. cap. 16). Disturbances arising in Gallicia, where the Suevi had never been wholly amalgamated (Wittiza was probably sent by Egica to Tuy in 698 for the purpose of keeping down a disaffected country), Froila devastated the whole district, not so effectually, however, as to prevent another rising some years later under his successor Silo (Seb. of Sal. cap. 16, 18). Apparently in the last year of his reign he murdered (propria manu, says Sebastian) his brother Vimaranus, "ob invidiam Regni," according to the *Chron. Albeld.*, while Sebastian is altogether silent as to the cause. The murder, if political, was not successful. In vain did Froila, according to the 13th-century chronicles, adopt his brother's son Veremundus (Rod. Tol. iv. 6). The party of the murdered man was not to be conciliated, and Froila speedily paid the penalty of his act, "non post multum temporis talionem juste accipiens a suis interfectus est" (Seb. Sal. l. c.). He was buried with his wife, Munia, at Ovetum.

Froila appears to have left an impression of harshness and cruelty upon his generation, which has descended into all subsequent accounts of his reign. "Victorias egit," says the unknown author of the *Chron. Albeld.*, "sed asper moribus fuit. . . . ob feritatem mentis in Canicas interfectus est." The monk of Silos (about 1100) repeats the charge of harshness, without, however mentioning the murder of Vimaranus. He is bent upon adding to most of the particulars already chronicled the fact or tradition that Froila checked the marriage of the clergy which had prevailed under Wittiza. "Iste imposuit finem illi nequissimo sceleri quod Wittiza rex inter Christicolas sacrosancto altario ministrantes misere seminaverat, scilicet ne Christi sacerdotes carnalia conjugia ulterius sortirentur." (For an account of the growth and intentions of the clerical tradition respecting Wittiza, see art. under his name.) Rod. of Toledo, d. 1249, incorporates all previous accounts and adds a wholly new detail about Froila, which, if trustworthy, is the most important fact in the internal history of his reign. "He peopled Ovetum," says the archbishop, "and built there the cathedral church," *i.e.* the church of San Salvador.

As far as chronicles are concerned, we have here the first appearance of this statement, in this form at least. Lucas of Tuy's earlier statement, "iste episcopatum in Ovetum transtulit a Lucensi civitate," based upon the acts of the so-called council of Oviedo in the *Cod. Ovet.*, must not, however, be overlooked. (*Hisp. Ill.* iv. 73.) Roderic of Toledo, whose historical work is of a high order for his time, spoke on the authority of the Oviedo archives, which, in the first half of the 12th century, had been overhauled, compiled, and to a large extent falsified by Pelayo, bishop of Oviedo, from 1101–1129.[b]

[a] One of the documents included in the *Chron. Albeld.* makes him the brother of Alfonso I. This is a confusion, however, with the real brother Froila (No. 2).

[b] The famous *Codex Ovetensis*, some part of which, at any rate, was written by bishop Pelayo's own hand, and

It appears, indeed, upon examination that Froila's connexion with Oviedo (beyond the mention of his burial there by Sebastian of Salamanca) rests upon a privilege granted by Alfonso the Chaste to the church of St. Salvador at Oviedo, in confirmation of his father's will, in which Froila is spoken of as having built and endowed the churches of the Saviour and of SS. Julian and Basilissa (*Esp. Sagr.* xxxviii.; Mariana, ed. Valencia, 1787, iii. 511), and upon an inscription in the church of the Saviour not now existing, but which was copied and described by Pelayo of Oviedo in the *Cod. Ovet.* before 1129. (Hubner, *Inscr. Hisp. Christ.* No. *93.) Both document and inscription speak of a destruction and rebuilding of Froila's churches. "Noscito," says the first stone of the inscription, "hic ante istum fuisse alterum, hoc eodem ordine situm quod princeps condidit salvatori domino supplex per omnia Froila," &c. The second stone speaks of the destruction of the older church by the pagans, "a gentilibus decretum sordibusque contaminatum," and of its restoration by Alfonso. The inscription is thus in complete agreement with the donation in which Alfonso, on the occasion of the "recuperationem domus tuae" (the donation is addressed to Christ in the curious rhymed prose of the time, see art. ISIDORUS PACENSIS), confirms all that had been granted by his father to the older church.

Very much might be written on the subject of these two sources, which, if genuine, are the earliest certain records of the second kingdom. Hubner has placed the inscription among the *falsae vel suspectae*, no doubt on account of its connexion with the too well-known Pelayo of Oviedo. Professor Dozy, however, has been able to bring forward from the Arabic side what appears a very strong confirmation of the genuineness of both these sources. For his description of the campaign of Hicham I. against the Asturian kingdom, in 794, during the reign of Alfonso the Chaste, of the capture of the capital (which can be no other than Oviedo) and of the destruction of the churches of the royal residence, which is expressly mentioned by the Arabic annalist Nowairi, see his *Recherches*, l. c. vol. i. p. 145. Both the capture of the capital and the destruction of the churches are passed over in complete silence by the Christian chroniclers, who otherwise describe the campaign. The Oviedo inscription, if genuine, would thus furnish our only knowledge of the fact, from the Christian side. In all probability, then, Froila built two churches at Oviedo, and occasionally lived there (in the privilege above quoted Alfonso speaks of having been born and baptized at Oviedo, "quo solo natus, locoque renatus extiti"), though it was not made the capital of the new state, until the reign of his son.

At his death he was buried in the church he himself had built, as his uncle Fafila had been before him, in the church of Santa Cruz. Then in 794 and 795 came the storm of the Moorish invasion, and Froila's churches were either partially or wholly destroyed. (The foundation of what is still existing of Alfonso's buildings in the cathedral may very well be Froila's work.) If this is so, Froila's reign marks an important stage in the history of the infant kingdom. The first period, when the refugees as mere mountain guerrilleros maintained a precarious independence under a warlike chief, is past. The reign of Alfonso the Catholic, and the backward rush of the wave of invasion which marked it, had changed all this. When Froila succeeds his father a belt of uninhabited country divides the Christian from the Mohammedan state, and the Mohammedan frontier line, which under Pelayo touched Leon, runs now between Pamplona and Coimbra. Sheltered behind the deserted plateaux of Castille as well as by their own mountains, the refugees of Pelayo's time begin to develop a settled polity, threatened, however, on the one side by the Suevian population of Gallicia, and on the other by the turbulent Basques. The move inland from Pravia and Cangas to the site of Oviedo, with its splendid natural capabilities both for defence and cultivation, made by Froila, opens a new time and prepares the way for the more definite steps taken by his son, under whom the kings of Asturias become kings of Oviedo, to remain such till the next forward move is made to Leon, and by whom "all things were ordered at Oviedo as they had been ordered at Toledo, both in the church and in the palace." (*Chron. Albeld.* ap. *Esp. Sagr.* xiii. 452.) [For the supposed first foundation of Oviedo itself in the fourth year of Froila by the priest Maximus and his uncle, the abbat Fromistan, see FROMISTAN.]

[M. A. W.]

FROILUBA, the queen of Fafila, Pelayo's son and successor in the kingdom of Asturias. She was buried with him in the church of Santa Cruz, near Cangas de Onis (Seb. Sal. cap. 12), and her name appears in the well-known inscription still existing there. [FAFILA (2).] At various places in the Asturias, stones are found roughly engraved with the story of Fafila's fatal encounter with the bear, and in these Froiluba appears as holding back, or saying farewell to her husband. Sandoval (*Historia de los Cinco Obispos* p. 91) and Florez, *Reynas de España*, i. 35, describe the most famous of these stones, inserted in the doorway of the church of San Pedro de Villanueva, and which tradition supposes to have been placed there by Alfonso I. the Catholic, and Ermesinda, Fafila's sister, in memory of his tragic death. The Rev. H. F. Tozer describes another ancient stone-carving of the same subject of Fafila and his wife at Santa Maria de Villamayor. (*Gent. Mag.* August, 1865.)

[M. A. W.]

FROISCLUS (FRUISCLUS), an Arian, was made bishop of Tortosa in the room of his Catholic

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all of which was compiled under his superintendence, plays an important and often misleading part in Spanish history. It contained all the older chronicles known to Pelayo, interpolated by him, as far as the post-conquest history is concerned in the interests of the see of Oviedo, the famous division of bishoprics attributed to Wamba, in its present shape at least, an exploded forgery, many documents relating to Oviedo, &c. In Morales' time it was still in the Cathedral Library of Oviedo. Risco, however, sought for it there in vain at the end of the last century, and there seems to be little doubt that it had disappeared like so many others of the famous Oviedo MSS. Luckily, Morales took an admirable copy of it, which is now in the Madrid Library, and other copies are known. (For Morales's full description of it, extracted from the *Viage Santo*, see *Esp. Sagr.* xxxviii.; see also preface to Rozière's *Formules Visigothiques.*)

predecessor Julian [JULIANUS] by the Arian king Leovigild. In 589, however, under Leovigild's converted successor, Recared, Froisclus, with the other Arian bishops, attended the famous third council of Toledo and renounced his heresy in the following form: "Fruisclus in Christi nomine civitatis Dertosanae episcopus anathematizans haeresis Arrianae dogmata superius damnata, fidem hanc sanctam catholicam quam in Ecclesiam Catholicam veniens credidi manu mea de toto corde subscripsi."

After the renunciation of the Arian bishops the council proceeded to its work, and among the signatures to its decrees are found those of the *two* bishops of Huesca, Julian, and Froisclus (five other pairs of bishops appear among the subscriptions). Julian signs first, as bishop of Tortosa; "Froisclus item ibi episcopus," follows. In the year 599 Julian and Froisclus appeared at the council of Barcelona, and both signed as bishops of Tortosa, the signatures of Calahorra and Ampurias intervening. It is not known which survived the other. (*Esp. Sagr.* xlii. 81; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 238.) [URSUS.]

[M. A. W.]

FROMISTAN, first abbat of the monastery of St. Vincent at Oviedo, and first discoverer of the site of Oviedo itself, according to a certain document, which in Morales' time (*Viage Santo*, 1792, p. 129), was shewn in the library of the monastery. (For the text, see *Esp. Sagr.* xxxvii. Append.) It is an agreement between twenty-five persons whose names are given, headed by Montanus presbyter, and the abbat Fromistan and his nephew Maximus, presbyter, upon the subject of the foundation of a monastery in connexion with the church of St. Vincent, founded twenty years before the agreement by Fromistan and Maximus. "It is known to all," say the twenty-five, "that this place which they call Oveto, thou, Maximus, didst first establish, and, together with thy serfs, didst first level and clear it (aplanasti illum), when it was but a mean, unowned and uninhabited mountain, and afterwards in company with thy uncle, 'Domino Fromistano Abba,' didst found in the aforesaid place the church of St. Vincent, Levite and Martyr of Christ." Later on, the twenty-five signataries renounce the world, and, "as is the custom of the churches, *et eruditio regulae*," transfer themselves and their property to the use and possession of the church of St. Vincent, under the rule of Fromistan "abbati nostro" and of Maximus. Then follows, "And I, 'Fromista Abbas, who now twenty years ago, together with my nephew Maximus, priest, discovered this mean and uninhabited spot, and founded the church of St. Vincent, and *took upon us the rule of the Blessed Abbat Benedict* (to which place also we gave all our possessions) so receive you to the service of God, and so make confirmation and testament with you all and with my nephew Maximus, as that, &c.——" Then follow threats of excommunication against those who shall at any future time transgress the rule of St. Benedict, or tamper with the possessions of the monastery, and the agreement is signed by Fromistan and Maximus on the one side, and Montanus on behalf of the twenty-five monks on the other, in the *era* 819 (A.D. 781).

If this document is genuine, it is the earliest historical mention of the Benedictine rule in Spain (leaving out the more than doubtful foundation charter of the monastery of Obona, supposed to have been granted by Adelgaster, son of Silo, in the *era* 818, *just a year earlier* than St. Vincent of Oviedo (*Esp. Sagr.* l. c. Append. v.) It is far from universally accepted, however, by modern Spanish critics, and it will be impossible to assign it its proper place in the religious history of Spain until a more thorough comparative investigation has been made of the early monastic charters of northern Spain than has yet been attempted. [*Esp. Sagr.* xxxvii. 108; Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, ed. D'Hermilly, III. 498; Yepes, Antonio de III. apend.; Dozy's *Recherches*, &c. i. 143, where Fromistan and Maximus are accepted without question as the first founders of Oviedo, by whose labours the attention of FROILA I. (q. v.) was called to the site. On the general question of the entry of the Benedictine rule into Spain, see art. ST. MARTIN OF BRAGA.] [M. A. W.]

FRONIMIANUS, brother of Braulio of Saragossa, to whom that bishop sent his life of San Millan. [EMILIANUS (8).] [M. A. W.]

FRONIMIUS (1), bishop of Besançon, related in an anonymous life to have completed the church of St. Stephen in that town, and established there a coenobium, obtaining privileges for it from popes Damasus and Siricius. If this statement could be relied upon, the period of Fronimius would be the latter end of the 4th century (*Gall. Chr.* xv. 17). [R. T. S.]

FRONIMIUS (2), 5th bishop of Agde, succeeding Leo, and followed by Tigridius, and 8th of Vence, succeeding Deutherius and followed by Aurelianus. He was a native of Bourges, but migrated into Septimania, where he found great favour with Leuvanis, the successor of Athanagild, king of the Visigoths, and was consecrated to the see of Agde. But after his patron's death he was accused by the Arian Leuvichild, whose son Hermenigild was betrothed to Ingundis, the daughter of Sigebert, of attempting to poison her mind against him as a heretic, and was compelled to flee from his diocese to escape assassination. He repaired to king Childebert, who made him bishop of Vence upon the death of Deutherius. He subscribed the second council of Mâcon in A.D. 585, though his see is not appended, and died in 588. Gregory of Tours, who is the authority for the foregoing narrative, also recounts how a servant of this bishop was cured of epilepsy at the tomb of St Nicetius. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ix. 24; *Vitae Patrum*, cap. viii. s. 8; Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* ix. 959, Flor. 1759–98; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 1214, vi. 668.) [S. A. B.]

FRONTASIUS, Jan. 2, martyr in Gaul with Severinus, Severianus, and Silanus, his companions. They were disciples of St. Fronto, reputed to have been appointed bishop of Vesunna (afterwards Petricorium, now Périgueux) by St. Peter himself. They were sent by Fronto to preach the gospel among the Gauls. They were seized by the president Squindo and put to death by him in the first persecution under Nero. The Bollandist says Claudius was emperor, but then Claudius was one of Nero's names after he was adopted by the emperor Claudius, A.D. 50. Dod-

well, in *Dissert. Cyprian.* xi. 13, shews how doubtful are the stories of all martyrdoms under Nero, except those which happened in Rome. "Aliam itaque persecutionem comminiscantur necesse est, quam illam cujus meminit Tacitus, siquos alios praeterquam Romae Christianos in ea passos comminiscuntur." (*Acta SS. Boll.* Jan. i. 79.) [G. T. S.]

FRONTEIUS, bishop of Feltre. [FONTEIUS (2).]

FRONTINIANUS (1), bishop of Salona (Spalato) in Dalmatia, c. A.D. 300; supposed to have suffered martyrdom A.D. 303. (Farlati, *Illyr. Sacr.* i. 707.) [J. de S.]

FRONTINIANUS (2), bishop of Gerona in the early part of the 6th century. In the 5th century, owing to the political troubles of the country, the lack of councils leaves us almost without information as to the succession of bishoprics all over Spain. From the year 404, in which the bishopric of Gerona is mentioned by Innocent I. in his letter to the synod of Toledo (Innoc. ep. 3, cap. 2 in Patr. Lat. xx. 489 c), to the signature of Frontinianus, at the council of Tarragona in 516 (Mansi, viii. 544), we have no record of the see, which must have been fought over during all that time again and again by Goths, Suevi, and Provincials. In 517, on the prayer of Frontinianus, a council was assembled at Gerona, which drew up ten canons concerning liturgical and disciplinary matters, for which see Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 129–134; Mansi, viii. 547; *Esp. Sagr.* xliii. 44, 220, 475; Hefele, *Conc. Gesch.* ii. 655. [M. A. W.]

FRONTINIANUS (3), bishop of Ancyra towards the close of the 6th century. He had previously been bishop of Salona, but had been deposed for refusing to subscribe the condemnation of the "Three Chapters," and banished to Antinoë in the Thebaid. In 562 he was recalled from exile, and translated to Ancyra (Victor. Tununens. *Chron.* s. a. 562, Migne, Patr. lxviii. 961; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 455, 456). The next known bishop of Ancyra was Paulus, c. A.D. 590. [T. W. D.]

FRONTINIANUS (4), bishop of Salona, A.D. 620–638. (Farlati, *Illyr. Sacr.* ii. 295.) [J. de S.]

FRONTINIANUS (5) was one of the series of bishops who held the see of Huesca or Osca during its occupation by the Moors, and did not therefore assume that title, but styled themselves bishops of Aragon, or bishops of Jacca after that town was recovered from the Moors. They resided at the monastery of St. Pedro de Ciresa or that of St. Juan de la Peña. The only information we have about Frontinian is derived from the Life of St. Urbez or Urbicius, who was a hermit, and lived near Huesca. Frontinian is said to have been devoted to St. Urbez, to have frequently visited him, and to have been miraculously cured by him of a fever. He appears to have been bishop about A.D. 802. (D. Ayura, *Fundacion de Huesca*, 278, 351.) [F. D.]

FRONTINUS (1), reckoned the first bishop of Florence, c. A.D. 56, and probably its first instructor in the Christian faith. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iii. 14; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* xvi. 432.) [R. S. G.]

FRONTINUS (2), Jovinianist, condemned by pope Siricius. In Ceillier (iv. 652) he is called Felix Prontin, but the more common form is Plotinus and Prontinus. Baronius (*Ann.* vi. ann. 390, xlvii. ed. Theiner) has Protinus, with the alternative readings Pontinus and Frontinus. (See also Patr. Lat. xiii. 1171 n.) [J. G.]

FRONTINUS (3) (FRONTINIUS), bishop of Avignon, 308–324. He was born of an opulent family at Alba in Italy, became a presbyter at Rome, fled from the persecution of Galerius into Gaul and settled at Avignon. Here he led a retired life for two or three years, and so gained the affections of the people that he was unanimously chosen to succeed Primus as bishop. This account is stated by the Sammarthani to rest on the authority of the manuscript registers of the see of Avignon and Savaro's catalogue of the bishops. (*Gall. Chr.* i. 856.) [C. H.]

FRONTINUS (4) (Victor. Tununens. *Chron.* ann. 562), bishop of Salona. [FRONTINIANUS (4).] [T. W. D.]

FRONTO (1). That the first bishop of Périgueux was St. Fronto all the authorities agree. But all else, age, country, and particulars of his life, are uncertain. There is, as the Sammarthani pithily observe, profound silence concerning him in all the ancient writers, long and minute accounts of him in the more recent. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 1446; Tillemont, *Mém.* iv. 502; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 597.) Usuard's account of him is that he was ordained a bishop at Rome by St. Peter, along with Georgius, a presbyter, who was raised from the dead by the apostle's staff, and became Fronto's companion in travel. St. Fronto was the apostle of Périgueux, died in peace, and was commemorated Oct. 25. (Usuard. *Mart.* Oct. 25.) [R. T. S.]

FRONTO (2), a member of the Ephesian church, sent by that church to meet IGNATIUS at Smyrna on his way to Rome. (Ign. *Ep. ad Eph.* 3.) [G. S.]

FRONTO (3), M. CORNELIUS. We learn from Minucius Felix (ix. xxxi.) that an oration against the Christians was published by Fronto, in which the charge was dwelt on that promiscuous and incestuous intercourse took place at the Christian meetings. This Fronto is described as a native of Cirta, and therefore may be safely identified with the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, concerning whom, see DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN BIOGRAPHY; Teuffel, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.* 730. No reference to the Christians is found in Fronto's extant remains. [G. S.]

FRONTO (4), FRONTONUS, FRONTONIUS, abbat, is commemorated by Usuard (Apr. 14, ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 934, and note); also by Ado (*ib.* cxxiii. 247), and by Notker (*ib.* cxxxi. 1065). The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 14 Apr. ii. 201–3) treat *De S. Frontone abbate in Eremo Nitriensi in Aegypto*, giving prefatory notes and a *Vita, auctore coaevo*, ex MS. et Rosweido in *Vitis Patrum*. The same life is given from Rosweyd by Surius (*de Prob.*

Sanct. ii. 158–9), and is said to have been written by one who received the information from one of St. Fronto's monks; by some it is attributed to St. Jerome, yet probably only as a collector of lives. According to the Life, Fronto, there called Frontonius, abhorring the common life and seeking for solitude, gathered to him some brethren (called seventy), and led them into the Nitrian desert, where they cultivated the ground and lived in pious austerity; the special trials of the abbat were from the brethren becoming restive under the monastic severity. The last clause of the life says he flourished in the thirteenth year of Antoninus the emperor, which would be A.D. 151 or 152. [J. G.]

FRONTO (5), priest of Malum, is said in the *Passio S. Theodoti Ancyr.* (Boll. *Acta SS.* 18 May, iv. 163–5; Ruinart, *Acta Mart. Sincer.* 350–2) to have carried away the body of the martyred Theodotus. He had come to Ancyra on the evening of the day on which St. Theodotus suffered, and by giving the soldiers, who were watching the body, to drink freely of the wine with which his ass was laden, he snatched the corpse while they slept, and laying it on the ass sent it by a safe messenger to Malum. This was in A.D. 303. Fronto raised his own wine: "agriculturam enim exercet egregius iste vir." [J. G.]

FRONTO (6), martyr, April 16. [SARAGOSSA, MARTYRS OF.]

FRONTO (7), Arian bishop of Nicopolis, a town in the mountain district of Lesser Armenia. He seems to have originally belonged to the orthodox party, and was one of the clergy at Nicopolis; but he was won over by the Arians, and by their assistance was consecrated bishop of Nicopolis. Basil (*Ep.* 238, 239, 240) consoles the clergy of Nicopolis for the defection of one of their number, he declares Fronto to be an object of execration throughout the whole of Armenia, and refuses to acknowledge him as a bishop or to accept his ordinations; (*Ep.* 246, 247) he exhorts the people of Nicopolis to endurance under the trials and persecutions arising from their bishop's conduct and opinions. It appears that Fronto held the see only for a brief period between A.D. 372–375 (Patr. Graec. xxxii. 368; Ceillier, *Aut. sacr.* iv. 481; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 427.) [L. D.]

FRONTO (8), bishop of Phaselis in Lycia, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 985; Mansi, vi. 1086.) [L. D.]

FRONTO (9), bishop of Milan, c. 555–566, said to have been ejected as a schismatic. There appears, however, a doubt whether any bishop of Milan so named lived at that date. If he did, he must have been the successor of Vitalis and the predecessor of Auxanius, which last seems clearly to have been elected A.D. 566. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 82; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* xi. 117.) [R. S. G.]

FRONTO (10) appears in the *Series Episcoorum* of Gams as an archbishop of Bordeaux n the early part of the 8th century, between Antonius and Verebulphus, but a doubt is suggested whether he and his predecessor should not be attributed to the see of Angoulême. He is omitted by the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (ii. 795). [S. A. B.]

FRONTONIUS, seventh bishop of Angoulême, succeeding Mererius and followed by Heraclius. Before his elevation he was sent by Abthonius, the predecessor of Mererius, on a mission to Sabaudes bishop of Poitiers, or Saintes, to ask that the holy monk, St. Eparchius, might be at liberty to make his abode in the diocese of Angoulême. Frontonius obtained the see of Angoulême by murdering the occupant, Mererius, but enjoyed the fruits of his crime for one year only (A.D. 576-7). (*S. Eparchii Vita*, s. 4, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. i. 113; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 37; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 980, 1452.) [S. A. B.]

FROTGONEG, an agent of Alcuin in Gaul, mentioned with Eanfrigidus. (*Alcuin. Monum.* ed. Jaffé, ep. 16, p. 171.) [C. H.]

FRUCTUOSA, Aug. 23, martyr at Antioch with fifteen others. (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi.) [G. T. S.]

FRUCTUOSUS (1), martyr, bishop of Tarragona in the 3rd century. The *Acta* of his martyrdom, and of that of his two deacons, Eulogius and Augurius, who suffered with him, are the most ancient of Spanish *Acta*, and are marked by a realistic simplicity which contrasts very favourably with the style of many of the *Acta* of the Diocletian persecution, with those of the two Eulalias for instance. Prudentius made use of them in his hymn to the martyrs (*Felix Tarraco Fructuose vestris*, etc., Peristeph. vi.), and they are largely quoted by St. Augustine in one of his sermons (No. 273, Migne, Patr. Lat. xxxviii.). The Hieronymian Martyrologies confuse both names and place, but in Bede, Usuardus, and Ado, they are correctly given, as in the general mass of later martyrologies. In the fine 10th century Sanctorale, from the monastery of Cardeña, mentioned under St. Eulalia of Barcelona (q. v.), the *Acta* of Fructuosus and his companions are given at fol. 131–136 (Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS. 25, 600), *Acta*. Under Valerian and Gallienus, in the consulate of Aemilianus and Bassus (ann. 259), Aemilianus Praeses of Tarragona, "aut feritatis impulsu aut imperantis applausu," issued an edict directed against the Christians, compelling all to sacrifice to the gods. Hearing this, the bishop Fructuosus, together with the whole church of Tarragona, gave themselves to unceasing prayer. One night, after Fructuosus had retired to rest, four *apparitores* appeared at his gate and summoned him and his deacons before the Praeses. He roused his companions, they dressed hastily and were led to prison. This was Sunday, and they remained in prison till Friday, enjoying, however, a certain amount of intercourse with the brethren outside. Fructuosus even baptized a catechumen within the prison. On their appearance before the Praeses, a short dialogue ensued between themselves and the judge, in which all three simply and steadfastly avowed their faith. Finally the *Praeses* asked Fructuosus "Art thou the bishop of the Christians?" He answered, "I am." To whom the Praeses, "*Thou wast*," and he gave orders for them to be scourged and burnt alive. On their way to the amphitheatre a crowd both of Christians and

heathens—for Fructuosus had made himself beloved by all alike—surrounded them. Some offered him a cup full of an aromatic strengthening drink. He refused, saying, "It is not yet time to break the fast"—(it being Friday, and ten o'clock, whereas the Friday fast lasted till three). At the gate of the amphitheatre Fructuosus turned and addressed the people. "Be of good cheer, a pastor shall not be wanting to you, nor shall the love and promise of God fail you, either here or hereafter. For this which you behold is but the infirmity of an hour." After the flames were kindled, the ligatures binding their hands were quickly burnt; then Fructuosus *consuetudinis memor* fell on his knees and so passed away. After the martyrdom, the three appeared entering heaven in glory to two of the brethren, and to the daughter of Aemilianus,—Aemilianus himself was called, but was not worthy to see. At night the brethren came, collected the relics, and divided them amongst each other. But Fructuosus, appearing to several of them in a vision, warned them to give back the relics, and to bury all together in one place, which was accordingly done. The bones were buried in the house of Fructuosus, thenceforward made into a church (quae deinceps sacra fuit), "sub altario sancto." Subsequently Fructuosus and his deacons appeared to Aemilianus admonishing and threatening him "terribili visione."

In this account we have followed the *Acta* printed by Tamayo in the *Martyr. Hisp.* (vol. i. Jan. 21) which were taken (Tamayo may be believed on this point) from a 14th-century calendar in the library of the cathedral of Astorga. They omit various important points contained in the Bollandist *Acta* (*AA. SS.* Jan. ii.), which are the same as those printed by Florez. (*Esp. Sag.* xxv.). In the Bollandist *Acta* the account of the seizure is more minute, two more apparitors appear (called beneficiarii), and the names of two of Fructuosus' congregation, who minister to him on the way to execution, are given. But the most important omission is of certain very striking words which we know to have been contained in the *Acta* used by St. Augustine, and which are found in the majority of MSS. On his way to death one Felix caught Fructuosus by the hand, and asked him to remember him. The bishop replied, "In mentem me habere necesse est ecclesiam catholicam ab Oriente usque ad Occidentem diffusam." For Augustine's fine comments on this passage, see the sermon above quoted. The incident appears somewhat differently in Prudentius:—

> "Cur lamenta rigant genas madentes
> Cur vestri memor ut fiam rogatis?
> Cunctis pro populis rogabo Christum."

Lesley supposes (*Pref. in Missale Mixtum*, &c. no. 210) that Fructuosus had in his mind certain words of the *Missa omnium offerentium* as they appear in the Mozarabic Liturgy (p. 224, l. 35, and at p. 3, l. 81), and brings forward the speech, as one proof among others, of the antiquity of the Liturgy. ("Ecclesiam sanctam catholicam in orationibus in mente habeamus, ut eam Dominus et fide et spe et charitate propitius ampliare dignetur," &c.) But it is of course quite possible, if we are to suppose any connexion between the two passages, that the words of the *Acta* were absorbed into the Liturgy, though Gams thinks it not likely (*Kirchengesch. von Spanien*, i. 275). The *Acta* quoted by Augustine seem to have contained a statement about the age of Fructuosus, which is not found in any of the printed copies. Comparing the relative power of the martyrs and the gods, and referring, of course, to the mythical founder of Tarragona, he says, "Contra unum infirmum et trementem omnibus membris senem, quid valet Hercules?" This would throw the birth of Fructuosus into the 2nd century, and is interesting as bearing upon the date of the introduction of Christianity into Tarraconensis. Fructuosus is the first bishop of Tarraco whose name remains. In Hübner's *Inscriptiones Hisp. Christ.* nos. 57, 85, are two inscriptions from Morera in Estremadura, and Medina Sidonia, of the 6th and 7th centuries respectively, containing the names of Fructuosus and his deacons. Their festival was on Jan. 21. (*Esp. Sagr.* xxv. 9; Gams, *K.-G.* i. 265.) [M. A. W.]

FRUCTUOSUS (2), a person present at the search for sacred books and utensils in the case of Silvanus, during the persecution, A.D. 303–304. (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 29; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 170, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FRUCTUOSUS (3), bishop of Abzera in proconsular Africa, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 408, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

FRUCTUOSUS (4), a bishop present at the council of Carthage, against the Pelagians, A.D. 416. (Aug. *Ep.* 175.) [H. W. P.]

FRUCTUOSUS (5), bishop of Giru Marcelli (Marcelliana) in Numidia, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 56, in Migne, Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 172.) [L. D.]

FRUCTUOSUS (6), bishop of Emporias (Ampurias), appears at the third council of Toledo, A.D. 589, represented by his archpriest Galanus. (*Esp. Sag.* xiii. 269; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 238.) [M. A. W.]

FRUCTUOSUS (7), bishop of Eugubium (Gubbio), said to have been consecrated by Benedict I. A.D. 577, and if so was probably the immediate predecessor of Gaudiosus. Doubts, however, of his existence have been expressed. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 677; Cappelletti, *Chiese d'Ital.* v. 380.) [R. S. G.]

FRUCTUOSUS (8), bishop of Lerida in 633, when his signature is found among those given to the acts of the fourth council of Toledo. He may possibly be identified with the Fructuosus diaconus who signs the acts of the council of Egara in 614 as the representative "Domini mei Gomarelli episcopi." (*Esp. Sagr.* xlvi. 105, 106; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385, 342.) [PETRUS.] [M. A. W.]

FRUCTUOSUS (9), bishop of Bina (Vina) in the proconsular province of Africa, subscribed the letter of his province against the errors of the Monothelites to Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, who favoured their views, A.D. 646. This letter was read at the first Lateran council. (Mansi, x. 939; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i 103.) [L. D.]

FRUCTUOSUS (10), ST., bishop of Dumium, and afterwards of Braga, a famous Spanish saint of the 7th century, whose life was written shortly after his death by St. Valerius, abbat of the Monasterium Rufianense (San Pedro de Montes), near Astorga, one of the houses founded by St. Fructuosus. The father of Fructuosus was a Gothic noble who had led the country's forces in war, and who possessed lands and flocks in the Vierzo. (A mountainous district between Astorga and Lugo—the Asturica Augusta and Lucus Augusti of the Romans —watered by the Sil and its tributaries, and bounded to the north by the Asturias mountains, and to the south by the plateaux of central Spain. It owes its name to the Roman town of Bergidum, once the centre of the district.) Once when going upon a round of inspection of his estates the father took the boy Fructuosus with him, and the child, struck with the loneliness and beauty of the mountain valley, inwardly resolved to found a monastery there when he should have grown to man's estate, and the land should be his. On his father's death he placed himself under the teaching of the neighbouring bishop, Conantius (q. v.) of Palencia, as a preparation for a hermit's life. Here marvels already began to surround him, and to point him out as a future saint. As soon, however, as he was sufficiently instructed, he left Palencia for the innermost recesses of the Vierzo, founding his first monastery, the Monasterium Complutense (so called from its dedication to the martyrs of Complutum, SS. Justus and Pastor), in the "narrow plain of emerald green, nearly half a mile long, and about 100 ft. wide, deeply sunk in the heart of the wild mountains," where stands the modern village of Compludo. Without reserving anything for himself, St. Fructuosus gave up his property to the use of the brotherhood, and presently the solitary valley was full of monks flocking thither from all parts of Spain. One person only saw the rising house with envy and dissatisfaction—the brother-in-law of the saint, who had hoped apparently for the inheritance of the saint's property, and now saw it all given to strangers. He accordingly went to the king, and petitioned that some of the property of the new monastery might be assigned to him on the pretence of using it in some state service. Fructuosus no sooner heard of it than he stripped the altars, covered them with ashes, and wrote a letter of rebuke and warning to the delinquent, who, indeed, speedily died without any heirs to enjoy the property he had wished to plunder. Meanwhile the fame of the saint grew day by day, and soon the numbers of his adherents grew so large that, leaving others in charge of the convent, he withdrew farther into the wilderness in search of more undisturbed solitude.

Near the source of the Oza, a river rising among the heights of the Montes Aguianas (or *Aquilanas*, the Eagle's Crags), and running thence into the Sil below Ponferrada, he founded his second monastery, the Monasterium Rufianense, afterwards the famous San Pedro de Montes, of which his biographer Valerius was abbat, which was restored in the 10th century by San Gennadio, and existed as a monastery until the general dissolution of the religious houses in the present century. Later on he founded the Visuniense, north of the Sil, among the Aguiar mountains, which passed long afterwards into the possession of the Cistercian house of Carracedo, the Peonense, on the coast of Gallicia, and many others, whose names are not given. Thus the saint, "giving the last remains of his great fortune to churches, to the poor, and to the freedmen of his house, penetrated every day into great deserts, peopling them with monks by means of the convents which he built, giving them the wherewithal of living holily, and instructing them for a time by his example. Then he himself would fly deeper into the rocks and woods to avoid the commerce of men, and to be known and seen of God only." Once some jackdaws, which had been tamed in the convent, found out his retreat, and proclaimed it by their cries of joy. Again a doe, which was pursued by the hounds, fled to him for shelter. The saint protected her, and the animal followed him home, and thenceforward never left him. When the saint slept she slept at his feet, when he went far away she tracked his footsteps. At last, to the grief of the saint, an ill-disposed youth killed her. The youth was seized with fever, and nothing but the prayers of Fructuosus saved him from death.

After this half legendary time in the Vierzo we come to the more public portion of the saint's life. He set out southwards on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Eulalia of Merida, and thence to Seville and Cadiz. Near Cadiz Fructuosus founded a monastery nine miles from the sea, to which monks flocked so abundantly that the *Dux exercitus* of that province complained to the king that there would soon be no men left for the army. Hither came also a noble lady, Benedicta by name, who lived first in a hermitage built for her by the saint, and became afterwards the abbess of a convent of eighty nuns. Here also Fructuosus determined to end his life in the Holy Land, and he accordingly chartered a vessel for the voyage. But the king (Rekesvinth), warned of his intention, and fearing lest such a light of sanctity should be lost to Spain, ordered that the saint should be brought before him. When he appeared at Toledo the king compelled him to accept the see and abbacy of Dumium, founded by St. Martin. Thence, in 656, at the tenth council of Toledo, he was transferred by the unanimous voice of the bishops to the metropolitan see of Braga, in the place of the deposed Potamius. A question arose in the same council concerning the will of the deceased bishop of Dumium, Rechimir, which was found to contain provisions contrary to the canons. For the amending of these clauses the council deputed the management of the whole matter to Fructuosus (Mansi, xi. 43 B).

After his elevation to the see of Braga Fructuosus, still leading the hermit's life of austerity and almsgiving, founded one more monastery on the road from Braga to Dumium (which, under the name of San Fructuoso, and under Franciscan rule, was still existing in the 18th century), and began also to build various churches. While they were building he was inwardly warned of his approaching death, and, being eager to leave his work perfected and complete, he carried on the work of building, not only by day but by night also, the masons working by torchlight under the saint's direction. At last the final

touch was given, and the work stood completed. Then Fructuosus knew that his last day was come. He told his disciples, who wept bitterly, while he alone was joyful. One of them asked him whether he feared death. "No, indeed," he answered; "for though a sinner, I am going to the presence of my Lord." They bore him to the church, and there, after he had received the penitential habit, he remained prostrate before the altar through the day and night. "As the day dawned he lifted his arms in prayer, and yielded his stainless and holy soul into the hands of God."

The preceding account is taken from the life by Valerius, with the exception of the connexion of the saint with the bishopric of Dumium, and of the proceedings with regard to Rechinier. Valerius, whose life was in many points similar to that of Fructuosus, was, as we have said, abbat of San Pedro de Montes towards the end of the 7th century, and from the opuscula of his remaining (*Esp. Sagr.* xvi.) as well as from his biography of the saint, we see that he gathered up many of the local memories and stories of Fructuosus remaining in the Vierzo. He speaks of intercourse with old pupils and servants of Fructuosus, and for the general story of the saint's life he says that he was indebted to Cassian, abbat of San Fructuoso, and the saint's first disciple, and to the priests, Benenatus and Julian, who had accompanied him in his journeys. Our only other sources of information respecting Fructuosus are—(1) the acts of the tenth council of Toledo, or rather the decretum appended to the acts, on the subject of the crime, penitence, and deposition of Potamius (q. v.), and the succession of "venerabilem Fructuosum ecclesiae Dumiensis episcopum communi omnium nostrorum electione," to the see of Braga; (2) certain apocryphal poems attributed to the saint, and addressed to Peter, bishop of Narbonne, to the king Sisenand, and to an unnamed deacon, together with a letter, also of doubtful authenticity, addressed to Rekesvinth, on the subject of the release of certain prisoners (*Esp. Sagr.* xv. 152; Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyr. Hisp.* ii. April 16); (3) two collections of rules bearing his name, one of which was drawn up apparently for the Monastery of Compludo (Brockie, *Cod. Reg.* i. 208); and (4) the interesting letter from Fructuosus to Braulio of Saragossa, which, together with Braulio's reply, are found among the letters of that bishop (*Esp. Sagr.* xxx. 383). The first letter, *Fructuosi presbyteri ad Braulionem*, speaks of the fame of Braulio, and how the news of his life and deeds "pleases our humble ear amid the hoarse sounding waves of the foaming brine, of the eddying ocean, and the unquiet seas," which looks as if the letter were written from that monastery on the Gallician coast, of which we hear in the life. Braulio is asked to solve certain biblical questions (of a curiously trifling kind), and finally Fructuosus winds up with a request for the loan of certain books, for seventeen of the Collations of Cassian, for the lives of the holy men, Honoratus and Germanus, "vestrique beatissimi novi Aemiliani" [EMILIANUS (8)], and with a prayer for his kindly remembrance of those "far off and sunk in the dark district of the west," who thus address him. The bishop's letter, of much greater length and pretensions, answers his questions, which, however, Braulio thinks Fructuosus might have answered for himself, and contains a panegyric on the life and work of the saint. As to the books, the bishop is not able to give a satisfactory answer. Of some of them he has no duplicates, others have been taken out of his cupboard, and cannot be found (see preface to the *Vita Sancti Aemiliani*, for an interesting correspondence between this passage and what he there says of the loss of his MS.). But when found they shall be sent to Fructuosus.

Finally, Fructuosus is not to talk despondently of the province in which he lives, but is to remember its Greek origin ("Graecam originem sibi defendit," conf. Isid. Etym. ix. 2, *Hi (Gallaeci) graecam sibi originem asserunt*), and the illustrious men it has brought forth, such as Orosius, Turribius, Idatius, and Carterius. Only let him beware of the venom of the Priscillianists, peculiar to that country, and which has in bygone times infected even such men as the holy Orosius.

Various inferences may be drawn from these letters as to the youth of Fructuosus at the time, and the comparative immaturity of his work on the one hand, and as to the possible influence on him of the example of the life of San Millan on the other. There is no indication of date in the letters, but they must have been written before the year 651, in which Braulio died, and are probably a good deal earlier, as there is no trace or complaint in them of that decay of intellectual power of which Braulio speaks sorrowfully elsewhere. The dates of San Fructuoso's life are quite unknown. That of his appearance at the tenth council of Toledo, in 656, is the only fixed point. Gams (*Kirchengesch.* ii. 153–157) thinks he did not long survive the year 660, which would throw the period of his principal monastic activity back to the first third of the century. He was buried in the convent of San Fructuoso, near Braga, whence his remains were removed to Compostella in the 12th century, by the well-known archbishop Diego de Gelmirez. The cult of the saint began immediately after his death (see conclusion of *Acta*), and in the 10th century San Gennadio appears as the restorer or second founder of the monastic system inaugurated by Fructuosus in the "holy Vierzo." (Boll. *AA. SS.* April 16, ii. 431–436; Mabillon, *AA. SS. O.S.B.* saec. ii. 581; Montalembert, *Moines de l'Occident*, ii. 221; and for a description of the present state of the Vierzo and of the remains of Fructuoso's monasteries, a paper by the Rev. H. F. Tozer, *Gent. Mag.* Feb. 1865.) [M. A. W.]

FRUCTUOSUS (11), bishop of Orense (Auria) in Spain, said by Gams (*Ser. Episc.* 53) to have ruled from before A.D. 688 to 693. He was one of the bishops present at the fifteenth council of Toledo, A.D. 688, and signed the canons. (Tejada *Coll. de Can.* ii. 554 b; Florez, *España Sagrada* xvii. 46–7.) [J. G.]

FRUCTUS, martyr, Carthage, A.D. 250 [ARISTO.] [E. W. B.]

FRUELA, a king of Asturias. [FROILA (3).]

FRUGIFERUS, supposed to be the first known bishop of Trieste, c. 524, of somewhat doubtful authenticity. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia* viii. 679.) [A. H. D. A.]

FRUIDBERT (Bed. v. 24, append.), bishop of Hexham. [FRITHOBERT.] [C. H.]

FRUIDUUALD (Bed. v. 24, append.), bishop of Whithern. [FRITHWALD.] [C. H.]

FRUISCLUS, bishop of Mentesa. [FROISCLUS.]

FRUMARIUS, Suevian king of Spain from cir. 460 to cir. 463. He belongs to the period from 456 to 463, when the Suevi were struggling against the allied Gothic and Roman armies. Theodoric II., who had been the ally of the Suevian king Rekiar (448–456) up to 456, fell back in that year upon the *foedus* with Rome, which his successor Euric was soon to set aside altogether. The Suevi, attacked by the allied Goths and Provincials, were hard pressed. In the course of the campaign Rekiar was taken and executed, and Theodoric appointed Aiulf governor of the Suevian territory. In the extreme north-west of Gallicia, however, a band of Suevi made Maldra king. (*Idat.* ann. 460.) A time of great confusion follows. Maldra, Aiulf, and Franta all appear as Suevian kings between 456 and 460. In 459 (?) Maldra made his son Remismund district-king (*Bezirks-König*, regulus, *Jord*, c. 44), and in 460, after Maldra's murder, we have the first appearance of Frumari (*Idat.* ann. 460). Who Frumari was is far from clear. He may have been a son of the brother murdered by Maldra in 460 (Dahn, vi. 566), and if so, a cousin of Remismund. At any rate, he seems to represent a time of anarchy and confusion, when the West Suevi, who after Rekiar's defeat and death, made Maldra king, appear as distinct from, and at one time even in disunion with the East Suevi under Remismund. Under the year 460 Idatius speaks of the descent of Frumari upon Aquae Flaviae, of the capture of himself, "capto Idatio Episcopo, septimo Kalendas Augusti in Aquae Flaviensi Ecclesiâ," and the devastation of the district. [IDATIUS.] Meanwhile Remismund, who appears so far to have acted in concert with Frumari, was ravaging the country of the Auregenses on the Minho and the coast about Lugo. Immediately afterwards dissensions arose between the two chiefs, followed by a short truce between the Suevi and Provincials, and negotiations between the Suevi and the Goths, at that time occupying the position of Roman foederati in various towns of the peninsula, possibly set on foot by Remismund with the object of obtaining help against Frumari. (Dahn, *l. c.*) The Gothic and Suevian legates meet in Lugo, and Remismund goes twice to Theodoric at Toulouse. During his absence, in spite of the presence of certain Gothic troops commanded by Cyrila in Gallicia, collisions occurred between the Provincials and Frumari's Suevi. (Idat. ann. 462.) In 463 (according to Dahn; Florez gives 464) Frumari died, and Remismund thereupon united all the Suevian districts in one kingdom, strengthening his position moreover, by a close alliance with Theodoric II.

The supposition that after Maldra's death Frumari at first ruled the West Suevi as district-king (*Bezirks-König*) in dependence on Remismund, and that he subsequently broke loose and assumed an independent position, Dahn thinks "not likely" —though it remains quite possible. (Idatius, *Chron.* apud *Esp. Sagr.* iv., Migne, Patr. Lat. li. 887; Isidore, *Hist. Suevorum*, idem, vi.; Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, vi. 566.) [M. A. W.]

FRUMENTIUS (1), founder of the Ethiopian church. He was consecrated as bishop of Auxume (modern Axum) by Athanasius before A.D. 368, and, under the title of *Abba Salama*, was regarded as the apostle of Ethiopia, traditionally credited with the translation of the Scriptures and the Apostolic Canons. For his romantic history, preserved by Rufinus, see arts. EDESIUS and ETHIOPIC CHURCH. [H. R. R.]

FRUMENTIUS (2)—March 23. Two African martyrs of the same name are commemorated on this day. They were merchants who suffered for the Catholic faith, at the hands of the Arians, in the Vandal persecution under Hunneric, A.D. 477. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; Adonis, Usuardi; Victor. Vitensis, *de Persecut. Wandal.* lib. 3.) [G. T. S.]

FRUMENTIUS (3), the name of two African bishops, viz. of Tibursica near Tagaste, in Numidia, and of Telepte in the inland part of the Byzacene, banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 56, 58; Patrol. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 311, 318.) [L. D.]

FRYGES. (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 40, 59, 65, v.] [PHRYGES.] [T. W. D.]

FUGATIUS, a form of FAGAN (Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* iv. cc. 5–7); also used by Baronius (*Ann. Eccl.* A.D. 183, i. 227). [J. G.]

FUGITIVUS, metropolitan of Seville in Dec. 656, when the tenth council of Toledo was held. Florez identifies him with the abbat Fugitivus, whose signature, together with that of the abbat Ildefonsus, afterwards the famous Ildefonsus of Toledo, occurs among those of the ninth council of Toledo (provincial not national), which met Dec. 2, 655. (*Esp. Sagr.* ix. 219; Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 145, 158.) [MARCELLUS.] [M. A. W.]

FULARTACH (FALERTUS, FELERTUS, FOLARATAIG, FULARTUS). (1) Son of Brec, commemorated Mar. 29, Dec. 21. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 787) gives a brief notice of this hermit, whose sanctity is more carefully recorded in kalendars and festilogies than in other histories. He was descended from the most illustrious family of Rudhraighe, and of the race of Conal Cearnach, in Ulster. He had a hermit-cell at Offally, on the borders of Kildare and King's County: this was named Disert-Fulartaigh. Some say the hermit afterwards became bishop at Clonard, but the *Annals*, like the *Four Masters*, place the death of "Fulartach, son of Breac, an anchoret," at A.D. 755, and that of the bishop of Clonard at A.D. 774 (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* ii. 255, iv. 108). Evidently the *Annals* contemplate different persons, but O'Gorman and later writers regard them as one.

(2) Of Donaghpatrick, bishop. In the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* there is mention made of Felartus, whom Colgan (*Acta SS.* 788) calls Fulartus, giving at the same time a memoir of St. Fulartus, bishop. In the middle of the fifth century he was a steady and active disciple of St. Patrick, and for many years was his constant companion and assistant. It is said in the *Vita*

S. Benigni that when St. Patrick came into the west of Connaught, he was refused the hospitality he sought at the house of Echinus, son of Brian, son of Ethac, king of Connaught, and that, retracing his steps, he came to a place afterwards known as Donaghpatrick, near Lough Corrib, where he built a church and gave it to bishop Fulartus. Fulartus had two virgin sisters, who were dedicated to the Lord, namely, Callecha, who may have been at the church called Tempull-Cailliche in the diocese of Clonfert, and Crocha, who was on an island of the name of Cuil-chonmaicne on the coast of Connemara. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 134, c. 39, 136, c. 52, 178 n. [110], [111]; Ussher, *Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, wks. vi. 518; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 5, § 10, c. 7, § 6; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, 108, 109.)

(3) Folartaig (Maelfothartaigh, *Four Mast.* A.D. 678), bishop of Ardsratha, now Ardstraw, bar. Strabane, co. Tyrone, died A.D. 680 (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 679). [J. G.]

FULCARIUS (FULCHER, FOLERICUS), 32nd or 33rd bishop of Liége, succeeding Florbertus and followed by Agilfridus, is said by Aegidius to have sat for fifteen years. He is one of the bishops addressed in the twelfth letter of pope Zachary, written probably A.D. 748. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 948.) In 757 he signed a charter for the monastery of Gorze, confirming the privileges granted by St. Chrodegangus. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 1121–6.) His signature is also found appended to two charters given in A.D. 762 by king Pippin for the foundation of the monastery of Prum. The *Placitum Attiniacense* was subscribed by a "Folericus Episcopus civit. Tungri." This can hardly be other than Fulcarius, especially as variations in the spelling of the name from that of Baronius above given, are found in other accounts. This, however, involves the rejection of Aegidius's fifteen years for the duration of the bishopric, unless with Pagius we believe the placitum to be properly dated three years earlier than the date above given. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 830; Bar. Pagius, ann. 762 n. iv.; Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* xi. 675, Flor. 1759–98; Aegidius, *Gesta Pontif. Leod.* i. 147, ed. Chapeauville, Liége, 1612.) [S. A. B.]

FULCILIUS, eighth bishop of Nevers, succeeding Agricola and followed by Rauracus, or according to Coquille's list, ninth, succeeding St. Agricola and followed by St. Arigius, about the close of the 6th century. (Coquille, *Hist. du Nivernois*, sub fin. Paris, 1612; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 627.) [S. A. B.]

FULCOALDUS (1) (EOALDUS, BOALDUS, FRALDUS, FOALDUS, FALDUS), forty-third bishop of Lyons, succeeding Godwinus, and followed by Madalbertus, or Maubert. All we know of him is derived from the life of St. Bonitus (St. Bon or St. Bonêt), bishop of Clermont, who died and was buried at Lyons, and whose remains his successor, Nordobert, had vainly sought to obtain from Godwin, the predecessor of Fulcoaldus. Proculus was more successful with Fulcoaldus, and installed the relics at Clermont (*Vita S. Boniti*, § 31 et seq., *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. iii. pars 1, p. 98, Paris, 1668–1701). It was during his episcopate that Lyons, in common with a great part of France, fell under the domination of the Saracens. In that calamitous period, and, if we may believe the ecclesiastical historians, the yet more dreadful time of Charles Martel's ascendency, which followed the battle of Tours (732), the archbishopric of Lyons, like the see of Vienne, was long vacant, while no less than ten years elapsed between the death of Fulcoaldus in A.D. 744 and the consecration of his successor. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 51; cf. Ado, *Chron.* Migne, Pat. Lat. cxxiii. 122.) [S. A. B.]

FULCOALDUS (2), abbat of Farfa (between Rome and Rieti), from A.D. 740 to 759. He came originally from Aquitaine. In 745 he received a gift of land from Lupus duke of Spoleto. His name is found in connexion with various exchanges of land and other transactions in diplomas of various dates from 744 to 756. (Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 567, 574, 586, etc.; iv. 148, etc.; *Catal. Abb. Farf.* p. 585, and *Constructio Farfensis*, p. 528, in Pertz, *Monumenta*, vol. xi.) [A. H. D. A.]

FULGENTIUS (1), legendary bishop of Atina in Campania, cir. A.D. 100. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. 29; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vi. 529.) [R. S. G.]

FULGENTIUS (2), bishop of Otricoli in Umbria (Utriculensis), mentioned in Greg. Magn. *Dial.* (lib. iii. cap. 12; Migne, lxxvii. 240) as having been ill-treated by Totila and the Goths. His date is 545 according to Cappelletti. (*Le Chiese d'Italia*, iv. 573, 579.) [A. H. D. A.]

FULGENTIUS (3), FABIUS CLAUDIUS GORDIANUS, bishop of Ruspe, was born in the year A.D. 468 and died A.D. 533. His life was spent for the most part in those provinces of northwestern Africa which were brought under the cruel tyranny of the Vandal kings, Genseric, Hunneric, and Thrasimund, and he witnessed and suffered from the persecutions inflicted by these enemies of the Catholic faith. The writings of Fulgentius himself, a biographical memoir of the saint prefixed to his works, and addressed to Felicianus his successor in the bishopric of Ruspe, supposed to be written by Ferrandus, a deacon of the church at Carthage [FELICIANUS (14), FERRANDUS], and a treatise *De Persecutione Vandalica*, written by Victor Vitensis in 487 (vid. *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*, tom. vii. and Migne, Patr. Lat. tom. lviii.), are the principal sources of information concerning this outbreak of barbaric malice. Every refinement of cruelty seems to have been visited upon the presbyters, bishops, and virgins, of the north African church during the reigns of Genseric and Hunneric. At the first incursion of the Vandals the whole country was desolated, the houses of prayer and basilicas were often razed to the ground; neither age nor sex was any shield from these cruelties, and the tombs of the martyrs were rifled for treasure. The bishops were banished from their sees, the virgins were basely used, and every effort was made to alienate the masses of the people from the Catholic faith. At the commencement of the reign of Hunneric (Victor, lib. ii.), a gleam of sunshine cheered the church, during which the vacant see of Carthage was filled by Eugenius [EUGENIUS (21)], whose extraordinary virtues are duly recorded by his biographers. His

popularity with the people excited the rage and animosity of the conquerors, who forbade their own people to enter the church where he ministered. Those who disobeyed these orders were submitted to torture, were blinded, and many died of the inhuman treatment. Women were scalped and stripped and paraded through the streets. Victor says, "We knew many of these." Hunneric must have hated Christianity in any form, as Jocundus, the Arian patriarch was burned alive, and Manicheans were hunted down like wild beasts. At the end of the second year of his reign, the king refused all position in the court or executive to any but Arians, and banished to Sardinia all who refused to conform; heavy pecuniary fines were imposed whenever a bishop was ordained; peculiar and malicious inhumanity was visited upon Christian women, from the consequences of which many died and many were crippled for life. In 486, the bishops and priests were exiled into the desert [FELIX OF ABDERA], and in the eighth year of the reign of Hunneric, that prince issued an edict, still preserved (Victor, *ib.* lib. iii.), in which the Homoousians were summoned to renounce their faith, a date being fixed for their submission, their churches were doomed to be destroyed, their books burned, their pastors banished. The consequences of this bloody edict are detailed with horrible circumstantiality by Victor, and even Gibbon allows that they must have been inhuman in their severity. The cruelties of the Diocletian persecution were equalled if not surpassed by the measures thus taken to extirpate the homoousian faith. Gordian, the grandfather of Fulgentius, a senator of Carthage, was exiled by Genseric. His two sons returned to their home during an interval of grace, to find their property in the hands of Arian priests. They were not allowed to remain at Carthage, and settled themselves at Telepte, in the province of Byzacene. One of them, Claudius by name, married Maria Anna, a Christian lady, and she gave birth in 468 to Fulgentius.

The mother of Fulgentius was particularly careful to secure the best education for her son. She compelled his study of the Greek language, and would not allow him to indulge in the perusal of Roman literature, until he should have committed to memory the greater part of the poems of Homer, and of the plays of Menander. He was then allowed to pursue a more varied course of study. He displayed great talent for business and much versatility. His fine character recommended him to the court, and he was appointed fiscal procurator of the province, and learned his first lessons in the art of ruling men. But in the midst of these pursuits he became enamoured of heavenly things, and after perusing Augustine's comment on Ps. xxxvi. [xxxvii. Heb.], he was attracted by the "pleasures of a mind at peace with God, which fears nothing but sin." At the time when Hunneric had banished bishops to the neighbouring deserts, with the hope of weakening their confidence in the Catholic faith, young Fulgentius began to retire from society, deprived himself of ordinary recreation, and devoted himself to fasting, prayer, and various austerities. One of these exiled bishops, Faustus, had formed a little monastery not far from Telepte, to which Fulgentius betook himself. The old bishop was induced by the eager protestations of the youth to admit him to the confraternity. Mariana put forth all her power to dissuade him from his resolution and failed. The story of her passionate grief and reproaches reminds the reader of the mother of Chrysostom. The biographers of Fulgentius dilate on the almost incredible extent to which he pursued his austerities. Though his once noble form was emaciated and diseased, his spirit waxed stronger, his resolution never flinched. He handed his patrimony over to his mother, and utterly renounced the world. The persecution then prevailing suggested a change of abode, and at the advice of Faustus, Fulgentius removed to another small monastery, under the direction of one Felix. Between this recluse and Fulgentius sprang up a powerful and enduring friendship. They divided the superintendence of the monastery between them, Fulgentius undertaking the duties of teacher of the brethren. Troubles arose from an incursion of the Numidians, and compelled the entire body to emigrate into the interior, where they settled at a place called Sicca Venena or Siccensis. (*Vita*, c. ix. called *Sicque* by Ceillier.) An Arian presbyter, also Felix by name, in the neighbourhood, was alarmed at the personal influence rapidly exercised over the members of his flock by the saintly Felix and Fulgentius, and laid a plot to rob and torture them. They were brutally used, and their patience under the rack and lash only provoked fresh outbursts of rage. This dastardly attack roused the indignation even of the Arian bishop of Carthage, who would have called his Arian presbyter to account for his conduct, if Felix and Fulgentius had not prayed for mercy on their tormentors. From this place of dangerous retreat the little company again migrated to Ididi in Mauritania, and, says the author of the *Vita*, the proximity of the Moors was far more conducive to their peace than that of the Arians. At Ididi Fulgentius read the *Institutiones Cassiani*, and formed the resolution to migrate to Egypt, in order to follow a more severe rule of mortification and obedience. With a solitary monk he started for Carthage, and, without any provision or preparation for so formidable a journey, embarked for Syracuse, where he was kindly received by Eulalius. This distinguished bishop, who rejoiced in the title of *Papa*, soon found out that he had a remarkable man at his table, and discovered moreover his intention to proceed to the Thebaid in order to secure a more thorough realisation of monastic regimen. Eulalius strongly discountenanced the enterprise, on the ground that at that time the Thebaid was separated by a "perfidious heresy and schism from the communion of St. Peter." He referred to the Monophysite doctrine and personal contests which led to the schism in the Egyptian church after the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. "Revertere fili," said Eulalius, "ne vitae melioris intuitu periculum rectae fidei patiaris." This advice was eventually followed, though for some months he resided in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. In the year 500, he visited Rome, and was present at the gorgeous reception given to Theodoric, and heard that monarch's address to the senate. In the course of the year he returned to Africa. His brethren did not blame him for his ill-considered departure. He received from Sylvester, the primarius of Byzacene, a

plot of ground for the erection of a spacious monastery, which was at once crowded by inmates. The fertility of the soil, and the other advantages it possessed, seemed a positive defect n the pursuit of the divine life. Restless under physical comfort he fled once more to a lonely island, which was more satisfactory to him, seeing that neither wood nor drinkable water could be found upon it, and that access to the mainland was almost interdicted. Here he occupied himself with manual toil and spiritual exercises. Felix having discovered the retreat of Fulgentius persuaded Faustus to ordain him as a presbyter, and under pain of excommunication to compel his return to his monastery. Faustus hoped by these means to keep him under jurisdiction, to intercept these romantic escapades, and curb the restlessness of his nature. This ordination occurred shortly after the death of Hunneric, and accession of Thrasimund. The latter monarch, though a bigoted Arian, was more liberal and refined than his predecessors. (Gibbon, Smith's ed. vol. iv. c. 37.) He had forbidden the churches which had been deprived of their bishops during the reign of Hunneric to fill up the vacant sees, yet many of these churches dared to disobey the order. No sooner was a bishop appointed than he was at once banished to Sardinia or elsewhere. (Victor, *ib.* lib. iii.) Several churches contended for the privilege of having Fulgentius as their bishop, but with his marvellous faculty in concealing himself, he was able for a while to baffle their importunity, and he returned with a genuine *Nolo Episcopari* upon his lips to his monastery. It was not, however, for long. The little town of Ruspe (or Ruspae), a small sea-port on a projecting spur of the coast, not far from the Syrtis Parva—lat. 35° 1′, long. E. 11° 1′—had remained without a bishop. This had been the case, not from obedience to the royal mandate, but from the machinations of another Felix, a deacon who had prevented a suitable man from accepting the office. Ruspe fixed its heart on Fulgentius, and he was actually taken by force from his cell to Victor the primate of Byzacene and consecrated bishop of Ruspe. This was in the year 508, when he was forty years of age. He made no change in his costume or daily regimen, he declined to wear the *orarium*, the ornamental chasuble, or any coloured garment. He walked barefoot, or at least shod with nothing more luxurious than a monk's sandal; he wore a little white or black cloak, a linen scarf around his neck, a leathern girdle round his loins, and must have looked more like a Hebrew prophet than a Christian bishop of the 6th century. It is expressly stated that he wore no different costume in the celebration of the mysteries, saying that the heart and not the clothes needed changing. He never allowed himself meat or wine. Eggs, herbs, and seed-corn, unground and undressed, were his food. His prayers, vigils, and fastings were incessant as before. His first demand from the people of Ruspe was a plot of ground on which to build a monastery. This was soon granted, and the building erected, and his old friend Felix summoned to preside over it. This blending of episcopal and monastic rule was soon brought to an abrupt end by Thrasimund, who dismissed him and other newly elected bishops to Sardinia. He accepted his fate with joy, at the

privilege of suffering for his Master. As he passed through Carthage presents were heaped upon him, which he sent to the new monastery at Ruspe. Though the last of the exiled bishops he was soon recognised as the greatest of them, and was entrusted with delicate and difficult duties. In the name of the sixty exiles he wrote important letters on various questions of theological and ecclesiastical importance. His literary faculty, his great knowledge of Scripture, and his repute as a theologian, probably induced Thrasimund to summon him from Sardinia to Carthage, and to enter into personal dispute with him. It is possible that the king, supposing by his threats and promises, his banishment of the bishops, his cajolery and other devices, that he had gained a victory, and, moreover, being thoroughly convinced of the truth of his own profession, wished to discuss the Catholic doctrine and crush it by fair argument. Ten objections to the Catholic faith were thus presented to Fulgentius. To these he was requested to give satisfactory replies. The result was his earliest treatise, viz., *One book against the Arians, Ten Answers to Ten Objections.* The third of these objections resembles a common argument of the earlier Arians, viz. that the passages of Scripture, Prov. viii. 22, John xvi. 29, Psalm ii. 7, and others imply that the Son is "created," "generated in time," and therefore not of the same substance with the Father, to which Fulgentius replied that they all refer to the Incarnation, and not to the essence of the Son of God. He used the argument of Athanasius, which makes the customary worship of the Son of God verge either on Polytheism or Sabellianism if we do not at the same time recognise the consubstantiality of the Son. To deny, said Fulgentius, the Catholic position, compels the objector to adopt the alternative of saying that the Son of God was either from something or from nothing. The supposition that He was made "out of nothing" reduces Him to the rank of a creature; the other supposition that He was made "from something," in essence different from God, involves a co-eternal Being, and some form of Manichaean dualism. Throughout this ingenious polemic, Fulgentius laid the greatest emphasis on the unity of God's essence, and assumed, as a point not disputed between himself and his opponents, that Christ was the object of Divine worship. This argument throws some light upon the later Arianism. The reply was not considered satisfactory by Thrasimund, who could not but have perceived that logically and rhetorically Fulgentius had the best of the argument. He, therefore, in order to cover him with reproach in the eyes of his Arian supporters, sent another group of objections, which were to be read to Fulgentius. No copy was to be left with him, which might enable him by mere logical agility to gain a superficial victory, but yet he was expected to return categorical answers. The statement of this Nebuchadnezzar-like policy might appear to be a biographical exaggeration, if it were not sufficiently vouched for by the opening chapters of the *Ad Trasimundum Regem Vandalorum Libri tres* (cf. Schroeckh, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte*, xviii. 108). The first book treats "of the Mystery of the Mediator, Christ, having two natures in one person." The second book "of the Immensity of the Divinity of the Son of God." The third book, "of the Sacrament of the Lord's Passion." In the

first of these books he displays great familiarity with Scripture, and endeavours to establish the eternal generation of the Logos, and the birth in time of the Christ, when the Logos took flesh, and by "flesh" he endeavours to shew is meant the whole of humanity, body and reasonable soul, just as occasionally by "soul" is denoted not only reasonable soul but body as well. In bk. i. the author shews that the whole of humanity needed redemption, and was taken up into union with the Eternal Word; in bk. ii. he shews that nothing less than Deity in His supreme wisdom and power could effect the redemption. As the assurance that Christ is "the First and the Last," does not mean that Christ will have an end, so the ἐν ἀρχῇ of John i. 1, cannot mean that the Godhead of the Logos had a beginning. He cannot be *localis* by whom *locus* is made, nor *temporalis* by whom *tempus* is originated. The Godhead of Christ may be "everywhere" in His "power," but not "everywhere" in His "grace." He ingeniously explains the "Noli me tangere," addressed to Mary, as a refusal to admit her affectionate treatment of his body, until she had appreciated His Divinity. The church is now His body, and they who do not appreciate His unity of essence with the Father must not have the privileges of His church. In many other ways he argues the immensity of the Son and also of the Spirit of God, and here again the common ground held by the Arians and himself, as to the worship of Christ, is worthy of special note. In bk. iii. he opposes strongly not only *Patripassianism*, but all *theopathia*, Θεοπασχιτισμός and the supposition that the Deity of Christ felt *substantialiter* the sorrows of the Cross. The dyophysite position is urged with remarkable earnestness, and held to be completely compatible with the unity of the person of Christ. The personality of the Christ the Son of God is distinguished from the personality of the Father, with an almost semi-Arian force, while he holds that the nature and substance of the Father and the Son are one and the same. Sicut inseparabilis est unitate naturae sic inconfusibilis permanet proprietate personae (lib. iii. c. 3). (Cf. here unus omnino; non confusione substantiae; sed unitate personae, of the Athanasian Creed.) Yet though Christ emptied Himself of His glory, He was full of grace and truth. The two natures were united, not confused, in Christ. Totus in patre et totus in utero matris. He suffered in the flesh. His Deity, although it took on Him passible flesh, yet remained impassible, because immutable. The "unction" of the Holy Spirit was received by Christ as man and not as God. Inasmuch as He was the Eternal Son, there was no inequality to be redressed, no imperfection to be imparted. But seeing that there was taken up into His one personality the reasonable soul and flesh of man, not a human personality, but human nature, He could weep at the grave of Lazarus and die upon the Cross. Chapter 20 shews conclusively that Fulgentius must have read as the text of Heb. ii. 9, χωρὶς Θεοῦ rather than χάριτι Θεοῦ, as he lays repeated emphasis on the *sine Deo*. He bore in His cross the sins of others, He had none of His own. No corruption befell His body in the grave; nor did any punishment overtake His soul in Hades. Schroeckh (xviii. 112) speaks slightingly of the argument, as simply proving that Fulgentius knew his own position. The author of the *Vita* assures us that Thrasimund secured the assistance of an Arian bishop Pinta to reply to these three books, and that Fulgentius rejoined. The existing work entitled *Pro Fide Catholica adv. Pintam Episcopum Arianum, liber unus* (*Opp.* Migne's ed. pp. 708–720) cannot be the work of Fulgentius; it possesses nothing of his style of address, makes no reference to Thrasimund or to Pinta, and consists of little more than rough invective, followed by a *cento* of passages of Scripture, which, however, are not taken from the Vulgate as generally used by Fulgentius, but from the old Latin (cf. Schroeckh). The actual reply of Fulgentius, which no longer exists, and his great personal popularity seem to have roused the indignation of the Arian party at Carthage, and to have led to what is called his second exile. This measure was adopted by the king, who directed his forcible seizure. In the dead of night Fulgentius was hurried on board a vessel bound for Sardinia. Contrary winds drove the vessel back to Carthage, where he received a sorrowing ovation on the part of the persecuted church. He is said on this occasion to have predicted the speedy close of the persecution. His biographer adds that he did not boast of any predictive powers, nor would he as a miracle-worker pray for the healing of the infirm, always urging that our prayer should be that the will of the Lord might be done. He discountenanced the idea of miracles, saying that without righteousness they were valueless, and might lead to everlasting condemnation. On reaching Calaris (Cagliari) in Sardinia, he was received by the exiles with great enthusiasm and reverence. Here he remained until the death of the king in 523, and displayed extraordinary energy in his literary, polemical, and monastic work. In conjunction, and with the assistance of Brumasius, the 'antistes' of the city, he built another monastery, where more than forty monks assembled, and carried out the rule of community of property, refusing to allow the possession or maintenance of any personal interests. The equity, benevolence, and self abnegation of these coenobites are extolled in high terms, but the most interesting feature of his character is said to have been his sweetness and gentleness to the youngest and weakest. His cheerfulness, tenderness, and urbanity, were never disturbed until bound by his office and his vows to act with severity towards insubordination or sin. Symmachus, bishop of Rome, wrote a letter of congratulation to these valiant champions of Christ. (*Anast. in Symmacho*, Baron. ann. 504.) It was during this period that the majority of his extant letters were penned, for the most part in answer to difficult theological questions that were proposed to him, and it was then also that he revealed his strong sympathy with the opinions of Augustine on the doctrines of predestination, of grace, and of remission of sin, at a time when these were being called in question by the semi-Pelagians of Southern Gaul and North Africa. (Cf. Neander, *General Church History*, Clark's transl. vol. iv. 417 ff.; Shedd, *History of Christian Doctrine*, vol. ii. p. 104, ff.; Wiggers, *Augustinismus und Pelagianismus*, II. Theil, 369–393; Schroeckh, xviii.)

The most extended of these dissertations, is *Ad Monimum, libri tres. I. De duplice praedes-*

tinatione Dei. II. Complectens tres quaestiones. III. De vera expositione illius dicti: et verbum erat apud Deum. Monimus was an intimate friend of Fulgentius, who had written numerous letters to him, which, until he was in his monastery at Calaris, he had never found time to answer. The main trouble on the mind of Monimus had been awakened by perusing Augustine *de Perfectione Justitiae Hominis*, in which he thought that the great African Father had taught predestination to sin as well as to virtue. Fulgentius assured Monimus that God does not predestinate men to sin, but only to the punishment that they have merited by their sins, quoting Ezek. xviii. 30. "Sin," said he, "is not in Him, so sin is not from Him. That which is not His work cannot be His predestination." No constraint of the will is meant by predestination, but the disposition of Divine grace by which God pardons one, though He may punish another, gives grace to one who is unworthy of it, even if He find another worthy of His anger. Here he insists on the point, which had been disputed by Faustus of Rhegium, in the two books he had written on grace, viz., that the good will, the new heart, the right spirit, are God's gift (Ezek. xxxvi. 26). God begins, conducts, completes, the whole activity of the good-will, prepares us in every good work to do His will. The beginning of our calling, the augmenta justificationis, and the rewards of glory are in God's praedestinatio (Rom. viii. 29). Those who are predestinated to glory are first predestinated to righteousness. He crowns in the saints that which He has gratuitously given, but He will condemn in the wicked that which He has not wrought in them. Pride, not God, is the beginning of all sin. Predestination is always of the good. All evil is from the perverseness of the human will. God foreknows those who are about to sin, but does not predestinate them to it. In this argument Fulgentius appears distinctly to controvert the doctrine of reprobation and to fall short of many passages in Augustine's writings. (*Ep.* 186, c. vii.; *De Pecc. Merit. et Rem.* lib. 2, c. xviii., quoted by Mozley, *Augustinian Doctrine of Praedestination*, pp. 139, 142; see note xix., and Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* bk. v. appendix, Keble's edition, p. 730); but he quotes Augustine as in harmony with his own views, to the effect that predestination involves foreknowledge, but not foreknowledge predestination. He also appeals to Prosper, quoting from his *Responsiones ad cap. Gall.* The second book to Monimus is occupied with Arian questions as to the Trinity, and the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. The gifts of the Spirit may be increased or diminished in a human soul, but this implies nothing to the detriment of His stainless, exhaustless, and changeless effluence of bright beams. The rigidity of his ecclesiastical theory is here conspicuous. The charity, the sacrifices, the services of heretics are of no avail, since they are separated from the Catholic Church. Book iii. is occupied with a reply to the Arian interpretation of "apud Deum" in John i. 1; to their theory that if it had been said verbum est in Deo, we might have thence deduced the identity of the two natures, that apud implies separation and dissimilarity. His argumentum ad hominem is very ingenious, and is followed up by an exegetical argument, which is feeble, as to the identity of apud with in, but he says that both prepositions when applied to God necessitate modifications.

During this period, he wrote the *Liber ad Donatum de Fide Orthodoxa et Diversis Erroribus Haereticorum* (Ep. viii. Migne), which is elsewhere described as a letter to the Carthaginians. His object was succinctly to characterise Sabellian, Arian, Macedonian, and Manichean heresy; he condemns Photinus, and the errors of Eutyches, and Nestorius by name, declaring that the true doctrine of the church was to assert the two natures, as against Eutyches, and to repudiate the two persons, against Nestorius. During his residence in Sardinia an important work was written, in the form of a letter to Euthymius, *De Remissione Peccatorum* (§ xiv. Ceillier, p. 527, Migne). The question was asked by Euthymius, a devout laic, whether remission of sins was possible after death. After a broad description of what remission of sin is, he declares the human conditions to be "faith," "good works" and "time," but it can only be secured in the Catholic Church, which has power to remit all sin except the sin against the Holy Ghost, a sin which he declares to be "final impenitence." There is not a hint of purgatory, but the utmost stress is laid upon the irreversible condition of the soul at death. Wiggers calls attention to the fact that in this treatise all merits are attributed by Fulgentius to Divine grace, *l. c.* p. 382.

The three books, *De Veritate Praedestinationis et Gratia Dei* (Migne, p. 604) are addressed to *John and Venerius*, to whom other letters were also sent during the second exile (*Ep.* xv. Ceillier, § x.) on the doctrines of Faustus of Rhegium (de Riez, Riji, sometimes Galliarum). The celebrated books of Faustus, one of the earliest and most celebrated of the semi-Pelagians, were sent to Constantinople, and their covert Pelagianism, under the guise of Catholic doctrine, had produced at the commencement of the sixth century great impression. John, archimandrite, and Venerius, a deacon, sent these books to Fulgentius for his opinion. Similar requests were presented by other ecclesiastics in Constantinople to Hormisdas, bishop of Rome. Hormisdas took a moderate view of the opinions of Faustus, saying that he was not a father or authority of the church, that the matters were open questions, and yet that he himself agreed with tractates of Augustine addressed to Hilary and Prosper. This reply was so unsatisfactory to the Constantinopolitan monks, that the letter was sent to Fulgentius, which issued in the works before us. (Neander, iv. 418–19.) John and Venerius also had sent their own views of predestination to the exiled bishops. What these views were can be gathered only from the reply of the African bishops, also written by Fulgentius, and signed by twelve other bishops.

Fulgentius, in the letter to John and Venerius, lays down, in opposition to Faustus, that grace can neither be known nor appreciated until it is given; that so long as man is without it, he resists it by word or deed. Faustus had spoken of an imperishable grain of good in every man which is nourished by grace. Free-will is this spark of heavenly fire, not obliterated by the fall. Fulgentius urged that there may be free-will, but not free-will to that which is good. John and Venerius seemed to have urged that

the difference between Esau and Jacob depended on the fact that Esau was condemned before his birth, because of his future evil deeds. Fulgentius, with more logical consistency, maintains that Esau perished in his original sin; Jacob was saved by gratuitous favour. Divine grace and human will co-operate, but Divine grace always precedes the human aspiration after it. God works in us to will and do; free-will nullotenus efficitur nisi divinitus adjuvetur. The question of creationism versus traducianism is left as doubtful, as it was by Augustine, but Fulgentius maintains that if "creationism" be true, still every child at the creation of its soul receives the taint of original sin by its contact with the body. In the three books, *De Veritate Praedestinationis*, the purely gratuitous doctrine of absolute predestination is argued from the assumed fact that some infants are baptized, and therefore saved, while a child of heathen or even Christian parents, not being baptized, is condemned to eternal fire! Aeternis et ignibus deputatus. In the *Epistola* to Peter the deacon he goes even further, and asserts that unborn children, sempiterno supplicio puniendos. Cf. Wiggers, *l. c.* 378. The case of unbaptized adults differs only by their punishment being not only of their original but actual sin. Book ii. is a repetition and enforcement of his doctrine of free-will existent, but not capable of good. The question then arises, but is never answered, whether it *is free?* He pours contempt on the idea that the mere dignity or office of emperor or bishop, or the like, can be all that is meant by "a vessel of mercy," he says it may be the reverse, and in a wonderful passage shews the greatness of their responsibilities. (Book iii.) Since predestination is to righteousness, it is no excuse for carelessness. If predestinated, we do undoubtedly and necessarily pray, watch, and practise good works, and bring forth the fruits of the Spirit. While Fulgentius was in Sardinia, he conducted an extensive private correspondence. In his letter *ad Gallam*, he assured the widow Galla that virginity was a higher grade of moral being than marriage, but he encouraged her to hope that by maintaining her widowhood she might rise almost as high in the kingdom of God as a virgin can. In two letters, *ad Probam*, virginity for the body and humility for the soul were set forth as the two great graces, and fasting and prayer commended. He introduces the Augustinian doctrine that holy servitude is the true freedom. In a letter *ad Theodorum*, he appeared very much alive to the advantage of the conversion of the great and influential. In a letter *ad Venantium* he urged that conversion consists of "the hope of pardon and the acts of penitence, and such a hope of pardon as leads to penitence." Judas failed from being destitute of hope, while many perish now from being too confident of Divine mercy, and thus fail from never performing a true penitence. There was an extensive correspondence on matters relating to chastity, the conjugal debt and the like, which simply accord with the current teaching of the monastery. These efforts of his pen have been preserved.

In the year 523 Thrasimund died, having before his death called on his successor, Hilderic, to swear that on his accession he would carry out to the full the policy already inaugurated against the professors of the Homoousian (Catholic) Faith. Hilderic, with his more orthodox sympathies, had not acquired an adequate sense of the prime virtue of truth, for he considered that his oath would not be violated, if, before his accession, and before Thrasimund's breath was out of his body, he should prepare the way for the return of the Catholic bishops, and the election of new ones in the churches still vacant. On the death of Thrasimund, the bishops were received at Carthage with transports of joy, and none of them with greater enthusiasm than was Fulgentius, who was honoured with extraordinary demonstrations of welcome. Triumphal arches, lamps, torches, banners, accompanied his entire journey to his humble bishopric. On arriving at Ruspe, he yielded in the monastery entire deference to *Felix*, took the position of the humblest neophyte, and made no suggestion except that of more vigorous work for the cleric, more frequent fasting for the monks. In the year 524 a council was held at Juncensis (Ceillier, *Vie de S. F.* xi. 9, and *Hist. des Conciles*, xi. 828, gallicizes the name "Junque;" some MSS. of the *Vita* read "Vinecensis," we cannot identify the place), the object of which would seem to have been the enforcement of a more rigid attention to the canons. At this council, Fulgentius was called to preside. His precedence was disputed by a bishop who was called Quodvultdeus, but it was confirmed by his brethren. After the council, Fulgentius besought out of charity that his brethren would transfer this nominal precedence to his rival, thus heaping coals of fire on the head of an antagonist. The power of Fulgentius over the heart and conscience must have been very great. Even the primate of Carthage, Boniface, sought his presence at the dedication of a new church, and wept tears of joy under his powerful discourse. It was during this period of his life that Fulgentius wrote his great work against Fabianus, fragments only of which remain. Even the fragments are more abundant than many of his finished works. They discuss a variety of interesting problems bearing on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit and on other elements of Trinitarian doctrine. The *Sermones*, which remain to attest the power of Fulgentius, are of very different character, and, from his flowing eloquence and antithetic style and tender sensibility, may easily be credited with the power recorded of them. The most noteworthy *libri* which remain to be noticed are those which were addressed to Scarilas and to Ferrandus the deacon; and one which discussed the *Sermo Fastidiosi*—the work of an Arian who seems to have roused the placid spirit of Fulgentius into unusual storm; and there may be added the *Libellus de Trinitate ad Felicem Notarium*. The first of these was occasioned by a letter from Scarilas to Fulgentius (preserved in Migne, *Epist.* x. p. 377), which brought from Fulgentius a reply—a *liber: De Incarnatione Filii Dei et de vilium animalium Auctore*. Scarilas had been troubled by the puzzle as to whether the whole Trinity had not been incarnate in Christ, and whether God could have been the author of carnivorous, predatory, and venomous beasts. Fulgentius powerfully discriminates between the Son and the Trinity, and

clearly involves himself in the double procession of the Holy Spirit. He claims the Father to have created by the Son everything, every fly and scorpion and tiger. Men are only wounded by the poison and malice of these creatures by reason of their sins. The mightiest beings are submitted to man. There is no evil in nature. In addition, he draws weighty distinctions between the sins of the just and the wicked.

Ferrandus [FULGENTIUS FERRANDUS] the deacon wrote a most abject and obsequious letter to Fulgentius, asking for advice (*Ep.* xi. Migne) on the puzzling question whether he might count upon the salvation of an Ethiopian, who had come up to the church, as a catechumen eagerly desiring baptism. He had been instructed and prepared for the ordinance, but was taken too ill to respond to the questions put to him at the moment of baptism. He passed into a state of unconsciousness and died. Since he received the sacrament in this unconscious state, is he saved? If the question be answered in the affirmative, Fulgentius was further asked to say whether he would justify the baptism of a catechumen, known to be dead at the time of the ceremonial, and would he do so with a similar hope? Ferrandus argued his first case with great ingenuity, basing it on the practice of infant baptism, and he concluded his inquiry by seeking from Fulgentius advice as to the absolute necessity to salvation of communion in the Eucharist after baptism, supposing death to have intervened. The answers of Fulgentius to Ferrandus reveal, with much vividness, the character of the man, his sacramental doctrine, and the blending with his ecclesiastical ideas some powerful elements of common sense. His reply starts with the thesis that faith is the indispensable condition of salvation, baptism or no baptism. Unbaptized heretics will be condemned, and heretics and enemies of the church will not be saved by their baptism. The Ethiopian gave credible evidence of faith, and was baptized, both conditions being indispensable to salvation. He is therefore saved. But he reprobates baptism of the really dead, on the ground that baptism removes the stain and curse of original sin. The seat of this sin is the soul. If the soul is severed from the body, baptism is worthless. He decides that the benefits of the Eucharist are contained in baptism, and hence, he says, for many centuries past, infants are not fed with the Eucharist after their baptism. Ferrandus also beset Fulgentius with five other questions, to which he replied in *Ep.* xiii. with much ingenuity.

An interesting correspondence appears to have passed between Fastidiosus, an Arian priest, and several of the friends of Fulgentius and himself, on some of the principal questions at issue in the Arian controversy. The *Sermo* of Fastidiosus is given in Migne, p. 375. The main point of it is that the Son is *factus*, *creatus*, *fundatus*, that the Homoousians, who assert that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are inseparable, must admit also that the whole Trinity took flesh, etc. He argued his points with some acuteness and bombast, and when Victor asked for Fulgentius's judgment on the *Sermo*, Fulgentius replied with unusual acrimony of language and personal denunciation of the character of the apostate priest. His great point is that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are meant whenever the word "God" is used. The One God fills all space and time, and the elements of the Trinity cannot be divided. The Wisdom, Love, and Power of God cannot be separated. As born of God, the Christ is equal to the Father, as sharing in humanity and born of a human mother, he is less than the Father is, *natum et factum*. He maintained the eternal generation of the Son, but also the co-operation of the undivided Trinity in the *creation* of the humanity of the Christ. He declared that the charge of Ferrandus against the Homoousians is only compatible with the Sabellian hypothesis, which probably Ferrandus would at once have endorsed, but Fulgentius argued that the personality of the Son is that around which humanity, not transfused or changed, is taken up. The sufferings and all the other incidents of the Incarnation were not endured substantialiter, but personaliter. The Divine nature of the Only-begotten God remained impassible while the flesh was crucified and buried. The passion was Christ's *quâ* his whole *person*, but quâ *nature*, it was the experience of his flesh only. His soul and body were separated at death. His soul went into Hades, His body to the grave, but His Divine nature at that very moment filled all space and time, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

Many of the same arguments are repeated by Fulgentius in the *Letter Addressed to the Monks of Scythia*, who accepted all the decisions of Chalcedon, who anathematized Pelagius, Julian, and even Faustus, and asked for further light. These four monks were, Peter the deacon, John, a monk, Leontius, a monk, and another John, a reader. The reply of Fulgentius and fifteen other bishops consists of sixty-seven chapters. The points of chief interest are that Fulgentius denied that the Virgin was conceived immaculate, and also that when speaking of the eternal generation of the Son, he used the audacious expression, ex utero Patris. In this work he laid the strongest emphasis on the Monergistic hypothesis of regeneration, and he weakened the universalism of numerous expressions of God's love by declaring that "all" does not mean "all men," but "all kinds of men." The reconciliation of all things to Himself, necessitates a limitation of the all, or else lands one in the admission of the ultimate reconciliation of the devil and his angels. Fulgentius made a belief in predestination to be necessary to salvation. Unless a man believes it, he cannot belong to the elect.

In the work addressed to Felix, a notary, he reiterated his view of the doctrine of the Trinity, and added a dissertation on angels and men, antedating a later speculation found in Anselm, that the human race was created to fill up the places of the fallen angels.

While Fulgentius was thus pursuing his literary work with such remarkable industry, he retired from his monastery at Ruspe to another on the neighbouring island of Circina, and redoubled his self-mortifications. Here his health gave way. When told that it was absolutely necessary, to prolong his life, for him to have the comfort of a bath, he obstinately refused it, preferring not to break his rule. He died in January, 533, in the sixty-fifth year of

his age and the twenty-fifth of his episcopate, and Felicianus was elected as his successor on the day of his death.

A few other works have been attributed to him: *De Fide seu de Regula Verae Fidei ad Petrum Diaconum*, which resembles in style and matter his other writings. Wiggers has discussed this treatise at length, shewing the identity of his views with those of Augustine on the original condition of man, the nature of sin, and necessity of grace. Hincmar and Ratramnus quote two passages from a work of his, entitled *Quaestiones*, when they were discussing the procession of the Holy Spirit, but they cannot be identified (Migne, p. 834). St. Isidore quotes from an account of an interview with Thrasimund, which must have been lost. Cardinal Mai, in the *Nova Bibliotheca*, published a sermon attributed to him found with his name in a MS. in the Vatican. Eighty brief *Sermones*, also given in Migne, pp. 856–952, are of various authenticity and value. The earliest edition of his works published at Basle, 1556; again in 1566 and 1587; other editions at Antwerp in 1574; at Cologne, 1618; at Lyons, 1633. They were included in the *Bibliothèque des Pères*, 1617, Paris. The *Liber de Fide* is inserted in the sixth volume of Augustine's works. The most complete edition was issued in Paris, 1684, by St. Desprez. Of the arrangement followed in this edition, Ceillier has taken advantage. The whole of his works, with many of the letters to which he replied, are contained in Migne, Patr. tom. lxv.; Schroeckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, xvii. xviii. 108 ff. For the fragment of another work by Fulgentius see FABIANUS (5). [H. R. R.]

FULGENTIUS (4) FERRANDUS, a disciple and companion of Fulgentius of Ruspe (3); sharing his exile to Sardinia when the Catholic bishops were removed from their sees during the persecution by the Arian kings of the Vandals. Ferrandus received the hospitalities and spiritual consolations of St. Saturninus at Cagliari, and on the death of Thrasimund, A.D. 523, returned to Carthage, where he became deacon of the church. In all probability, he was the author of the *Vita Fulgentii* prefixed to the works of the latter, and dedicated to Felicianus. (Hofmann, *Lex.* s. n.; Herzog, *Encycl.* art. by Wagenmann; Petrus Pithaeus, in preface *Lectori*, prefixed to *Breviatio Canonum Ferrandi*, Cod. Canonum, p. 303. Wiggers, *Augustinismus und Pelagianismus*, ii. Theil, p. 370.)

Two letters of Ferrandus to Fulgentius are extant (Migne, Patrol. lxv. pp. 378–435), with the lengthy and careful replies of the latter. [FULGENTIUS (3).] The former of these letters asked for advice on the question, whether the baptism of a dying, unconscious catechumen was lawful; and if so, whether the baptism of a corpse was also justified. The second letter concerned the most intricate questions:—1. Of the Separability of the Persons of the Trinity, since the Trinity itself is inseparable in will, nature, and work. (Wiggers, l. c. p. 373.) 2. Whether the Divinity of the Christ suffered on the Cross, or whether the Divine Person suffered only in the flesh. The fifth question concerned the double gift of the cup to the Apostles, as mentioned in St. Luke's gospel. Ferrandus was not only an interrogator, but was often appealed to for his own theological judgment. Among his extant letters may be enumerated those to Anatolius, deacon of the church in Rome; to the Comes Reginus, and to Severus Scholasticus. (Baronius, ann. 529, 9.) In his collected writings (Bibliotheca Patrum, Chiffletius, 1649) some other treatises are preserved, such as one entitled, *De Duabus in Christo naturis*, and an *Epistola Anatolio de quaestione an aliquis ex Trinitate passus est.* Baronius (anu. 583, 18) refers this letter to an early period in his career. He charges it with prolixity. It is interesting to see how closely Ferrandus here follows the lead of Fulgentius, by declaring that though one person of the Trinity suffered, it was only *in carne*. The Comes Reginus, in the first place, asked Fulgentius, and after his death he asked Ferrandus for special instruction on the legitimacy or otherwise of military service, which led to the completion of the fragment of Fulgentius, and to the composition of an ethical discourse, *De septem regulis innocentiae*, charged with practical zeal and piety. The following are the seven rules:—I. Gratiae Dei adjutorium tibi necessarium per singulos actus crede. II. Vita tua speculum sit ubi milites tui videant quid agere debent. III. Non praeesse appetas, sed prodesse. IV. Dilige rempublicam sicut te ipsum. V. Humanis divina praepone. VI. Noli esse multum justus. VII. Memento te esse Christianum. Ferrandus also edited and completed another work which Fulgentius at his death left incomplete. One on the later Eutychian doctrine of the incorruptibility of the Body of Christ from and after His birth (aphthartodocetism). Ferrandus was impelled to both these efforts by the Comes Reginus, who had previously asked Fulgentius himself to solve these philosophical and ethical problems for him, Ferrandus is also the author of a *Breviatio canonum ecclesiasticorum.* (*Codex Canonum*, F. Pithaeus, and *Miscellanea Ecclesiastica*, Petrus Pithaeus, p. 303 ff.) A collection and digest of 232 canons of the earliest councils, Nicaea, Laodicea, Sardica, Constantinople, Carthage, &c. chiefly appertaining to the election, ordination, and character of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as well as a variety of details concerning the feasts of the church, the duties of clerics, virgins, catechumens, &c. From the mention of certain canons and councils by Ferrandus, it is argued that it must have been compiled during the reign of Anastasius, who died in 518. He appears to have had access to a knowledge of the Greek councils through a translation and digest of such canons as had been previously in use in Spain. The mention of later synods and writings has led others to believe that the *Breviatio* was compiled at or about A.D. 547. [CANON-LAW, DICT. CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES.] Ferrandus took a not unimportant part in the violent discussions produced by the edict of Justinian I., which goes by the name of *Capitula Tria* (περὶ τριῶν κεφαλαίων), in which that emperor who was ambitious of securing for himself a place among great orthodox and successful theologians, had endeavoured to conciliate and win the Monophysite leaders over to the orthodox and Catholic church by pronouncing a condemnation on certain passages from the writings of Theodoret, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ibas of Edessa, which the vene-

rated council of Chalcedon had approved and endorsed. Justinian was moved to take this course by way of reconciling those Monophysites who felt themselves condemned by the apparent Nestorianism of these *capitula*, and he believed he could save his own orthodoxy by at the same time "extending the anathema to those who should draw any inference from this document to the prejudice of the council of Chalcedon" (Neander, *General Ch. Hist.* iv. 269). The tergiversation and vacillation of the Roman bishop, Vigilius, under the threats of Justinian, and under the loud condemnation of the North African church, are among the worst features of the character of that unprincipled pontiff. [CAPITULA TRIA; JUSTINIANUS I.; VIGILIUS.] Vigilius was not a theologian, and he summoned to his aid the powerful pen of Ferrandus to deliver theological judgment on the controversy. Ferrandus was backed by the vehemently orthodox and Dyophysite spirit of the North African church, and in a letter (546) to Anatolius and Pelagius, two deacons of the Roman church, who had been instructed by Vigilius to communicate with him, declared himself against the reception of the edict of Justinian. The following sentences from the close of Epist. vi. *Ad Pelagium et Anatolium pro tribus capitulis adversus Acephalos*, will reveal the three reasons on which he founded his objections:—1. "Ut concilii Chalcedonensis, vel similium nulla retractatio placeat, sed quae semel statuta sunt, intemerata serventur." 2. "Ut pro mortuis fratribus nulla generentur inter vivos scandala." 3. "Ut nullus libro suo per subscriptiones plurimorum dare velit auctoritatem, quam solis canonicis libris ecclesia catholica detulit." (Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 101; Neander, vol. iv. 272.) He thus shewed that the opinion of a formidable body in the Western church placed the decisions of oecumenical councils above the reach of criticism, at the hand of Roman or Constantinopolitan imperialism. The *judicatum* of Vigilius and his 70 bishops, and any bastard document that might be concocted by an individual, and sustained by *subscriptiones plurimorum* at the instance of an excited partisan like Justinian, thus came under his condemnation. This letter of Ferrandus, with the similar views of Facundus of Hermiane, and the vigorous action of the churches of North Africa and Illyria, who refused communion with Vigilius—the latter formally excommunicating him by a synodal decree—ultimately induced the Roman Pontiff to take his stand for a while on the side of "the calumniated three chapters," and pointed out the supposed necessity for the fifth oecumenical council, the third council of Constantinople, held 553. Ferrandus died before the assembly of this council, certainly before A.D. 551 (Gieseler), in 550. (Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecc. Cath.* 1873, Ratisbonae.) The first edition of his works was edited by Achill. Tatius, 1518. The most complete by Chifflетius, Dijon, 1649. The two letters to Fulgentius of Ruspe are to be found in Sirmond's and Migne's editions of *Fulgentii Opp.* Cardinal Mai has preserved another controversial document aimed at Arians. (*Nov. Collect.* t. iii.) [H. R. R.]

FULGENTIUS (5), bishop of Bagai, in Numidia, exiled by Hunneric A.D. 484. In the *Notitia* he is called Episcopus Vagadensis, whence some infer that the name of his see was Vaga. (Victor. Vit. *Notitia*, 57 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii.; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 93.) [L. D.]

FULGENTIUS (6), ST., bishop of Astigi (Ecija) in the first quarter of the 7th century. He was the brother of Leander, Florentina, and Isidore, and is mentioned in connexion with all three. His name occurs five times in contemporary or quasi-contemporary documents, *i.e.*—

(1) In the last chapter of Leander's *Libellus ad Florentinam* (Holstenius, ed. Brockie, *Cod. Reg.* i. 405), where his name is mentioned in a passage which has perplexed many critics. In the first part of the chapter Leander exhorts Florentine to hold fast her profession, and not to think of going back to her native country ad "genitale solum . . . . ubi si te Deus habitare voluisset non te inde ejiceret." Their mother, Leander declares, had often said to him that even if she could go back she would not, "ut etiamsi diu viveret patriam illam non reviseret." "Thou therefore, sister Florentina, beware of what our mother feared, and the evil from which she who had experienced it fled, do thou prudently avoid." "Alas!" he continues, "unhappy me! I grieve because I have sent thither our common brother Fulgentius, and I dread the dangers he may encounter there with a never-ceasing fear. He will be safer, however, if thou, in absence and security will pray for him." This passage, which Florez professed himself unable to understand (*Esp. Sagr.* x. 88), and which puzzled the clear head of Nicolas Antonio (*Bibl. Vet.* lib. 5, cap. 1, 3), is connected with the general question of the native place, parentage, and early history of this famous family, a question we propose to touch upon under the head of its most illustrious member, ISIDORE of Seville. It will be sufficient to remark in this place that the *danger* incurred by Fulgentius in returning to his native place at the bidding of Leander—possibly on some family business—was not, according to the common explanation of older writers, a spiritual danger to his faith from contact with Arianism, but is to be explained in all probability by the very plausible hypothesis that the family came originally from territory which after A.D. 554 fell into the hands of the Byzantine troops, rashly summoned into the country by the pretender Athanagild, and the last remnants of which were not recovered by the Goths till about the year 624 (Isidore, *Hist. Goth.* ann. 554; Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v. 124). Leander, therefore, is speaking of the physical risks run by one who ventures into an enemy's country, though no doubt the elder brother, Reccared's all-powerful minister and adviser [LEANDER], would have known how, in some measure at least, to protect the younger in the fulfilment of his task whatever it may have been. At any rate, Fulgentius returned safely, was made bishop of Astigi (Ecija) in the province of Seville, probably by the influence of Leander, and if so before the year 600 (in which Leander died), and is next met with—

(2) In connexion with the doubtful *Decretum Gundemari*, 610 [GUNTHIMAR], when his signature as *Episcopus Astigitanae Sedis* appears, together with that of his brother and metropolitan Isidore, Leander's successor.

(3) Among the bishops of the second council of Seville, held in 619, which was a synod of the province of Baetica, and at which Isidore presided as metropolitan.

(4) In Braulio's life of Isidore, where among the list of Isidore's works we find *Ad Germanum suum Fulgentium Episcopum Astigitanum Officiorum libros duos*, and lastly—

(5) In Isidore's own preface to the *De Eccl. Off.* addressed to "domino meo et Dei servo Fulgentio episcopo." Fulgentius had asked him, says Isidore, for a short account of the origin and authors of the church offices. "Itaque ut voluisti libellum de origine officiorum misi."

For an account of the supposed translation of the bodies of Fulgentius and Florentina to a safe place in the mountains of Guadalupe, near Berzocana in the 8th century, of the invention of the bones under Alfonso XI. (circa A.D. 1330) and of a transference of a part of the relics to Carthagena in 1592 by order of Philip II., see *Esp. Sagr.* x. 105. In the same volume (p. 90) Florez exposes the confusion with St. Fulgentius of Ruspe, which began with Lucas of Tuy in the 13th century, and led later to the elevation of Fulgentius to the honour of doctor of the church on the strength of works written by his namesake. The pseudo-chroniclers have been very busy with Fulgentius. For an example of their work see the *Acta* by Roa, given in Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyr. Hisp.* i. 155. The Bollandist life, adapted from that by Quintanaduenas, shews many traces of their influence. (*AA. SS.* Jan. i. 971; *Esp. Sagr.* x. 89; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 324, 355.) [M. A. W.]

FULIBURS, the name given to the third abbess of Bath. (*Mon. Angl.* i. 256.) [S.]

FULLANUS (1) (Fullarius), bishop of Lucca, perhaps c. 400. There is a tradition that he suffered martyrdom in Germany with St. Ursula and her nuns, but his very existence is doubtful. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 844; Cappelletti, *Chiese d'Ital.* xv. 497.) [R. S. G.]

FULLANUS (2) (Faelan, Foillanus), a brother of St. Fursey, to whom he committed his monastery at Cnobhaeresburg in East Anglia, when he determined to become an anchorite. (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 19.) After the death of Fursey he is said to have gone with his brother Ultan into Brabant, and to have founded the monastery of Fosse, in the diocese of Cambray, leaving this monastery in the care of Ultan he went to Nivelles, where he lived for some time under the rule of St. Gertrude. Whilst on his way to visit his brother at Fosse, he was killed in the forest of Soignies by an assassin, about the year 656, and was buried at Fosse, where under the name of Follanus he was commemorated on Oct. 31. (Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. ii. p. 295.) Capgrave (fol. 149) gives a life of Foillanus, in which this story is preserved with additions and expansions. Foillanus is there called bishop and confessor, and is described as having pontifical honours, but no explanation of the term is given. It is also said that before setting out on his last journey he gave exact directions for his burial; his speech before his death is given at length, and we are told that his body, and those of his companions, were hidden in the wood. Gertrude, wondering at his long absence, sent to Ultanus to inquire about him; Ultanus replied that he had had a vision of a snow-white dove ascending to heaven. After three days' fast Gertrude set out to seek the bodies, which she discovered by a miraculous sign seventy-eight days after the murder, Jan. 16. Grimoald, the mayor of the palace, and Dido, bishop of Poictiers, were at the funeral. Other lives of Foillanus are mentioned by Sir T. D. Hardy in the *Cat. Mat.* i. 254. [S.]

FULRADUS (1) (Folradus, Fulredus), 14th abbat of St. Denys at Paris, principal chaplain to Pippin and Charles the Great, and archpresbyter of France. He was the son of wealthy parents in Alsace, named Riculfus and Ermengarda. He was already abbat in A.D. 750, and for many years afterwards was entrusted by kings and popes with missions of the highest confidence and importance. In A.D. 751 he and Burchard, bishop of Würzburg, went on that embassy from the Franks to pope Zachary which drew from the latter the well-known message, "That it were better that he who had the power should have the name," and which resulted in the deposition of the shadowy Merovingian kings by papal authority, and the election and coronation of Pippin at Soissons. A little later, St. Boniface of Mainz sought his aid. The letter still remains in which Boniface, appealing to his proved friendship, begs him to use his influence with Pippin for his scattered missionaries on the frontiers of paganism, and the little monastery school he has founded, that when his own supervision shall be withdrawn by the death which he feels approaching, they may not be scattered and abandoned to destruction (Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 779). In 754 another mission took Fulradus to Italy. Pippin in a victorious campaign had imposed terms of submission upon Astolfus king of the Lombards, and Fulradus was now deputed to escort pope Stephen back to the holy see with a retinue of Franks. But scarcely had the king crossed the Alps on his return, when Astolfus repudiated his engagements and marched on Rome. Fulradus was the messenger whom Stephen selected to bear the letter summoning Pippin and his Franks to the rescue in the name of St. Peter; and at the prosperous close of the second campaign it was he who was commissioned to restore the usurped cities to their allegiance to Rome, which he accomplished by offering the keys of twenty-two towns with Pippin's deed of gift at the shrine of St. Peter. The pope was, not unnaturally, well disposed to the abbat and his monastery, more especially as much of his exile had been spent there. It was there in fact that he saw, in his illness, the vision in which, as he relates, St. Peter, accompanied by St. Denys himself, had promised him a happy restoration to the holy see (Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 1022). Accordingly in 757 Stephen granted to Fulradus's abbey the almost unique privilege of having a special bishop, elected by the abbat and monks and consecrated by the bishops of the country, to govern their monastery and the dependent foundations of Fulradus, which were under the protection of the holy see (Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 1015). This concession was confirmed by pope Adrian in 786, after Fulradus's death

(xcvi. 1211; cf. Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. xliv. tom. ix. pp. 504–5, for the functions of these bishops). Several other bulls in his favour are extant. By one the pope gave him a hospital and house at Rome (Patr. lxxxix. 1013). By another he permitted him the privilege of wearing a certain shoe used by Italian abbats when he officiated at the mass (*ibid.* lxxxix. 1017); and by another he conferred the right upon six deacons of St. Denys of wearing the dalmatic, the use of which seems to have been a privilege of the Roman clergy (*ibid.* lxxxix. 1018). Nor were the kings more backward, as is testified by the great number of charters of Pippin, Carloman and Charles the Great, alluded to in the *Gallia Christiana* (vii. 343) many of which are to be found in Migne, Patr. Lat. tom. lxxxix. and xcvi. and among the *Pièces Justificatives* in Félibien's *Histoire de l'Abbaye royale de St. Denys.* Fulradus's name is also introduced into the fabulous vision of Eucherius of Orleans respecting Charles Martel in hell. He and Boniface were the supposed witnesses to whom Eucherius shewed the empty tomb, the issuing dragon and the marks of fire (see the epistle to Louis, grandson of Charles the Great, from the bishops at the council of Kiersy in Bouquet, iii. 659, and Enhardi Fuld, *Annales*, Pertz, i. 345). In 777 Fulradus published his will (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. iii. pt. 2, p. 341, Paris, 1668–1701), but did not die till 784. He was buried at St. Denys, but was afterwards translated to the monastery of Leberaw, in Alsace, his own gift to St. Denys. Alcuin wrote an epitaph on him, which still remains (*ibid.* p. 339). For the life of Fulradus consult, in addition to the above-mentioned references, the *Annales* in Pertz, *Monumenta Germ. Hist.* tom. i.; Bouquet, tom. iii.; the *Eulogium Historicum S. Fulradi* in the *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. iii. pt. ii. p. 334 seqq. Paris, 1668–1701; *Gallia Christiana*, vii. 343; Mabill. *Annales*, tom. ii.; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs sacrés*, xii. 34, 51, 113, 114; and Félibien, *Hist. de l'Abbaye royale de St. Denys*, Paris, 1706. [S. A. B.]

FULRADUS (2), abbat of the monasterium Altahense in Bavaria (St. Maurice at Nieder Altaich on the Bogen Bach, an affluent of the Danube). The emperor Charles the Great addressed him a letter published by Bernard Pez, and also by Migne, Patr. Lat. xcviii. 935. The abbat is directed to appear by the 20th of June at Starasfurt with a band, armed and equipped, to join in a campaign against the Saxons. The letter contains minute directions as to the weapons and tools to be provided and his conduct on the march. [S. A. B.]

FUNDANIUS (FUNDANUS), rhetorician of Carthage, shortly before the time of St. Augustine of Hippo. He accidentally became blind in one eye, and the fact of his having had two sons after this occurrence, one seeing with only one eye, and the other with two, is used by St. Augustine as an illustration against the tenets of the Pelagian Julian; the one had by nature what the father had by accident, and the other had more than the father himself at the time had to transmit. (S. Augustin. *contra Jul. Pel.* c. 6, ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. xliv. 832; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, ix. 508.) [J. G.]

FUNDANUS (1) MINUCIUS, proconsul of Asia in the reign of Hadrian. He received the imperial instructions applied for by his predecessor Granianus as to how Christians were to be dealt with (Justin. Mart. *Apol.* i. § 69; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 9). [HADRIANUS.] The result of this rescript would seem to be that a Christian was not to be tried on the vague charge of his being a Christian, but only for some definite breach of the law. For any such breach no plea of his Christian calling and responsibility would of course be admitted, and so Christianity would remain still punishable, but only in overt act. Compare the case of FAUSTINUS (22). [C. H.]

FUNDANUS (2), bishop of Abitina, in the proconsular province of Africa, who, previous to A.D. 303, surrendered the sacred books to the heathen magistrates. The Acts of the martyrs of Abitina narrate a miraculous shower during fine weather, which prevented the ignition of the books which Fundanus had surrendered. (Baluz. *Misc. Hist.* i. 14; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 63; Ceillier, *Aut. sacr.* iii. 21.) [L. D.]

FURADHRAN (FURITDRAN, FURODRIN, FURODHRAIN, FURUDRAN), June 18, abbat of Lann-leire, son of Moenan or Maonan, of the race of Colla Dachrioch. Archdall (*Mon. Hib.* 722) identifies Lanuleire with a place now called Lynn, in the barony of Delvin, co. Westmeath, and O'Donovan (*Four Mast.* i. 342 n.[w]) with the old church of Lynn, on the east side of Lough Ennell, in the barony of Fartullagh, in the same county, but Dean Reeves places it at Dunleer, co. Louth. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 713, c. 4, and *Tr. Thaum.* 377 n.[63]; *Book of Obits, C. C. Dublin*, lxiv., lxv.; Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 3rd ed. 311.) [J. G.]

FURIA, a Roman lady, a friend of St. Jerome, and known to us through his works, especially through a letter (*Ep.* 54, ed. Vall.) which he wrote to her (*De Viduitate salvandâ*). She was of the race of Camillus. Her father was of patrician and consular rank, and she was possessed of a vast fortune. Her mother, Tatiana, imbued her in early life with ascetic views, but she seems to have hesitated between these and the ordinary life of the world. She married a son of Probus, who had held the consulate, and her brother was the husband of Blesilla, the daughter of Paula and sister of Eustochium. Her husband died early, leaving her with a family of young sons; her mother also was dead, and her father old and infirm, at the time that Jerome wrote to her (A.D. 394). The year before she had projected a splendid but undesirable second marriage, and her friends at Bethlehem were cast down at hearing of her luxurious life and of the worldly society which she frequented. But she determined to cast all this aside and to live as a widow, and wrote to Jerome, with whom she had probably been acquainted ten years before at Rome, for counsel as to the regulation of her life. His reply is a pendant to his famous letter to Eustochium (Ep. xxii. ed. Vall. *De Virginitate*). His description of the evils of a second marriage, of the dangers of young widows who were known to be likely to marry again, of the flattery of nurses and slaves, of the subserviency of the clergy, are amongst his most vivid pictures of Roman society. He gives Furia a scheme of an ascetic and charitable life

and commends her to the pastoral care of Exsuperius, who was then living at Rome, but was afterwards bishop of Toulouse. [W. H. F.]

FURSEUS (1), abbat of Lagny and patron of Peronne, Jan. 16. Belonging to the next generation after Columbanus, and following in the same track of missionary enterprise from the shores of Britain, St. Fursey has left an indelible mark upon the church of France, and upon the speculative conceptions of popular religion of later ages. His visions gave a distinct impulse to the developing and fixing of the mediaeval belief with regard to the condition of the departed, and have afforded, at least in part, the basis of probably the most sublime and best-known poetical production of the later middle age, Dante's *La Divina Commedia*. With those of Drycthelm (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* v. 12) they form a well-defined landmark in the evolution of Christian teaching, as shewing how theological speculation was taking shape in the seventh century, from the few and mysterious unveilings of inspiration to the full-grown eschatological systems prevalent at the time of the Reformation. They are important as indicating the under current of theological and dogmatic thought, which was shaping the doctrine and discipline of the church in the following centuries, and thus have a value and significance far beyond their own individual merits.

For the life of St. Fursey there is abundant material, shewing the hold he has taken upon the Christian imagination. The primary authority is Bede (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 19), who professedly quoted from a "libellus vitae ejus," probably written about A.D. 670 or 675, or at least soon after the death of St. Fursey. This is supposed to be the tract edited by Surius (*De Prob. Sanct. Vit.* i. 259–263), and given, with the addition of miracles, by the Bollandists, Colgan, and Mabillon, but collated with other MSS. Many foreign writers have treated of St. Fursey, of whom O'Hanlon (*Irish Saints*, i. 224) gives a list. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Jan. 16, tom. ii. 35) give two lives. Hardy (*Des. Cat.* i. pt. i. 239–246, pt. ii. 794, 795) presents all the MS. authorities, with notices of the several lives. The Benedictines (in *Hist. Lit. de la France*, t. iii. 613–615) have given a very useful *résumé* of his life and the foreign authorities.

St. Fursey was of noble birth, his father being Fintan, son of Finlog, a regulus in South Munster, and his mother Gelges, daughter of Aedh Finn, a prince in Connaught. The year and place of his birth are uncertain, but his education seems to have been at the monastery of Inchiquin, on Lough Corrib, under Meldan. His first foundation was at Rathmat, now probably Killursa, on the east side of the lough, and there he formed a school or religious retreat, and it may be his church which now stands in ruins at Killursa. He then went to Munster to deepen religion among his own relations, and it is then, about the year 627, that the visions or ecstatic dreams are said to have been given him during a period of extreme sickness. They evidently are the workings of a mind of peculiar spiritual sensitiveness, the imagination dwelling upon the current form of theological thought and moulding it into the clear outline of a divine inspiration. They, no doubt, owe something to the methodizing of the scribe and the spiritual application of the homilist; yet, after all, they present a wonderful picture of early Christian teaching. Bede seems to give a brief summary, or rather only one scene. Desmay, in his *Life of Fursey* (Paris, 1607), devotes three chapters to describe the falling into the ecstatic state, the visions of heaven and of the torments in Gehenna, while the old life carries him first through Gehenna with all its torments and Satanic blasphemies, to the bright abodes of the blessed, where he meets St. Beoan or Beodan and his old master, St. Meldan. Unlike the vision of Drycthelm, the fires do not seem to be in any sense purgatorial, but, like it, the whole tale was used for a homiletic purpose, guarding against and suggesting remedies for special sins, and proposing charity as the surest path to eternal blessedness.

After preaching in Ireland for some time (ten or twelve years seem too long), St. Fursey left Ireland, and was kindly received by king Sigebert of the East Angles, with whose consent he built his cell in the castle of Cnobheresburg, now Burghcastle in Suffolk. Smith assigns this to the year 633 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* i. 190, n. [1]). At Cnobheresburg he lived as an anchoret, his monastery being assigned to the charge of the two priests Gobban and Dicul. But when Penda king of the Mercians, the scourge of the country and the church, brought calamity around the retreat of the saint, he sought refuge in Gaul with his brothers Faelan [FULLANUS] and Ultan, and receiving land from Erchinoald, mayor under Clovis II., built the monastery of Lagny, "Latiniacum coenobium," near the Marne, six leagues from Paris. The date of this is much disputed: Smith accepts Mabillon's, Baronius's and Fleury's date of A.D. 644, but others think this too early, and Colgan prefers A.D. 648 or 649. In Desmay's life there is a long account of Fursey's progress to Rome, his reception there by pope Martin I. (A.D. 649–55) and his return through the kingdom of Austrasia, his honourable reception by king Sigebert, and his miracles, but this part is very doubtful, and may be traced to his connexion with Sigebert of the East Angles. At the court of Clovis he was very favourably received through the influence of Erchinoald. The fame of Lagny spread over the sea to Ireland, attracting others from its shores. Erchinoald continued to be St. Fursey's liberal patron to the last, and near his residence at Peronne two religious houses were built; Baldechildis or Baltide the queen was also very favourable to him. But before his death St. Fursey wished to revisit some of the churches he had founded, and leaving Emilian or Eloquius in charge of Lagny, got as far north as Maceries or Mazeroëlles, where on his first arrival in France he had secured the friendship of duke Haymo. Here he was taken ill and died. His body was brought to Peronne and buried in the new church upon Mont Cignes; four years after it was translated by Eligius bishop of Noyon and Autbertus bishop of Cambray into a chapel built for it on the east side of the altar of the same church, and the place became a favourite resort of pilgrims from all parts of Gaul and Britain. The date of his death is uncertain, authorities varying from A.D. 630 to A.D. 660; he died probably about the year 650. His

chief feast is Jan. 16, but he is also commemorated on Feb. 6, 9, 25, March 4, July 14, Sept. 17, 28, Dec. 26. At the first-named day he has a place in all the kalendars, and shews a wide extent of popular favour, but Dempster's ascription to him of *De Vita Monastica*, lib. i., is not to be accepted; Harris (Ware, *Ir. Writ.* i. c. 4) attributes to him a prophecy, and in Trin. Coll. Library, Dublin (MS. H. i. 11, Nos. 6–7), some poems and a litany, said to have been composed by him, are preserved.

(2) (FURSA, FURSAEUS, FURSEY) Of Assylin, near Boyle, co. Roscommon, died A.D. 753. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 351, A.D. 748; *Ann. Ult.* 752.)

(3) Abbat of Leckin, an old church near Bunbrusna, in the barony of Corkaree, co. Westmeath, died A.D. 751. (*Ann. Tig.*; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 750; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 746, i. 349.)
[J. G.]

FUSCA, Feb. 13, virgin and martyr at Ravenna under the emperor Decius, A.D. 250. She suffered with her nurse Maura, and by command of the president Quinctianus. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron.; Petrus de Nat. *Catal. SS.* lib. iii. c. 119.) [G. T. S.]

FUSCIANUS (1), the praefectus urbi who condemned CALLISTUS to be scourged and sent to the mines of Sardinia (Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 12, p. 287). Tertullian (*Ad Natt.* i. 16) tells a story of a remarkable case tried before the same prefect. Capitolinus (*Pert.* 4) contrasts the severity of Fuscianus as a magistrate with the mildness of Pertinax, his successor. It is possible that the same influence which obtained the release of the Christian prisoners in Sardinia obtained also the disgrace of the magistrate who had condemned them; and if Marcia had any share in the appointment of Pertinax it is the more intelligible why she and her advisers should have turned to him on the death of Commodus. The date of the trial of Callistus is limited in one direction by the consideration that in the interval of about seven years between the death of Perennis and that of Commodus, Pertinax filled successively the offices of consular legate of Britain, superintendent of the imperial charitable foundations, proconsul of Africa and city prefect, so that it seems improbable that his tenure of the last office could have been longer than a couple of years. Hence we conclude that Fuscianus did not go out of office earlier than A.D. 190 or 191. Bunsen infers from his having had his second consulship in 188 that his appointment to the office of city prefect must have been later; but the opposite inference is more probable. A first consulship no doubt must have preceded the appointment, but a second consulship was a special honour, rather more likely to have followed it; for there seems reason to think that it was then usual to give it to the city prefect on the earliest opportunity, if he had not had it already. For many years before and after Fuscianus every one whom we know to have been city prefect, appears also as having a second consulship at what may well have been the same time. Victorinus who was prefect (perhaps immediately) before Fuscianus had his second consulship in 183, Pertinax, his successor, in 192. The next prefect, Sulpicianus, entering on office immediately after Jan. 1, could not be one of the ordinary consuls for 193, but he was one of the *consules suffecti*. We are therefore disposed to date the entrance of Fuscianus on office A.D. 187; and if we date the trial of Callistus 189, and his return 191, it will agree well enough with the statement of Hippolytus that Callistus was not long enough away to permit the delinquencies ascribed to him to be forgotten. Fuscianus appears to have held office again under Severus, A.D. 197. (*Cod. Just.* v. 54, 1.)

Clinton, following Panvinius, describes this prefect as C. Allius Fuscianus, and these names, in fact, are found in three inscriptions (Gruter, 126; 786, 10; 1077), though not with any intimation that the bearer held office. Two of these inscriptions belong to the years 140 and 186 respectively; the last would correspond to the date of the present Fuscianus; the other might be supposed to refer to his father, also a Caius. But we think that there is better reason for supposing the prefect to have been the Seius Fuscianus whom Capitolinus names together with Victorinus as having been friends and fellow students of Marcus Aurelius. Victorinus died as prefect some time after 185; therefore the chronology offers no difficulty to his having been succeeded by Fuscianus, who may have been a younger man. And Dion Cassius states (lxxix. 4) that Fuscianus the prefect had a grandson named Seius Carus, who was put to death in the reign of Elagabalus. It must be owned however that historians do not give so favourable a view of the administration of Commodus, as would be indicated by his bestowing the most important magistracy successively on men of high character—his father's trusted friends; and that Dion in particular might have been expected (lxxii. 4) to have named Fuscianus as an exception when he speaks of Commodus having put to death his father's friends. [G. S.]

FUSCIANUS (2), Dec. 11, martyr with Victoricus and Gentianus at Amiens in the Diocletian persecution. Rictiovarus the president, after inflicting various tortures, beheaded them, A.D. 304. (*Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron.; Petrus de Nat. *cat. SS.* lib. i. c. 57.) [G. T. S.]

FUSCINA, the sister of Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus, a nun, to whom her brother's poem, "De consolatoria castitatis laude," is addressed. [E. M. Y.]

FUSCINULLUS, bishop of Elia, in Byzacene (Ant. *Itin.* 55, 4), present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 403, ed. Oberthür.)
[H. W. P.]

FUSCIUS, one of the Duumviri, assisting at the inquiry concerning Felix of Aptunga, A.D. 314. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 161, ed. Oberthür.)
[H. W. P.]

FUSCOLUS, Sept. 6, a bishop and confessor in Africa in the Vandal persecution. He was tortured by command of Hunneric with four other bishops, Donatianus, Praesidius, Mansuetus, and Germanus. These were all finally exiled, while another bishop named Laetus, a learned and brave man, was burned to death. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi; Victor. Vit. lib. ii. sub finem.) [G. T. S.]

FUSCOLUS, (Usuard. *Mart.*, Hieron. *Mart.*,

Feb. 2), bishop and martyr at Orleans. [FLOSCULUS.] [C. H.]

FUSCUS, bishop of Capua. [FESTUS (8).]

FUSCUS, abbat of the monastery of St. Erasmus, St. Maximus, and St. Juliana, at Naples. Gregory the Great, A.D. 600, commends him to Fortunatus bishop of Naples and writes on his behalf to Romanus and Fantinus, "defensores." (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. x. indict. iii. ep. 12–14. Migne, lxxvii. 1075, 1076.) [A. H. D. A.]

FUSCUS, bishop of Thyatira in the province of Lydia, one of the sixty-eight bishops who signed the protest against opening the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, before the arrival of John of Antioch, in which subscription he is called probably by an error of the transcribers, bishop of Lydia (Baluz. *Concil.* p. 698; *Synodicon*, cap. 7.) Like many others, he joined the council when it was actually opened. (Mansi, iv. 1224; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 878.) [L. D.]

FUTURUS (?) [PRIVATUS LAMBAESITANUS.] [E. W. B.]

FYLACRIUS (HILARIUS), bishop of Novaria (Novara) c. A.D. 552–568. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xiv. 447.) [R. S. G.]

FYNCANA, Irish saint. [FINCAN.]

FYNDOCHA (FINDOCHA, FRUDOCHA), virgin, commemorated Oct. 13 in company with Fintana, is usually believed to have been one of the nine daughters of DONALD, in the glen of Ogilvie, belonging to the 8th century. But Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 276), who ascribes to her pen *De Vita Contemplativa Commentariolus*, lib. i., places her in the sixth. Instead of our finding Fincana or Fintana associated with Fyndocha, the latter is often found with Otha, and hence Fyndocha is identified with OTHA, called also MAZOTA. She is also called by some Frudocha. Echt, Aberdeenshire, has Fyndocha for patron (*Brev. Aberd.* Prop. SS. p. est. f. 126); a chapel of St. Fyndocha was on the island of Inchald, and Inishail, in Lorne, was dedicated to her. (C. Innes, *Orig. Par. Scot.* ii. 130; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 352 et al.; Bollandists, *Acta SS.* Aug. 24, tom. iv. 399, giving her among their pretermissi, and Oct. 13, tom. vi. 222–3, treating of her in a long note.) [J. G.]

FYNTANUS. [FINTAN.]

G

GABHRAN, son of Dubhthach. [EUHEL.]

GABHRIN, GABRIN. [GAIBHREN.]

GABINIANUS, or **GAVINIANUS**, a Christian, concerning whose conversion Augustine wrote to Alypius. (Aug. *Ep.* 227.) [H. W. P.]

GABINIUS (1) (GABINUS)—May 30. Martyr, with Crispulus, under Hadrian, at Turres (Torres) in Sardinia. His relics were transferred to the Vatican by pope Gregory III. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adon., Usuard., Notk.; Ferrarii *Cat. SS.*; Till. *Mém.* ii. 230, 587, v. 143.) [G. T. S.]

GABINIUS (2) (GAVINIUS)—Oct. 25. Martyr at Torres in Sardinia in the Diocletian persecution. A priest Protus and a deacon Januarius, having been arrested and placed under his care, succeeded in converting him; whereupon he was baptized. He then allowed his prisoners to escape, for which he was executed. Hearing of his death, they gave themselves up, and were also put to death. The cathedral of Torre was dedicated under the name of St. Gabinius, May 4, 517. Tillemont considers the Gabinius of May 30 and that of Oct. 25 the same person. (*Mart.* Hieron.; Till. *Mém.* ii. 230, v. 143; Ferrarius, *Cat. SS.*) [G. T. S.]

GABINIUS (3)—Feb. 19. A presbyter, who was brother of Caius bishop of Rome, and father of a virgin and martyr named Susanna, about whom a number of romantic fables will be found in the Bollandist upon this day (*Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 61). Tillemont fixes upon 295 as date of her death and 296 as that of her father's. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Usuard., Notk.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 128; Till. *Mém.* iv. 571, 572.) [G. T. S.]

GABINIUS (4) (GAVINUS) of Huesca (Osca) signs the acts of the conversion council of 589. Antedius a deacon subscribes for him at the second council of Saragossa, 592 (Mansi, x. 472; Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 253, 690). [M. A. W.]

GABINIUS (5) (GABINUS), bishop of Arcavica from about A.D. 686 to about 693, signing the acts of the fifteenth and sixteenth councils of Toledo (Mansi, xii. 21, 84). He is the last bishop of Arcavica under the Gothic rule. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 315, 333; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 7.) [M. A. W.]

GABINUS, a Donatist who returned to the communion of the church, but without undergoing re-baptism, an omission which Gaudentius professed to blame greatly, but which was defended by St. Augustine, who also denied the insinuation of Gaudentius, that the change had been brought about by compulsion. (Aug. *c. Gaud.* i. 11, 12; 12, 13; 32, 43.) [GAUDENTIUS (7).] [H. W. P.]

GABRIEL (1), in the Gnostic systems. In the system of JUSTINUS the name of one of the paternal angels (Hippol. v. 26, p. 151). In an Ophite system the name of one of the seven demons (Orig. *Adv. Cels.* vi. 30). St. Luke's account of Gabriel's connexion with the Annunciation is recognised by MARCUS (Iren. i. 15, p. 77).

In *Pistis Sophia* (p. 12) it is Jesus Himself who takes the form of Gabriel (described as ἄγγελος αἰώνων), and is supposed by the Archons of the Aeons to be Gabriel. In this form He introduces into the womb of Mary certain heavenly powers, which are to constitute the Saviour's body and soul. In like manner Elizabeth had received an inferior heavenly power as well as the soul of Elias to animate John the Baptist; and the mothers of the twelve apostles each receive a still lower heavenly power which takes the place of the soul, that otherwise would have

come from the place of the Archons; so that when the apostles are born no such soul is found in them. This is what is meant by our Lord's words, "Ye are not of this world, even as I am not of this world." [G. S.]

GABRIEL (2), presbyter, abbat of St. Stephen's, near Jerusalem. His memoir by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 26 Jan. ii. 731–2), is extracted from their *Vita S. Euthymii* by Cyril of Scythopolis (20 Jan. ii. 302–328). He was a eunuch, and with his elder brothers, Cosmas and Chrysippus, men of Syria, but educated in Cappadocia, presented themselves to Euthymius, and continued with him in his laura till called from it by the empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II., about A.D. 458, who had them made priests and presented them with monasteries. Gabriel became abbat of St. Stephen's in the beginning of 460, and died there about 490, in the 80th year of his age. [J. G.]

GABRIEL (3), bishop of Seville, in the episcopal catalogue of Seville preserved in the Codex Emilianensis. (*Esp. Sagr.* iii. App. xxxii.) His place in the catalogues suits the end of the 7th century, and he seems to have succeeded Faustinus who was transferred from Braga to Seville in 693. (*Esp. Sagr.* ix. 228.) [M. A. W.]

GACHILOSOINDA, queen. [GALSUINTHA.]

GADINUS, bishop of Lyons. [GODWINUS.]

GADISCALDUS, bishop of Huesca. The abbat Andebertus represents him at the 13th council of Toledo A.D. 683. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 28.) [M. A. W.]

GAEIDHEAL (GOIDIL, *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 775), abbat of Clonard, co. Meath, died A.D. 776. (*Four Mast.* A.D. 771.) [J. G.]

GAFFE, abbess of Gloucester. [EVA (2).]

GAFFO, Welsh saint. [CAFFO.]

GAIANAS, GAIANITAE. [GAIANUS (6).]

GAIANUS, bishop of Jerusalem. [CAIUS (8).]

GAIANUS (1)—June 23. Martyr under Maximin at Ancyra, with his uncle Eustochius, who had converted him. [EUSTOCHIUS (1).] Others of the same name are commemorated on April 10, June 15, and Aug. 31 (this last at Ancyra also), in *Acta SS.* Boll., about whom, however, nothing of importance is on record. [G. T. S.]

GAIANUS (2), Donatist bishop of Tiguala, or Ticualta, in Byzacena, present at the council of Cabarsussis, A.D. 393. (Aug. *En. in Ps.* 36, 20.) [H. W. P.]

GAIANUS (3) (CAIANUS), bishop of Medaba in Palaestina Tertia; he, together with his two brothers, Andrew and Stephen, natives of Melitene, were among the earliest members of the laura of Euthymius (Cyrill. Scythop. *Vit. S. Euthym.* § 41). They were relatives of Synodius, who had been the tutor of Euthymius when a boy (*ibid.* § 54). Having been sent by Euthymius with letters to Antipater, bishop of Bostra, to obtain the release of Terebon, who was unjustly detained by another Arab sheikh, Antipater was so much delighted with him that he refused to allow him to return, and ordained him bishop of Medeba (*ibid.* § 97). He subscribed to the council of Chalcedon, 451, by his metropolitan Constantinus. (Mansi, vii. 167 c; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 771.) [E. V.]

GAIANUS (4), bishop of Naïssus (Nissa), on the Morava, mentioned by Marcellinus in year 516. He died in exile at Constantinople. (Marcellin. Comit. *Chron.* in Patr. Lat. li. 939; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 314.) [J. de S.]

GAIANUS (5), a presbyter of Ancyra, who was legate of his metropolitan Elpidius at the council of Constantinople A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 937 c; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 466.) [T. W. D.]

GAIANUS (6) (GAIANAS, GAINAS), monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, chosen by the party of the Incorruptibilists, or Phantasiastae, whilst the party of the Corruptibilists, or Phthartolatrae, put forward Theodosius (A.D. 537). It was the custom at Alexandria that the patriarch elect should keep vigil by the body of his predecessor, placing the right hand of the corpse upon his head, and after the funeral, in which he himself took part, receive the pall of St. Mark from his neck. Whilst Theodosius, who had been consecrated, was performing this rite, the rabble of the opposing faction broke in and drove him from the city. But Gaianus having held the see for only three hundred days was banished by order of the empress Theodora, first to Carthage and afterwards to Sardinia. The rest of his life is unknown. From this Gaianus the sect of Incorruptibilists at Alexandria received the name of "Gaianites." (See Liberatus, *Breviarium*, xx.; *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, iii. 475.) [J. W. S.]

GAIBALDUS, GAIBALT, bishop of Ratisbon. [GARIBALDUS (3).]

GAIBHREN, GAIBHREIN (GABRIN, GABHRIN), commemorated June 24, identified by O'Clery (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 179) with Gabhrin or Gabrenus, a fellow-student of Mochua of Balla (*Life of Mochua*, cap. 2, in Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 48). [J. G.]

GAIDOALDUS succeeded Euin as duke of Trent c. 595. After some discord with the Lombard king Agilulf, the cause of which is unknown, he was peaceably received by him, c. 602. Paulus Diaconus calls him "vir bonus ac fide catholicus" (iv. 10, 27). [A. H. D. A.]

GAIDUALDUS, duke of Brescia, father of Ranigunda the second wife of Romoald duke of Benevento (707–733). (Paulus Diaconus, vi. 182.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAIDULFUS, Lombard duke of Bergamo. He rebelled, c. 592, against the Lombard king Agilulf, who made peace with him and received hostages. He rebelled again, and took refuge on an island in the lake of Como. Agilulf pursued him, seized his treasures, and carried them to Pavia. On rebelling a third time he was killed. (*Origo Gentis Langob.* 6; Paulus Diaconus, iv. 3, 13.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAIDUS, duke of Vicenza, who according to Andreas Bergomas, together with Rotcausus duke

of Friuli, after the defeat of Desiderius king of the Lombards in 774, attacked and defeated the Franks at Livenza, and afterwards submitted to Charles the Great. (And. Berg. *Hist.* in *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* 1878, p. 224; Patr. Lat. cli. 1271.) [A. H. D. A]

GAILA (1), daughter of Gisulf duke of Friuli, and sister of Grimoald afterwards king of the Lombards. (Paulus Diaconus, iv. 37.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAILA (2) (GEILA), brother of Suinthila Gothic king of Spain (621–631). At the time of the insurrection which deprived Suinthila of the throne Gaila deserted his cause for that of Sisinanth. Within the next two years, however, he seems to have added intrigue against the new king to his desertion of the old, and in 633 the fourth council of Toledo pronounced sentences of confiscation and exclusion from communion against both Suinthila and Gaila. The wives and children of the brothers are with them excluded "a societate gentis atque consortio nostro." (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coll. de Can. de la Igl. Esp.* ii. 314; Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v. 188.) [M. A. W.]

GAILBALDUS. [GARIBALDUS (3).]

GAILESUINDA, queen. [GALSUINTHA.]

GAIMDIBHLA (GAINDIBAIL), abbat of Aran, in Galway Bay, died A.D. 760. (*Four Mast.* A.D. 755; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 715, c. 7, calling him Goimdibla.) [J. G.]

GAINAS, a Goth who had taken service in the Roman armies, first mentioned as being appointed one of the commanders of the barbarian allies by Theodosius at the commencement of his campaign against Eugenius, A.D. 394. He was sent the following year by Stilicho in command of the reinforcements despatched by him to Arcadius. The latter, attended by his court, went, at the suggestion of Gainas, to meet them before the gates of Constantinople. After the army had saluted the emperor, the soldiers, at a signal given by Gainas, flung themselves upon the obnoxious minister Rufinus, the enemy of Stilicho, and murdered him before the emperor's eyes. Gainas was indignant that most of the fruits of this conspiracy should be reaped by the eunuch Eutropius, and plotted his downfall. [EUTROPIUS.] Meanwhile Gainas threw off the mask, joined his countryman Tribigild at Thyatira, and marched on Chalcedon. For his demands for the surrender of the ministers of Arcadius, their preservation by the entreaties of Chrysostom, and the firmness with which the latter repelled the demand of Gainas that a church should be granted to the Arians within the walls of Constantinople, see CHRYSOSTOM, p. 524, and the authorities there cited. A peace was patched up between Arcadius and Gainas; the latter was appointed master-general of the armies, both horse and foot, and entered Constantinople with his Gothic followers. The inhabitants, especially the money-changers, were alarmed by the crowds of barbarian warriors who filled the streets, feared every moment that a general pillage might begin. Gainas himself, who had left the city after directing the barbarians who remained behind to await the signal of his return, was repulsed in a premature attack on the walls. He was declared a public enemy, and the Goths in the town, who had taken refuge in the church granted for their use [CHRYSOSTOM, p. 523] were attacked and massacred, and the church was burnt. Gainas retreated to the Chersonese and endeavoured to cross the Hellespont; but his rafts were sunk by the Roman fleet, and Gainas, after losing a great part of his troops, was obliged to relinquish the attempt, Dec. 23, A.D. 400. (*Chronicon Paschale*, i. 567, ed. Dindorf.) He then marched into the interior of Thrace, but the passage was barred by Uldes king of the Huns at the head of his forces. Gainas made a gallant attempt to cut his way through, but was defeated and slain. His head was brought to Constantinople, Jan. 3, A.D. 401. (*Chronicon Paschale*, above cited.) For a further account of Gainas, see ARCADIUS, in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, and Gibbon, c. 32. (Zosimus, iv. 57, 58, v. 17–22.) [F. D.]

GAINAS, patriarch of Alexandria. [GAIANUS (6).]

GAINDIBAIL, abbat. [GAIMDIBHLA.]

GAIRINUS (GÉRIN, GUÉRIN), ST., martyr, brother of Leodegarius (St. Léger). He took part with his brother in his contest with Ebroin, and with him was accused of having been concerned in the murder of Childeric II. Though the charge was not proved, he was fastened to a stake and stoned to death, 678. There is extant a consolatory letter to their mother Sigrada at Soissons by St. Léger. (Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 373.) He was commemorated Aug. 25 and Oct. 2. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. 1, 355; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 690.) [S. A. B.]

GAIRO (GAIRONUS, GAYROINUS), abbat of Flavigny in Burgundy, and 31st bishop of Autun, between Moderennus and Hiddo. In the *Chronicon* of Hugo abbat of Flavigny, Gayroinus episcopus is said to have succeeded Widradus in the abbacy in 663. Later, against the year 755, is placed the death of Gayroinus episcopus, and the ordination of Manasses as abbat in his place, and this statement is repeated in the series of the abbats of Flavigny at the end of the *Chronicon* (Migne, Patr. Lat. cliv. 136, 159, 399). The first of these dates is plainly a mistake, and Le Cointe conjectures in its place the year 747 (*Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 747, n. xxxii. tom. v. p. 180). The identity of the bishop and abbat rests only upon conjecture. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 358, 456.) [S. A. B.]

GAIROVALDUS. [GARIVALDUS.]

GAIUS (Basil. *Menol.* i. 166, Nov. 4), one of the 70. [CAIUS (4).] [C. H.]

GAIUS, bishop of Rome. [CAIUS (3).]

GAIUS (*L'Art de vérif.* iii. 36), bishop of Jerusalem. [CAIUS (8).] [C. H.]

GAIUS (1) of Didda (an otherwise unknown place, probably near Carthage), a presbyter who, with his deacon, communicated some lapsed persons without ecclesiastical sanction, and was ex-

communicated by the Carthaginian clergy with advice of bishops then in Carthage, and with Cyprian's assent. (Cyp. *Ep.* 34.) [E. W. B.]

GAIUS (Ruin. *Acta Sinc.* 455), judge at Augsburg. [CAIUS (17).] [C. H.]

GAIUS (2)—Oct. 21. Martyr at Nicomedia with Dasius and Zoticus. Having publicly overthrown the offerings presented on the altars to the gods, they were martyred by drowning, probably in the Diocletian persecution, which raged with special violence at Nicomedia. (Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

GAIUS (Augustin. *Ep.* 19, al. 84, al. 82. [CAIUS (22).] [C. H.]

GAIUS (3), the name of two bishops, viz. of Adsinvada in Mauretania Caesariensis, and of Uci in proconsular Africa, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 55; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 70, 348.) [R. S. G.]

GAIUS (4), bishop of Tacape in Byzacena, delegate of his province to the council of Carthage A.D. 525. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 293.) [R. S. G.]

GALACTEON—Nov. 5. Martyr at Emesa with Episteme his wife. (Bas. *Menol.*; *Cal. Byzant.*) [G. T. S.]

GALACTION (GALATIUS), bishop of Melos, present at the second Nicene council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 372; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 945.) [L. D.]

GALACTORIUS, bishop of Beneharnum or Benarnum, now probably Lescar in Béarn. His signature is found to the canons of the council of Agatha or Agde in A.D. 506 (Mansi, *Concilia*, viii. 337). He is said to have fought at the head of the Bearnese against the Arian Visigoths, by whom he was defeated and made prisoner. On his refusing to abjure the Catholic faith he was cruelly put to death. This cannot have happened later than A.D. 507, as Clovis passed the winter of that year at Bordeaux, after defeating and slaying Alaric king of the Visigoths. He was commemorated on July 27. (Boll. *AA. SS.* July vi. 434; Du Saussay, *Mart. Gall.* 1151; *Gall. Christ.* i. 1285.) [F. D.]

GALANUS, bishop of Emporias (Ampurias) from 592 onwards. He appears first as archipresbyter representing bishop Fructuosus at the third council of Toledo in 589 (Mansi, ix. 1002 c). He was present as bishop of Emporias at the second council of Saragossa, 592, and at the council of Barcelona, 599. (Mansi, x. 472 b, 484 a; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 238, 342; *Esp. Sagr.* xlii. 270.) [M. A. W.]

GALATA—April 19. Martyr in Armenia with Hermogenes, Gaius, Aristonicus, Rufus, and Expeditus. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adon., Usuard., Wandalbert.) [G. T. S.]

GALATIUS, a man who was said to have been desired by Felix of Aptunga to deliver up the sacred books to the agents of persecution. [FELIX (26).] [H. W. P.]

GALBALDUS. [GARIBALDUS (3).]

GALCONUS, 27th bishop of Soissons, between Macharius and Gobaldus or Caroboldus, probably in the first half of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 339.) [S. A. B.]

GALDUS, bishop of Evreux. [GAUDO (2).]

GALENUS, CLAUDIUS, physician, born A.D. 130 at Pergamus, flourished chiefly at Rome under the Antonines, and died in 200 or 201. For a full account of him see *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*. He belongs to church history only as the author of a few incidental words referring to Christianity that occur in his voluminous writings. Thus in his *De Pulsuum Differentiis* (lib. iii. cap. 3, sub fin. in *Opp.* tom. viii. p. 657, ed. Kühn) he writes: "It is easier to convince the disciples of Moses and Christ than physicians and philosophers who are addicted to particular sects." In the same treatise (lib. ii. cap. 4, p. 579) he condemns the method of Archigenes, who requires his dicta to be received absolutely and without demonstration, "as though we were come to the school of Moses and of Christ." In the *De Renum Affectuum Dignotione* (Kühn, t. xix.) there are more references to Christianity, but that treatise is spurious. An Arabic writer has preserved a fragment of Galen's lost work, *De Republicâ Platonis*, which is to the following effect:—"We know that the people called Christians have founded a religion in parables and miracles. In moral training we see them in nowise inferior to philosophers; they practise celibacy, as do many of their women; in diet they are abstemious, in fastings and prayers assiduous; they injure no one. In the practice of virtue they surpass philosophers; in probity, in continence, in the genuine performance of miracles (verâ miraculorum patratione — does he mean the Scripture miracles, on which their religion was based?) they infinitely excel them" (Casiri, *Biblioth. Arabico-Hispana*, vol. i. p. 253). For apologetic remarks on Galen's testimony see Lardner's *Credibility* (*Works*, vol. vii. p. 300, ed. 1838). [C. H.]

GALERIUS, emperor. (GAIUS GALERIUS VALERIUS MAXIMIANUS is the full name on his coinage: he is called MAXIMUS in some Acts of Martyrs, that having apparently been his name until Diocletian changed it; see Lact. *Mort.* 18; the appellation of ARMENTARIUS is but a nickname taken from his original occupation.) He was a native of New Dacia, on the south side of the Danube. His mother Romula had fled thither for refuge from the predatory Carpi, who pillaged her own country on the other side of the stream. In later times he asserted that his father was none other than the god Mars, who seduced his mother under the form of a dragon (Lact. *Mort.* 9; Aur. Vict. *Epit.* xl. 17). As a youth he was employed as a neatherd on his native plains, but soon joined the army, and learned war under the stern tuition of Aurelian and Probus.

Without education, and without virtues, he raised himself by his undoubted military gifts, until he was actually selected (in conjunction with Constantius), by Diocletian, to fill the office of Caesar of the East in Diocletian's famous scheme for the reorganization of the empire, A.D. 292. His connexion with Diocletian was

strengthened by a marriage with Valeria, the Christian daughter of Diocletian. There were no children of the marriage, which was anything but happy, but the gentle Valeria adopted for her own her husband's bastard son Candidian. [DIOCLETIAN.] Galerius had indeed none of the gifts of a ruler, nor any appreciation of his father-in-law's policy, but his authority with the army made him a useful coadjutor. Five years after his call to the Caesarship (A.D. 297), he was sent to conduct the chief war of the reign of Diocletian, the last which ever gave the Capitol a triumph, against Narses king of Persia. The first campaign proved unsuccessful through the deficiency of numbers, and Diocletian was so exasperated that he forced the haughty Galerius to walk a mile on foot behind his chariot in the sight of the army (Amm. Marc. XIV. xi. 10). This humiliation goaded Galerius to fresh exertions, and in a second campaign he utterly routed Narses, and forced him to purchase peace at the cost of five provinces near the source of the Tigris.

Little more is recorded of Galerius until the year 303, which brings him prominently in contact with the church. He had conceived a hatred for the Christians, not based, like that of Decius or Valerian, on political suspicion, nor, like that of Marcus or Julian, on philosophical disapproval, but originating (so far as we can see) almost wholly in his fanatical superstition and his aversion from Christian morality. His mother, who appears to have exercised great influence over him, was a noted votaress of the Phrygian orgies, and plied her son continually with entreaties to demolish Christianity. Her authority was supported by that of the magician and so-called Platonist, THEOTECNUS (Cedr. vol. i. p. 47, ed. Bonn), who had also acquired an ascendancy over Galerius. The winter of 302–3 was spent by Galerius at Nicomedia, where he used every effort to compel the reluctant Diocletian to annul the legislation of GALLIENUS, to break the forty years' amity between the empire and the church, and to crush the religion which Diocletian had so conspicuously favoured. His urgency was so great and so formidable (Diocletian being depressed with the approach of his great malady, and already contemplating abdication), that step by step he gained his point, until Diocletian consented to proscribe the open profession of Christianity and to take all measures to suppress it *short of bloodshed* (Lact. *Mort.* 11, "rem sine sanguine transigi"). The first edict of Diocletian, however, was not strong enough to content Galerius. The demolition of buildings which proclaimed the power of the church, the prohibition of synaxis, the burning of the books used in the Christian ritual, the civic, social, and military degradation of Christians, were slow ways of abolishing the obnoxious religion. Galerius longed for more summary action to be taken, and that an assault should once more be tried. His one desire was to effect the removal of Diocletian's expressive clause, that "no blood was to be shed in the transaction."

Shortly after the promulgation of the First Edict, a fire broke out in the part of the palace where Diocletian lived. Lactantius, who was then resident at Nicomedia, asserts without fear of contradiction that it was set alight by Galerius. His object was to persuade the Augustus that his trusty Christian chamberlains were conspiring against him; but on application of torture to the whole household, they were acquitted. A fortnight later the same act or accident was repeated, and this time Galerius (who, ostensibly to escape assassination, perhaps really to avoid discovery, took immediate departure) convinced Diocletian of the existence of a Christian plot. Thus convinced, the emperor signed his second edict, ordering the incarceration of the *entire clergy*, though even now there was to be no bloodshed, against which Diocletian set his face from first to last.

In Galerius's favour it must be said, that in his mode of putting these edicts into execution he shews occasional signs of an intention to adhere, though very loth, to the principles of Diocletian's legislation. It is true that his return into his own province in 304 is marked by a sudden crowd of martyrdoms where the edicts had before not even been published: but his conduct in the case of St. ROMANUS shews that, when directly appealed to, he felt bound to forbid the capital punishment of even obstreperous Christians (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* ii.).

The time was coming, however, when Galerius was to have more liberty of action. In 304, probably during a total collapse of Diocletian's health, the so-called Fourth Edict was issued by Maximian, no doubt in conjunction with Galerius, making death the penalty of Christianity. Diocletian began to recover in March 305. For years past he had intended to abdicate on the 1st of May in that year. But now, for some reason, he refused to do so, not improbably on account of the commotion which he found had been caused in the empire by the Fourth Edict. Galerius, who had long looked covetously upon the diadem promised him against that date, would brook no more delay, and with much violence compelled the enfeebled Augustus to retire, leaving himself nominally second to Constantius in the government. The death of that prince in July, 306, left Galerius supreme. It was the beginning of the downfall of Diocletian's system. Galerius was driving the empire wild with his taxations, which were imposed upon the city of Rome itself. Usurpation followed usurpation. The emperor Severus, who was sent to put down MAXENTIUS, was taken prisoner, and Galerius, who followed with a large army to rescue him, learned that Severus was dead, and at the same time found himself deserted by his troops, and compelled to beat a hasty retreat. In 307, Nov. 11, he effected a meeting at Carnuntum (near Presburg) between Diocletian, Maximian, and himself, at which (probably in spite of his father-in-law's advice) Galerius appointed LICINIUS to be Augustus, though he had never been a Caesar.

These troubles had not diverted the attention of Galerius from persecution, which was going on at too great a pace to last. In the year 308, March 31, the emperor issued, in conjunction with his nephew Maximin, a bloody edict against the Manichaeans (*Cod. Greg.* ed. Hänel, lib. xiv. p. 44*). The question cannot be discussed here, but the writer of this notice believes that he has proved this to be the true date of the Manichaean edict in his essay on *The Persecution of Diocletian*, p. 279. The same year did indeed see an order to substitute mutilation for death in cases of Christianity; as Eusebius

says (*Mart. Pal.* ix.), "The conflagration subsided, as if quenched with the streams of sacred blood." But the relaxation was only for a few months. In the autumn of 308 a new edict of persecution was issued, which began a perfect reign of terror, not to be concluded till two full years had elapsed. These two years were the most prolific of bloodshed of any in the whole history of Roman persecutions; and the vast majority of persons who in the East (for the persecution in the West had ceased with the accession of Constantine, and usurpation of Maxentius) are celebrated as "martyrs under Diocletian" really suffered between 308 and 311. This part of the persecution bears marks, however, rather of the genius of Maximin Daza than of Galerius.

Towards the close of the year 310 Galerius was seized with an incurable malady, which seems to have been partially caused by his vicious life. This gradually developed into the frightful disease vulgarly known as being "eaten of worms." The fact rests not only on the authority of the church historians (Eus. *H. E.* viii. xvi. 3 foll.; Lact. *Mort.* 33), but also upon that of the pagan Aurelius Victor (*Epit.* xl. 4) and the precious fragment known as Anonymus Valesii. Galerius had all his life been a slave of superstition; and now, face to face with death, and so awful a death, he thought (apparently) that a compromise might be effected with the God of the Christians, whom he undoubtedly recognised as an active and hostile power. From his dying bed was issued his famous edict of toleration, bearing the signatures also of Constantine and of Licinius, which virtually put an end to the "Persecution of Diocletian." This most extraordinary document (which may be read in full in Eus. *H. E.* viii. 17, and also in Lact. *Mort.* 34) begins with an assertion that the emperors in their desire for conservative reform, had taken steps to reduce "to a good disposition the Christians who had abandoned the persuasion (sectam) of their own fathers." The origin of the persecution is ascribed to the fact that the Christians had wilfully departed from the "institutions of the ancients which had peradventure been first set on foot by their own forefathers," and had formed schismatical assemblies on their own private judgment. Primitive Christianity is here meant by the phrase *instituta veterum*, and the edicts had had no object but to bring the Christians back to it. But the only effect of the edicts, Galerius continues, was to bring many into trouble; in spite of them, the Christians would "neither display due reverence to the gods nor *pay heed to the God of the Christians*;" and seeing this, Galerius was determined, mercifully under certain unspecified conditions, which were conveyed privately to the magistrates, to allow Christianity once more and to permit the building of churches. Finally, in return for this indulgence, the Christians are told to pray to their God for the recovery of Galerius.

Thus did the dying persecutor try sarcastically to dupe the church into believing him a kind reformer, and the church's God into remitting his temporal punishment. But it was of no avail. "The Unknown God to whom he had at last betaken himself, gave no answer to his insolent and tardy invocation" (De Broglie, i. 207). The edict was posted at Nicomedia on April 30, and on the 5th or 13th of May, 311, it was announced that Galerius was dead.

[A. J. M.]

GALESUINTHA, queen. [GALSUINTHA.]

GALINDO, supposed to be the original Spanish name of Prudentius bishop of Troyes, before he changed it on coming to live for his education in France. It is given to him in the *Annales Bertiniani*, A.D. 861, which seems to be the only authority. (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxv. 965; Ceillier, xii. 493.) [J. G.]

GALINUS (SALVINUS), 42nd bishop of Auch, succeeding Revelius and followed by Elisaeus about the close of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 977.) [S. A. B.]

GALLA (1), ST., May 8, one of many martyrs commemorated with St. Acacius or Agatius, a Roman soldier at Byzantium about 303. (*Mart. Hieron.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* 8 Mai. ii. 291, 762.) [A. B. C. D.]

GALLA (2), first wife of Flavius Julius Constantius, half-brother of Constantine I. Ammianus (*Hist.* xiv. 11, § 27) tells us that she was the sister of the consulars Rufinus and Cerealis. She had two sons and one daughter by Julius Constantius. The name of the eldest son is unknown, but Julian tells us that he was put to death by the emperor Constantius II. (*ad Ath.* 270 D). The second son, born in 325, was Flavius Julius Gallus Caesar. The daughter, whose name is not recorded, was the first wife of the emperor Constantius II. (Julian, *ad Ath.* 272 D; cf. Euseb. *de Vit. Const.* iv. 49; Du Cange, *Fam. Aug.* 37.) [M. F. A.]

GALLA (3), a lady in Spain in the later part of the 4th century, connected with AGAPE in the diffusion of the Zoroastrian ideas of which Priscillian was the champion. Jerome speaks of her as the type of those women who in the next generation busied themselves in the spread of Pelagianism. (Jerome, *Ep.* cxxxiii. 4, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

GALLA (4), the daughter of Valentinian I. by his second wife Justina. In 385 according to the *Chron. Pasch.*, 386 according to Marcellinus, she became the second wife of the emperor Theodosius I., and by him she was the mother of Galla Placidia (Zosim. *Hist.* iv. 43; *Chr. Pasch.*). She died in child-birth, A.D. 394 (Zosim. iv. 57). Galla, like her mother, was an Arian (Philostorg, *H. E.* x. 7). [T. W. D.]

GALLA (5) PLACIDIA, daughter of Theodosius I. by his second wife Galla. On the death of her father, A.D. 395, she and her half-brother Honorius were left under the care of Stilicho and his wife Serena, the latter being the daughter of Galla's paternal uncle Honorius (Olympiod. *ap.* Phot. *Biblioth.* lxxx.). In 408 Serena was unjustly accused of being in correspondence with Alaric, who was then besieging Rome, and Placidia is said to have been a party to the cruel sentence which was passed upon her (Zosimus, *Hist.* v. 38). Two years afterwards the city was captured and Placidia taken prisoner. Notwithstanding that great exertions were made to procure her release, especially by Constantius,

her future second husband [CONSTANTIUS III. *Dict. G. and R. Biog.*] who was already high in the imperial service, she was still detained in captivity, though treated by her captors with great respect (Olympiod. *u. s.*; Zosim. vi. 12). In January, A.D. 414, she was married to Ataulphus, who had in the meanwhile succeeded his uncle Alaric. The marriage, which was celebrated with great splendour, took place, according to Olympiodorus (*u. s.*) and Idatius (*Chron. s. a.*), at Narbona in Gaul. By Ataulphus she had a son, who was named Theodosius after his grandfather. He died in his infancy, and was buried near Barcelona. Soon after this Ataulphus was fatally wounded by one of his domestics, and on his death-bed charged his brother to send Placidia to Honorius. She did not return to Italy, however, until A.D. 416, when she was brought to Ravenna by Euphatius, an imperial officer, who had been sent to Gaul to receive her. She now took up her abode with Honorius, and acquired great influence over him, and in January A.D. 417 she was married to Constantius, but greatly against her will. By him she had two children, Valentinian and Honoria (Olympiodor. *u. s.*).

Her influence over her second husband was soon betrayed in his active persecution of the Pelagians (Prosp. *Chron. s. a.* 418). In February, A.D. 421, Honorius admitted Constantius to a share of the empire. The persecution of the Pelagians was then renewed with great vigour. On Sept. 11, 421, Constantius died. Placidia again took up her abode with Honorius at Ravenna, but great scandal arising from the suspicious relations in which they stood to each other, and their mutual affection being replaced by bitter hate, which occasioned serious disturbances in the city, she and her children were sent to Theodosius II. at Constantinople (Olympiod. *u. s.*). During her disgrace she was greatly befriended by Boniface, who was already count of Africa (Procopius, *Bell. Vandal.* i. 4). On the death of Honorius in August, 423, Boniface refused to acknowledge Joannes in Africa, which he held for Placidia and her son (Prosp. *Chron. s. a.* 424). Theodosius at once declared himself in favour of Valentinian and sent him and his mother with an army to depose Joannes. Having been defeated, Joannes was brought captive to Placidia at Aquileia, and immediately put to death (Olympiod. *u. s.*; Marcell. *Chron.* s. a. 425; Philostorg. *H. E.* xii. 11). Valentinian being but a child, the authority of Placidia was now supreme, and among her first acts was the issue of three edicts in rapid succession for the banishment of all "Manichaeans, heretics, and schismatics, and every sect opposed to the Catholic faith" (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 62, July 17; *ib.* 63, Aug. 4; *ib.* 64, Aug. 6, A.D. 425, all dated from Aquileia), and another restoring to the clergy all the privileges of which they had been deprived by Joannes (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 4, Oct. 8, A.D. 425). The schismatics whom she especially had in view were the adherents of the antipope Eulalius, who were still numerous in Rome. These edicts were soon followed by another of great severity, directed against apostates (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. vii. 8, April 7, A.D. 426).

In 427 Aetius, whom she had long forgiven for supporting Joannes, and who was now greatly in her favour, persuaded Placidia that her tried friend Boniface, to whom she was under such heavy obligations, was meditating revolt. He at the same time, by letter, persuaded Boniface that Placidia was resolved upon his ruin. His double treachery was but too successful. Boniface, in despair, appealed for help to the Vandals, who gladly responded to his appeal, and Africa was overrun by their forces. Some of his many friends at Rome, who refused to believe that one who had hitherto borne so high a character could be guilty of the treason with which he had been charged, procured Darius [DARIUS, Vol. I. 789 *a*] to be sent to Africa to inquire into the facts. On his arrival Boniface shewed him the letters which he had received from Aetius, and Darius reported accordingly to Placidia. She at once explained the whole matter to her friend, and urged him to do his best to repair the injury which the empire had sustained. But it was too late, the Vandals were masters of the country, and Africa was lost (Procop. *u. s.*; Augustin. *Ep.* 220; Gibbon, c. xxxiii.). In 435 Germanus bishop of Auxerre visited Ravenna, where he was taken ill and died. Placidia was lavish in her attentions to him on his death-bed, and afterwards caused his body to be carried into Gaul with great honour (Constant. *Vit. Germ.* ii. 21, 24).

In the education of her children Honoria and Valentinian she was most unhappy (Procop. *u. s.*). Both of them disgraced themselves by the grossest misconduct. Her administration of the empire was equally unfortunate. On this account especially Cassiodorus institutes a contrast between her and Amalasuntha, the mother of Athalaric, and greatly to her disadvantage. (*Variar.* lib. xi. ep. 1 in Migne, lxix. 825.)

In 449 Placidia was at Rome with Valentinian. The legates of Leo had just returned from the robber council of Ephesus. Leo was greatly distressed at what had taken place in that assembly, and bitterly bewailed its proceedings to Placidia, who immediately wrote to Theodosius and his sister Pulcheria, intreating their interference in defence of the faith of their ancestors, and their influence to procure the restoration of Flavian, the deposed bishop of Constantinople. The reply of Theodosius was by no means complimentary. He briefly refers his aunt to what he had written to Leo, simply saying that "Flavian, who is said to be the chief cause of this strife," had been canonically deposed, and concludes with telling her that "he had never thought of anything contrary to the faith," as "some said he had" (Conc. Chalced. pt. i. *Ep.* 26, 28, 30; Labbe, iv. 53, 55, 58). Placidia died at Rome soon afterwards, and was buried at Ravenna (Idatius, *Chr. s. a.*; Gibbon, *u. s.*). She is said to have erected the palace which bore her name at Constantinople, and to have done so during the lifetime of her father (*Chron. Pasch. s. a.* 385). [T. W. D.]

GALLA (6), ST., wife of Eucherius bishop of Lyons (434–450). The legend is that Eucherius, on being converted to a religious life, had himself walled up in a cave on his own estate on the banks of the Durance and spent his time in prayer, that he was taken thence by force and made bishop of Lyons, and that his wife Galla installed herself in the cave, her daughters Tullia and Consortia ministering to her there as she had done to Eucherius. The story of Galla, Tullia, and Consortia, has been supposed to belong to

another bishop Eucherius, the name of whose see is not known. (Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Nov. 16; Boll. *Acta SS.* St. Tullia, 5 Oct. iii. 39; St. Consortia, 22 Jun. iv. 248.) [A. B. C. D.]

GALLA (7), ST., confessor, May 31, honoured in the church of St. Venerand at Clermont in Auvergne. St. Gregory of Tours mentions her tomb, between the church of St. Venerand and that of St. Illidius (Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Confess.* cc. 35, 36). She is mentioned in Molanus's *Auctaria* to Usuard, as honoured with St. Alexander. [A. B. C. D.]

GALLA (8), ST., martyr at Corinth with Calistus, Carisius, Leonides, and several others, tortured and drowned in the sea. The martyrdom is recorded in most of the old Martyrologies, April 16, but the names are not all given in each. Galla is named in Jerome and Notker; Rabanus calls her Calla. Ado, Usuard, and the modern Roman Martyrology give "Callistus, Carisius, and seven others." [A. B. C. D.]

GALLA (9), ST. The only saint of the name who is in the modern Roman Martyrology (Oct. 5). St. Gregory in his *Dialogues* (lib. iv. cap. 13. Migne, lxxvii.) says that she was the daughter of Symmachus, consul and patrician at Rome, in the time of the Goths. She became a widow very young, in less than a year after her marriage. She then took the veil in the monastery of St. Peter, where she lived many years. According to the life of another Symmachus (Migne, xviii. 142), Symmachus the father of Galla was put to death in 521. Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe (ob. 533), wrote a letter *De Statu Viduarum* (ep. 2) to a Roman widow named Galla, supposed to be this saint. (Migne, lxv. 311; Boll. *Acta SS.* 5 Oct. iii. 150.) [A. B. C. D.]

GALLA (10), ST., a recluse in the 5th or 6th century at Valence where she is said to have lived to a great age in extraordinary asceticism and miraculous works. The Bollandists give her *Vita* from an anonymous MS. found in a famous old book of saints whose festivals fall between Dec. 25 and Feb. 16, the property of Queen Christina of Sweden. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 1 Feb. i. 939.) [A. B. C. D.]

GALLA (11), a Roman widow in the time of Gregory the Great. [EUMORPHIUS.]

GALLANUS, Irish saint. [GRELLAN (1).]

GALLBRAN UA LINGAIN, scribe of Clonmacnoise, King's County, died A.D. 768. (*Four Mast.*) [J. G.]

GALLENIA, martyr. [GALONICA.]

GALLGO or GALLGOV, ST., a saint to whom Llanallgo in Anglesey is dedicated, and who may have lived in the 6th century; the festival day is Nov. 27. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 230.) [C. W. B.]

GALLIANUS, bishop, subscribed the third council of Arles, A.D. 461. (Isid. Mercat. in Patr. Lat. cxxx. 382.) [C. H.]

GALLICANUS (1), Roman duke and consul, martyr in Egypt, A.D. 362. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 25 Jun. v. 35–39) have a notice *De S. Gallicano*, etc. consisting of a commentarius praevius, and his Acta, which are not very trustworthy. According to the legend, he was consul under Constantine, and a distinguished commander against the Persians, but by the time of the accession of Julian was living quietly at Ostia; when Julian's anti-Christian decrees came out, he went to Egypt and was with the confessors in the desert; he suffered death in the last year of Julian (A.D. 363). In A.D. 317 Gallicanus and Septimius Bassus were consuls; in A.D. 330 Gallicanus and Symmachus (Clinton, *Fasti Rom.* i. 370, 384). [J. G.]

GALLICANUS (2), ST., seventh bishop of Embrun, succeeding Catulinus and followed by St. Palladius (circ. A.D. 524–555). He was represented at the fourth council of Arles by Emiterius (A.D. 524), was present at that of Carpentras in 527, perhaps at the second of Orange in 529, though his name is not found in the subscriptions, at the third of Vaison in the same year, and at the fourth of Orleans in 541, and was represented by Probus at the fifth of Orleans in 549 (Mansi, viii. 627, 708, 718, 728; ix. 120, 137). He is said to have consecrated the church of the Spanish martyrs, Vincent, Orontius, and Victor, built by Palladius at Embrun. In the life of St. Palladius (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 96) he is spoken of as preceding St. Palladius, while in the Breviary of Embrun he appears as his successor. This discrepancy has been eluded in the lists of the Embrun bishops by the supposition of two bishops of the name, one preceding and the other following St. Palladius, and this arrangement has been followed in the *Gallia Christiana* (iii. 1060–1) but with an expression of doubt. Following Le Cointe (*Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 536, n. xvii. tom. i. 457) we have recognised only one. Those who believe in two assign the first four of the above-mentioned councils to Gallicanus I. and the other two to Gallicanus II. [S. A. B.]

GALLICINUS, ST. (GALLITIANUS), sixth bishop of Bordeaux, between St. Amandus and Cyprianus in the latter half of the 5th century. He is mentioned in an ode contained in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (lib. viii. epist. 11, Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 605). From a letter of the same author, in which he laments the ravages of the Goths in Aquitania, who had slain, amongst others, the bishop of Bordeaux, it has been inferred that he suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Euric king of the Visigoths, about A.D. 475 (lib. vii. *Epist.* 6, Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 571; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 790). [S. A. B.]

GALLIENUS, P. LICINIUS, emperor. He was the son of the emperor Valerian, and was appointed by the senate coadjutor to his father very shortly after Valerian's accession, in August 253. In 260, his father's miserable captivity in Persia freed him from an irksome moral restraint and left him politically irresponsible. Some notion of his character may be formed from the words with which he received the melancholy news. Parodying the philosopher who said "I was aware that I had begotten a mortal," he replied, "I was aware that my father was mortal." (Poll. *Gall.* 17.) Gallienus was a man of marked ability, accomplished and versatile, an orator and a pretty poet, drawn to the mystic Platonism

of Plotinus, to whom he was disposed to offer a territory in Italy to be governed on Utopian principles. (Porphyr. *Vit. Plot.* c. 12.) Yet his character was entirely without moral earnestness. In his cleverness and folly he more nearly resembled Nero than any other prince between the two. He made no attempt to govern. Certainly no man ever had more excuse for neglecting duty on the plea of difficulty. The number of generals who claimed and exercised independent power has been stretched to thirty, fancifully called "the Thirty Tyrants." Gallienus made but feeble and desultory attempts to put any of them down, turning into wretched jests each new humiliation, and taking refuge in sensuality from the hopeless task of state reorganization.

Such a view of his character and of the political situation is necessary to the understanding of the one great act which brings him into church history. On his father's fall, he found himself confronted by the church against which Valerian had declared deadly warfare. He was legally bound to put every clergyman to death wherever found, and to deal in almost as summary a fashion with all other Christians. [VALERIAN.] Gallienus had had three years' experience of the difficulty and wearisomeness of this task. There was no prospect of its coming to an end. The object, too, was not very apparently useful. The "Thirty Tyrants" were foes formidable enough to attract what little attention could be spared from pleasure. Accordingly, in 261, he issued an edict (*προγράμματα, i.e.* a document publicly displayed and proclaimed, not an *ἀντιγραφή* or private instruction to the magistrates) by which Christianity was for the first time put on a clearly legal footing as a regular *religio licita*. This edict of Gallienus is the most marked epoch in the history of the church's relation to the state, since the rescript of Trajan to Pliny which had made Christianity distinctly a *religio illicita*. The words in which Eusebius describes the edict (the text of which is lost) imply no more than that actual *persecution* was stopped (*ἀνίησι τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμόν*, Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 13), which might have been the case without a legal recognition of Christianity; it might merely have implied the cessation of bloodshed; but Eusebius has preserved a copy of the encyclical rescript which the emperor addressed to the Christian bishops of the Egyptian province, which bears a most remarkable testimony to the position which the church had won. "The emperor Caesar P. Licinius Gallienus . . . to Dionysius, Pinnas, Demetrius, and *the other bishops*." The words "the bishops" have a perfectly recognised meaning for the pagan government: it needs no more paraphrase than "the pro-consuls" would have needed. The purport of the rescript is to inform the bishops that orders have been issued to the pagan officials to evacuate the consecrated places (*οἱ τόποι οἱ θρησκεύσιμοι*); the bishops have but to produce their copies of the rescript, which will serve them as a warrant against all interference in reoccupying (*ὥστε μηδένα ὑμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν*). Thus formally, universally, and deliberately was done, what ALEXANDER SEVERUS had but done in an isolated case and in a freak of generosity, *i.e.* the right of the Corpus Christianorum to hold property was fully recognised. If Christianity had not been explicitly made a *religio licita*, this would have been impossible. The great proof, however, of the footing gained by the church through Gallienus's edict lies in the action of his successor AURELIAN in the matter of Paul of Samosata. Though Aurelian's bigoted sun-worship and hatred of the church were well known, and his death alone prevented a great rupture, the Catholics were so secure of their legal position as actually to appeal to the emperor in person to decide their dispute; and Aurelian, as the law then stood, not only recognised the right of the church to hold property, but also to decide internal disputes (though they concerned property) according to her own methods.

The most elaborate account of the secular history of Gallienus will be found in Bernhardt's *Geschichte Roms von Valerian bis zu Diocletians Tode*, part i. (Berlin, 1867). [A. J. M.]

GALLIENUS, a Roman duumvir of Aptunga, at the time of the inquiry about Felix, bishop of that place. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 160, ed. Oberthür.) [FELIX (26).] [H. W. P.]

GALLIENUS, a friend of St. Jerome, who was with him at Constantinople in the year 382. He probably died early, as we do not hear of him afterwards. He was, however, at the time in close intimacy with Jerome, who made him with Vincentius (*q. v.*) the confidant of his views as to the text of Scripture, and dedicated to these two friends his first great work, the translation and continuation of the *Chronicle of Eusebius*. Jerome speaks of Gallienus as "pars animae meae." (Jerome, Pref. to bk. ii. of *Chron.* vol. viii. 224, ed. Vall. Migne, Pat. Lat. xxvii. 33.) [W. H. F.]

GALLINICUS, patriarch of Constantinople. [CALLINICUS (2).]

GALLINICUS (CALLINICUS) appears among the Eutychians, who, claiming to be archimandrites, appealed to the emperor Marcian for a general council in A.D. 451 (Labbe, iv. 524): but the orthodox archimandrites in the council of Chalcedon would not recognise his claim to the title (Labbe, iv. 521 A). His name appears only in the Latin text, where he is described as "inhabiting a 'memoria' with ten persons under him." [Cf. ELPIDIUS (31).] [C. G.]

GALLIONUS, a Maximianist bishop mentioned as being absent from the council of Cabarsussis, A.D. 393. (Aug. *En. in Ps.* 36, 20; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 258, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

GALLITIANUS of Bordeaux. [GALLICINUS.]

GALLIUS (GALLUS), thirteenth bishop of Arretium (Arezzo), c. A.D. 447. He succeeded Eusebius II., and was succeeded by Benedictus. He is said, even while bishop, to have led the life of a hermit in the neighbouring marshes and mountains, only shewing himself to his people when absolutely necessary. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 456; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xviii. 71.) [R. S. G.]

GALLOMAGNUS, twelfth bishop of Troyes, succeeding Ambrosius and followed by Agrecius, was present at the fourth council of Paris (A.D.

573), and signed the letter addressed by it to king Sigebert. He also subscribed the first council of Mâcon (A.D. 581 or 582). He is said to have obtained the relics of St. Nicetius of Lyons, which were placed in the church called after him, formerly dedicated to St. Maurus. (Mansi, ix. 867, 869, 936; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 487.) [S. A. B.]

GALLONIANUS, bishop of Utica, in proconsular Africa, present at the two synods at Carthage, A.D. 419. (Mansi, iv. 433, 438; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 362.) [R. S. G.]

GALLONISTUS (GALLINOSTIUS, GALLIONISTUS, CALLONISTUS), bishop of Adria, present at the Lateran synod on Monothelism under pope Martin in 649. (Hefele, § 307; Mansi, x. 867.) For the connexion of the see with Rovigo, *vid.* Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* ii. 597; Speronius de Alvarottis, *Adriens. Episc.* 32. [A. H. D. A.]

GALLUS (1) CAESAR, son of Julius Constantius (youngest brother of Constantine the Great) and his first wife Galla, born A.D. 325, appointed Caesar by Constantius 350, executed by his orders 354.

1. *Authorities.* 2. *Life.* 3. *Character and Relation to the Church.*

1. The *authorities* for his life are generally those referred to for that of his half-brother JULIAN. The most important is Ammianus Marcellinus (*q. v.*) whose fourteenth book (the first now extant) is chiefly concerned with Gallus. The Arian church historian Philostorgius also records a good many facts about him which are not found in other Christian writers. The facts of his life are given at length in Tillemont, *Emp.* vol. iv. under Constantius, arts. 22, 30–34, and Julian, 1, 2.

2. The *life* of Gallus may be divided into two periods: (1) as a young man; (2) as Caesar.

(1) *As a young man*, A.D. 325–350.—Julius Constantius, the patrician, the youngest and most remarkable of the sons of Constantius Chlorus and Minervina, married as his first wife Galla, a sister of Rufinus and Cerealis, two men of rank, who had filled the offices of consul and praetorian prefect with reputation (Amm. xiv. 11, 27). She bore him two sons, the eldest whose name is unknown to us (Jul. *ad S. P. Q. Athen.* p. 270 D, ed. Spanheim), and the subject of this article, who presumably received his name from his mother. He was born at Massa Veternensis near Siena in Tuscany (Amm. xiv. 11, 27). Galla could not long have survived the birth of her younger son, since we find Julius married a second time to Basilina (*q. v.*) five or six years later. At the death of Constantine the Great in 337, Gallus was twelve and Julian about seven years old.

In the general massacre of the younger branches of the imperial family which then took place, the two young brothers were alone preserved—Gallus being ill of a sickness which seemed likely to be mortal, and Julian being an infant [SONS OF CONSTANTINE, p. 651].

The preservation of Juljan is ascribed by Gregory of Nazianzus to the exertions of Mark bishop of Arethusa, amongst others (*Or.* 4, 91), and that of both brothers to the clemency of Constantius, who shielded them from the revolted soldiery (*ib.* 21). Yet neither of them could feel much gratitude to their preserver, who permitted, if he did not command, the slaughter of their father and elder brother, their uncle and six cousins (Jul. *Ep. ad S. P. Q. Athen.* p. 270 D). Gallus was at first banished from Constantinople (perhaps to Tralles; see Hertlein's note, *ib.* p. 271 B), and attended the professors of the schools of Ephesus (Socrates, *H. E.* iii. 1; cf. Rode, *Gesch. der Reaction Julians*, p. 27, note 32, Jena, 1877), and was thus separated from his brother, who seems to have remained in the capital. It was not until several years had passed that they were reunited, being then sent to a place called "Macelli Fundus" in Cappadocia by the command of Constantius. Their six years' residence in this retirement was adorned with the state and luxury becoming their rank, but was felt, by Julian at least, to be little better than an imprisonment, inasmuch as they were encircled by slaves, and were debarred from intercourse with the outside world. (Jul. *ad Athen.* p. 271; Amm. xv. 2, 7, gives the name. His words in xiv. 1, 1, "ex squalore imo miseriarum in aetatis adultae primitiis ad principale culmen insperato saltu provectus," seem a mere exaggeration; cp. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4, 22; Sozomen, *H. E.* v. 2.) Both of them were brought up as Christians, and entered with apparent zeal into the externals of the Christian life. They were even enrolled as readers in the ranks of the clergy, and rivalled one another in building chapels over the relics of martyrs. In one case, that of the martyr Mamas, it was noticed that the work of Gallus succeeded, while that of Julian was continually falling down (Gregory and Sozomen, *ut supra*). It is not improbable that this circumstance was regarded as ominous, even at this moment, by some of those whose business it was to keep a close watch upon the young princes. It was probably from this retirement that Gallus was called directly to the court to receive the unexpected dignity of Caesar which the childless Constantius determined to bestow upon him. (Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 271 D, ἐντεῦθεν . . . εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν καθείρχθη, and εὐθύς, p. 272 A. Sozomen, *l. c.*, introduces a sojourn of Gallus in Ionia at this point, but apparently from misunderstanding Socrates, iii. 1.) Gallus was now twenty-five years of age, of a tall, handsome, well-knit person, with soft, light hair, and a small beard. He had, however, a brusque and harsh temper, which contrasted unfavourably with the gentler manners of his brother, and which was destined to display itself to his disadvantage in his later years (Amm. xiv. 11, 28; Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 271 D).

(2) *Gallus as Caesar*, 350–354.—The reason which led Constantius to appoint a colleague was no doubt the difficulty of the sole government of the empire to which he succeeded on the death of his brother Constans in 350. In the West he was distracted by the very formidable usurpation of Magnentius in Gaul and the less dangerous rising of Vetranio in Illyria, while in the East the Persians were a perpetual source of alarm. He determined therefore to give the command of the Eastern empire to his cousin, in order to turn all his energies against Magnentius. Vetranio had not been a determined antagonist, professing himself throughout friendly to Constantius, and acting, as is said by

some writers, under the authorization of his sister Constantina, widow of the king Hannibalian (Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii. 22; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 539, ed. Bonn.; cp. Jul. *Orat.* 1, p. 26 C). It was after the abdication of Vetranio that the appointment of Gallus took place. Various precautions were taken to ensure his fidelity. He had to make a solemn oath upon the Gospels not to undertake anything against the rights of his cousin, who similarly pledged himself to Gallus. He received at the same time the strong-minded and unfeminine Constantina as his wife, and Lucilianus, the count of the East, as his general. (Zosimus, 2, 45. Philostorgius, iv. 1, refers to the oath between Constantius and Gallus; cp. *Chron. Pasch.* p. 540; Zonaras, xiii. 8.)

Gallus perhaps used his new power to obtain a relaxation of his brother's seclusion—at any rate, Julian was released and permitted to pursue the studies which attracted him at Constantinople. Gallus then set out for the East, and in passing through Bithynia saw Julian probably for the last time. (Liban. *Epitaphius in Julianum*, i. p. 527, ed. Reiske.)

The records of his short reign at Antioch come to us chiefly from Ammianus (lib. xiv.), who was a native of that place, and evidently much interested in its concerns. They are almost entirely unfavourable to him. His defence of the frontier against the Persians seems indeed to have been not unsuccessful (Zos. 3, 1; Philostorgius, iii. 28, speaks strongly on this point), but his internal policy was disastrous. He was harsh and impolitic, partly from natural temper and inexperience of the world, and partly owing to the influence of his wife, who is described as miserably avaricious and cruel, in fact a very fury. The details of his misgovernment need not be given here. At last acts of graver moment occurred which could not be passed over. A famine took place in the year 354, and Gallus in his unreasoning way ordered prices to be at once reduced. The magistrates resisted, and Gallus threw them into prison, and would have executed them but for the intervention of Honoratus, the count of the East. A few days after, the people assembled beneath his windows to demand an importation of corn. Gallus pointed out Theophilus, the consular of Syria, as able to stop the scarcity if he chose. The people, taking the hint, a short time after tore him in pieces as he was entering the circus (Amm. xiv. 7). Constantius, hearing of these disturbances, secretly undermined the power of Gallus by withdrawing troops from him. On the death of Thalassius, prefect of the East, who had been a spy upon his actions, the emperor sent Domitianus to succeed him, with instructions to bring his cousin to Italy. Domitianus, however, a man of low birth, was too rough for such a delicate task, and treated the young Caesar with indignity. Gallus arrested him, upon which the quaestor Montius protested with some freedom of speech. Gallus complained bitterly of this conduct before his guards, who seized Montius and Domitianus, and dragged them through the streets till they were dead, and then threw their bodies into the river. (Amm. xiv. 7. Philostorgius, iii. 28, gives a slightly different account; cp. Socr. ii. 34.)

Besides the report of the harsh and open misgovernment of Gallus, accounts of secret treason meditated by him were conveyed to Constantius. The emperor, with his usual craft, sent him an affectionate letter and desired his presence, as he wished to consult him on urgent public business (Amm. xiv. 11. 1). At the same time he pressed his sister Constantina to visit him. Constantina, though suspicious, preceded her husband in hopes of interceding for him, but died suddenly upon the road in Bithynia (*ibid.* 11. 6). Gallus was thus deprived of his greatest support and perhaps also of his wisest counsellor, and was gradually lured onwards, care being taken by the emissaries of Constantius to prevent any intercourse between him and the troops upon his road. At last, when he had arrived at Petovio in Noricum, he was seized by the count Barbatio, deprived of his imperial insignia, and conveyed, with many protestations that his life was not in danger, to Flanon in Dalmatia, where he was closely guarded. The all-powerful eunuch Eusebius was then sent to interrogate him upon the death of Domitianus and his other crimes. Gallus did not deny them, but threw the blame upon his wife. This excuse was not favourably received, and Constantius issued an order for his execution, which took place towards the close of the year 354. (*Ibid.* 11. 11–23. For the malign influence of Eusebius, cp. Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 272 D.) Some say that Constantius repented and recalled his order, but Eusebius prevented the messengers from arriving in time to save him, and was afterwards in consequence put to death by Julian (Philostorg. iv. 1).

3. *Character and Relation to the Church.*—All authorities (including Julian) agree that Gallus was harsh and truculent in temper. Yet he had some popular qualities, and with a little more prudence might have easily made himself a formidable rival to Constantius. He loved the games of the circus, which were the delight of the people of Antioch, and revived the bloody spectacles of gladiators, which had been forbidden since the days of Constantine (vetita certamina, Amm. xiv. 7, 3; cp. Jul. *Misopogon*, p. 40 A, and the article on CONSTANTINE, p. 637).

In another direction, too, Gallus appears to have been supported by a considerable popular feeling, viz. in his translation of the body of the martyr Babylas, bishop of Antioch, to Daphne, the delicious sanctuary of Apollo in the suburb of the city. Here he built a chapel to the saint opposite the heathen temple, and did something to purge the place of its incontinence and superstition. (Sozomen, *H. E.* v. 19. Cp. S. Chrys. *Contra Julianum et Gentiles*, 12. Libanius, περὶ τῶν ἀγγαρειῶν, t. ii. p. 556 ed. Reiske, in an oration addressed to Theodosius the Great, seems to refer to the suppression of the Maiuma by Gallus.)

His instruction had been Arian under the direction of Constantius, and he seems to have been influenced not a little by the Anomoean Aetius. This notorious man had been sent to him with a request that he should be put to death as a heretic. Gallus spared him on the intercession of Leontius, bishop of Antioch, and became very friendly with him. According to Philostorgius, who reports these facts, he made him his religious instructor, and attempted by his means to recall Julian to the faith, when he heard that he was wavering (Philost. *H. E.* iii. 27). It was doubtless this Arian connexion

that made the Arian historian favourable to Gallus.

There is no reason indeed to doubt that the young Caesar was a zealous Christian after a sort, and that he was distressed by his brother's danger of apostasy. A letter expressing this anxiety, and the relief he felt at the report brought by Aetius, is extant, and is generally printed at the end of Julian's Epistles. Petavius and others consider it spurious, inasmuch as the writer says, "the report has reached me that you are deserting your first religion, which you received from your *forefathers*" (ἐκ προγόνων). As their grandfather Constantius Chlorus was not a Christian, this phrase has been thought to indicate a forger's hand (see the note in Heyler, *Jul. Epistolae*, p. 545). Tillemont, however, does not see sufficient reason to reject the letter (*Emp.* 4, p. 492); and Julian's *maternal* ancestors had perhaps long been Christians. On the other hand, such a letter, if written, would hardly have been preserved by Julian, while it is just the kind of thing for a forger to invent. I incline, therefore, on the whole, to think it spurious. Whatever may have been the case with this letter, Julian tells us that they corresponded rarely and about few things (*ad Athen.* p. 273 A), and they do not seem to have seen each other after the meeting at Nicomedia, which followed Gallus's appointment (Socr. *H. E.* iii. 1, p. 169). Julian (we are told by Libanius) sent his brother good advice; and if he had followed it, he might have retained both his life and the throne (Libanius *ad Julianum Consulem*, t. i. p. 376, Reiske).

On the relations of Gallus with Libanius, see Sievers, *Leben des Libanius*, pp. 62 foll. Liban. περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τυχῆς, tom. 1, p. 65 foll. Tillemont (*Julien*, art. 36) seems to represent Gallus as more favourable to Libanius than was really the case (cp. Liban. *Epist.* 394 A). [J. W.]

GALLUS (**2**), the name under which Sulpicius Severus relates in his dialogues the portion of the life of St. Martin omitted in the biography. (Sulp. Sev. Dial. i. init. *Opp.* Vindob. 1866, p. 152 in Pat. Lat. xx. 183.) [R. T. S.]

GALLUS (**3**), bishop of Tica, in Byzacene, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411, though this was denied by Petilianus. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 121.) [H. W. P.]

GALLUS, bishop of Arretium. [GALLIUS.]

GALLUS (**4**), a priest of the diocese of Troyes, who having left his wife and fled to Auvergne, was induced by a letter of St. Lupus to come back. (Sid. Apoll. vi. *Ep.* 9.) [R. T. S.]

GALLUS (**5**)—Feb. 22. Consul and martyr at Antioch. He cannot be identified, the name occurring very frequently in the consular fasti of the first three centuries. Syria was a consular province. (*Mart.* Hier.; *Acta SS.* Boll. Feb. iii. 288.) [G. T. S.]

GALLUS (**6**), an early bishop of Aosta, succeeding St. Jocundus. According to an epitaph in the monastery of St. Ursus, given in the *Gallia Christiana*, he was consecrated Oct. 15, 528, and died Oct. 5, 546. He was followed by Litifredus. Although included by some in the number of saints, he has no appointed day (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 808; Gams, *Series Episc.* 828). [S A. B.]

GALLUS (**7**), a monk reproached by St. Nilus for writing almost daily to his relatives and cherishing earthly affections. (Nilus, *Epp.* lib. ii. ep. 66. Patr. Gr. lxxix. 230.) [I. G. S.]

GALLUS (**8**), fourth bishop of Valence, between St. Apollinaris and Maximus II. He was present at the fifth council of Orleans, 549. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 294; Mansi, ix. 136.) [S. A. B.]

GALLUS (**9**) I., ST., sixteenth bishop of Clermont, succeeding St. Quintianus. His father Georgius was a senator, his mother Leocadia is said to have been descended from Vettius Epagathus the martyr of Lyons, A.D. 177. He was uncle to Gregory of Tours, who has left a short account of his life. From his earliest years he evinced piety and devotion, and when his father would have married him to a senator's daughter he fled to the monastery of Cournon, about two leagues from Clermont, and begged for the tonsure. The abbat refused to receive him without his father's consent, which was at length obtained, though not without difficulty, as he was the first-born of the house. He especially excelled in the wonderful sweetness of his voice, which led the bishop, St. Quintian, when he heard it, to take him away from the monastery to Clermont. His fame coming to king Theoderic, who had collected at Treves many clergy of that diocese, he was instantly summoned to the court, where he soon rose high in favour with both king and queen.

St. Quintian of Clermont and Aprunculus of Treves died about the same time (circ. A.D. 527). The latter diocese desired Gallus for its bishop, but he had begged that of Clermont from the king, who gave it to him, in spite of a deputation from the clergy, who had elected another, and sought the royal sanction with rich presents. Gregory observes here that now was beginning the evil custom of kings selling bishoprics and clergy buying them. St. Gallus used to say that his cost him only the *triens* which he gave the cook who prepared the feast made by Theoderic in honour of his elevation. As bishop he subscribed the council of Orleans (533) by the hand of Laurentius a priest; he was present at that of Clermont (535); he was represented by Optenardus at the third of Orleans (538), and was present in person at the fourth (541) and fifth (549). Gregory relates several anecdotes and miracles of him. To his intercession was ascribed the comparative immunity of Clermont from a plague (lues inguinaria), which seems to have devastated a great part of France, and is several times alluded to by Gregory. By way of thanksgiving for the deliverance of his diocese, he instituted Rogations in the middle of Lent, in which there was a procession with singing of psalms to the tomb of St. Julian the martyr.

On his death-bed he summoned his flock around him, and partook of the sacrament with them, and after reading parts of the Scripture and blessing the bystanders, he died in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His episcopate lasted twenty-seven years, though Venantius Fortunatus, in his epitaph on him, "forte metri legibus coarctatus," as a commentator suggests, gives the number as twenty-six. Amid lamentations, in which even the Jews took part, he was buried in

the church of St. Laurentius at the time of the Rogations he had established. He was succeeded in the see by Cautinus. His day of commemoration was July 1. (Greg. Tur. *Vitae Patrum*, cap. 6; *Hist. Fr.* iv. 5, 6, 7, 13; *De Glor. Mart.* cap. 51; *De Pass. S. Juliani*, cap. 23; Venant. Fort. *Miscell.* iv. 4. Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 154; Mansi, viii. 839, 863, ix. 21, 121.)
[S. A. B.]

GALLUS (10) II., ST., Nov. 1, twenty-third bishop of Clermont, between St. Caesarius and Proculus. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (ii. 244) quote from a life of St. Amabilis to the effect that Gallus, archdeacon of St. Avolus (the twentieth bishop of Clermont), built a shrine in honour of St. Amabilis, into which he translated his remains on the 1st of April, 649. He was consecrated bishop in 650, and was commemorated Nov. 1. There is extant a letter from a Gallus to Desiderius bishop of Cahors (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 265), which Ussher in his *Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British* (cap. vii.) attributes to St. Gall the founder of the Swiss monastery, but which was undoubtedly written by St. Gallus of Clermont (cf. Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, cap. xvi. vol. ii. p. 439; Ceillier, xi. 737). [S. A. B.]

GALLUS (11), abbat, the apostle of Switzerland, commemorated Oct. 16, or according to Usuard and Ado on Feb. 20. The earliest allusions to the life of St. Gall are found in the works of Jonas, the monk and biographer of St. Columbanus, in the *Vita S. Deicoli*, published by Colgan and the Bollandists [DEICOLUS], and also in the supposititious *Vita S. Magni* (or Magnoald), given by Canisius (*Lect. Ant.* i. 655 sq.) and Messingham (*Flor. Ins. Sanct.* 296 sq.). One primary authority is the *Vita S. Galli*, compiled by Walafrid Strabo, abbat of Reichenau (A.D. 842–49), and published by Surius (*Vitae Sanct.* Oct. 16, tom. iv. 252 sq., Colon. 1617), by Goldastus (*Rer. Aleman.* i. pt. ii. 223 sq., ed. 1606), by Mabillon (*Acta SS. O. S. B.* ii. 215 sq. from the two preceding, with observations and notes), by Messingham (*Flor. Ins. Sanct.* 255 sq.), and by Migne (Patr. Lat. cxiii. 975 sq., from Mabillon). Another *Vita S. Galli* hactenus inedita, ex MS. St. Gall. 553, is published by Pertz (*Mon. Germ. Hist.* ii. 1 sq.) with Ermenricus the monk of Reichenau's notes on St. Gall, and Gozbert the deacon's continuation of the Miracles of St. Gall, the *Prologus Vitae Metricae S. Galli* ex cod. Sangall. 587 papyraceo; *Tentamen Vitae S. Galli adornandae in prosa et metro; Cantilena de S. Gallo;* and *Genealogia S. Galli* (Pertz, *ib.* ii. 31 sq.). This *Vita S. Galli* is supposed to have been the life written by Wetin, or Guetin, who was the master of Walafrid Strabo, and whose narrative Walafrid tacitly followed (*Hist. Lit. de la France*, iv. 479). The text is given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 16 Oct. vii. p. ii. 856–909) with a commentarius praevius. (Hardy, *Cat.* i. pt. i. 230–234, pt. ii. 795; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 374. See also for illustration, Greit, *Der H. Gallus;* Rettberg, *Observationes ad Vitam S. Galli;* Hefele, *Die Einführung des Christenthums in Südwest-Deutschland;* Haid, *Licht d. Evang. Jesu Christi in und durch Gallus, Apost. d. Schweizer*; Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen.*)

Though appropriated by Dempster and Camerarius as an Albanic Scot, he undoubtedly was of Irish birth, and his original name was Cellach, Calech, or Caillech. He is said to have belonged to the sept of the Hy-Cennsealach, and been related to St. Brigida of Kildare. He was uterine and probably a younger brother of St. Deicolus (Jan. 18), abbat of Lure, but beyond his having been of noble descent, and son of Cethernach, son of Oncu, his mother being a queen of Hungary (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* iv. 431), we have no further particulars of his lineage. Trained at Bangor, in the famous school of St. Comgall, and carefully instructed in grammar, poetry, and the sacred writings, he accompanied Columbanus into Gaul, A.D. 585, followed him in his exile from Luxeuil, went with him along the Rhine into Switzerland, and, apparently from his aptness at learning the languages, proved a most useful assistant in preaching the Gospel to the Suevi, Helvetii, and neighbouring tribes. [COLUMBANUS (1).] When Columbanus in the year 612 left Switzerland to escape the persecution of the Burgundian court, and crossed the Rhaetian Alps to Bobbio, Gallus was detained at Bregenz by a fever, and we need not imagine, with Walafrid, that any unworthy reason could be imputed by Columbanus to his companion for remaining behind. So soon as he could, after the departure of his master, Gallus returned to his friend the priest Willimar, at Arbona on the south shore of the Lake of Constance, and seems soon to have made up his mind to devote his remaining years to the conversion of the wild tribes who inhabited this eastern frontier of Austrasia. Finding a suitable place on the banks of the Steinaha or Steinach, he built his cell and oratory in the midst of a thick forest. Twelve others accompanied him. His collection of rude huts determined the site of the famous town and monastery of St. Gall. Three years after, Columbanus died at Bobbio, and bequeathed to his old associate his abbatial staff as the latest token of peace and goodwill. With that zeal which had urged him to destroy the heathen images at Bregenz, and made him, according to the legend, an invincible foe to the demons of the lake and of the mountain (Pertz, ii. 5), who retired in silence before him, Gallus laboured for the conversion of the heathen, and soon acquired such a fame for wisdom and holiness that, when the see of Constance became vacant in A.D. 616, the episcopate was urgently pressed upon him; and again, in A.D. 625, when his old companion abbat Eustace died at Luxeuil, he was earnestly invited to return and take the oversight of his former home. But with firmness and courtesy he declined both the proffered dignities, and for the bishopric of Constance was allowed to nominate his own deacon John, as the more suitable person, being a native of the place. The sermon he preached at John's consecration is still extant in the Latin in which it was probably pronounced; it is given by Canisius (*Lect. Ant.* i. 785 sq. ed. Basn.), and Messingham (*Flor. Ins. Sanct.* 415 sq., Paris, 1624). It is a wonderful specimen of Irish erudition, simple yet full of vigour, learned and devout, giving an abstract of the history of God's dealings from the creation, of the fall and redemption, of the mission of the apostles and the

calling of the Gentiles, and ending with a powerful appeal to Christian faith and life, which gives us a pretty distinct idea of the state of the corrupt and barbarous society he was seeking to leaven. But beyond these few incidents we know little of his abbacy and work among the Alemanni and Swabians. In extreme old age he was induced at the pressing request of the priest Willimar to revisit Arbona, but catching a fever there, under which he suffered fourteen days, he died Oct. 16, 645 or 646, at the age of 95, but some would propose an earlier date. He was buried at Arbona.

The sermon—which has received a variety of titles, as *An Abridgement of the Holy Scriptures, An Abridgement of Christian Doctrine, A Discourse as to the Way of Governing the Church*—seems to be the only really genuine literary remains of St. Gall, but Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 299–301) attributes to him many other works. Tanner (*Bibl.* 307) adds *Epistola ad Desiderium* from Ussher (*Sylloge*, Wks. iv. 430), but Lanigan follows Basnage and the writer in *Hist. Lit. de la France* in thinking the Epistles given by Canisius and Ussher were the work of Gallus the Younger, bishop of Clermont. (Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 180, and *Kal.* Oct. 16; Leslaeus, *de Reb. Gest. Scot.* l. iv. 146, 147; Cave, *Script. Eccl. Hist. Lit.* 452.)

The oratory of St. Gall gave rise to one of the most celebrated monasteries of the middle ages, and its library to this day stands unrivalled in the wealth and variety of its ancient manuscripts. (For an account of the school of St. Gall and its cultivation of the fine arts, see *Hist. Lit. de la France*, iv. 243–246.) [J. G.]

GALNUTIUS, saint. [WINWALLUS.]

GALONICA, ST. (GELONICA, GALLENIA), the companion of St. Aquilina. They were at first employed to draw ST. CHRISTOPHER from the faith, but being converted suffered martyrdom. There is some obscurity as to whether the so-called Mozarabic breviary hymn does not represent them as *soldiers* (*Liturg. Mozar.*, Migne, ii. 1167, contrasted with i. 795 n., 799 n.) instead of *women*, as in the later Western authorities. The name of Aquilina's companion has other variations, 'Niceta' (Baronius, Surius, 12th-cent. Passionale), and 'Nicea,' or 'Nicaea' (Walter of Spires, *Legenda Aurea*, etc.). They are commemorated in the Roman martyrology July 24. Mr. Baring-Gould mentions also Calinice as an *alias* for Aquilina. [Chr. W.]

GALSUINTHA (GACHILOSOINDA, GALSONTA, GELESUINTHA, GALESWINTHE, GAILESUINDA, CHILSUINTA, GAUSUENDA), wife of Chilperic I. king of the Franks; daughter of Athanagild king of the Visigoths of Spain and Goisuintha. In 567 Sigebert, one of Chilperic's brothers, married Brunichilde the younger sister of Galsuintha. Chilperic was stirred to emulation, and the same year sent an embassy to ask for the elder. His envoys were instructed to give assurances that, if his request were granted, he would put away the women with whom he had been living. Athanagild consented, and the bride elect was escorted in a triumphal progress through France, and received by Chilperic with great honour at Rouen. Before her marriage she abjured the Arian heresy in which she had been brought up, and was baptized into the Catholic communion. For a short time the king loved her much, for, as Gregory explains, she had brought much treasure. But very soon he forgot the promise which he had made to her father, to relinquish his other women, and Fredegund resumed her influence. Slighted by her husband and insulted by his mistress, Galsuintha, weary of vain remonstrances, offered to give up her dowry if only she were sent back to Spain. Chilperic dissembled, and sought to soothe her with reassuring words, but, at Fredegund's instigation, secretly instructed a slave to strangle her in her bed. After a few days' feigned mourning, the king married Fredegund. Galsuintha's sanctity was said to have been attested by a miracle at her tomb. Chilperic could not conceal his guilt from his brothers, who, urged on by Sigebert, undertook to avenge her death by depriving him of his kingdom. The quarrel was not finally composed till, by the treaty of Andelot, twenty years later, the five towns of Aquitaine, Limoges, Cahors, Bordeaux, Béarn and Bigorre, which formed Galsuintha's *Morgengabe*, were made over to Brunichilde (Greg. Tur. ix. 20). The chief authorities for Galsuintha's life are Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 28; *Epitomata*, lx.; Aimoin, iii. 5, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 695; and the poem written in her honour by Venantius Fortunatus (vi. 7, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 215–226). As to the last, however, though graphic in its details, it is not quite apparent how far the author has drawn on his own imagination. For modern accounts of this marriage see Löbell, *Greg. von Tours*, p. 314, seqq., Dreux du Radier, *Mémoires, &c. des Reines de France*, i. 223–9 and the somewhat highly-coloured story of Augustus Thierry (*Récits des Temps Mérovingiens*, i.). [S. A. B.]

GAMALIEL (1) I., also called **GAMALIEL THE ELDER, RABBAN GAMALIEL**, or simply **GAMALIEL**, son of the patriarch Simon I., grandson of Hillel I., of the royal family of David. He succeeded to the presidency of the Sanhedrin, A.D. 30, in the reign of Agrippa I., and was one of the most distinguished doctors of the law at the beginning of the apostolic age. The fact that Gamaliel succeeded to the patriarchate about the same time that Christ came forward as the Messiah, that he propounded the law when Jesus preached the gospel, that he was the teacher of the apostle Paul, whose character he greatly moulded, and that it was before him in council that the apostle Peter was brought, makes any information which we may obtain about the teachings of this remarkable rabbi of the utmost importance to the student of ecclesiastical history and antiquity. His great maxim was to search the Scriptures to ascertain their true import, and faithfully to pay to the Lord's sanctuary what belongs to the Lord. Hence he urged on his disciples to put themselves under approved teachers of the word of God, so as to learn rightly to divide the word of truth, to shun every species of doubt which leads to transgression, and not to pay the dues prescribed in the divine law according to conjecture. "Secure for thyself a teacher, keep thyself from doubting, and do not pay thy tithes conjecturally too often" (*Aboth*, i. 16). How this maxim operated on the Great Apostle of the

Gentiles may be seen from a comparison of Rom. xiv. 23; 1 Tim. ii. 8; 2 Tim. ii. 15. What distinguishes him most are the benign statutes which he promulgated to protect the helpless, to ameliorate the condition of the oppressed, and to impart relief to all needy irrespective of creed or nationality, thus seeking to exalt the Mosaic law by setting forth the humane lessons which it teaches, as will be seen from the following enactments.

I. The Mosaic laws about the sabbath, which enjoin that "no man must go out of his place on the seventh day," and "that no manner of work shall be done in it" (Exod. xvi. 29, xx. 10 with Jerem. xvii. 21, 22; Neh. x. 32, xiii. 15–19), were understood to involve abstention from the use of arms on this sacred day. Hence the faithful Jewish soldiers allowed themselves to be massacred by the enemy rather than violate the sabbath (1 Maccab. i. 32, &c.; 2 Maccab. vi. 11; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. vi. 2; *War*, II. xvi. 4). Though the law was afterwards interpreted more leniently, viz. that it was only offensive war which was prohibited, and that it did not forbid defensive action (1 Maccab. xi. 34, 43, &c.; Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. i. 3, XIV. vi. 2; *War*, II. xvi. 4), still it was held that it forbids the soldiers to return home and carry their weapons on the sabbath if at the termination of the war they are more than a sabbath day's journey from their homes. Now it was Gamaliel who interpreted the law still more liberally, and enacted that all persons called out to resist hostile invasions or to render help at inundations, or at fires, or at the falling down of houses, or at child-birth, might walk 2000 yards, that is 6 stadia 750 Roman paces, or sabbath-day's journey (*σαββάτου ὁδός* = תחום שבת), as it is called in the New Testament (Acts i. 12), in any direction (*Erubin*, 45; *Rosh Ha-Shana*, 23). It was this canon which gave rise to the beautiful maxim השבת מסורה בידכם ולא אתם מסורים בידו *the Sabbath is delivered into your hands, not you into its hands* (*Yoma*, 85 *b*), alluded to by our Saviour (Mark ii. 27).

II. The rather uncertain grounds on which the Mosaic law permits divorce (Deut. xxiv. 1–4) exposed women in the time of Christ to great injustice on the part of unprincipled husbands and gave rise to social disorders. A husband who had sent a bill of divorce to his wife by a messenger could revoke it in any court of justice, thus causing the greatest inconvenience to the woman and her children, inasmuch as she could not be sure whether she was free or not. Gamaliel ordained that the husband could only recall it in the presence of the same messenger who carried it (*Gittin*, 32).

III. At the time of Christ and in the apostolic age many of the Jews had duplicate names, Hebrew and Greek. The practice of only signing one name in legal documents exposed the woman to the mercy of an unprincipled husband, inasmuch as he could insist on the instrument being invalid. Gamaliel, by decreeing that the clause "and every other name which describes the person" should be added to the signature (*Gittin*, 34), protected the helpless woman.

IV. According to the ancient law it required two witnesses to attest the death of a person and to declare a married woman legally a widow. This caused the greatest inconvenience, inasmuch as it was not always possible to produce two witnesses. Gamaliel ordained that upon the mouth of one witness shall the thing be established (*Yebamoth*, 116).

V. According to a custom already alluded to in the Book of Tobit (vii. 5), every Jew had to make a settlement on his wife on day of marriage (כתובה). Unscrupulous children not unfrequently deprived their widowed mother of this settlement by declaring that she had compounded for it in the lifetime of their father. Gamaliel enacted that her declaration to the effect that she had not relinquished the portion due to her is to be taken as binding (*Gittin*, 34). It is this special legislation for the protection of widows, which throws light on his disciple's advice on the same subject (1 Tim. v. 1–16).

VI. He ordained that the poor heathen should have the same right as the poor Jews to gather the gleanings after the harvest, that equal provision should be made for both, that the sick heathen should be attended to, that the last honours should be paid to their dead, and that non-Israelite mourners should be comforted in towns which are inhabited by both Jews and Gentiles (*Gittin*, 59–61, &c.; *Jerusalem Gittin*, v.). This lesson to care for the poor of all nations, without distinction of creed, which Gamaliel inculcated on his disciples, illustrates the remark of the Apostle to the Galatians, vi. 10.

VII. The authority which he, as president of the Sanhedrin, exercised over the Jewish communities out of Palestine, and which may be seen from his edicts still extant, not only shews the ecclesiastical organization at the time of Christ and the apostles, but throws light upon an incident in the life of St. Paul recorded in the New Testament. On one occasion when he was on a journey in Syria, the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem had to declare the year intercalary, but they did it *subject to his approval*, and when Gamaliel returned he said, "I am satisfied therewith, and the year was intercalary" (*Mishna Eduyoth*, vii. 7; *Sanhedrin*, ii. 6). As both the form and the language of these decrees are of the utmost importance to the student of Christian antiquities, and the history of the apostolic age, we give a translation of one of them, subjoining the original in the foot-note.[a] "*To our brethren the exiles in Babylon, the exiles in Media, the exiles in Greece, and to all other exiles of Israel, peace be multiplied to you. We make known to you that the lambs of this year are still tender, the pigeons are not yet fledged, and the spring is altogether late. It hath therefore pleased me and my colleagues to lengthen the present year by thirty days.*" (Comp. *Jerusalem Sanhedrin*, i. 2.) This document explains the fact mentioned in Acts ix. 1, 2; xxii. 5, that letters from the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem authorising a certain thing were binding upon

[a] לאחנא בני גלותא דבבל, בני גלותא דמדי, בני גלותא דיוון, ושאר כל גלותא דישראל שלמכון יסגא. מודענא לכון דאימריא רכיכין וגוזליא דקיקין וזימנא דאביבא לא מטא, ושפר מילתא באפיי ואנפי חבריי מוספא על שתא דא תלתא יומין:

the Jewish communities far and wide, and that which was therein set forth was strictly obeyed. It moreover shews that the language of the Jews at that time, both in Palestine and elsewhere, was Aramaic.

VIII. An incident in the life of R. Gamaliel, related in different parts of the Talmud, is an important contribution to the history of the Septuagint. We are told that when he was once sitting on the Temple mount, the Greek version of Job was for the first time shewn to him. He, however, so strongly disapproved of this book being popularised that he ordered the builders who were working at the temple to immure the copy in the wall (*Jerusalem Sabbath*, xvii. 1; *Tosephta Sabbath*, xiv. p. 128, ed. Zuckermandel; *Babylon Sabbath*, 115 a; *Sopherim*, v. 15). It will thus be seen that at the time of Agrippa I. the Greek translation of Job was unknown in Palestine, and that when a single copy was brought either from Egypt or Syria to R. Gamaliel, he at once had it concealed (ἀποκρύφειν) for had other copies of it been in circulation at that time, the concealing of this single copy would have been useless (comp. Graetz, *Monatsschrift*, xxvi. 83–91; Ginsburg, *Commentary on Sopherim*, v. 15).

IX. So great was the esteem in which he was held by the nation at large, that he was the first patriarch or president of the Sanhedrin, who was honoured with the title *rabban* (רַבָּן), *the master, the teacher*, which is the Aramaic form of the Hebrew *rab* (רַב), used in Babylon, and with suffix *Rabbi* (רַבִּי) used in Palestine, (*Tosephta Eduyoth*). *Rabban* (רַבָּן = Ῥαββον) however, is the highest title of the three forms, and is rendered still more venerable by the pronominal suffix, first person, viz. *rabbani* (רַבָּנִי = Ῥαββονί) *my master*, or *rabboni*, as it is pronounced in Aramaic. It was the desire of blind Bartimeus and of Mary Magdalene to shew the greatest veneration for Christ, which made them call Him by the most distinguished title recently bestowed upon the highest and most honoured person of the whole Jewish nation (Mark x. 51; John xx. 16). Though it is difficult adequately to render this title in English; yet it will be seen that of the two passages in which it occurs in the New Testament, the first (Mark x. 51) fails to give the force in the authorised version, whilst the second (John xx. 16) conveys a feeble idea of the original, since it makes it equivalent to *Rabbi* (רַבִּי Ῥαββι), which occurs fifteen times in the New Testament (Matt. xxiii. 7, 8; xxvi. 25, 49; Mark ix. 5; xi. 21; xiv. 45; John i. 33, 39; iii. 2, 26; iv. 31; vi. 25; ix. 2; xi. 8), and is translated by the same expression *master* eight times (Matt. xxvi. 25, 49; Mark ix. 5; xi. 21; xiv. 45; John iv. 31; ix. 2; xi. 8), though it is lower in degree than *rabboni*.

X. His absolute faith in the ultimate victory of Divine truth, his great liberality of sentiments, and his prudence and humane conduct in the treatment of those who conscientiously differed from him in matters of religion are attested by the record in the New Testament of the wise counsel which he gave about the treatment of the Apostles (Acts v. 34–40). That he composed or sanctioned the well-known prayer against Christian heretics, as is asserted by Conybeare and Howson (*Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, i. 70, London, 1862), is utterly at variance with his tolerant and humane nature, and with the description given of him in the New Testament. This erroneous notion has arisen from a confusion of Gamaliel I. with his grandson Gamaliel II. More charitable, but equally erroneous, is the ancient tradition contained in the Clementine *Recognitions* (i. 65, 66), that he was a secret believer in Christ, and that he only remained among the Jews by the advice of the Apostles. He died in office as president of the Sanhedrin and patriarch of the Jewish nation. How he was honoured in life and revered in death may be gathered from the epitaph to which the whole nation gave expression: "With the death of Gamaliel I. the reverence for the Divine law ceased, and the observance of purity and abstinence departed" (*Mishna Sota*, ix. 15); comp. Frankel, *Darke Ha-Mishna*, 57–59, Leipzig, 1859; Weiss, *Dōr Dōr Vĕdōrshov*, i. 188, &c., Vienna, 1871.) [C. D. G.]

GAMALIEL (2) II., also called Gamaliel the younger, Gamaliel of Zabne, son of the patriarch Simon II. and grandson of Gamaliel I. He was born about A.D. 50, and became president of the Sanhedrin about A.D. 117. Though educated during the most troublous days of the Jewish nation in Palestine, when his brethren, in consequence of the destruction of the Temple and the sufferings inflicted upon them by their conquerors, hated everything Greek and Roman, Gamaliel cultivated Greek literature and art, and studied apocryphal writings and the Greek versions of the Old Testament, which his own grandfather, R. Gamaliel I., condemned to be concealed [GAMALIEL I.]. His father, Simon, who was president during the insurrection against the Romans, headed the party of moderate zealots in the defence of Jerusalem, and when the holy city was captured, the president of the Sanhedrin was executed for his patriotism. Gamaliel, his son, who was then too young to succeed his father to the distinguished hereditary office, betook himself to Zabne or Zamnia, a town on the coast of the Mediterranean, nearly midway between Joppa and the ancient Philistine city Ashdod. Here his father had left him a large estate, where he kept up a princely establishment, which was open to the learned of both Jews and Gentiles. Here, too, R. Jochanan b. Zaccai, by permission of the Roman authorities, removed the seat of the Sanhedrin after the destruction of Jerusalem, and temporarily became the president of this august assembly after the execution of the patriarch Simon. As soon as R. Gamaliel could conveniently become its head, R. Jochanan gave way to the rightful heir of the house of Hillel, and Gamaliel II. was duly installed. His reign as spiritual head over the Jews was most difficult. Not only was Jerusalem trodden down under the foot of the Gentiles, and the wounds of the surviving nation were designedly kept open and bleeding by the cruel conquerors, but the people thus goaded by bitter persecution gave themselves up to despair, thinking that God had finally cast them away from being a nation. Hence some resolved to abstain from marriage so as not to beget children, some voluntarily submitted to the greatest privations so as to bring about the destruction

of the nation, whilst some, losing all faith in the love of the God of Abraham for his people, made common cause with the Romans. These renegades were appointed as judges and preservers of order to try their own brethren for treason. They became the tools in the hands of the oppressors and meanly aided by treachery the self-imposed destruction of the nobler and more heroic portion of the nation. In the midst of these disintegrating and destructive forces, R. Gamaliel commenced his patriarchate. His faith in the promise that "the seed of Israel shall never cease as a nation," never wavered. He rallied the remnant of believers around him at Zabne, and with never-failing zeal endeavoured to rouse in the people a consciousness of their divine mission. But the very remnant who were willing to receive from the mouth of the patriarch and his colleagues words of comfort derived from the promises declared by God's holy prophets were exposed to a far more powerful agency, which shook them to the very foundation. Infant Christianity had put forth its apostolic efforts to gain the suffering Jews for the kingdom of heaven, pointing out to the weary and heavy-laden the only source of peace and rest, and won over to its ranks many of the most pious and most learned children of Abraham. Gamaliel had, therefore, to devise means so as to guard his brethren against this threefold agency, which, though antagonistic in its nature, combined to break up the Jewish community. To effect this the patriarch had the aid of some of the most distinguished doctors of the law, who were members of the Sanhedrin at Zabne in the days of the apostles. Of these colleagues may be mentioned R. Abba, his brother, R. Eliezer, b. Hyrcanos, his brother-in-law [ELIEZER], R. Joshua, C. Chananya, R. Zadok with his son R. Eliezer, R. Torphon, R. Samuel the less, who is sometimes erroneously identified with the apostle Paul, R. Dosa b. Hyrcanos, R. Eliezer b. Arach, R. Akiba, R. Simon Hupekuli, R. Akabia b. Mahelallel, &c.

His first aim was to re-examine and harmonize all the canonical decisions and traditional expositions of the Scriptures which had developed themselves in the different schools of Shammai and Hillel, and which had hitherto been transmitted orally. The destruction of Jerusalem, the execution by the Romans of some of the most distinguished doctors, the dispersion of others into different countries, and the conversion of others again to Christianity, threatened to bring about the loss of important traditions, and to produce diversity of opinion and practice. He therefore had all these decisions brought before the Sanhedrin at Zabne by their different depositaries. These were discussed publicly, and Gamaliel ruled that the decision of the majority must be final, and henceforth become unalterably the uniform practice, and that insubordination on the part of the minority is to be visited with the penalty of excommunication. So vigorously did he carry out his rule that he excommunicated his own brother-in-law, the celebrated R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanos, for refusing to yield to the majority. [ELIEZER B. HYRCANOS.]

Another important point undertaken by Gamaliel II. was to determine the time and order of the daily prayer. As the Temple which was the central place of national worship, was now destroyed, and as the sacrifices ceased, he ordered that every Israelite is bound to pray three times a day, morning, afternoon and evening: the morning prayer to take the place of the morning sacrifice, the afternoon or *Mincha* prayer to take the place of the evening sacrifice, and the evening prayer to represent the steaming of the fat of the evening sacrifice. He appointed R. Simon Hapekuli, one of the members of the Sanhedrin to arrange the eighteen benedictions for the daily liturgy so as to include a prayer for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and asked R. Samuel the less, another member of the Sanhedrin, to adapt the old collect against heretics, entitled *Birchath Ha-Minim* (ברכת המינים), to the present circumstances so as to include therein the new sect of Christians which had recently sprung up in the Jewish community (*Berachode*, 28 b). It will thus be seen that with the exception of the collect for the speedy restoration of the holy city, and the verbal alteration in the collect against the heretics, these eighteen benedictions are of pre-Christian date. They formed part of the Temple and synagogue service prior to and at the advent of Christ. As there can therefore be no doubt that our Saviour and the apostles joined in these prayers when they resorted to the temple and the synagogue, we subjoin them in their re-arranged form according to the order of Gamaliel II. 1. (ברוך). Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, great, omnipotent, fearful, and most high God, who bountifully shewest mercy, who art the possessor of all things, who rememberest the pious deeds of our fathers, and sendest the redeemer to their children's children, for his mercy's sake in love. O our king, defender, saviour and shield! Blessed art thou, O Lord, the shield of Abraham. 2. (אתה גבור). Thou art powerful, O Lord, world without end; thou bringest the dead to life in great compassion, thou holdest up the falling, healest the sick, loosest the chained, and shewest thy faithfulness to those that sleep in the dust. Who is like unto thee, Lord of might, and who resembles thee?—a sovereign killing and bringing to life again, and causing salvation to flourish—and thou art sure to raise the dead. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who raisest the dead! 3. (אתה קדוש). Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and the holy ones praise thee every day continually. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the holy God! 4. (אתה חונן). Thou mercifully bestowest knowledge upon men and teachest the mortal prudence. Mercifully bestow upon us, from thyself, knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who mercifully bestowest knowledge! 5. (השיבנו). Our Father, lead us back to thy law; bring us very near, O our king, to thy service, and cause us to return in sincere penitence into thy presence! Blessed art thou, O Lord, who delightest in repentance! 6. (סלח). Our father, forgive us, for we have sinned; our King, pardon us, for we have transgressed; for thou art forgiving and pardoning. Blessed art thou, O Lord, merciful and plenteous in forgiveness! 7. (ראה). Look at our misery, contend our cause, and deliver us speedily, for thy name's sake, for thou art a

mighty deliverer. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the deliverer of Israel! 8. (רפיאנו). Heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed, save us and we shall be saved, for thou art our boast; grant us a perfect cure for all our wounds, for thou O Lord, O Lord, our king, art a faithful and merciful physician: Blessed art thou, O Lord, who healest the sick of thy people Israel! 9. (ברוך עלינו). Bless to us, O Lord our God, for good this year and all its kinds of produce; send thy blessing upon the face of the earth, satisfy us with thy goodness, and bless this year as the years bygone. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest the seasons! 10. (תקע). Cause the great trumpet to proclaim our liberty, raise the standard for the gathering of our captives, and bring us together from the four corners of the earth. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the dispersed of Israel! 11. (השיבה). Reinstate our judges as of old, and our councillors as of yore, remove from us sorrow and sighing and do thou alone, O Lord, reign over us in mercy and love, and judge us in righteousness and justice. Blessed art thou O Lord the King, who lovest righteousness and justice! 12. (ול מלשינים). Let the apostates have no hope, and let those who perpetrate wickedness speedily perish; let them all be suddenly cut off, let the proud speedily be uprooted, broken, crushed, and humbled speedily in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who breakest down the enemy and humblest the proud! 13 (על הצדיקים). On the righteous, on the pious, on the elders of thy people, the house of Israel, on the remnant of the scribes, on the pious proselytes, and on us bestow, O Lord our God, thy mercy; give ample reward to all who trust in thy name in sincerity, make our portion with them for ever, and let us not be ashamed, for we trust in thee! Blessed art thou, O Lord, the support and refuge of the righteous! 14 *a*. (על ירושלים). To Jerusalem, thy city, in mercy return, and dwell in it according to thy promise; make it speedily in our day an everlasting building, and soon establish therein the throne of David. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem! 14 *b*. (ואת צמח). The branch of David thy servant speedily cause to flourish, and exalt his horn with thy help, for we look to thy help all day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who causest to flourish the horn of David! 15. (שמע קולנו). Hear our voice, O Lord our God, have pity and compassion on us, and receive with mercy and acceptance our prayers, for thou art a God hearing prayer and supplications. Our king, do not send us empty away from thy presence, for thou hearest the prayers of thy people Israel in mercy! Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer! 16. (רצה). Be favourable, O Lord our God, to thy people Israel, and to their prayer; restore the worship to thy sanctuary, receive lovingly the burnt sacrifice of Israel and their prayer, and let the service of Israel thy people be always well-pleasing to thee. May our eyes see thee return to Zion in love. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy Shechinah to Zion! 17. (מודים). We thankfully confess before thee that thou art the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, world without end, and that thou art the shepherd of our life and the rock of our salvation from generation to generation; we render thanks unto thee and celebrate thy praises. Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is goodness and whom it becomes to praise! 18. (ישים שלום). Bestow peace, happiness, blessing, grace, mercy, and compassion upon us and upon the whole of Israel thy people. Our father, bless us all unitedly with the light of thy countenance, for in the light of thy countenance didst thou give to us, O Lord our God, the law of life, loving kindness, justice, blessing, compassion, life, and peace. May it please thee to bless thy people Israel at all times and in every moment with peace. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace!

As scruples were entertained whether the ancient number of eighteen should be increased, the new prayer for the restoration of Jerusalem (14 *a*) ordered by R. Gamaliel was combined with the old prayer for the kingdom of David (14 *b*). This, however, gave rise to another question whether it was right to merge the two benedictions. Hence they were separated, and the present number of nineteen, which is justified by an appeal to Ps. xxix., where the name of God occurs nineteen times (*Berachoth*, 28 *b*). The dates of Benedictions 1–3 and 16–18 are lost in remote antiquity; Benedictions 4–13, 14 *b*, 15, 16, were compiled during the Maccabean struggles and the Roman ascendancy in Palestine, whilst 14 *a* was the new addition. Three of these benedictions were pronounced by the priests upon the people every morning in the hall of the square in the Temple court; the high priest recited Benedictions 16 and 17 in the Temple on the great day of Atonement (*Yoma*, 68 *b*), whilst the four-and-twenty representatives of the people recited all of them in the Temple every day (*Sabbath*, 24 *b*). Hence the great importance which Gamaliel attached to the making of these benedictions, which constituted an essential part of the sacerdotal Temple service, the central point of the daily prayer. For the same reason he fixed the service for the Passover eve in the place of the Paschal sacrifice, and himself compiled several pieces contained in the ritual for that evening (*Berachoth*, 37; *Tosephta Berachoth*, iv.). He exerted himself to the utmost to do away with pernicious customs which weighed heavily upon the people, but which they had not the courage to discard. Thus it was an ancient custom among the Jews to bury their dead with great pomp. The heavy expense which this entailed upon families with small means often crippled their resources for life. Fear of this heavy burden not unfrequently led many to leave their dead unburied. Gamaliel forbade this extravagance, and ordered his family to bury him in simple white linen (*Moed Katou*, 27; *Kethuboth*, 8 *a*; *Tosephta Nidda*, ix.), and this mode of burial is followed by the Jews to the present day. He travelled through the length and breadth of Syria to become personally acquainted with the condition of the people in the different towns and villages. He investigated their institutions, visited their synagogues and schools, delivering public addresses, giving decisions, and organizing places for education. It was on these journeys that he came in frequent

contact with the apostolic fathers and the early Christians. Like many other indefatigable spiritual heads, he could brook no contradiction. Difference of opinion on the part of his colleagues he treated as insubordination, and visited with severe punishment, totally ignoring the age or position of the doctor who dared to differ from him. He did not tolerate an expression of disapprobation on the part of a member of the Sanhedrin on any of his decisions, and arbitrarily excluded the public from attending the discussions at the Sanhedrin, though it was contrary to ancient custom to carry on the debates with closed doors. This fomented secret discontent with his conduct, which soon manifested itself openly, and led to his temporary deposition from the patriarchate. The immediate occasion of the open rupture between him and the Sanhedrin was as follows. A disciple came before R. Joshua, the vice-president (אב בית דין) with the question, "Whether the recital of evening prayer was a duty or a voluntary act?" to which he replied that it is voluntary. It so happened that the disciple asked R. Gamaliel the same question, and that he declared it to be a duty. When the disciple told him that R. Joshua had decided it otherwise, the president asked him to come with the question before the Sanhedrin. In the presence of this august assembly the patriarch declared evening prayer a duty, and asked if there were any dissentients. After some silence R. Joshua, as vice-president, stepped forward, in accordance with the custom on these occasions, and replied in the name of the assembly that there was no difference of opinion to record. R. Gamaliel at once said, "I was told that you decided differently; stand up that witness may testify against thee;" this being the form of accusation. Though R. Joshua candidly said that he differed from the decision, R. Gamaliel let him stand, and continued his discourse. Such indignity heaped upon the distinguished and beloved vice-president was felt as an insult to the whole Sanhedrin. Great murmurs of disapprobation were at once heard. The exclamation, "Who has not already felt your harshness?" rose from all sides. The members converted themselves into a tribunal, and forthwith deposed the president. So popular was the act of deposition that the attendance at the college was at once increased by about 300 disciples. But out of respect for the feelings of the deposed patriarch, the Sanhedrin would not choose his opponent, R. Joshua, though he was the fittest man for the position. As the renowned R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanos, R. Gamaliel's brother-in-law, was undergoing the penalty of excommunication [ELIEZER B. HYRCANOS], and as the learned R. Akiba was a parvenu, the choice fell on R. Eliezer b. Azariah, who, though only about sixteen years of age, was of the ancient priestly family dating back to Ezra, was very learned and exceedingly wealthy, thus being able to impart dignity and grandeur to his office, which were regarded as essential.

What is of great importance to the student of ecclesiastical history and Christian antiquities in the deposition of R. Gamaliel, is the fact that the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures was settled under the new presidency. Immediately after his elevation to the patriarchate R. Eliezer, at the instigation of R. Joshua, undertook a revision of the decisions which had been carried in so high-handed a manner by R. Gamaliel. Up to this time the members of the Sanhedrin themselves, in whom was vested the power to fix the canon, disputed the canonicity of certain portions of the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus the School of Shammai excluded Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs from the list of Holy Writ, declaring that they proceeded from Solomon's uninspired wisdom. It was the Sanhedrin at Zabne, under the presidency of Eleazar b. Azariah, which decided that these books are inspired, and that they form part of the canon, and it was the zeal of R. Akiba, in the discussion on this occasion, which decided that "the Song of Songs is the most holy of all holy scriptures," or, in other words, is to be explained allegorically (*Yedeim*, iii. 5, with *Edruoth*, v. 37). Hence the Chaldee paraphrase of this book.

From a domineering president, R. Gamaliel became a tractable and submissive member of the Sanhedrin. His haughty and unyielding spirit was broken, and he learned to co-operate with his colleagues, and to respect the opinions of his opponents. He now endeavoured to seek reconciliation with those whom he had offended. To this end he visited R. Joshua, whom he had mostly sinned against. When he entered R. Joshua's house, he found to his utter amazement that this distinguished and greatly beloved doctor of the law was engaged in making needles. "Have you to get your livelihood in this way?" exclaimed the wealthy ex-president. This gave R. Joshua the desired opportunity for expostulating with him about his indifference to the manner in which some of the members of the Sanhedrin had to get a living. "It is bad, indeed, that you have only now got to know this. Woe to the age whose guide you are, you know not the cares of the sages and what trouble they have to earn a subsistence" (*Berachoth*, 29; *Jerusalem Berachoth*, iv.). R. Gamaliel meekly listened to the merited rebuke, and then sincerely asked R. Joshua's pardon. He not only willingly forgave him, but henceforth endeavoured to have him reinstated as patriarch. About this there was no difficulty, for as soon as R. Eleazar heard that a reconciliation had taken place between them he, accompanied by the members of the Sanhedrin, went to R. Gamaliel's house the following morning to pay him the homage due to the president. R. Eleazar's voluntary resignation, however, was not accepted; it was so arranged that they should both have the dignity, R. Gamaliel alternately presiding over the Sanhedrin a fortnight, and R. Eleazar a week. The lesson which Gamaliel thus learned he never forgot. Henceforth he was most affable and forbearing. He cultivated friendship with all classes of people, with the learned of all nations, with Christians and the different religious orders which sprang up at the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century of the Christian era. Of his intercourse with heathen philosophers we have an interesting account in the following anecdote, which shews how much the Gentiles of that period read the Septuagint, and with what weapons they attacked its contents. A Gentile sage remarked to him, "Your law says, 'God is a jealous God.' Why, then, does he manifest his jealousy against idolaters and not against *the idols?*" To this

R. Gamaliel replied in a parable. "A king hath a son that delighteth to call his dog by the name of his own royal father. Now with whom will the king be angry, with the dog or with his son?" Then saith the heathen philosopher, "Why doth not God destroy these idols if they are such worthless things?" Saith R. Gamaliel, "If the heathen only worshipped useless things God might do it, but they worship the sun, the moon, the water, &c., and shall God destroy the world because of fools?" (*Aboda Zara*, 54 *a*-55 *a*). Of his intercourse with Christians we may adduce the following account. A Christian believing that "life and immortality are brought to light in the Gospel" (2 Tim. i. 10), extolled the doctrines of the New Testament by asking R. Gamaliel, "How do you know (without the New Testament) that the dead will rise again?" To this Gamaliel replied, "From the words, 'the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give THEM' (Deut. xi. 21), but as the fathers were dead the promise must have premised a resurrection when alone the land could be given to these fathers" (*Sanhedrin*, 90 *b*). This shews the force of the interpretation given by Christ of Matt. xxii. 32, and the inference he deduced therefrom. This liberal intercourse made him one of the most popular presidents of the Sanhedrin. Ripe in years, full of honours, and beloved by all, Gamaliel died about A.D. 117. At his funeral Onkelos, the celebrated translator of the Pentateuch into Chaldee, who was one of his disciples, paid him royal honours by burning costly garments and furniture to the value of seventy Tyrian minae = 21*l*., declaring that "R. Gamaliel was worth more than a hundred kings from whom the world hath nothing" (*Tosephta Sabbath*, viii. p. 119, ed. Zuckermandel; *Aboda Zara*, 11 *a*). R. Eleazar, his co-president, and R. Joshua, his former antagonist, ordered general mourning, to which the whole nation readily responded. R. Gamaliel left two sons, named Simon and Abba, and a daughter. The daughter he married to his brother, R. Abba. At the marriage he gave her the significant paternal blessing, which strikingly illustrates the patriarch's character, "May you never be compelled to seek your parental roof again" (*Yebamoth*, 15 *a*). His son Simon succeeded him in the presidency under the title of Simon III. (comp. Rappaport, *Kerem Chemed*). [C. D. G.]

GAMALIEL (3), patriarch of the Jews in the reign of Theodosius II., from whom he received the title of honorary prefect. He seems to have abused his power by arbitrary and illegal conduct, and we have extant a law of Theodosius of the year 415, by which he is deposed. (Cod. Theod. vi. 22.) Three of the charges against him are that he had ventured to act as judge in cases where Christians were concerned, that he had tried to force circumcision upon Christians, and that he had kept Christian slaves. It is probable that this is the same Gamaliel whom St. Jerome mentions (*Ep.* 57, § 3) as an enemy of the consular Hesychius. He appears to have been the last of the Jewish patriarchs, since in 429 the office is represented as extinct (Cod. Theod. vi. 29), and it is reasonable to connect this with the fact of his flagrant abuse of power. [M. F. A.]

GAMALINUS, bishop of Perrha, in the province of Commagene, during the reign of the emperor Anastasius, whilst Severus was patriarch of Antioch, whose heretical opinions Gamalinus adopted, c. A.D. 512. Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* i. 409 n.) narrates from Syriac authorities his uniting with Paul bishop of Edessa in the expulsion of certain pseudo-monks who pretended to partake neither of bread, nor wine, nor water, yet made frequent meals on the consecrated elements. (Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 944.) [L. D.]

GAMALIUS, Donatist bishop, present at the council of Bagaia, or Vagaia, A.D. 394, at which he probably presided. (Aug. *c. Cresc.* iii. 53, 59; iv. 10; Tillemont, 67, vol. vi. p. 166.) [H. W. P.]

GAMELBERTUS (GAMULBERTUS, AMALBERTUS, AMELBERTUS), parish priest in the village of Fagetum or Michelsbuch in Lower Bavaria. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 27 Jan. ii. 783 sq.) represent him as flourishing at the time of Charlemagne's final repression of Tassilo duke of Bavaria, A.D. 788. According to an anonymous *Vita* which they give, he was born of noble parents at Michelsbuch, at the confluence of the Isar and the Danube. He preferred study and retirement, to which, after promotion to the priesthood and a visit to Rome, he devoted himself. He was a man of only moderate learning, but devoted to his pastoral duties. Forsaking the family mansion, he built himself a cell adjoining the parish church, wherein he might practise his nightly devotions without restraint. In the lenten fast he secluded himself absolutely, allowing no one to visit him, and never going out except to celebrate mass, which he did daily, concealed however from the laity by a veil suspended before the sanctuary, while a deacon delivered the sacrament to the communicants. During the same season he heard confessions and gave absolution through a window in his cell, but was never seen. [J. G.]

GANDERICUS (CANDERICUS, GAUDERICUS, GAUDRICUS), thirty-fifth bishop of Lyons, succeeding Theodoricus, or Tetricus, and followed by Viventius. A few scattered facts of his life have reached us. In A.D. 642 he subscribed the charter granted by Audobert, archbishop of Paris, to Babolenus, for the monastery of St. Maur des Fossés (Fossatense), near Paris. He also ordained St. Baldomer (St. Garmier, or Galmé) to be sub-deacon (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 684) and he presided over, and subscribed the third council of Châlons, circ. A.D. 644 (Mansi, x. 1193; Mabill. *Annales*, an. 642, n. xii. xiii. tom. i. p. 383; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 42). [S. A. B.]

GANDO, 15th bishop of Strasburg, between Aldus and Uto I., according to *Gall. Chr.* v. 780. Wimpheling (*Cat. Episc. Argent.* p. 16) places him 19th between Gundoaldus and Uto I., and finds him described as a man "clari ingenii." From his position in the list he may have lived early in the 7th century. [C. H.]

GANGOLFUS, martyr. [GENGULPHUS.]

GANGRICUS of Treves. [GUNDERIC (2).]

GANGULPHUS. After Boso, who was bishop of Constance about A.D. 642, the history of

the see of Constance is lost in obscurity till the time of Audoinus, who lived about A.D. 736. A catalogue of the 14th century gives as the bishops of Constance during this interval, Ophtardus, Pictavius, Severus, Joannes II., and Buffo or Buso. This list is adopted in *Gallia Christiana*, v. 894, and by Manlius (in Pistorius, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*, iii. 702). Another list, however, in Mangold's *Chronicle*, written in A.D. 1548, fills up the interval with Gangolfus, Fidelis, and Theobaldus. This is followed by Gams, *Series Ep.* 271, who spells the name Gangulphus, and von Mülinen, *Helvetia Sacra*, 8. Gelpke (*Kirchengeschichte der Schweitz*, ii. 282) prefers the former list. [F. D.]

GARALT, abbat. [GERALDUS.]

GARBHAN (GARBAN, GARUAN, GARVAN). (1) In the *Life of St. Barry* Garbhan son of Finnbarr is named among his pupils at Lough Irce. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 750, 751) places his feast on March 26, and thus identifies him with Garbhan abbat of Achadh. Harris and Archdall follow Colgan and attach Garbhan to Dungarvan, on Dungarvan Bay, as its founder, though Lanigan seems nearer the mark in saying that the "fort of Garvan" in all likelihood "owes its name not to a monk but to a chieftain." He flourished in the middle of the 7th century, if he was a pupil of St. Barry. [BARRY.] (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 318, 319; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 87.)

(2) Garbhan, priest of Kinsaley, a parish near Swords, co. Dublin, commemorated on July 9. His father was Lugaidh, and his mother Cainer, who was mother also of St. Mochua or Cronan (Aug. 8) of Clondalkin, and other saints. He was a disciple of St. Coemgen (June 3) of Glendaloch, and seems to have had considerable influence with that holy man. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 191, 213; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 44, 49; Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 18.)

(3) Garuanus, son of Aengus, was one of the bishops said to have been present at a council called in Ireland in the time of St. Forannan and St. Columba for meeting the public necessities and allaying quarrels. He was a descendant of Conall Crimthann, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and, if a contemporary of these holy men, he flourished about the middle of the 6th century. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 336, c. 5, and *Tr. Thaum.* 463, c. 53.) [J. G.]

GARCI, son of Cewydd ab Caw, a Welsh saint of the 6th century, said to have had a church in Glamorganshire dedicated to him. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 258.) [J. G.]

GARDINGUS, bishop of Tuy, one of the Arian bishops who embraced Catholicism at the famous third council of Toledo, A.D. 589. The signature of the Catholic bishop of Tuy, Neuphila, appears in the same council. Gardingus was probably made bishop of Tuy by Leovigild, to the exclusion of the Catholic bishop, after the final annexation of the kingdom of the Suevi, A.D. 585. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 238; *Esp. Sayr.* xxii. 30.) [ANILA.] [M. A. W.]

GARGILIUS (1), Numidian bishop, addressed Cyp. 70. (*Ep. Syn. Carth.* sub Cyp. *de Bap. Haer.* 1.) [Compare with the name "Gargilius Africanus" on a *Numidian* cippus, *Soc. Arch. Const.* 1860, p. 165; also p. 169, and Gargilia on another *Numidian* cippus, vol. 1858, p. 150, and Thermae Gargilianae, "famous in ecclesiastical history of Carthage" (*Dict. Geog.* p. 551).] [E. W. B.]

GARGILIUS (2), another Numidian bishop addressed Cyp. 70. (*Ep. Syn. Carth.* sub Cyp. *de Bap. Haer.* 1.) [E. W. B.]

GARIARIUS (GARIACUS), about twenty-second bishop of Angers, between Godobertus and Boso, perhaps about the middle of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 551.) [S. A. B.]

GARIBALDUS (1), son of Grimoald king of the Lombards, by the sister of king Godebert, whom he had ejected. Garibald, while a boy, was left at his father's death, A.D. 672, as king of the Lombards, but in three months he was turned out by Perthari, brother, and formerly joint ruler with Godebert. (Paulus Diaconus, v. 33, and *Catalogus Regum Langob.* in *Monum. Rerum Italicarum et Langob.* 1878, pp. 155, 508.) [A. H. D. A.]

GARIBALDUS (2) (GAREBALDUS), twenty-second bishop of Toul, succeeding Dodo and followed by Godo, is said to have been the son of Wulfoaldus, a count. In 706 he was witness to a charter of Pippin and Plectrudis in favour of the monastery of Epternach, in the diocese of Treves (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 540). In 709 he subscribed a charter of his father, for the foundation of the monastery of St. Michael, near Verdun (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxviii. 1258). He added many new possessions to his church, and is said to have died about A.D. 735 (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 965). [S. A. B.]

GARIBALDUS (3), GARIOBALDUS, GARIOVALDUS (GAEBALDUS, GAIABALDUS, GAIBALDUS, GAIBALT, GAUBALDUS, GOIBALCH, GOIBALDUS, GOWIBOLT, HERBALDUS), bishop of Ratisbon. St. Boniface, on his return from his third journey to Rome in A.D. 739, was invited by Odilo duke of Bavaria to visit that country. There he made many converts, and finding that Vivilo, who had been consecrated by the pope, was the only bishop in Bavaria, he, with the duke's approval, divided Bavaria into four sees, Salzburg, Frising, Ratisbon, and Passau. The last was assigned to Vivilo, and to the others St. Boniface appointed Joannes, Erembercht, and Garibaldus. The authority for this account is a letter of pope Gregory III. to St. Boniface, dated Oct. 29, in the twenty-third year of the emperor Leo (A.D. 740), in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 584, in which he approves of St. Boniface's arrangements, mentioning that the latter had informed him "dum episcopos non habebant in provincia, nisi unum nomine Vivilo." Pagi, however, in his notes on Baronius, xii. 739 II., 756 VIII., on the authority of certain verses of an anonymous writer, who lived in the next century, argues that one Wicpertus was bishop of Ratisbon, and that till his death in A.D. 756 Garibaldus was only his coadjutor. However, the authority of the above quoted passage seems preferable. There was also a Wicpertus, bishop of Augsburg, whose life is given in the Boll. *Acta SS.* April. ii. 547, who

lived about this time, and it seems probable either that he had exercised some episcopal authority at Ratisbon before St. Boniface's arrival, though not properly bishop of that place, or that the author of the verses confused Augsburg with Ratisbon. Garibaldus is said to have found the relics of St. Emmeran, and to have removed them to a new and splendid tomb. According to Rader (*Bavaria Sancta*, ii. 68) his episcopate lasted either thirteen or twenty-two years. He is commemorated Jan. 8. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 546, and the *Lives of St. Boniface*, by Willibald and Othlo, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 623, 648.) [F. D.]

GARIPALD, duke of Turin, sent by Godebert (joint king of the Lombards with his brother, Perthari, in 661) to obtain help against his brother from Grimoald duke of Benevento. Garipald intrigued with Grimoald, who killed Godepert with his own hand. The story is so told as to throw all the blame of treachery on Garipald. (Paulus Diac. iv. 51; Pabst, *Forschungen z. d. G.* ii. 458.) Garipald was shortly afterwards murdered by a member of the house of Godepert. [A. H. D. A.]

GARISIGIUS (CHARISIGIUS, CARIGISILUS), twenty-eighth bishop of Tours, succeeding Latinus, and followed by Chrotbertus I. (circ. A.D. 650). The catalogues assign two years for the duration of his episcopate. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 28.) [S. A. B.]

GARIVALDUS (GAIROVALDUS), twenty-eighth bishop of Clermont in the latter half of the 7th century, succeeding Felix. According to one of the lives of St. Praejectus (Prix), upon the death of Felix the greater part of the clergy or people desired to have St. Prix for their bishop, but Garivaldus, who was archdeacon of the city, usurped the see. He survived his intrusion only forty days, and was succeeded by St. Prix (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 634; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 245). [S. A. B.]

GARMON, Welsh form of GERMANUS of Auxerre (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 121). [J. G.]

GARNIMIA Irish saint. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 22 Feb. iii. 280.) [GURNIN.] [J. G.]

GAROINUS (GAROYNUS, GARRINUS, GARINUS, BAROINUS), eighth bishop of Strasburg, between Magnus and Landbertus, apparently about the middle of the 6th century, in the list of the Sammarthani. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 780.) Wimpheling places him in the middle of the 8th century, as 12th bishop, between Aldus and Landbertus (Wimph. *Catal. Episc. Argent.* p. 15). [C. H.]

GARTNAIDH, GARNAIT, GARTNAICH, GARTNAIT, GARTNAITH, GARTNART, GARTNAY (GARTINAICH), son of Domelch or Domnach, succeeded Brude, the friend of St. Columba, on the Pictish throne, in the year 584, and seems to have belonged to the southern Picts in Scotland, as his residence was not at Inverness but at Abernethy on the Tay, where he built a monastic church dedicated to St. Bridget, and thus aided in the revival of the Christianity founded among the southern Picts by St. Ninian. According to Tigernach he died A.D. 599. (Skene, *Celt. Scotl.* i. 233, 235, ii. 136, 137; Robertson, *Scot. under her Early Kings*, ii. 185, App. A; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 372. For this king and the many forms of his name, see Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 462, "Gartnart.") [J. G.]

GARUAN, GARVAN. [GARBHAN.]

GATIANUS, said by Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* 23 and 526) to have been sent by the see of Rome in the first year of Decius to Gaul, where he became first bishop of Tours. Persecution arising, he hid in caves with a few Christians, and celebrated in secret the "mysterium solemnitatis diei dominici." His death is placed in the Roman Martyrology at Dec. 20, 301. (*Gall. Chr.* xv. 4.) [R. T. S.]

GATIANUS, martyr. [GRATIANUS (2).]

GATSA-KELEB, the name of a monster, half a man and half a dog, who is said to have assisted SS. Andrew and Bartholomew in their preaching the gospel in Parthia. [ABDIAS.] (*The Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*, p. 91, translated from the Ethiopic by S. C. Malan.) [G. T. S.]

GAUBALDUS of Ratisbon. [GARIBALDUS (3).]

GAUCIOBERTUS, bishop. [GAUSBERTUS.]

GAUDELENUS (GAUDIOLANUS), bishop of Lerida, A.D. 653. The deacon Suttericus represents him at the eighth Council of Toledo (653). (Mansi, x. 1223; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448; *Esp. Sagr.* xlvi. 107.) [M. A. W.]

GAUDENCIUS, bishop of Astigi. All our information about him is derived from a letter addressed by the bishops who attended the first council of Seville, A.D. 590, to his successor Pegasius. This letter was in reply to one the latter had sent them by his deacons, containing a list of the slaves belonging to the church of Astigi, of whom some had been manumitted by his predecessor Gaudencius, and others given by him to his relations. The letter of the bishops states that they had consulted the canons to see if such a manumisssion or gift was valid, and had found that if a bishop had given his private property to anyone but the church (his sons and descendants only excepted), the gift was void. (Compare canons 7 and 33 of the Council of Agatho, in Mansi, viii. 325–330.) Therefore, if the church of Astigi was not in possession of the property of Gaudencius, the slaves he had manumitted were not legally free. However, if his property was sufficient to indemnify the church for the value of the slaves, they were to remain free. If, on the contrary, he had not made compensation to the church, the bishops, being more inclined to humanity than severity, decided that those who had been so manumitted should remain free in other respects, but should be so far subject to the rights of the church that they could not leave their property to any but their sons, who in turn were to be subject to the like condition, and if any of the class died without leaving issue qualified to succeed him the church was to become entitled to his property. As to the other slaves, whom the said bishop had transferred to his relations, they were to be restored to the church, unless he had paid

the full price out of his own means. Though the address of this letter does not mention the see of Pegasius, we know that it was Astigi, as in the second part of the letter the words occur, "Hanc formam non solum vestra, hoc est Astigitana, servabit ecclesia." Servandus too, as deacon of Pegasius, bishop of Astigi, subscribes the acts of the third council of Toledo, A.D. 589. (*Esp. Sagr.* x. 85; Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 663; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte*, ii. part ii. 19.)

[F. D.]

GAUDENTIA—Aug. 30. A virgin martyr at Rome with three others. (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

GAUDENTIANUS, bishop of Volterra, probably in the time of Cunibert, 688–700. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xviii. 215.)

[A. H. D. A.]

GAUDENTIUS (1), bishop of Pisa, one of the judicial committee appointed to examine the case of Caecilianus at Rome, A.D. 313. (Opt. i. 23; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iii. 351.) [H. W. P.]

GAUDENTIUS (2), bishop of Naïssus (Nissa) in Moesia Superior, deposed by the Arians. He was present at the council of Sardica in A.D. 347. (Mansi, iii. 39, 42; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 314.)

[J. de S.]

GAUDENTIUS (3), bishop of Turris Tamalliensis, or Turretamallia, a town of Byzacene, between Tacapae and Leptis Magna (Telemin), Ant. *Itin.* 74, 3. Another reading gives Tysdrus as the place of his see. He was present at the council of Carthage concerning Donatism, A.D. 348 or 349. (Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* i. 339, Bruns, *Concil.* i. 111.) [H. W. P.]

GAUDENTIUS (4), bishop of Ariminum (Rimini), c. A.D. 346–360. When the Arians, under the patronage of Constantius, held a council at Rimini, A.D. 359, Gaudentius appears to have retired from his diocese for a time, but to have speedily returned, and opposed the Arians so vigorously, declaring the decrees of the council null, that his enemies in their anger stoned and beat him to death. (*Acta SS.* Oct. 14; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 410; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 372.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDENTIUS (5), ninth bishop of Arretium (Arezzo). He succeeded Eusebius c. A.D. 381. He was put to death as a martyr in the following year by the prefect Marcellianus, a bitter persecutor of Christianity, and was succeeded by Decentius. Ughelli accounts for the martyrdom taking place under a Christian emperor by the circumstance that Valentinian at the commencement of his reign appointed pagan prefects. (*Rom. Mart.* Jun. 19; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. iii. 848; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 456; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xviii. 69.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDENTIUS (6), the name of three Numidian Donatist bishops, viz. of Nigizubis or Niguzubis, Zerta, and Tigisis; the first two present at the Carthaginian conference A.D. 411, the third prevented by illness. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 187, 202, 209.) [H. W. P.]

GAUDENTIUS (7), Donatist bishop of Thamugada, Tamogada, or Tamugadi, a town of Numidia, about fourteen Roman miles north-east of Lambesa (Temugadi) (Ant. *Itin.* 34, 2), one of the seven managers on the Donatist side in Carth. Conf. A.D. 411, but appearing to have taken no very active part in the proceedings. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 288, 408, ed. Oberthür.)

The principal occasion on which his name has become notorious is his controversy with St. Augustine, A.D. c. 420. When Dulcitius [DULCITIUS] had sent him a letter of a pacific nature respecting the course to be pursued by the imperial government towards the Donatists, Gaudentius replied in two successive letters, one shorter, the other more at length. These letters Dulcitius placed in the hands of Augustine, who replied to them in the two books entitled *contra Gaudentium* (Aug. *Opp.* vol. ix. 707–751, ed. Migne), and which may be regarded virtually as representing the closing struggle of the Donatist controversy (Vol. I. p. 895).

In the first book Augustine criticizes the complimentary form of address used by Gaudentius towards Dulcitius, as inconsistent with the severe principles of his sect, defends the language of Dulcitius, but disclaims any responsibility on the part of the church for language used by a layman and a soldier. Gaudentius had said that he studiously discouraged any hindrance being offered to those who wished to quit the Donatist communion and return to the church, for, says he, "we who have learned that no one ought to be forced into religious belief, cannot retain against their will those who wish to leave us." To this Augustine replies that if Gaudentius thinks it right to promote return, he should do so openly, but if wrong, it is disingenuous and cruel in him and his party to sanction it.

The second letter of Gaudentius is longer, and so also, consequently, the reply of Augustine to it. Its arguments may be exhibited briefly, though not in their precise order, as follows:—

I. Holy Scripture forbids equally the innocent to be punished, or the guilty to be spared (Ex. xxiii. 7). Gabinus [GABINUS], and those turncoats who have renounced Donatism, ought either before their departure not to have been treated as guilty persons, or after it not to be received by the Catholics as innocent.

II. God gave man free will, but persecution abolishes this; how can the conduct of the persecutor be thought to agree with the will of God?

III. The church is founded, not on the laws of sovereigns, but on the preaching of prophets.

IV. Scripture in general, our Lord and His apostles, foretell persecution as the lot of the righteous; therefore righteousness is on the side not of the persecutors, but of the persecuted. (Matt. v. 11, 12; John xv. 2, 3; 2 Tim. iii. 12; Rev. vi. 9, 11; Wisdom v. 1–6.)

V. The good shepherd dies for his flock, and ought, therefore, not to avoid persecution, but to perish at his post. On this ground to follow the example of Razis in committing suicide, who is praised in his deed by Scripture, is justifiable and praiseworthy. (2 Macc. xiv. 27–46.)

VI. The case of Emeritus, who was falsely reported to have become a Catholic, was grossly misrepresented. [EMERITUS.]

To these arguments St. Augustine replies:—

I. The imperial government does not wish to kill, but to correct, and only in extreme cases to banish those who hinder others from exercising

their free choice in returning to the church. In matters of cruelty the Donatists go beyond the government, for they threaten to commit suicide, while Dulcitius and the government wish to save them from their own violence. In this respect they are really wishing to suffer not for Christ's sake but for their own, and thus they are not martyrs, but only deceitful heretics. The example of Razis is related only, not commended by the author of the Book of Maccabees, and after all, the authority of this book is not to be placed on a level with that of the other books of Scripture. Moreover, even our Lord commanded His apostles to take flight during persecution, as St. Paul in fact did when he was in danger at Damascus (Matt. x. 23; Acts ix. 23, 25). If our Lord's promise concerning the limits of flight in such cases (Matt. x. 23) cannot fail, but the Donatists exclude themselves from its operation, how can they be truly said to belong to Christ? It is not all who suffer, but those who suffer for righteousness' sake who are righteous.

II. But, in truth, what right have the Donatists to complain of persecution (*a*) whose forefathers persecuted Caecilianus with the utmost bitterness; (*b*) whose partisans, especially the Circumcellions, have used all manner of violence towards Catholics; (*c*) whose predecessors had no scruple in enjoying immunity during the time of Julian, while the Catholics were suffering persecution, a contrast which destroys the assumption on the part of the Donatists of persecution as a mark of exclusive godliness; (*d*) again, what becomes of their consistency when the story is told of Secundus, bishop of Tigisis, who fled to avoid the violence of Purpurius at the Donatist council of Cirta, A.D. 305, and who must himself have been guilty of "tradition," for otherwise how could he have escaped in the persecution under Diocletian? (*e*) Lastly, let Gaudentius remember the flagrant instances of violent conduct on the part of his own predecessor, Optatus of Thamugada.

III. But it is almost equivalent to persecution to behold, as Catholics and well-disposed persons are obliged to do, the perversity and obstinacy of men who are bent on destroying both themselves and others.

IV. As to compulsion, (*a*) our Lord in His Parable (Luke xiv. 23) desired his servants to "compel" men to enter His kingdom. (*b*) It was by state authority that the people of Nineveh were brought to repentance.

V. As to state interference, (*a*) kings have been guardians of the church, and God gives in charge to them to correct disobedience. (*b*) If error is not to be corrected, how can human punishment be justified? The primaeval law of punishment was one of death, but in truth the emperor wishes to spare life.

VI. What can be more inconsistent than the conduct of the Donatists towards the Maximianist Felicianus, whom they first denounced and persecuted, and afterwards received without inquiry, sanctioning all his acts done during secession?

VII. The case of Emeritus was no doubt misrepresented, but the Donatist cause gains no advantage from the true statement of it. When he appeared, as he did of his own accord, he neither offered argument on behalf of himself and his party, nor replied to any urged against them by Augustine, but simply remained silent. He can thus claim no credit for being a faithful confessor assailed by persecution.

VIII. Gaudentius regards Gabinus, and those who have returned to the church, as idolaters, for they have, he says, adopted its worship under compulsion. Is the church of God a mere human creation, or have not these people acted as they have done deliberately, because they have recognised its divine mission, and like sensible men have become weary of a system destitute of divine foundation?

IX. Gaudentius takes credit for not hindering such persons from returning, but on his own principles, is he not sanctioning idolatry by doing so?

Finally, Augustine invites Gaudentius to a friendly conference on the disputed points.

The second Book, *c. Gaudentium*, is a reply by Augustine to another letter, in which Gaudentius quotes the authority of St. Cyprian to shew the catholicity of his party. To this Augustine replies that his authority does not shelter them; why did they leave the church? Because they could not endure the presence of "tares" among the "wheat." But in order to set themselves on the right ground in this point, it is necessary for them to explain the "world" of the parable as the world outside of the church, in which alone they said that "tares" were to be found. Further, that the "bad fish" of another parable were in their view supposed to be unknown to the fishermen, and therefore not to be included in the church. On this principle, says Augustine, many would perish eternally on account of sins committed by persons unknown to them. Does Gaudentius remember the mistake made by Emeritus at the conference, when he denied the reading of Matt. iii. 12, "floor," "aream," *i.e.* that by the "floor" was meant the church, but, being corrected by his colleagues, maintained that by "chaff" was meant concealed offenders who could not injure the good (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 564, ed. Oberthür). But this opinion does not agree with that of Gaudentius, who holds that the good are injured by the neighbourhood of the evil. If this last opinion be the true one, what hope can there be for the Donatists themselves, who separated themselves from known evils, but who must have perished through existence of unknown? But, in truth, the doctrine of Cyprian is against both Emeritus and Gaudentius. He taught that Christians ought not to withdraw from the church on account of the existence in it of "tares." But, say the Donatists, "tares" are only to be found in the world, not in the church, our Lord on the contrary says that tares and wheat are to grow together till the harvest, and that He will not come till the gospel has been preached to all nations. There must, therefore, be many nations among whom no wheat has been sown, and from whom therefore it cannot have perished. As to baptism, the Donatists blame the Catholics for not re-baptizing heretics, but on their principles how could Felicianus baptize duly, who was condemned by the council of Bagaia, even more severely than Caecilianus had been at an earlier period, yet he was permitted to return to the Donatist community without question. But besides this, when Cyprian wished to re-baptize heretics, Stephen, bishop of Rome, refused to do

so, yet both remained in the church. But if the church suffered no injury by the conduct of Stephen, how can the Donatists be safe? The mistake made by Cyprian in this matter does not condemn him altogether any more than the rebuke administered by St. Paul condemns St. Peter altogether, and Cyprian himself used charitable language towards returned Novatianist heretics. Though the church does not repudiate Donatist baptism, the Donatists cannot be acquitted of perverseness and obstinacy. The phrase used by Gaudentius towards Dulcitius, "religio tua," is inconsistent with his professed opinions. If Dulcitius possesses "religion," the emperor also must possess it, yet Gaudentius thinks he has no concern with any affairs except such as are merely secular. Finally, Augustine entreats Gaudentius to think better of the matter, and to return to the church, or, if he has any further remark to make, that he will confine himself to the points really at issue, which Augustine says he is willing to discuss with him.

In this controversy it is easy to see that as regards authority, precedent and consistency of behaviour, the advantage was entirely on the side of St. Augustine. Nothing could be more unreasonable than the teaching, nothing more inconsistent than the conduct of the Donatists. Ultra-liberals, as regards state interference and religious compulsion, they not only sanctioned acts of persecution on the part of their own adherents, but they availed themselves of state protection when it lay within their reach. Ultra-precisians, as regarded the integrity of religious rites, and the purity of religious communities, they nevertheless sanctioned acts done during secession by lapsed but subsequently restored ministers. On these points Augustine is undoubtedly triumphant, but on that of persecution his argument must be pronounced defective. When he tries to shew that the measures of the imperial government towards the Donatists are corrective only, and not destructive, he forgets, or at least omits, to explain the real difference between these two methods, viz. that it is one consisting in degree only, and not in kind, and that though the extreme case of privation of life is of course far removed from that of personal banishment, yet they are both essentially acts of constraint, and therefore of persecution. The force of state influence was now distinctly on the side of the church, and in great measure within its control, and thus not only was it easier for an advocate of the predominant party to handle the argument supplied by that influence, but also to expose the inconsistencies of his opponents, both in general and under similar circumstances. The Donatist cause already languishing, though not altogether extinguished, fell into decay from this time, a result to which the treatises of St. Augustine against Gaudentius may be said to have materially contributed. [H. W. P.]

GAUDENTIUS (8), first bishop of Novaria (Novara), elected A.D. 397, and died A.D. 417. He is said to have been peculiarly zealous in rooting out all remains of paganism. He was succeeded by Agabius or Agapitus. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 22 Jan. ii. 417; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* iv. 943; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiv. 437.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDENTIUS (9), the bearer, together with Quodvultdeus, of a letter from Severus to St. Augustine. (Aug. *Ep.* 110.) [H. W. P.]

GAUDENTIUS (10), a Roman to whom St. Jerome wrote in the year 413 on the education of his daughter Pacatula. The child had been born at the time of the sack of Rome by Alaric (410), and the father had consecrated her to the state of virginity. He wrote to Jerome, then at Bethlehem, begging him to write a letter of precepts of piety and asceticism for his child. Jerome replied in a letter to the father, which he hoped Pacatula might read in after years. The letter shews how piety and asceticism were in those days impressed on the minds of the young, and also proves how the miseries consequent on the inroads of the barbarians made Christians abandon the world. (Jerome, *Ep.* 128, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

GAUDENTIUS (11) appears among the Eutychians, who, claiming to be archimandrites, appealed to the emperor Marcian, in A.D. 451, for a general council (Labbe, iv. 524). The orthodox archimandrites at the council of Chalcedon refused to recognise his claim to be an archimandrite, and described him as a μεμοριτὴς (cf. ELPIDIUS) with five others under him (Labbe, iv. 522 A). [C. G.]

GAUDENTIUS (12), bishop of Antium, present at the council held at Rome by Hilarius, A.D. 465. (Mansi, vii. 967; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* i. 684.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDENTIUS (13), bishop of Albinga (Albenga), present at the council at Rome under Hilarius, A.D. 465. (Mansi, vii. 965; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiii. 532.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDENTIUS (14), supposed to be the first bishop of Scyllacium (Squillace). He was present at the council at Rome under Hilarius, 465. (Mansi, vii. 965; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ix. 588; Feudalius, *Antistitum Scyllacen. Series*, p. 14.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDENTIUS (15), bishop of Verona, probably c. 465, in which year he is said to have been present at the council at Rome, but his date is uncertain. (*Acta SS.* 12 Feb. ii. 602; Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* v. 576; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 747; Biancolini, *Vescovi di Verona*, pt. ii. p. 2; Mansi, vii. 968.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDENTIUS (16), bishop of Aufinium in the Abruzzi, complained of to Simplicius bishop of Rome, A.D. 475, by some of the neighbouring bishops, as having conferred orders improperly, and misappropriated the property of his church. He was consequently deprived of the power of ordaining, condemned to make good his defalcations, and allowed for the future but a very slight control over the revenues of his diocese. (Jaffé, *Regesta Pont. Roman.* p. 49; Ceillier, *Auteurs sac.* x. 402.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDENTIUS (17), bishop of Putea in Numidia, banished by Hunneric, 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 56; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 259.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDENTIUS (18), the name of two bishops, viz. of Salerno and of Tadinum (Gualdo-

Tadino in Umbria), present at the first synod under pope Symmachus, March 499. (Hefele, § 220; Mansi, viii. 235.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDENTIUS (19), bishop of Nola, who received letters from Gregory the Great, providing for and giving directions about the church at Capua (Lib. v. indict. xiii. *Ep.* 13 and 33 in Migne, lxxvii. 731, 759.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDENTIUS (20), 9th bishop of Constance, succeeding Martin, and followed, after an interval of three years, by Joannes I. His death is mentioned in the life of St. Gall by Walafrid (cap. xiv. Migne, Patr. Lat. cxiv. 990). It took place probably in 616 or the following year. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, cap. xvi. s. ii. n.; *Gall. Christ.* v. 893.) [S. A. B.]

GAUDENTIUS (21), bishop of Atinum (Atino), said to have been appointed by Honorius of Rome subsequently to A.D. 625, and to have held his see for fifteen years. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* vi. 540.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDENTIUS (22), bishop of Tergeste (Trieste), signing the second epistle of pope Agatho which was sent in 680 to the third council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 311.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDENTIUS (23), bishop of Valeria from a little before 675 till after 693, during, that is to say, part of Wamba's reign, the whole of Ervig's and the greater part of Egica's. He appears as junior bishop at C. Tol. xi. (675) and subscribes the acts of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth councils (A.D. 684, 688, and 693), being represented at the thirteenth by his vicar Vincent. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 247, 287, 304, 313, 333; *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 205.) [M. A. W.]

GAUDENTIUS (24), bishop of Bologna, c. 730. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, iii. 471; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 11.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDENTIUS (25), bishop of Perugia, at the Roman synod under Zacharias in 743 concerning monastic discipline, etc. (Mansi, xi. 367; Hefele, § 364.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDENTIUS (26), vicar of the prefect of the seven provinces of Gaul, friend of Sidonius Apollinaris. From two letters of the latter, one addressed to Gaudentius himself, we learn that he had risen to his position without the advantage of high birth. (Sidon. Apoll. *Epistolae*, lib. i. ep. 3 and 4. Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 450, 451.) [S. A. B.]

GAUDENTIUS (27), an abbat to whom Dionysius Exiguus addressed his history of the finding of the head of John the Baptist, about 550. (Patr. Lat. lxvii. 417.) [S. A. B.]

GAUDERICUS of Lyons. [GANDERICUS.]

GAUDERICUS of Treves. [GUNDERIC (2).]

GAUDESTEUS (GODESTEUS, GUDESTHEUS), bishop of Orense from before A.D. 646, till about 650, present at the seventh council of Toledo, A.D. 646. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 423; *Esp. Sagr.* xvii. 44.) [M. A. W.]

GAUDINUS, ST., twenty-fifth bishop of Soissons, following St. Adolbertus, and succeeded by Macharius. In the Gallican martyrology (Feb. 11) it is stated that having publicly rebuked some citizens for their usury, he was secretly seized, dragged to the Vicus Herinus, and there cast into an open well, where he perished (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 553). In 693 a Gaudinus is said to have subscribed the placitum of king Clovis at Valencē, but whether of Soissons or Lyons is not certain. (*Gall. Chr.* ix. 339.) [S. A. B.]

GAUDIOLANUS. [GAUDELENUS.]

GAUDIOSA, the queen of the famous Pelayo, the first king of Asturias (Seb. Sal. cap. 11; apud *Esp. Sagr.* xiii.). She was buried with her husband in the church of St. Eulalia of Velamio, between Cangas and Covadonga, but the remains of both, according to Morales (*Coronica*, lib. 13, cap. 6), were transferred by Alfonso X. to the church of our Lady of Covadonga, where the tomb of Pelayo is still shewn. (Florez, *Reynas de España*, i. 33.) [M. A. W.]

GAUDIOSUS (1), bishop of Abitina, in proconsular Africa, said to have been banished by Genseric c. A.D. 440, and to have died in exile at Naples A.D. 452. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 64.) Baronius mentions some legendary circumstances collected at Naples concerning him. (*Rom. Mart.* Oct. 28, notes; *A. E.* ann. 416, xx.) See also Ruinart, *Comment.* on Victor Vit. cap. ix. sec. 5, p. 255, in Pat. Lat. lviii. 405.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDIOSUS (2), bishop of Pappianum, in proconsular Africa, was at the council of Carthage, A.D. 525. (Hardouin, *Concil.* ii. 1082 c; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 253.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDIOSUS (3), ST., a saint of Tarazona, in Arragon, the city of which he was bishop. According to *Acta* given by J. T. Salazar (*Mart. Hisp.* vi. 59) he was the son of Guntha, a man of high rank at the court of Theodoric, while the latter governed Spain during the minority of Amalaric (*i. e.* before A.D. 526, the year of Theodoric's death), and was a pupil of St. Victorian. The *Acta* then relate that he went to Constantinople, where he married a Syrian lady, and that he was appointed by the emperor Maurice, who reigned from A.D. 582 to A.D. 602, praetorian; prefect of Africa and they identify him with the Gaudiosus, the magister militum, to whom St. Gregory the Great wrote in A.D. 590 (S. Gregorii *Epist.* i. 76 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 530). Gaudiosus afterwards returned to Spain, and was appointed by king Gundemar, who reigned from A.D. 610 to A.D. 612, bishop of Tarazona, as successor to Stephanus, who signs the canons of the third council of Toledo in A.D. 589. The *Acta* represent that the Arians were then so powerful in Spain that no one, however brave, ventured to acknowledge himself a Catholic; but that Gaudiosus was not deterred thereby, nor by the contemporary executions by the Arians of Boethius and Symmachus (which really happened about A.D. 520–524), from preaching the orthodox faith, and that he wrote many letters to St. Isidore of Seville, and to Maximus and Braulio of Saragossa, to encourage them to resist Arianism. Finally, these *Acta* place his death in A.D. 530. From the above account of the *Acta* it will be seen how

untrustworthy they are, and it may be added that the statement that Gundemar appointed Gaudiosus as successor to Stephanus is erroneous, as Florivius, in A.D. 610, subscribes the decree of Gundemar as bishop of Tarazona (Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 483); and further, that Arianism in Spain was never formidable after the third council of Toledo in A.D. 589. From the mention of St. Victorian, who died in A.D. 561 in his eightieth year, Gaudiosus apparently flourished in the first half of the 6th century, and this agrees with the Chronicle of Maximus (in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxx. 625), which places him about A.D. 533. Gams (*Ser. Episc.* 78) also places him about A.D. 530. He gave many gifts of lands and farms to the monastery of St. Martin, of which St. Victorian was abbat. He died on Nov. 3, on which day he is commemorated. His body is preserved in the monastery of St. Victorian, in the diocese of Lerida. (Boll. *AA. SS.* Jan. i. 741; *Esp. Sagr.* xlvii. 230.) [F. D.]

GAUDIOSUS (**4**), bishop of Eugubium (Gubbio), who received a letter from Gregory the Great, ordering him to provide for the destitute church of Tadinum (Gualdo-Tadino in Umbria), and to send him a priest to be consecrated as its bishop. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. ix. indict. ii. ep. 87; Migne, lxxvii. 1016.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDIOSUS (**5**), a poor man of Rome, who complained to pope Gregory the Great soon after his accession (9th indict. *i.e.* A.D. 590) that the agents of the church claimed his sons as bondsmen, and were violently enforcing the demand. Gaudiosus had proved to Gregory by satisfactory evidence that his wife Siricia, once a slave, had been bestowed as a gift by a lady Ecia on a lady Morena, and that this last had emancipated her by letter. Gregory writes to the subdeacon Anthemius to see justice done. If there were no documents with the church to invalidate those of Gaudiosus, the man was not to be molested; for it was intolerable that, when people bestowed liberties at their own cost, the church, which was the natural guardian of those liberties, should revoke them. (Greg. Mag. *Epp.* lib. i. ep. 55, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii. 516.) [C. H.]

GAUDIOSUS (**6**), bishop of Naples, c. 637–644. (*Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, part i. 27; *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum Langob.* 1878, p. 415.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDIOSUS (**7**), bishop of Salernum (Salerno), probably before A.D. 646. He is said to have been of the family of the Dukes of Naples. His successor was Luminosus. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* vii. 488.) [R. S. G.]

GAUDIOSUS (**8**), the name of two bishops, viz. of Rieti and of Capua, present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649, which condemned the Monothelite heresy. (Mansi, x. 866; Hefele, § 307.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDIOSUS (**9**), bishop of Signia (Segni), present at the Roman synod, held under pope Agatho in Oct. 679, concerning Wilfrid and the affairs of England. (Hefele, § 290; Mansi, xi. 179.) He also signed the second letter of pope Agatho, which was sent in 680, after a synod in Rome, to the third council of Constantinople (Hefele, § 314; Mansi, xi. 310). [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDIOSUS (**10**), bishop of Puteoli, who signed the second epistle of pope Agatho, which was sent in 680, after a synod in Rome, to the third council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 299; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDIOSUS (**11**), bishop of Brescia, 690. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 566; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 531; *Mart. Rom.* Mart. 7; Boll. *Acta SS.* 7 Mart. i. 648.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDIOSUS (**12**), bishop of Roselle (in Etruria, Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xvii. 640). He gave testimony before Guntheram, notary and missus of king Luitprand, 715, in the controversy between the bishops of Siena and Arezzo. (Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* iii. 202; Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Aev.* vi. 377.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDIOSUS (**13**), bishop of Sutri, at the Roman synod of 743. (Mansi, xii. 367; Hefele, § 364.) Others call this bishop Gratiosus II. (Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* i. 1274; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, vi. 225, 267); the synodal subscriptions having both "Gaudeosus Sudrio" and "Hirtioso Sutrino," and the latter being reckoned a corruption of Gratiosus. [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDIOSUS (**14**), possibly bishop of Bieda (Blera), south of Viterbo, present at the Roman synod of 743. But the signature is uncertain. (Mansi, xii. 367.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDIOSUS (**15**), bishop of Messina, at the second council of Nicaea in 787. (Mansi, xiii. 723, 732.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUDO (**1**), twenty-fourth bishop of Orleans, succeeding Audo and followed by Sigobertus (circ. A.D. 668). (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1416; Gams, *Series Episc.* 593.) [S. A. B.]

GAUDO, bishop of Strasburg. [GANDO.]

GAUDO (**2**) (GAUD, GALDUS, WALDUS), ST., second bishop of Évreux, succeeding St. Taurinus, after an interval caused by the devastations of the barbarians, and followed by Maurusio. He is said to have been consecrated by Germanus archbishop of Rouen, and, after administering the diocese for forty years, to have resigned the bishopric and retired to a desert spot in Neustria, where he died in 491. His body is said to have been found at the village of St. Pair, near Granville, in 1131. He was commemorated Jan. 31. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 566; *Hist. des Evêques d'Evreux* par Chassant et Sauvage, 5–6; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 1110.) [S. A. B.]

GAUDRICUS of Lyons. [GANDERICUS.]

GAUFRIDUS. [GUNTFRIDUS.]

GAUGERICUS of Treves. [GUNDERIC (2).]

GAUGERICUS (GÉRY), fourth bishop of Cambray, succeeding St. Vedulfus and followed by St. Berthoaldus (circ. 580–619), was born at Yvoy in Luxembourg, and was ordained priest by St. Magnericus of Treves. He was nominated to the see by Childeric II., and consecrated by Egidius of Rheims. He devoted himself to the

extirpation of the remnants of idolatry and the settlement of the discipline of the church. He built a monastery close to the city, calling it after St. Medardus, though it afterwards bore his own name, and there he was buried. He was commemorated Aug. 11. The monastery in after times was pulled down to make room for a citadel built by Charles V. (*Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 664; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 4.) [S. A. B.]

GAULIENUS—May 31. Martyr in Spain with Germanus and Silvanus under Dacian the president in the Diocletian persecution. (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuard., Notk.) [G. T. S.]

GAUSBERTUS of Angers. [GODOBERTUS.]

GAUSBERTUS (1) (GODEBERTUS, GAUCIOBERTUS), twenty-seventh bishop of Chartres, succeeding St. Malardus and followed by Deodatus. His signature is found to three charters between about 658 and 666. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1170, 1181, 1186; *Gall. Christ.* viii. 1101.) [S. A. B.]

GAUSBERTUS (2) (GUOZBERTUS), thirtieth bishop of Poitiers, succeeding St. Maximinus, and followed by Godo, about the middle of the 8th century. He is named in a charter of king Louis the Pious, not Pippin as stated in the *Gallia Christiana*, for the monastery of Nobiliacum (Noaillé) as one of the benefactors. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 1155, instr 346; Gams, *Series Episc.* 601.) [S. A. B.]

GAUSOLINUS of Metz. [GOSSELINUS.]

GAUSUALDUS, bishop of Como, c. 741, (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 319; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 263.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAUTCERIUS, twenty-fifth bishop of Troyes, succeeding Aldobertus and followed by Arduinus, about the beginning of the 8th century. He is mentioned in an ancient MS. catalogue of Auxerre (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 489). [S. A. B.]

GAUTUS, bishop of Neelon in Arabia. The situation of this town is obscure, the only mention of it being in the record of the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, where Constantinus, bishop of Bostra, and metropolitan, signed on behalf of certain of his bishops, including Gautus of Neelon. It has been conjectured that the name may be an erroneous spelling of Eleale or Alon. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 867; Mansi, vii. 137.) [J. de S.]

GAUZIOLENUS (GOSCELINUS), seventeenth bishop of Le Mans. After the death of his predecessor, Herlemundus I., the see was vacant several years, until count Rothgar forced a son of his own, described as "inlitteratus et indoctus," upon the unwilling clergy. The metropolitan of Tours refused to consecrate, but the archbishop of Rouen, bribed, as it was said, performed the rite. In 743 he obtained from king Childeric III. a charter of confirmation of privileges for the estate of Ardunum, and another for the monastery of Anisola, both given in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1147, 1150. Gauziolenus was soon afterwards dethroned by Pippin, and succeeded by Herlemundus II. (*Gesta Pontificum Cenom.*; Mabillon, *Vet. Analect.* 285–287; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 354.) [S. A. B.]

GAVIDIUS (1). Sulpicius Severus (*Chron*, lib. ii. 41) records that he had frequently heard Gavidius, whom he calls episcopum nostrum, telling how the Gallic bishops had refused the imperial maintenance at the council of Ariminum while three British bishops were obliged by poverty to accept it: a fact which Gavidius thought derogatory to the Britons, while Sulpicius Severus thought it much to their credit. This Gavidius may have been the fifth bishop of Périgueux, since Sulpicius speaks of him as a bishop of his own province, and there is no other diocese there to which he can be easily assigned. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 1448.) [R. T. S.]

GAVIDIUS. The name occurs among the subscriptions to the council of Ariminum, 359. His see is not given, but it was probably Narbonne. (*Gall. Christ.* vi. 6.) [R. T. S.]

GAVIENUS, forty-second bishop of Tours, succeeding Ostaldus, and followed by Erlingus. His name does not appear in the old catalogues, and the only authority for his existence is the mention of him as one of those present at the Lateran Council, A.D. 769. (Mansi, xii. 715; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 33.) [S. A. B.]

GAVINIA, abbess of the monastery of St. Gavinus and St. Luxurius in Sardinia, according to Gregory the Great, who writes about her to Januarius bishop of Cagliari. (*Epist.* lib. iv. indict. ii. ep. 7; Migne, lxxvii. 946.) [A. H. D. A.]

GAVINIUS, martyr. [GABINIUS (2).]

GAVINUS (1), Donatist bishop of Vegesela, a small town of Numidia, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 421, 439, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

GAVINUS (2) (GABINIUS, GABINUS), bishop of Calahorra from A.D. 633. Subscribes the fourth, sixth, and eighth councils of Toledo, in A.D. 633, 638, 653. (Mansi, x. 642 a, 1222 a; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385, 413, 448; *Esp. Sagr.* xxxiii. 158.) [M. A. W.]

GAWAINE. [GWALCHMAI.]

GAWEN, Welsh saint. [GOVEIN.]

GAYROINUS. [GAIRO.]

GEANBERHT (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* No. 144, A.D. 781), archbishop. [JAENBERT.] [C. H.]

GEBAUDUS or GEBAVULTUS. [GIBULDUS.]

GEBMUND, the eighth bishop of Rochester (*M. H. B.* 616). He was appointed by Theodore archbishop of Canterbury to succeed Cuichelm, who had deserted his see (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 12), soon after the year 676, probably about 678. The length of his episcopate is uncertain; and it has been argued that the date 693, to which his death is referred by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*M. H. B.* 323), is the probable date, inasmuch as if he had survived archbishop Theodore, Berhtwald, the succeeding archbishop, need not have gone abroad for consecration (Smith, note on Bede, *H. E.* v. 8; Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* i. 330). On the other hand, there is a charter of Oshere, the under king of the Hwiccii,

attested by both Berhtwald and Gebmund, and which, though scarcely to be referred to a later date than 693, would prove that Gebmund was alive after Berhtwald's consecration (Kemble, *C. D.* 36). But a more conclusive proof is supplied by the fact that Gebmund (Gybmund) took part in the legislation of king Wihtred, at the witenagemot of Berghamstede (Bersted near Maidstone) in the fifth year of that king. As Wihtred's sole reign began in 690 or 691, and as 696 is called the fifth year of it in a Rochester charter attested by Gebmund (K. *C. D.* 39), it is probable that Gebmund lived at least until 696. We may then infer that the Canterbury MS. of the Chronicle, on which only the date 693 depends, owes the date to a misunderstanding of Bede's words as to the consecration of Tobias the next bishop by Berhtwald. [TOBIAS.] See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 233, 241. [S.]

GEDALIUS, bishop of Hospitia in Numidia, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* 57; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 188.) [R. S. G.]

GEDEON, ST., thirty-seventh bishop of Besançon, succeeding Hervaeus and followed by Bernoinus, about the close of the 8th century. There is extant a royal *diploma* given by a king Charles, to compose a quarrel that had arisen between Gedeon and Rigbertus abbat of St. Oyan (Eugendi) in the Jura, as to the possession of a cell in which St. Lupicinus was buried. Upon the report of Docto abbat of Luxeuil and Count Adelard, who had been commissioned to investigate the matter, the property was adjudged to the abbat. It has been doubted whether the author was Charles the Great, in which case the date of the instrument is A.D. 793, or Charles the Bald, in which case it would be A.D. 862. Mabillon, after first assigning it to the former date, finally decided for the latter (*Annal.* an. 790, n. i. tom. ii. 294), and the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (iv. instr. 3) print it with that date, but their successors (xv. 19) adduce reasons for adopting the earlier year, and it seems that the position of Gedeon in the indices of the Besançon church supports their contention. Mention, moreover, is made of him in a charter of Lothair, given in 869 as one of the predecessors of Arduinus, the archbishop then sitting (*Gall. Christ.* xv. instr. 4). The earlier position is assigned to him in the *Series Episcoporum* of Gams (p. 514). [S. A. B.]

GEDUDUS, or GEDULUS, Donatist bishop of Utica, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 128, 187, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

GEFEI, clerical witness to a grant to bishop Grecielis of Llandaff, late in the 7th or early in the 8th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 421, 422.) [J. G.]

GEGHIA, of Inis Geghe, is mentioned in *Vita S. Farannani* among those who came to salute St. Columba when he visited Ireland, but seems to be otherwise unknown. (Colg. *Acta SS.* 337, c. 7, 340, n. [37], and *Tr. Thaum.* 463, c. 55.) [J. G.]

GEGOBERGA, ST. (SEGOBERGA, CAECILIA, CLARA), second abbess of the double monastery of Habend, afterwards Remiremont or Romberg, founded cir. A.D. 620 by St. Amatus and St. Romaric on the top of the hill of Habend in the Vosges, near the Moselle, but rebuilt after its destruction by Huns, by the emperor Louis III. in the 10th century, at the foot of the mountain on the other side of the river, giving birth to the town of Remiremont. She succeeded St. Macteflede the first abbess, perhaps A.D. 626, and she was still abbess in 653, when the life of St. Romaric the second abbat and her contemporary was addressed to her. Her successor, St. Tecta or Gertrude, was presiding in 670 (Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. ii. 670, ed. 1669). This is all that can be gathered from the contemporary lives. Tradition adds that she was the daughter of St. Romaric, and that he built his nunnery for her and her sister Adzaltrude, that she changed her name from Gegoberga to Caecilia on becoming a nun, and that she was called Clara after her death on account of the many cures performed at her tomb, particularly of blindness and diseases of the eye (Sollerius in Boll. *Acta SS.* 12 Aug. ii. 732). Saussaye (*Mart. Gallic.* p. 1221) and other later writers say that she was blind. [A. B. C. D.]

GEILA, brother of Suinthila. [GAILA (2).]

GEINTEN (GEMTHENNUS, GENTENNUS), priest of Tirguaire, commemorated Sept. 2 (*Mart. Doney.*); identified by Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 143, c. 102, 180, n. [149], 267 A) with Gemthennus of Each-ainech, who is mentioned by St. Evinus as a disciple of St. Patrick and teacher in Magh-Luirg, Connaught. [J. G.]

GELASIA, a virgin eminent for her piety, praised by Palladius for never letting the sun go down upon her wrath either against her domestics or any other person. (Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* c. 146, p. 1048.) [E. V.]

GELASINUS, martyr at Heliopolis in Phoenicia, A.D. 297. He was acting as "secundus mimus" (Horat. lib. i. ep. 18) in a theatre full of people. Proceeding to mock the most solemn Christian rites, his fellow actors flung him into a bath and baptized him. Coming forth clad in white, Gelasinus said, no longer, however, in mockery, "I am a Christian, for I have seen in the bath an awful and majestic spectacle, and for Christ's sake I am ready to die." The people thereupon took and stoned him, the magistrate terminating his sufferings by beheading him. Theodoret in *Ser.* 8 *de Martyribus* refers to such sudden conversions of actors as having occurred more than once. [GENESIUS.] *Chron. Paschal.* sub ann. 269, *i.e.* A.D. 297. He was commemorated by the Greeks on Feb. 27. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 675.) [G. T. S.]

GELASIUS, Sept. 29. [GENESIUS (10).]

GELASIUS (1) I., bishop of Rome after Felix III. (or II.) from March 492 to November 496, during about four years and a half. At the time of his accession the schism between the Western and Eastern churches, which had begun under his predecessor, had lasted more than seven years. Its occasion had been the excommunication by pope Felix of Acacius, the patriarch of Constantinople, for supporting and communicating with Peter Mongus, the once monophysite

patriarch of Alexandria, who had, however, satisfied Acacius by subscribing the Henoticon, and afterwards the Nicene creed. There had been other grounds of complaint against Acacius, notably his disregard of the authority of the Roman see; but the above had been the original cause of quarrel. (See FELIX III., ACACIUS.)

Acacius being now dead, the subject of dispute was reduced to the retention of his name in the diptychs of the Eastern church. Felix had demanded its erasure as a condition of intercommunion with his successors. But they had refused to comply. The patriarch of Constantinople was now Euphemius, the emperor was Anastasius. On his accession Gelasius wrote a respectful letter of salutation to the emperor, as appears from an allusion to it in an extant letter from Gelasius to one Faustus, of which hereafter. It appears also from this same letter that the emperor did not reply. To Euphemius the patriarch the new pope did not write, as was usual, to inform him of his accession. Euphemius, however, wrote twice to Gelasius, the second letter being sent, when no notice had been taken of the first, by a deacon called Sinclitius, to Rome. These facts, and the purport of what Euphemius wrote, are gathered from the extant letter which Gelasius now wrote in reply. Euphemius had complained, it seems, of having received no communication from the new pope; he had expressed a strong desire of reconciliation between the churches, and a hope that Gelasius, whom he complimented as "not needing to be taught," and as "intending all things necessary for the unity of the ecclesiastical body," would through condescension and a spirit of charity be able to restore concord. He had reminded him of the condescension of Christ. He had insisted that Acacius himself had been no heretic, and that before he communicated with Peter Mongus the latter had been purged of heresy. He had asked by what synodical authority Acacius had ever been condemned. He had further alleged that the people of Constantinople would never allow his name to be erased, but had suggested that the pope might send an embassy to Constantinople to treat with them on the subject. Gelasius, in his reply, couched in a tone of imperious humility, utterly refuses any compromise. He speaks of the custom of the bishops of the apostolic see notifying their elevation to inferior bishops as a condescension rather than an obligation, and one certainly not due to such as chose to cast in their lot with heretics. He treats with contempt the plea of the determined attitude of the people of Constantinople. The shepherd ought, he says, to lead the flock, not the flock control the shepherd. The idea of himself sending to treat with them was out of the question, as if they would listen to him, towards whom they shewed themselves but ill-disposed, when their own bishop confessed his inability to influence them. As to the original cause of dispute, Chalcedon had condemned the heresy held by Peter Mongus, and by implication him; he had not been absolved, and Acacius had communicated with him. Acacius had therefore been rightly excommunicated, and those who retained his name in their diptychs were associated in his condemnation. But the main gist of the letter is to assert in no measured terms the supremacy of the see of Rome, and the necessity of submitting to it. "We shall come," he concludes, "brother Euphemius, without doubt we shall come to that tremendous tribunal of Christ, with those standing round by whom the faith has been defended. There it will be proved whether the glorious confession of St. Peter has left anything short for the salvation of those who were given him to rule, or whether there has been rebellious and pernicious obstinacy in those who were unwilling to obey him."

The next year (493) Theodoric, the new Ostrogothic king of Italy, having sent an embassy, headed by two Romans, Faustus and Irenaeus, to Constantinople, Gelasius took the opportunity of writing a long letter to the Eastern bishops. Its main drift was to justify the excommunication of Acacius by asserting that he had exceeded his powers in absolving Peter Mongus without the authority of the Roman see, and that for his own condemnation by pope Felix there had been no need (as was alleged to be the case) of the convention of a new synod. He complains also in the same letter of the expulsion of certain Catholic bishops in the East from their sees. Faustus, one of the ambassadors of Theodoric through whom this letter had been sent, replied in behalf of the Eastern bishops. Gelasius answered him in the letter addressed to him, to which allusion has been made. It is a long justification of his position with regard to Acacius, and of the supreme authority claimed by him for the Roman see. In reply to the assertion that what had been done by Rome was contrary to the canons of the church, he deigns in some parts of his letter to rest his case on canonical authority, saying (as before) that the council of Chalcedon had virtually condemned Acacius, and adding that in excluding him from communion the bishop of Rome had only done what any other bishop might have done; also that the canons of the church (referring doubtless to those of Sardica, which were quoted by the popes as Nicene) gave supreme jurisdiction to the see of Rome. But in other parts he plainly asserts the supremacy of the apostolic see over the whole church as due to the original commission of Christ to St. Peter, and as having always existed prior to, and independent of, all synods and canons. He speaks of "the apostolical judgment, which both the voice of Christ and the tradition of the elders and the authority of canons had supported, that it should itself always determine questions throughout the church." With regard to the possibility of Acacius being absolved now, having died excommunicate, he says that Christ Himself, who raised the dead, is never said to have absolved those who died in error, and that even to St. Peter it was on earth only that the power of binding and loosing had been given, not beyond the grave. An address in such a tone was not calculated to conciliate. The result was that the name of Gelasius himself was now removed from the diptychs of the Constantinopolitan church.

After the return of Faustus and Irenaeus to Rome, Gelasius wrote a long letter to the emperor, in which his position with regard to the question of Acacius is again justified, and the supremacy of Rome, resting on canons as well as original prerogative, is again insisted on, while the emperor is exhorted to use his temporal power to control his people in spiritual as well

as mundane matters. This letter is noteworthy as containing a distinct expression of the view taken by Gelasius of the relations to each other of the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions. Each he regards as separate and supreme in its own sphere. As in secular things priests are bound to obey princes, so in spiritual things all the faithful, including princes, ought to submit their hearts to priests; and, if to priests generally, much more to the prelate of that see which even supreme Divinity has willed should be over all priests, and to which the subsequent piety of the general church has perpetually accorded such pre-eminence. Gelasius also wrote on the same subjects to the bishops of various provinces, including those of East Illyricum and Dardania. In his address to the last he enlarges on its being the function of the Roman see, not only to carry out the decisions of synods, but even to give to such decisions their whole authority. Nay, the purpose of synods is spoken of as being simply to express the assent of the church at large to what the pope had already decreed, and what was therefore already binding. This he says had been the case in the instance of the council of Chalcedon. Further, instances are alleged of popes having on their own mere authority reversed the decisions of synods, absolved those whom synods had condemned, and condemned those whom synods had absolved. The cases of Athanasius and Chrysostom are cited as examples of the exercise of such power. Lastly, any claim of Constantinople (contemptuously spoken of as in the diocese of Heraclea) to be exempt from the judgment of "the first see" is put aside as absurd, since "the power of a secular kingdom is one thing, the distribution of ecclesiastical dignities another."

In the year 495 Gelasius convened a synod of forty-six bishops at Rome for the purpose of absolving and restoring to his see Misenus of Cumae, one of the bishops sent by pope Felix to Constantinople in the affair of Acacius, who had been then won over, and in consequence excommunicated. Before receiving absolution this prelate was required to make a declaration before the synod that he "condemned, anathematized, abhorred, and for ever execrated Dioscorus, Aelurus, Peter Mongus, Peter Fullo, Acacius, and all their successors, accomplices, abettors, and all who communicated with them."

The death of Gelasius in the November of the following year (496) prevented any further steps under his auspices with respect to the great schism, which the attitude assumed by him had certainly not tended to heal.

In addition to his extant letters on the subject, some of which have been quoted, there is a curious treatise of his called *Tomus de anathematis vinculo*. It refers in the first place to those canons of the council of Chalcedon, giving independent authority to the see of Constantinople, of which pope Leo had disapproved, setting forth that the fact of this council having done something wrongly did not impair the validity of what it had rightly done, and that the approval of the see of Rome was the sole test of what was right. It passes next to the subject referred to in its title, the circumstance of pope Felix, in his condemnation of Acacius, having bound him with an irrevocable anathema. This, it is argued, could not be taken to imply that the same power that had imposed the anathema could not have removed it on the repentance of the person so bound; for that Arians and other heretics who had undoubtedly been involved in the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost had in fact, on their repentance, been reconciled to the church. The irrevocability, then, of the sentence against Acacius had referred to his heresy if persisted in, not to his person, had he renounced his heresy. But it was true the sentence had become utterly irrevocable now, since Acacius had died impenitent. The intention of the argument seems to be both to explain away the apparent limitation of the absolving power of Rome which the terms of the sentence by Felix had implied, and also to justify the now perpetual and irrevocable exclusion of the name of Acacius from the diptychs of the church. The tract contains further statements and arguments as to Rome alone having been competent to reconcile Peter Mongus or to absolve Acacius, and in reference to the idea of the emperor having had power in the latter case without the leave of Rome, the same distinction between the spheres of the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions is drawn that was set forth (as above shewn) in the letter to the emperor. In this instance Melchizedek is referred to as having in old times been both priest and king; the devil, it is said, in imitation of him, had induced the emperors to assume the supreme pontificate; but since Christianity had revealed the truth to the world, the union of the two powers had ceased to be lawful: Christ, in consideration of human frailty, had now for ever separated them, leaving the emperors dependent on the pontiffs for their everlasting salvation, the pontiffs on the emperors for the administration of all temporal affairs. Milman (*Lat. Christianity*) remarks on the contrast between the interpretation of the type of Melchizedek and that given in the 13th century by pope Innocent IV., who takes Melchizedek as prefiguring the union in the pope of the sacerdotal and royal powers.

There are two other works attributed to Gelasius in which views are expressed not easily reconciled with those since endorsed by his successors. One of these is a tract, the authenticity of which has not been questioned, against the Manicheans at Rome, in which the practice, adopted by that sect, of communion in one kind is strongly condemned. His words are, "We find that some, taking only the portion of the sacred body, abstain from the cup of the sacred blood. Let these (since I know not by what superstition they are actuated) either receive the entire sacraments or be debarred from them altogether; because a division of one and the same mystery cannot take place without great sacrilege." Baronius evades the obviously general application of these concluding words by saying that they refer only to the Manicheans, who, in order to avoid suspicion of heresy, communicated with Catholics, but, in accordance with their own principles, in one kind only. Hence, he argues, the condemnation is of their doing so with this intent, not of the thing itself; and thus that the expression "without great sacrilege" means "without taint of suspicion of most wicked heresy." And this interpretation he says is germane to the sense of the passage.

It can hardly be said to be so to that of the language used.

The other passage above referred to occurs in a treatise, *de duabus Naturis*, against the Eutychians and Nestorians. Arguing against the Eutychian position that the union of the human and divine natures in Christ implies the absorption of the human into the divine, the writer adduces the Eucharist as the image, similitude, and representation of the same mystery, the point being that as, after consecration, the natural substance of the bread and wine remains unchanged, so the human nature of Christ remained unchanged notwithstanding its union with divinity. His words are: "The sacraments of the body and blood of Christ which we take are a divine thing, inasmuch as through them we are made partakers of the divine nature; and yet the substance or nature of bread and wine ceases not to be. And certainly an image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the act of the mysteries. It is then plainly enough shewn to us that the same thing is to be thought of in our Lord Christ Himself that we profess, celebrate, and take in His image; and as they (*i.e.* the elements) by the operation of the Holy Spirit pass into this substance, namely a divine one, yet remain in the propriety of their own nature, so is that principal mystery itself, the essence and virtue of which they represent to us." This language, both in its own import and in regard to its relevancy to the argument against Eutychianism, seeming inconsistent with the doctrine of Transubstantiation, Baronius meets the difficulty, first by disputing the authorship of the treatise in which it occurs, and secondly by explaining it away. On the first of these heads it is argued that the *Liber Pontificalis* speaks of Gelasius having written five books against Nestorius and Eutyches, and that Gennadius (*Script. Eccles.* c. 94) describes his work on this subject as "Grande et praeclarum volumen," whereas the treatise in which the words above quoted occur is a short one, in one book only, and therefore wrongly identified with the work by Gelasius; that the treatise in question quotes many Greek authorities, but only two Latin ones, viz. Ambrose and Damasus, which was unlikely to have been the case had the pope been its author; and that it praises the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea, an author whom the pope Gelasius, in one of the documents attributed to him, rejects. Hence Baronius, followed by Bellarmine and others, attributes the probable authorship of the treatise before us, not to the pope Gelasius, but to another Gelasius, of Cyzicus, in the same age. The last of these arguments is worthless, inasmuch as the *Decretum de libris recipiendis*, alluded to as rejecting Eusebius, is now generally concluded on good grounds to be later than the time of Gelasius. Nor is the untrustworthy authority of the *Liber Pontif.* of much weight, or the expression of Gennadius, "grande et praeclarum," inconsistent with the considerable treatise in question being the work intended, found as it is in all old manuscripts among the writings assigned to pope Gelasius, and referred to as his, and even distinctly quoted, by St. Fulgentius, his contemporary (St. Fulgentius *Ep. ad Ferrandum*, c. xix.). Dupin on such grounds strongly maintains the pope's authorship against Baronius, and alleges further the internal evidence of style (Dupin, *Nouvelle Biblioth.* second part of 5th century).

But Baronius, as has been said, endeavours also to explain the language of the treatise, by whomever written, to be consistent with transubstantiation. The drift of his explanation is that in every similitude there is some dissimilarity, that in a work of this kind the exact and proper meaning of words need not be pressed as long as the general sense intended can be gathered, and that in this case the writer, in speaking of the substance of the elements of the Eucharist, really meant their accidents. It may be remarked that if, on the one hand, the authoritatively enunciated views of Gelasius on the relations between civil and ecclesiastical authority, on communion in one kind, and on transubstantiation, are inconsistent with those subsequently endorsed by Rome, yet, on the other hand, few, if any, of his successors have gone beyond him in their claims of supreme and universal authority belonging by divine institution to the Roman see.

Many letters of Gelasius, with fragments of others, are given in the standard collections, of which five have been referred to and quoted, viz. those to Euphemius, to the Eastern bishops, to Faustus, to the emperor Anastasius, and to the bishops of Dardania. Among his other works there is a treatise addressed to Andromachus, a senator, against the celebration of the heathen feast of Lupercalia. It appears that the people were for reviving this feast, which the pope had suppressed, under the idea that certain maladies then prevalent were due to its discontinuance. It has been supposed that the feast of Candlemas, kept on the same day, was substituted for the heathen celebration. Other treatises of his have been already described. There is also one against Pelagianism. A *Decretum de libris recipiendis*, fixing the canonical books of Scripture, distinguishing between ancient ecclesiastical writers to be received or rejected, and containing a strong assertion of the supremacy of the Roman see, appears to have been erroneously attributed to a Roman synod under him. It bears signs of a later date, having been first assigned to Gelasius by Hincmar of Rheims in the 7th century. The most memorable of the works attributed to him is the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, which was that in use till Gregory the Great revised and abbreviated it. [See art. SACRAMENTARY in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*] A Sacramentary in several books found in the queen of Sweden's library, and published by Thomasius in 1680, is supposed to be the Gelasian one. Gelasius has been canonized, his day being the 18th of November.

The main authorities for his life, besides the *Liber Pontificalis* are the letters of himself and his contemporaries, and his other extant writings.

[J. B—y.]

GELASIUS (2), archbishop of Salamis, the metropolis of the island of Cyprus, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325 (Mansi, ii. 696). Athanasius (*Apol. contra Arian.* 50, in Migne, *P. G.* xxv. 133) mentions a Cyprian bishop Gerasius as subscribing to the decree of the Sardican council, 347. Gerasius might have been identified as Gelasius, but for the fact of the name occurring in the third place instead of the first. In the life of Epiphanius his successor Gelasius is said to have attained the glory of a confessor along with

St. Pappus bishop of Cytria in the same island. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 39 f; Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 1044.) [L. D.]

GELASIUS (3), third bishop of Arretium (Arezzo), c. A.D. 366. His predecessor was Donatus, his successor was Domitianus or Donatianus. Gelasius is said to have baptized the whole household of Andreas, a nobleman of Arretium, numbering fifty-three persons, who were afterwards martyred. Gelasius himself was probably a martyr. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 456; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xviii. 68.) [R. S. G.]

GELASIUS (4) I., bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, c. 367–395, "distinguished by the purity of his doctrine and the sanctity of his life." (Theodoret. *H. E.* v. 8.) He was the son of the sister of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, by whom he was appointed bishop of the metropolitan see of Caesarea, c. A.D. 367. (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxiii. 37.) During the reign of Valens Caesarea was occupied by an intruding Arian bishop, Euzoius, who hindered Gelasius from exercising his episcopal function. On the death of Valens and the accession of Theodosius in A.D. 379, Euzoius was expelled and Gelasius resumed the quiet possession of his see which he held till c. 394. He was dead in A.D. 395, when Porphyrius, bishop of Gaza, was consecrated by his successor John. He attended the general council of Constantinople A.D. 381, when he took part in the election of Nectarius. (Theod. *H. E.* v. 8; Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 955.) He was again at Constantinople in A.D. 354, when he assisted at the consecration of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, erected by Rufinus in the suburb of the Oak, and took part in the council held Sept. 24, to decide the dispute between Bagadius and Agapius, who each claimed the bishopric of Bostra. (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 1152.) Jerome speaks with commendation of his literary powers, stating that he was "reported to have written brilliantly, but to have concealed his writings." (*De Vir. Ill.* c. 140.) Photius mentions two works by Gelasius, (1) a continuation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, undertaken at the request of his uncle Cyril, which, in defiance of chronology, he describes as a Greek translation of Rufinus's history; and (2) a treatise against the Anomoeans, which he praises as being much superior in style to the history. (Phot. *Cod.* 89, p. 209; *Cod.* 102, p. 276.) His writings are lost, with the exception of one or two fragments. Theodoret quotes a passage from a sermon on the Epiphany (*Eranistes*, dial. i. p. 46; dial. iii. p. 251, ed. Schultze, 1772), and Leontius of Byzantium gives two passages from his exposition of the creed (*μαθήματος*). (*In Nest. et Eutych.* lib. i. p. 978.) Gelasius is said to have been the first to insert the name of his great predecessor Eusebius on the diptychs. (Fabr. *Bibl. Graeca*, lib. v. c. 24; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 561.) [E. V.]

GELASIUS (5) II., bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, placed by Le Quien next after Irenaeus, who held the see in A.D. 453. He was the author of two books *Against the Anomoeans*, spoken of with much commendation by Photius, who states that in learning, diction, and argumentative power he far excelled the other two writers on ecclesiastical history of the same name. Photius highly praises the earnestness and conciseness of his style, the elegance of his language, and the force of his arguments, but condemns his pedantic abuse of logical terms such as a mere tiro would adopt, and the faultiness of his arrangement. This work is identified, but probably erroneously, by Cave and Baronius (ad ann. 496) with the author of the work *De Duabus Naturis*, ascribed with greater reason to pope Gelasius A.D. 492–496. (Photius, *Cod.* 88, 89, 102; Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* lib. v. c. 24; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* iii. 567.) [E. V.]

GELASIUS (6), third bishop of Poitiers. Nothing is recorded of him save that he was buried in the church of St. Hilary at Poitiers. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 26 Aug. v. 817; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 1142.) [R. T. S.]

GELASIUS (7), bishop of Ipsus in Phrygia Salutaris. Theophylactus, a priest, acted as his representative at the seventh general (second Nicene) council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 148; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 841.) [L. D.]

GELASIUS (8)—Dec. 23. (Martyr in Crete with nine others in the Decian persecution.) [EVARESTUS.] (Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

GELASIUS, martyr. [GELASINUS.]

GELASIUS (9), a person whom Eustathius of Sebaste fell in with in Cilicia, and to whom he delivered a statement of his faith, which Basil asserts none but Arius, or one holding kindred sentiments, could have confessed. (Basil, *Epist.* 130 [196], 224 [345].) [E. V.]

GELASIUS (10), ST., a youth of Placentia (Piacenza), cir. 400, commemorated on Feb. 4. The liturgic offices of the church of that city record that he was of noble and Christian parents, and remarkable for piety from his earliest years. It is said that on one occasion he was privileged to behold angels in converse with his brother Opilius, while the latter was praying in his chamber, on which occasion he heard a voice saying, "Suffer little children to come unto Me." (Boll. *Acta SS.* 4 Feb. iii. 465.) [C. H.]

GELASIUS (11), a friend of Sidonius Apollinaris. He complains that his name has not been associated with any poetical effusion of Sidonius; he must have something which he may often repeat; he deems Sidonius's page, when he indulges the sportive vein, too much stocked with hendecasyllabics; so begging that the chattering trochee may be dropped, he would have the verses to run in trimeter iambics. Sidonius has long discontinued this measure, but will not disappoint his friend. The result is a sketch in fifty-five lines of trimeter iambics respecting the classic poets, their various metres and graces. (Sidon. Apoll. *Epp.* ix. 15, Patr. Lat. lviii. 655.) In the succeeding letter he refers to Gelasius as "virum sat benignissimum." [C. H.]

GELASIUS (12), martyr, commemorated on Feb. 4 at Rome in the Forum Sempronii, with Aquilinus, Geminus, Magnus, Donatus. (Usuard, *Mart.*) [C. H.]

GELASIUS (13) of Cyzicus, in the second half of the 5th century, author of a work on the

history of the council of Nicaea, entitled by Photius, Πρακτικὸν τῆς πρώτης Συνόδου ἐν τρισὶ τόμοις, *The Acts of the First Council in three books;* though, as Photius remarks, the work deserves the name of a *History* as much as of *Acts*, οὐ μᾶλλον πρακτικὸν ἢ ἱστορικὸν (Phot. *Cod.* 15). Our only knowledge of the author is derived from his own statements concerning himself. Photius acknowledges his inability to determine who he was, though he thinks it possible that he may have been bishop of Caesarea, a different person, however, from the other bishops of the same name, viz. Cyril's nephew, and the writer of the work against the Anomoeans. Le Quien also places him among the bishops of Caesarea, but with considerable doubt. If he did occupy that see he must have died before A.D. 484, when Timotheus was the bishop (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 568). But the idea is almost certainly erroneous, and has arisen from the title affixed by some blundering scribe mentioned by Photius, ascribing the work to a bishop of Caesarea. We learn from Gelasius's own words that he was the son of a presbyter of Cyzicus, and that, while he was still residing in his father's house, he fell in with an old parchment volume which had belonged to Dalmatius, bishop of Cyzicus, and had got into his father's hands, containing a full account of the proceedings of the council of Nicaea (τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα). This document not supplying all the information he desired, Gelasius entered upon an examination of the works of other writers dealing with the same subject, from which he filled up the gaps. He mentions the work of an ancient writer named John, a presbyter otherwise unknown, as well as those of Eusebius of Caesarea, and Rufinus, whom he calls a Roman presbyter, who were both eye-witnesses of the transactions, and many others. If this Rufinus is to be identified with Rufinus Tyrannius, the ecclesiastical historian, Gelasius has been guilty of the grave historical blunder of making him present at a council held twenty years before he was born. It is not, however, absolutely certain that some other person of the same name may not have been intended. From these and other sources Gelasius compiled his history of the Nicene council. It is sometimes taken for granted by those who only know the work by report that it contains a complete collection of the synodal acts of the council. There is, however, no evidence of the existence of such a collection, or of anyone having seen or used it. Athanasius had none such to refer to (cf. Athanas. *de Decret. Syn. Nic.* l. 2), and certainly we do not possess it in Gelasius (cf. Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, Engl. tr. 263, 264). From the work itself we learn that the place of its composition was Bithynia, and that the thorough knowledge of the proceedings of this council and its decrees had been of great use to Gelasius in confuting the Eutychians in that province during the ascendancy they gained under the usurper Basiliscus, 475–477, when they were appealing to the decisions of the Nicene fathers as favouring their views. This led him to the completion and publication of his historical collections, by which alone he is known to us. If this work had answered in any respect to its pretensions it would have been of immense value. But either the original document must have been most untrustworthy, belonging rather to the domain of fiction than fact, or Gelasius himself must have so overlaid it with the inventions of his own imagination, that as an historical authority it is almost worthless. The prolix disputations and lengthy orations, of which it is full, as Cave has justly remarked, are evidently the writer's own composition. Dupin's verdict is still more severe. He calls Gelasius "a sorry compiler, who gathered all he met with relating to his subject, both bad and good, without examining whether it was true or false." His work is little more than a compilation from the ecclesiastical histories of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, to which he has added little but what is very doubtful or manifestly untrue. "There is neither order in his narrative, nor exactness in his observations, nor elegance in his language, nor judgment in his selection of facts, nor good sense in his judgments." As instances of his untrustworthiness we may mention that he states that the council was summoned by pope Sylvester, and that Hosius of Cordova presided as his delegate, and devotes many chapters (lib. ii. c. 11–24) to disputations on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, which had not at the time become subject of controversy at all. Natalis Alexander also condemns the work as being "levissimi ponderis," except when confirmed by other authorities, and says of it "scatet erroribus" (*Eccl. Hist.* saec. iv. dissert. 13). The style, according to Photius, is characterized by poverty and meanness. The work is divided into three books, τρία συντάγματα. The first book, which deals with civil history, contains the life of Constantine until his victory over Licinius, in eleven chapters. The second book, in thirty-six chapters, comprehends the history of the council, embellished with imaginary speeches, and discussions between the bishops and heathen philosophers that can never have taken place. His statement that Arius took these philosophers with him to help him in his disputations with the orthodox party wants all probability (Gelas. ii. 12). The prolix narrative of the debates between Phaedo, a heathen philosopher holding Arian opinions, and the most learned members of the council, Eustathius, Hosius, Eusebius, &c. is stamped by Valesius (*Annot.* in Socr. *H. E.* i. 8), as decidedly supposititious. The acquaintance with theology and familiarity with the Holy Scriptures, shewn in Phaedo's arguments, exceeds all probability. De Broglie is probably correct in regarding these discussions as specimens of Christian declamations, written as literary exercises, but not with any deliberate intention to deceive, but accepted as authority by the uncritical compiler (*L'Église et l'Empire*, ii. 23). It is important to notice that he gives the twenty Nicene canons exactly in the same order, and of the same tenour, that we find elsewhere (Gelas. ii. cc. 30, 31). He also appends nine constitutions of a purely dogmatical character. But those are pronounced by Hefele, (*Hist. of Councils*, Engl. tr. vol. i. p. 372) to be "most certainly spurious." "None of the ancient writers are acquainted with them; no one among the moderns has endeavoured to defend their historical value; most do not even mention them; and those who do quote them content themselves with denying their genuineness." The third book, as we have it, gives only three letters or edicts of the emperor Constantine:

(1) *To Arius and the Arians;* (2) *To the Church of Nicomedia;* (3) *To Theodotus.* Originally, we know from Photius, it carried on the history to the death of Constantine and his baptism, which preceded it, which is stated to have been performed by an orthodox presbyter, who is anonymous. It is supposed that the last book has been mutilated of set purpose to destroy the evidence against the story of the emperor having been baptized by pope Sylvester at Rome. The first portion of this work which was printed was the second book, which was included by Alphonsus Pisanus in his *History of the Nicene Council.* The whole was published with a Latin translation and notes by Robert Balfour, a Scotchman, Paris, 1599. It has been included in all the collections of the councils from those of Sirmondus, 1508, and Binius, 1518. It is to be found in the second volume of Labbe's collection (col. 103–286) as well as in those of Harduin and Mansi. (Photius, *Biblioth.* Codd. 15, 88, 89; Fabric. *Biblioth. Graec.* lib. v. c. 24; lib. vi. c. 4; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 454; Dupin, iv. 187; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 568.) [E. V.]

GELASIUS (14) (Bacchus Junior), monk and martyr; commemorated on Dec. 17. He belonged to Palestine, in the reign of Irene and her son Constantine VI. (780–797), and was of Christian descent, but his father had apostatized to the Saracens and brought up his seven sons in the religion of Mahomet. After his father's death, Gelasius sought the laura of St. Saba, where he resided as a recluse under the name of Bacchus. The abbat, fearing punishment from the Saracens for having baptized Gelasius, dismissed him, and Gelasius, returning home, baptized five of his brothers, but the sixth, who refused baptism, denounced him to Ameras, and Gelasius was decapitated. (Basil. *Menol.* ii. 38.) [C. H.]

GELASIUS (15), a monk who forsook his monastery. A letter is preserved addressed to him by St. Theodorus Studita, in which the latter exhorts him to return without losing an hour. This letter was probably written by St. Theodorus in his first or second banishment, that is, either in A.D. 797–8 or in A.D. 799–811. (*S. Theodori Studitae Epist.* i. 9, in Migne, Patr. Graec. xcix. 937; Ceillier, *Histoire des Aut. sacr.* xii. 308.) [F. D.]

GELESUINTHA. [Galsuintha.]

GELIANUS, bishop of Repera in Mauretania Caesariensis, banished by Hunneric, 484. (Victor. Vit. *Notit.* 59, Patr. Lat. lviii. 274 b; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 261.) [R. S. G.]

GELIMER, the last king of the Vandals in Africa, 530–534, as usually dated, though Clinton computes the commencement of his reign in June 531 (*F. R.* i. 734). He was the son of Gelarid, grandson of Genton, great-grandson of Genseric. In the reign of Hilderic he headed the malcontents, seized that king and his brother Hoamer and exterminated the party which supported them. The emperor Justinian, who was a friend of Hilderic, sent Belisarius with an army to avenge him, and this general reduced all the Vandal dominion in Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Italian coasts. According to Clinton's chronology (*F. R.* i. 756, 758) Belisarius was victorious in Dec. 533, and after three months, when winter was over, that is in March 534, Gelimer surrendered to the imperial commander Pharas. He was sent a prisoner, first to Carthage and afterwards to Constantinople. His reign had lasted two years and nine months (Clinton, *F. R. Epit.* 221). Gelimer, on being introduced to Belisarius at Carthage, broke into unrestrained laughter, a behaviour which was variously interpreted. The bystanders imputed it to the unhinging of his mind through the calamities he had sustained; but his friends repudiated the imputation and maintained that he was but expressing a humorous sense of the instability of earthly affairs, contrasting his former prosperity with his present humiliation. Others have seen in Gelimer's laugh the laugh of Democritus, as though all the grandeur of human fortune deserved no better than ridicule. His bearing afterwards at Constantinople seems to favour one of the latter interpretations. After gracing the triumph of his conqueror, he was led into the hippodrome where Justinian sat enthroned amid a vast concourse of the people. Gelimer neither uttered a groan nor shed a tear, but kept uttering Solomon's sentence, "Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas." Arrived at the foot of the throne, he was divested of his purple robes, and obliged to bow his head to the ground in obeisance to the emperor. No further sufferings were inflicted on him, and he was allowed to retire on an estate provided for him in Galatia. He would have been honoured with the title of patrician had he not persistently refused to abandon the Arian heresy, which he had inherited from his predecessors (Procop. *Bell. Vand.* lib. i. c. 9). Thus ended the Vandalic power in Africa, which had endured (according to Clinton) ninety-five years since the first entry of the Vandals into Africa, 429, and one hundred and five years since the conquest of Carthage by Genseric in 439. All that time the Catholic church in Africa had been oppressed by Arian domination, but utter downfall of the Vandals now restored its supremacy. [C. H.]

GELIONIUS (Gilderinus, Gebderinus), said to have been twelfth bishop of Châlon-sur-Saône, succeeding Wadelinus, or, according to Gams, Antestis, and followed by St. Gratus, about A.D. 641. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 671.) [S. A. B.]

GELONICA, martyr. [Galonica.]

GEMARA. [Talmud.]

GEMELLUS (1)—Dec. 10. A native of Paphlagonia and martyr under Julian. Having heard that the emperor was at Ancyra in Galatia, he went and upbraided him for his apostasy. For this, Julian is said to have tortured and finally crucified him in the city of Edessa. (Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

GEMELLUS (2) (Gemelius), the Donatist bishop of Tanaboca, Tamboea, or Tambaja, in Byzacene, at the Donatist council of Cabarsussis, A.D. 393. (Aug. *En. in Ps.* xxxvi. 20; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 257, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

GEMELLUS (3), a layman of distinction residing at Constantinople, a catechumen of Chrysostom's, whose cause he espoused very warmly

regardless of the trouble he thus brought upon himself. (Chrysost. *Epist.* 132.) He was still unbaptized when Chrysostom was expelled, and he was anxious to receive the sacrament at the hands of his revered teacher. Chrysostom, however, exhorted him not to defer his admission into the church till his return, delighted as he should have been to baptize him, but to receive the rite at the hands of some of his friends and adherents. The intelligence of this would cause him the sincerest pleasure (*ibid.*). Gemellus having been raised to some important official position in Constantinople, Chrysostom wrote him a very warm congratulatory letter expressing his satisfaction, not so much on his accession to dignity as on the opportunity it afforded him of exercising his power for the good of others, in which he was sure he would not be wanting. (*Epist.* 124.) Not having received any reply, Chrysostom wrote again in a tone of disappointment, assuring him, however, that he was convinced that his silence did not proceed from pride of station or from any failure of affection towards him. (*Epist.* 79.) Chrysostom's letters to Gemellus indicate a very high estimate of Gemellus's character and qualifications, as well as that anxious solicitude for his welfare which could only be satisfied by frequent intelligence. In one letter he expresses an eager desire to know whether his health has derived any benefit from the warm baths he was proposing to visit. (*Epist.* 194.) [E. V.]

GEMELLUS (4), subdeacon and founder of the church of St. Agnes at Ravenna, and also "rector" of Sicily, in the time of Exuperantius bishop of Ravenna. (Agnellus, *Liber Pontif. Ravenn.* pt. iii. p. 254, ed. 1708, pt. i. cap. 1 in Patr. Lat. cvi. 525.) [C. H.]

GEMELLUS (5), bishop of Stratonicia, in the ecclesiastical province of Lydia, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and subsequently signed the synodal letter of his province to the emperor Leo concerning the death of St. Proterius and the faith of Chalcedon, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 153, 573; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 893.) [L. D.]

GEMELLUS (6), bishop of Miletopolis, on the Rhyndacus, in the ecclesiastical province of the Hellespont. Diogenes of Cyzicus subscribed his name in his absence to the confession of faith which was read before the emperor Marcian, at the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 164; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 779.) [L. D.]

GEMELLUS (7), 7th bishop of Vaison, succeeding Ethilius and followed by Alethius, was present at the council of Epaon in A.D. 517. (Mansi, viii. 564; *Gall. Christ.* i. 922.) [S. A. B.]

GEMINIANUS of Antioch. [GEMINUS (1).]

GEMINIANUS (1)—Sept. 16 (Usuard.), Sept. 17 (Bas. *Men.*). Martyr at Rome under Diocletian and Maximian, with Lucia a widow. Her son Eutropius, being an idolater, accused her, now aged 75 years, before the judges Apofrasius and Megasius, who delivered her to death. Geminianus was converted by her patience under torture, and suffered with her. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Usuard.) [LUCIA.] [G. T. S.]

GEMINIANUS (2), bishop of Mutina (Modena) from before A.D. 390 to c. 398, about which year he was succeeded by Theodulus. His predecessor had been Theodorus. He was present at the council of Milan under St. Ambrose, A.D. 390. (Mansi, iii. 690; Ambr. *Epp.* class. i. ep. 48. Patr. Lat. xvi. 1129; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xv. 225.) Sillingard (*Catal. Episc. Mutin.* 5) makes him succeed Antonius in 363 and succeeded by Theodorus in 397. [R. S. G.]

GEMINIANUS (3), an Italian bishop, legate with Domitianus of pope Leo the Great, A.D. 458, to Leo I. emperor of the East, who had written to Leo of Rome, requesting that a synod might be called to confirm the decrees of the council of Chalcedon. (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 164, cap. i. init. in Patr. Lat. li. p. 1148; Jaffé, *Regest. Pontif.* 47.) Mutina is thought to have been his see (Boll. *Acta SS.* 31 Jan. ii. 1096; Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* ii. 82); but he is not included in Sillingard's *Catal. Episc. Mutinens.* 1606). [R. S. G.]

GEMINIANUS (4), bishop of Lucca, c. 546. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xv. 497; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 794.) [A. H. D. A.]

GEMINIANUS (5), c. 568, bishop of Trieste, of doubtful authenticity. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, viii. 680.) [A. H. D. A.]

GEMINIANUS (6), bishop of Volterra, at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649. (Mansi, x. 866; Hefele, § 307.) [A. H. D. A.]

GEMINIANUS (7), bishop of Reggio (in Emilia), signing a doubtful donation by Astolph, c. 752, in favour of the abbey of Nonantula (Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* iv. 430). He consecrated the abbey, c. 753, according to the author of the Life of Anselm abbat of Nonantula, in *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* p. 566. [A. H. D. A.]

GEMINIANUS (8), bishop of Modena, signing a doubtful donation by Astolph, c. 752, in favour of the abbey of Nonantula (Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* iv. 430). [A. H. D. A.]

GEMINIUS (1) FAUSTINUS, presbyter of Furni, A.D. 249 [GEMINIUS VICTOR], probably the same as GEMINIUS, bishop at fourth council under Cyprian, A.D. 254 (*Ep.* 67; *De Basilide et Martiali*) [BASILIDES] and GEMINIUS, bishop of Furni at the council of Sept. A.D. 256, *De Bapt. sub Cyp.* 3 (*Sentt. Episcopor.* 59). [E. W. B.]

GEMINIUS (2) VICTOR, a resident at Furni (Tingitana), named in his will Geminius Faustinus, a presbyter, as 'Tutor,' contrary to a Carthaginian canon (forma) earlier than Cyprian's episcopate. In support of the canon Cyprian interferes (*Ep.* 1), desiring that no oblation may be made in the church "pro dormitione Victoris," and no "deprecatio" be attended in his name. The date appears to belong to the time before the Decian persecution, in which Cyprian complains (*De Lapsis*) of the secular tendencies of the clergy; and this would accordingly be one of the earliest exercises of discipline by him (perhaps A.D. 249). In his letter he brings out the Levitic character which he considers to exempt the clergy from such office. Faustinus could have by law no choice but to serve as

'tutor;' hence the sole remedy was against the memory of Victor. [E. W. B.]

GEMINIUS (3), Donatist bishop of Clupea, or Clypea, an important seaport town on the east coast of proconsular Africa, deriving its name from clypeus, a shield (Kalibia). (Shaw, p. 89; *Dict. of Geog.* i. 242.) He was present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* 133.) [H. W. P.]

GEMINUS (1) (GEMINIANUS), presbyter of Antioch. Jerome in his *Chronicle* (where one reading is Germanus) places him under the year 230, mentioning him with Hippolytus and Beryllus of Bostra, "clari scriptores." In his *Vir. Ill.* likewise Jerome puts him in the time of the emperor Alexander, when Zebennus was bishop of Antioch, 231, and Heraclas was ordained bishop of Alexandria, 233, stating that he composed "a few monuments of his genius." Of these works nothing further is now known. (Hieron. *Vir. Illust.* cap. 64; Cave, i. 123.) [C. H.]

GEMINUS (2)—Jan. 4. Martyr in Africa with Aquilinus, Eugenius, Martianus, Quintus, Theodotus, Triphonis. (*Mart.* Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

GEMINUS (3)—Feb. 4. Martyr at Rome with Aquilinus, Gelasius, Magnus and Donatus. (*Mart.* Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

GEMINUS (4), confessor in Italy. According to the legend (Boll. *Acta SS.* 9 Oct. iv. 1039–42) he was by birth a Syrian; his parents Militianus and Bellias were noble; he was brought up as a Christian, though his parents were idolaters, but subsequently converted. After his father's death he found it necessary to seek shelter in Italy, where he landed on the coast of Umbria, and proceeded to Spoletum and Casuentum. Thence he removed to Ferentum, and near to it or at Camerinum he died A.D. 815. The Bollandists say he had dedications near Casuentum and Ferentum, at Civitelia, on mount Agnasius beside Nocera, and near the city of Horta, all in Umbria or Etruria. [J. G.]

GEMMANUS (GERMANUS). While St. Columba was a deacon, he is said to have been under the tuition of a Christian bard named Gemmanus, or, as otherwise called, Germanus, who lived in Leinster, probably in the plain of Meath, near to Clonard. Colgan seeks to identify him with Gorman (Oct. 25), of Cill-Gorman, in the east of Leinster, but the name in all likelihood is Gemmanus, and only assumes the form of Germanus from the desire of different writers to make it conform to a more familiar type. In the incident related regarding him and St. Columba in the life of the latter by St. Adamnan, St. Gemman was an old man, but we know nothing further of his life or the date of his death, except that he brought his poems and offered them to St. Finnian (Dec. 12) of Clonard, in whose praise he is said to have written a hymn while St. Finnian lived. Lanigan is inclined to think that he was a foreigner, but this idea is based on the name being Germanus. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 356, c. 25, 383, n. [25], 395, c. 40, 450, n. [42], and *Acta SS.* 395, c. 23; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, lxxii. 137; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* ii. 53; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 11, § 8; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 140; Ware, *Ir. Writ.* i. c. 2.) [J. G.]

GEMMARDUS, eighteenth bishop of Saint-Paul de Trois-Châteaux, following Salitonius and succeeded by Ingilbertus, perhaps towards the close of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 708.) [S. A. B.]

GEMMULUS, a deacon, afterwards an archdeacon, at Rome. Two letters are preserved from him to St. Boniface, of which the priest Deneardus was the bearer. St. Boniface had sent the latter to Rome with letters to the pope, and also to Gemmulus after the synod of Soissons (A.D. 744), in which he gave an account of what had occurred at the synod, and also of the heretics Aldebert and Clement. In the first of these letters Gemmulus tells him of the condemnation of these heretics and their followers by a council at Rome. He also mentions he had, to the best of his power, taken care of the nuns entrusted by St. Boniface to his charge, and acknowledges the receipt of a present of a silver cup and a sindon or cloth for receiving the bread offered at the Eucharist, which St. Boniface had sent him with his blessing, and sends in return a present of four ounces of cinnamon, two pounds of pepper, and a pound of cozumber or cotzumber, which from the second letter appears to have been a remarkably fragrant kind of incense. In the second letter he excuses himself for not having sent him the epistles of St. Gregory he had asked for, on the ground that he had been ill of gout, as Deneardus could bear witness, but promises if he recovers to perform St. Boniface's wishes. We have also a letter from St. Boniface to him, written apparently near the end of the archbishop's life; he addresses Gemmulus or "Jammulus" as archdeacon, and tenderly regrets their separation from one another. (Bonif. epp. 58, 59, 86 in *Monum. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, 154, 156, 253.) [F. D.]

GEMTHENNUS, disciple of St. Patrick. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 143, 183, 267.) [GEINTEN.] [J. G.]

GENBERHT (Kemble, *C. D.* 113), archbishop. [JAENBERT.] [C. H.]

GENEBAUDUS I. (GENEBALDUS, GENNOBAUDUS), ST., first bishop of Laon, established in the see by St. Remigius bishop of Rheims, the metropolitan, to whose history by Flodoard we are indebted for almost all the knowledge we have of him. The *Acta* ascribed to Hincmar of Rheims (Boll. Sept. ii. 538) add nothing to Flodoard's account. He was of noble birth, and learned in both sacred and profane literature. Before his ordination he separated from his wife, a niece of St. Remigius. But the separation proved more than he could bear, and after a period of secret intercourse with her he threw himself at the feet of St. Remigius, and tearing off his stole confessed his sin. The saint ordained a penance. A dimly lighted cell and oratory were built against the church of St. Julian, and the door was locked and sealed by St. Remigius. There he passed seven years, his metropolitan presiding over the diocese with his own. On the assurance of an angel that his sin was forgiven, he emerged from his prison with the consent of Remigius. He was succeeded by his son Latro (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* I. xv.) He was represented at the 5th council of Orleans, A.D. 549, by Medulfus his archdeacon

(Mansi, ix. 138). His episcopate apparently extended over the first half of the 6th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 508; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. ii. 537.) [S. A. B.]

GENEBAUDUS II., seventeenth bishop of Laon, succeeding Madelanus and followed by Wanilo I. He is one of the bishops addressed in the twelfth letter of pope Zachary, written probably A.D. 748 (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 948). In 762 he subscribed two charters of king Pippin for the foundation and endowment of the monastery of Prüm (Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 1537, 1541), and in the same year, or in 765, he signed the *Placitum Attiniacense* (Bar. Pagius, an. 762, n. iv.; Mansi, xii. 661). The date of his death is not known. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 512.) [S. A. B.]

GENEBERN or GENEBRARD, martyr, friend of St. Dimpna. [GEREBERN.]

GENEBRARDUS, bishop of Lauda (Lodi). He lived between A.D. 345 and 378. His predecessor was St. Dionysius, his successor St. Bassianus. Ughelli believes that he was bishop of Laudunum (Laon). (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* iv. 893; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xii. 285.) [R. S. G.]

GENERALIS—Sept. 14. Martyr with St. Cyprianus, Crescentianus, Victor, and Rosula. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard.; Ruinart. *Acta Sincera*, p. 193; Till. *Mém.* iv. 45.) [CYPRIANUS.] [G. T. S.]

GENEREUS, a baker at Iona in the time of St. Columba, mentioned in the life of that saint by Adamnan. He has had a minor kind of importance thrown upon him through the controversial use made of the various readings in the text regarding his occupation. In the edition of St. Adamnan by Colgan and the Bollandists he is called a "painter" (pictor), and O'Donnel evidently borrows the same from his copy of St. Adamnan; but the true reading, as adopted by Canisius, Messingham, and Dr. Reeves, is "pistor" and "opus pistorum," so that Genereus is not to be classed among the cultivators of ancient Irish art, but among the lower members of the Columban household. He is called by St. Adamnan "a certain religious brother," and a "Saxon," and apparently was in favour with St. Columba. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 174, n. [178]; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 208, 209; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 436.) [J. G.]

GENEROSA (1), a Christian woman at Rome. [FAUSTINUS (25).]

GENEROSA (2)—July 17. Martyr at Scillita in Africa. [FELIX (212).] [G. T. S.]

GENEROSUS (1), a Christian gentleman of Constantia (Cirta), to whom a Donatist presbyter wrote, at the command, he said, of an angel, to recommend the claims of Donatism. To this letter St. Augustine, in conjunction with Alypius and Fortunatus, replied [FORTUNATUS], shewing that these claims were groundless, and that the succession of bishops at Rome, notwithstanding the intrusion of a Donatist [FELIX (45)], was unbroken, whereas Donatism was a novelty. To separate, therefore, from the Catholic church was to separate from the Christianity of the whole world. Besides this, some of the Donatist bishops, as Silvanus, had themselves been guilty of "tradition," the crime which they imputed so fiercely to the Catholics, whereas the repeated inquiries into the case of Caecilianus had only served to establish his innocence of it. But the main principle of the Donatists, that the evil must be separated from the good in this world was itself false, and they themselves were not consistent in their application of it when they readmitted Felicianus of Musti into their community. The writer of the letter to Generosus, when he speaks of an angel, ought to remember that Satan sometimes assumes the form of an angel of light, or else, if he saw no angel, he has laid himself open to the charge of falsehood. These circumstances are given under A.D. 400 by Tillemont (*Mem.* xiii. 328, art. 126) and Ceillier (*Aut. sacr.* ix. 83); by Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 398, xxxii.) under 398.

This letter must have been written between A.D. 398 and 400, during the pontificate of Anastasius, who is mentioned in it as holding the see of Rome. It seems not impossible that by the term "angel" the writer of the letter to Generosus may have meant to denote Petilian, the able and busy Donatist bishop of Cirta, with whose knowledge, if not at his suggestion, it was probably written, and who was no doubt anxious to gain over to his side a layman of high standing like Generosus. Morcelli, followed by Gams, considers Generosus to have preceded Profuturus as bishop of Cirta. But this is unlikely, for (1) he is nowhere distinctly called bishop in the letter on which Morcelli relies for proof; (2) in the superscription to that letter the names given are those of Alypius, Augustine, and Fortunatus, and in his reply to the letters of Petilian, Augustine speaks of Fortunatus as being at that time bishop of Cirta. This reply was written about A.D. 400, *i.e.* about the same time as the letter to Generosus. We conclude therefore that Generosus was not at that time, nor at any other, a bishop, but only a Christian layman of high character and position. (Morcelli, *Afric. Christ.* i. 142; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* p. 465; Aug. 1 *Petil.* i. 1; *Retract.* ii. 25; *de Unic. Bapt.* xvi. 29; *Ep.* 53; Tillemont, 126, 127, vol. xiii. pp. 328, 333; Ceillier, ix. 390.)

Generosus appears afterwards to have become consular of Numidia, in which capacity Augustine wrote to him in the case of Faventius. [FAVENTIUS (1).] (Aug. *Ep.* 116.) Gams (*Ser. Episc.* 465) in recording a Generosus bishop of Cirta "ante 400" has probably in view, erroneously, the subject of this article. [H. W. P.]

GENEROSUS (2) (GENEROUX), confessor and abbat of the monastery of Ausio, Enixio, Enesio, Enestio, Enexio or Hensio, supposed to be that of St. Iouin de Marnes, in the diocese of Poitiers. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 10 Jul. iii. [47] 46) devote to him a short article, mostly extracts from the *Acts of St. Paternus, bishop of Avranches* (given in full, *ib.* 16 Apr. ii. 423 sq.) and from Mabillon. He is said to have taken the monastic habit under abbat Launegisilus at the monastery of Ausio, where he afterward became abbat, and is still venerated on July 10; he is also venerated in the priory church of St

Generoux, a league from the forementioned monastery. He belongs to the 6th century. [J. G.]

GENEROSUS (3), bishop of the combined sees of Nomentum (La Mentana) and Curium (both since merged in the see of Sabina), c. 601. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, i. 598 a.) [A. H. D. A.]

GENESIUS (1)—Aug. 25. A comedian at Rome and martyr A.D. 285. He was converted while mocking Christian baptism. [GELASINUS.] He was tortured for the faith, during which he cried, "There is no king but Christ, for whom I will be killed a thousand times, as you cannot take him out of my mouth nor tear him from my heart." A church at Rome was dedicated in his honour from ancient times, which was restored and beautified by Gregory III. A.D. 741 (Anastasius Bibliothec. iv. 199). Baronius fixes the date of his martyrdom at 303, and Tillemont (*Mém.* iv. 695) at 285 or 286. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adon., Usuard.; *Kal. Front.*; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*; Surii *Vitae SS.*; Ceill. ii. 467.) [G. T. S.]

GENESIUS (2)—Aug. 25. A notary at Arles, and martyr A.D. 303. Originally a soldier, he then became registrar of the local court, where he was one day called upon, in the course of duty, to read one of the edicts of persecution issued by Diocletian and Maximian. Though only a catechumen, he refused to do so, but resigned his appointment and fled. Ardently longing to receive baptism, he returned to Arles, where he prayed the bishop to administer it to him. For some reason, whether through stress of persecution or some defect in preparation, the bishop deferred it for the present, assuring him, however, that, if called upon to die for Christ, "in thus shedding his blood, he should receive the perfection of the grace of baptism." He was soon after arrested, whereupon, as St. Paulinus of Nola in his account says, "by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit," he flung himself into the Rhone, wherein he received baptism, the river having become for him a second Jordan. The officers followed him to the other bank and there beheaded him without any formal trial. Ado, speaking of his death, says that "he received the crown of martyrdom, being baptized with his own blood." (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Usuard.; Prudent. Hymn. 4, *Peristephan.*; Greg. Turon., *de Glor. Mart.* cap. 68, 69; Ven. Fortunat. *Misc.* l. viii. c. 6; Euseb. Emes. *Hom.* 50, by some attributed to Hilary of Arles; concerning history of Genesius by St. Paulinus of Nola, see *Hist. Lit. de la France*, t. ii.; Till. *Mém.* v. 569.) On the point of martyrdom taking the place of baptism, compare the learned dissertation of Dodwell (*Diss. Cyprian.* xiii.). [G. T. S.]

GENESIUS (3), bishop of Brixellum (Brescello). His date is uncertain, but he was anterior to Cyprianus, who was bishop c. 451. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xv. 443.) [R. S. G.]

GENESIUS (4), 5th bishop of Sisteron, between Avolus and Pologronius or Polychronius. He subscribed the fourth council of Paris (A.D. 573), and the letter addressed by the assembled bishops to king Sigebert. (Mansi, ix. 868, 869; *Gall. Christ.* i. 476.) [S. A. B.]

GENESIUS (5), second bishop of Montpellier, between Boetius and Gumildus. At the third council of Toledo (A.D. 589), he represented his predecessor, while still an archdeacon. In A.D. 597 he was present as bishop at another council of Toledo, and at the fourth of Toledo in A.D. 633, he was represented by his archdeacon Stephanus or Sthephanus. (Mansi, ix. 1002; x. 473, 643; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 732.) [S. A. B.]

GENESIUS (6), ST., 25th bishop of Clermont in Auvergne between Proculus and Gyroindus (A.D. 656–662). He is said to have been born of a family of senatorial rank belonging to Clermont. While archdeacon of the city he undertook the training of Praejectus (St. Prix), who was one of his successors in the bishopric. Nominated to the see upon the death of Proculus, he would only accept it after a general fast of three days had borne witness to the sincerity of the choice. In the fifth year of office, wearied of its pomps and dreading its temptations, he secretly withdrew, and set out for Rome in the garb of a pilgrim. His flock thrown into confusion by his disappearance, and ignorant whether he was alive or dead, sent a deputation to Rome to ask counsel. There their bishop was found, and with difficulty was persuaded to return. He died in the following year, after founding the nunnery of Chantoin. He was buried in the church which he had built and dedicated to St. Symphorian, but which afterwards took his name. He also erected on his own land the monastery of Manlieu or Grandlieu (Magnilocense), and appointed Evodius director of it. His day of commemoration was June 3. (*Vita S. Genesii*, *Vita S. Praejecti*, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. i. 323, Jan. ii. 633; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 245.) [S. A. B.]

GENESIUS (7), ST., thirty-eighth bishop of Lyons, succeeding St. Annemundus, and followed by Lantbertus. Before his elevation he was an abbat, according to Mabillon not of Fontenelle, as some had supposed, but attached to the palace and camp of the king. (See the note to the *Vita S. Ansberti*, Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 1053, Paris, 1668–1701.) He was, at all events, assiduous at court, and filled the post of chief almoner to St. Bathildis, the wife of Clovis. (*Vita S. Bathildis*, Mabill. *ut supra*, ii. 778–79.) The year of his consecration is not certain, but from a passage in the Life of St. Bertila (Mabill. *ut supra*, saec. iii. pt. 1, p. 24), where Genesius, described as *magnus Sacerdos dominus*, terms which seem to imply episcopal rank, was deputed by queen Bathildis to introduce Bertila and her attendant nuns into the newly built religious house of Kala (Chelles), we may infer that it was before 659, previously to which date the monastery was completed. In 662 or 663 he subscribed the charter of Bertefredus of Amiens, for the monastery of Corbie (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1181). A little later he incurred the resentment of Ebroin, the mayor of the palace, by assisting St. Leger, and an armed band was sent to Lyons to expel him. But the archbishop collected a force and successfully defended the city. (*Vita S. Leodegarii*, Mabill. *ut supra*, saec. ii. 686, 682.) In 666 he subscribed the charter of St. Drausius, bishop of Soissons, for the nunnery of the Blessed Virgin, (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1188.) The date of

his death cannot be fixed with certainty, but he was still alive in 677 or 678, as is proved by a diploma of Theodoric III. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 1327), in which he is mentioned as one of the judges of Chramlinus. Mabillon believes that he died in the latter of these two years. (See the note to the *Vita S. Ansberti, ut supra.*) Nov. 1 is given for the day of his death, and is the day of his commemoration in the diocese of Lyons. St. Bathildis on her death-bed thought she saw her "faithful friend" in a choir of angels waiting to receive her soul. (*Vita S. Ansberti*, xiv., Mabill. *ut supra*, ii. 782.) He was buried in the monastery of Kala. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 47.) [S. A. B.]

GENESIUS (8), bishop of Anastasiopolis, in Galatia Prima. He took part in the council of Constantinople, A.D. 680. (Mansi, ii. 220 a, 333 e, 628 c; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 486.) [T. W. D.]

GENESIUS (9), count of Clermont in Auvergne. He is reckoned among the beatified, and the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 5 Jun. i. 504) devote to him a "Synopsis de cultu, aetate, actis, e Scriptoribus Arvernis," and print the "Officium, ex Breviario Capituli Camaleriensis;" but his personal acts are unknown beyond the legend in the office, which abounds with the miraculous. According to this, his father was Andustrius and his mother Tranquilla. From youth his sanctity was attested by miracles, of which specimens are recorded. He built and liberally endowed five churches or religious houses in his castle of Camaleria, and was the special friend of St. Bonitus bishop of Clermont and of St. Meneleus abbat of the monastery of Menat near Clermont. He died on June 5, and was buried at Combronia, or Combronde, the Bollandists say, before A.D. 740. [J. G.]

GENESIUS (10) (or perhaps GELASIUS), Sept. 29, martyr at Perinthus, with bishop Eutyches or Eutychius and two others. (Wright's *Syrian Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 430.) [G. T. S.]

GENETHLIUS (1), bishop of Carthage, between Restitutus and Aurelius, from A.D. 374 to 391, according to Morcelli, who calls him Geneclius. He presided over the synod of Carthage which sat in 386, 387, or 390 (Mansi, iii. 687; Hefele, *Councils*, bk. iii. § 106, p. 390), and passed thirteen canons, which are extant, the first declaring the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, while the others treat of discipline (*vid.* Hefele). Augustine says his memory was greatly revered by the Donatists on account of his conciliatory disposition, which would not allow the law against them to be put in force. (August. ep. 44, § 12; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* ii. 280.) [C. H.]

GENETHLIUS (2), presbyter, a friend and correspondent of Basil, to whom he wrote a long letter exposing the treacheries of Eustathius of Sebaste, and the artifices by which he endeavoured to bring Basil's orthodoxy into discredit. (Basil, *Epist.* 224 [345].) [E. V.]

GENETHLIUS (3), bishop of Argos at the synod held at Constantinople by Flavian, A.D. 448, when Eutyches was condemned. (Mansi, vi. 752; Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 183.) [L. D.]

GENETHLIUS (4), bishop of Cratia (Flavi polis), in the ecclesiastical province of Honoria He signed the definition of faith at the counc of Chalcedon, by Eulogius a presbyter, 45 (Mansi, vii. 149; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 577.) [L. D.]

GENETHLIUS (5), bishop of Dorylaeum, i Phrygia Salutaris. He subscribed the canon of the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Mans ix. 393; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 838.) [L. D.]

GENETIVUS or GENETIUS, bishop Tuy from about A.D. 670 to about 682. He sub scribes the acts of C. Braga III., A.D. 675, senior suffragan, immediately after the metr politan LEODEGISIUS. (Aguirre-Catalani, i 262; *Esp. Sagr.* xxii. 32.) [ANILA.] [M. A. W.]

GENEVEUS (GENEVAEUS), ST., 6th bisho of Dol in Brittany, succeeding Tigerinomalu or, according to some, St. Budocus, and followe by Restoaldus, perhaps in the early part of th 7th century. He is said to have died July 2 on which day he is commemorated, though th Bollandists admit him into their *Acta* wit some doubt. (*Acta SS.* Jul. vii. 83; *Gall. Ch* xiv. 1041.) [S. A. B.]

GENEVIÈVE. [GENOVEFA.]

GENGBERHT (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* N 116), archbishop. [JAENBERT.] [C. H.]

GENGULPHUS, ST. (GANGOLFUS, GEN GOUL), martyr, commemorated on May 11. H was a native of Varennes in Burgundy, where h was murdered, A.D. 760, at the instigation of h wife, by her paramour, for which reason he seem to have been elevated to the rank of martyrdo He appears to have been a man of a rich and nob family. One of his ancestors, a certain Gengu phus, had been constituted "defensor" an "advocatus" of the neighbouring monastery Besua by a letter of Clothaire king of th Franks dated Aug. 17, 666 (*Chron. Bes.* D'Acher. *Spicileg.* ii. 403, ed. 1723). [G. T. S.]

GENIALIS (1), named in the diptychs of th church of Cavaillon as first bishop of that se His date is fixed by the fact that his nam appears in the recently discovered acts of th council of Nismes in 394. (Hefele, *Concil. Gesc* § 110; *Gall. Christ.* i. 940.) [R. T. S.]

GENIALIS (2), condemned with Jovinian as sharing his heresy by pope Siricius, and St. Ambrose and other bishops assembled at Mil A.D. 390 (Amb. *Opp.* iii. 1044). [J. Ll. D.]

GENISTAE. Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, 80 speaking of Jewish sects, mentions as two them, the Genistae and MERISTAE. This noti was for a long time overlooked by writers heresies, though they generally enumerate pr Christian sects, and Philaster in particular tak pains to lengthen his list of Jewish heresie It is just possible that the writer of the *Apostol Constitutions* (vi. 6) had the passage of Justin his mind, and identified the Genistae with t Ebionites, whose notions were heretical concer ing the birth of Christ; and the Meristae wi the Essenes, who separated themselves fro the rest of the people. But for a cle

recognition of the passage we have to come down to Isidore of Seville (*Origg.* viii. 5), who explains that the Genistae were those who boasted of the pure race of Abraham, untainted by mixture of Babylonish blood, and the Meristae those who separated the Scriptures, denying the divine inspiration of certain prophecies. This is obviously mere guess-work, but no subsequent conjectures can be pronounced to be clearly more fortunate. We do not get as much help as might be expected from a comparison with Hegesippus (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23), who speaks of the seven sects of the Jews; and Justin, without calling attention to the number, enumerates exactly seven. Common to both lists are the Sadducees, Pharisees, Galileans, and Baptists or Hemerobaptists; while against the Hellenians, Genistae, and Meristae of Justin, we have to set the Samaritans, Masbotheans, and Essenes of Hegesippus. There is an enumeration of Jewish sects in the Clementine Recognitions (i. 54), but no trace there of reference to the passage in Justin. It is possible that the Genistae of Justin may be the same as the people whom Theodoret calls Καυιστᾶι and Clem. Alex. Καϊανισταί; but if so, we lose the explanation Cainites for the last word without gaining any light on the meaning of the first. [G. S.]

GENIUS, bishop of Auch. [Eonius.]

GENIUS (Hyginus)—May 3, martyr at Lactora (Lectoure), an episcopal city in Aquitaine. He was famous as a Christian teacher, and is said to have converted thirty soldiers who were sent to arrest him during the Diocletian persecution. They, failing to execute their orders, were all put to death. He died in a cave, where he had sought refuge. His acts are very legendary. (Ferrarius, *Cat. SS.*; *Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. i. 384–386. His life is to be found in Labbe, *Nov. Biblioth. MSS. lib. in Coll. Rer. Aquit.* p. 564, Paris, 1657.) [G. T. S.]

GENNADIUS (1), bishop of Esbus (Heshbon) in Moab, present at the council of Nicaea, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 694; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 863.) [J. de S.]

GENNADIUS (2), bishop of Membresa or Membressa, a town of proconsular Africa, 350 miles from Carthage, 35 from Musti (Medjez el Bâb). (Ant. *Itin.* 45, 3; Procop. *Bell. Vand.* ii. 15.) He was present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* 133.) [H. W. P.]

GENNADIUS (3), a physician of Carthage, who had also practised at Rome, a friend both of Evodius and St. Augustine. In one of Augustine's letters to Evodius, Gennadius is mentioned as having at one time doubted the reality of life after death. His doubts were removed by a vision which convinced him that the power of mental and spiritual sight is independent of the body. (Aug. *Ep.* 159.) [H. W. P.]

GENNADIUS (4), presbyter and archimandrite, addressed by Cyril of Alexandria. Gennadius had broken off communion with Proclus the patriarch of Constantinople, being scandalized at his liberality in consenting to communicate with Juvenal of Jerusalem. Cyril commends Gennadius for his zeal, and expresses strong disapprobation of Juvenal; but at the same time he justifies Proclus under the circumstances, and says that he should himself have acted in the same way. (Cyril. Alex. ep. 56 al. 48, in Pat. Gr. lxxvii. 319; Tillem. *Mém.* xv. 203.) [C. H.]

GENNADIUS (5), bishop of Hermopolis Magna in the Thebaïd, present at the Ephesine Latrocinium, A.D. 449. (Mansi, vi. 927; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 595.) [J. de S.]

GENNADIUS (6), bishop of Teos, present at the Latrocinium Ephesinum, A.D. 449 (Mansi, vi. 932). But he also, though absent, assented to the council of Chalcedon in 451, and his name was subscribed by the order of Stephen, metropolitan bishop of Ephesus. (Mansi, vii. 168; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 728.) [L. D.]

GENNADIUS (7), a praefectus Augustalis in the Eastern empire, A.D. 396, in which year there was addressed to him a constitution of the emperor Arcadius, dated from the Eutycheum, his official residence in Alexandria (*Cod. Theod.* XIV. xxvii. 1 n. Gothofred). Gennadius was still Augustalis when the Libyans invaded the Pentapolis (Synesius, *Catastasis* in Migne, Patrol. Gr. lxvi. 1565). At some date he also filled the office of proconsul of Achaia (Claudian. Ep. 5). Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, the metropolis of the Pentapolis, c. A.D. 407–415, tells that he was a Syrian, and speaks of him in terms of great praise. (Ep. 73, in Migne, *u. s.* 1439.) [T. W. D.]

GENNADIUS (8), the name of two Phrygian bishops, viz. of Mosyna and of Acmonaea, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 156; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 817, 823.) [L. D.]

GENNADIUS (9), bishop of Gnossus in Crete, was present at the council of Chalcedon, 451 (Mansi, vii. 161), and subscribed the synodical epistle of the Cretan bishops to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 267.) [J. de S.]

GENNADIUS (10), 21st bishop of Constantinople, 458–471, between Anatolius and Acacius. His first public appearance was in an attack on Cyril, in two works, about 431 or 432, *Against the Anathemas of Cyril*, and *Two books to Parthenius*. In the latter he exclaims, "How many times have I heard blasphemies from Cyril of Egypt? Woe to the scourge of Alexandria!" "Can we sufficiently deplore the corruptions of which he has been and is the author? There are no blasphemies which he does not vomit against the holy fathers, against the apostles, against Jesus Christ Himself. He destroys the humanity which the Word took of us and for us; he makes that nature suffer which is incapable of suffering." In spite of these hearty censures, it seems probable that in 433 Gennadius was one of those who became reconciled with Cyril, and he may have been the presbyter and abbat who in 434 received Cyril's approbation for making a difficulty about communicating with Proclus. [Gennadius (4).]

At any rate, in 458, he was a presbyter at Constantinople, and designated by Leo to fill the see. The emperor was determined to find a man of spotless reputation, on whom no suspicion had ever breathed, of holy life and conspicuous learning, and such was Gennadius. It was

not a unanimous election; for Arian influences were at work, and Acacius, who was destined to occupy the chair thirteen years later, already received some votes. From the beginning of his episcopate Gennadius gave the orthodox satisfactory proofs of zeal for the catholic faith and the maintenance of discipline. All the time of his tenure of his great office, an office greater than ever since the policy of his predecessor, occur measures for the good of the body ecclesiastical, in which the emperor is associated with the patriarch, and which the patriarch no doubt planned. His discretion was before long tested. Timothy Aelurus, chased from the see of Alexandria by order of the emperor, had obtained, through the canvassing of certain enemies of orthodoxy, leave to come to Constantinople, intending, by a pretence of Catholicism, to re-establish himself on his throne. Gennadius thought it best to consult the experience of the greatest of contemporary ecclesiastical statesmen, Leo bishop of Rome. Leo replied on June 17, 460, urging him to do his utmost to prevent the bad effects to be expected from the voyage of Timothy, and to labour for the immediate consecration of an orthodox prelate for Alexandria. The plan succeeded as Leo desired; Timothy Aelurus was banished to the Chersonese, and Timothy Solofaciolus was chosen to Alexandria in his stead. An appointment which Gennadius made about this time, that of Marcian, who had been a Novatian but had come over to the orthodox church, to the important and influential post of chancellor of the goods of the church of Constantinople, shewed at once his liberality, his penetration, and his desire for order. The two Egyptian solitaries who described Gennadius to Moschus, as mentioned below, communicated a story which is also told by Theodorus Lector. The church of St. Eleutherius at Constantinople was served by a reader named Carisius. He led a disorderly life and Gennadius gave him a severe reprimand. It was useless. According to the rules of the church, the patriarch had him flogged. The flogging was also ineffectual. The patriarch sent one of his officers to the church of St. Eleutherus to beg that holy martyr either to correct the evil servant of his church or to take him from the world. Next day, says the story, Carisius was found dead, to the terror of the whole town. Theodorus also relates how a painter, who had the presumption to depict the Saviour under the form of Jupiter and had his hand withered, was healed by the prayers of Gennadius.

It is related in the life of Daniel the Stylite, that Gennadius ordained that saint presbyter at the request of the emperor Leo, standing at the foot of the Pharos and performing the ceremonies there, because Daniel, who knew what was intended, did not wish his bishop to mount his retreat. "I should have come before," said the prelate, according to that account, "if I had not been prevented by business." You would never have come at all," replied the enthusiast brusquely, "unless you had been sent." The buying and selling of holy orders was one of the crying scandals of the age. Measures had been taken against simony by the Council of Chalcedon. In 459 or 460, Gennadius, finding that the evil practice had not at all abated, held a council at Constantinople to consider it. A encyclical was issued, adding anathema to th former sentence. The synodal was sent to th bishop of Rome, and to the metropolitans of th East, with a request that it should be publishe in their provinces and strictly carried out.

In 459 Martyrius had been raised to the se of Antioch, but was driven out by Peter th Fuller, who, by the help of the emperor's son in-law Zeno, seized his place. Gennadius, by hi entreaties with the emperor, obtained the reste ration of the extruded patriarch. Peter th Fuller a second time seized the archbishopri The patriarch of the East again appealed to th emperor, and Julian was made orthodox suc cessor to Martyrius.

Towards the end of his life Gennadius is sai to have been praying one night before an alta when suddenly he saw a spectre of a demon The demon declared that he yielded during th life of Gennadius, but that after his death h would cause many ills to the church, and woul reduce it to his obedience. This story may hav arisen from Gennadius foreseeing that Acaciu would succeed him, and from the alarm whic he must constantly have felt at the disorders o the church, with which even his high courag and resolution could hardly cope. Gennadiu prayed to God to avert such a disaster; but th anxiety which he felt hastened his end. He die in 471, about August 25. That is his day in th Greek calendar.

Gennadius stands out as an able and successfu administrator, about whom no historian has ha anything to speak but praise, if we except th criticism which was naturally aroused by th violent attack which he made in his younge days against Cyril of Alexandria, an attack whic the unmeasured language of Cyril may be hel to excuse. His character was shortly sketche to John Moschus. About 9 miles from Alex andria Moschus on his travels came to a pla called Salama, where two aged cenobites tol him they had been presbyters at Constant nople, and described our patriarch. He was e tremely gentle in disposition and manner, remarkable personal cleanliness and neatnes most temperate in all his habits. Anothe account is given by Gennadius the presbyte who flourished at Marseilles about twenty yea after the death of the patriarch. He says was eloquent and witty of tongue, of sharp an keen intelligence, and so skilled in sacred lit rature that he dictated a whole commentary o Daniel word for word from memory. In h later days he never would ordain any one to t ministry who could not repeat the whole psalt by heart.

Besides the treatises already mentioned, Ge nadius is known to have written a commenta on Daniel and many other parts of the Old Test ment, and on all the epistles of St. Paul. H also composed a great number of homilies. these only a few fragments remain, preserv by Facundus Hermianensis in his *Pro tri capitulis*, by Philippus Solitarius, and by Nic phorus the Monk. An additional fragment w discovered by Cardinal Mai. The principal these are on Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, t Romans, the 1st and 2nd Corinthians, the Ga tians, and the Hebrews. They are interesting specimens of the exegesis of the 5th centu

That on the Romans is the most important, and consists of a series of explanatory remarks on isolated texts. He does not at all grasp the great central doctrine of the epistle, but shews thought and spiritual life. (Gennadius, CP. Patr., Patr. Graec. lxxxv. p. 1611, &c.; Bolland. *AA. SS.* Aug. 1, p. 44; Bolland. *AA. SS.* Aug. 25, p. 148; Ceillier, x. 343; Gennadius Massiliensis, *de Script. Eccl.* cap. xc. in Patr. Lat. lviii. p. 1115; Johannes Moschus, *de Vit. Patr.* cap. 145. Patr. Lat. lxxiv. p. 192; Baronius, A.D. 458–471; Theodorus Lector, *Eccl. Hist.* I. xi. Patr. Graec. lxxxvi. pt. 1, § 566, p. 171; S. Leo. Mag. Epist. 169, 170. Patr. Lat. liv. § 1432, &c. p. 1212, &c.; Baluze, *Nov. Collect. Concil.* p. 1452; Theoph. *Chronogr.* § 95, &c. Patr. Graec. cviii. p. 280; Niceph. Callist. *Eccl. Hist.* xv. c. 23; Patr. Graec. cxlvii. p. 61, § 623, &c.)

[W. M. S.]

GENNADIUS (11) MASSILIENSIS, presbyter of Marseilles.

Authorities.—His statement regarding himself, at the close of his treatise *De Viris Illustribus*, together with the inferences deduced from this, and his only remaining extant work, the short *Epistola de Fide meâ*, which is more commonly known by the title *Libellus de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*. (Concerning editions, see below.)

Life.—The existence of Gennadius must have been wholly comprised within the 5th century of the Christian era, inasmuch as he died in A.D. 496. Of the date of his birth and of his ordination to the priesthood we are ignorant. But in the *De Viris Illustribus* we learn from himself, through the notice above-mentioned, that he was a presbyter of Marseilles, that in addition to the above-named tractates he wrote a work in eight books against all heresies, another in six books against Nestorius, and tracts on the Millennium and the Apocalypse (*de Mille Annis et de Apocalypsi Beati Joannis*). The epistle he sent to pope Gelasius (epistolam de fide meâ misi ad beatum Gelasium, urbis Romae episcopum). This is Gelasius the first, whose tenure of the Roman see lasted only four years, namely, from A.D. 492 to 496.

Writings.—It is unfortunate that our estimate of one of the two extant works of Gennadius is rendered difficult by some doubts concerning the correctness of our present copies. If we accept the *De Viris Illustribus* as it is commonly published, then the brief notices concerning St. Augustine, St. Prosper, and Faustus the Breton [PROSPER, FAUSTUS REIENSIS], warrant us in classing Gennadius of Marseilles with the semi-Pelagians [SEMI-PELAGIANS], inasmuch as he censures Augustine and Prosper, and praises Faustus. Moreover, the short account of St. Jerome at the commencement of the book, a very laudatory one, seems inconsistent with the hostile reference to Jerome contained under the article Rufinus in the same catalogue.

The most obnoxious passages of a semi-Pelagian character are said to be altogether omitted in the two oldest MSS. now extant, those of Lucca and Verona, and in a MS. preserved at Corbie in France. (Ramsay's art. "Gennadius" in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biog.* compared with Mabillon *Vetera Analecta*, ed. Paris, 1723.) This is no doubt an important fact. But it must be borne in mind that it is not certain that these MSS. were in reality the earliest, and that it is by no means impossible that a copyist, especially in Italy, might omit them as unsuited to the theological atmosphere of his own age and country. The existence of a semi-Pelagian school in the southern Gaul of the fifth and sixth centuries—a school embracing among its more or less pronounced adherents many justly honoured names—is a plain matter of unquestioned history, and it is highly probable that Gennadius belonged to it. To the present writer the passages in question do not look like forgeries; they cohere with the context; and Mabillon (*l. c.*), though leaving the question open for further investigation, does not venture to condemn them.

The account of Jerome given by Gennadius stands on a different footing. The absence of any such notice would not be remarkable, because the *De Viris Illustribus* (otherwise *Catalogus Scriptor. Eccles.*) of Jerome, of which the work of Gennadius is at once an imitation and a continuation, ends with a notice of Jerome given by himself. Besides the divergence from the *art.* "Rufinus" already noticed, the style seems more rhetorical, and the tone more enthusiastic than is common with Gennadius. If it be accepted as a genuine notice by Gennadius, we may add to his list of extant works a longer biography of St. Jerome, occupying nearly three folio pages, and given by Mabillon (*l. c.*), who seems to incline towards accepting it. The tones of the longer and the shorter notices are concordant, and both contain the singular expression italicized in the following extract from the shorter one. "Ad Bethleem oppidum juvenis [Hieronymus, sc.] advenit, *ubi prudens animal ad praesepe Domini* se obtulit permansurum." But the name of Jerome is so completely what an Italian poet has termed

> Nome d' immensa invidia
> E d' indomato amor,

that such an addition as the prefix of the short notice is a probable one, and the genuineness of the longer life must seemingly stand or fall with it. On such evidence as lies before him the present writer would reject them both.

Taking then the *De Viris Illustribus* in its most commonly accepted form (which agrees with the above decisions), it may be remarked, that it was probably published about A.D. 495, and that it contains, in some ten folio pages, a century of short biographies of ecclesiastics between A.D. 392 and 495. Although lacking the lively touches, so frequent in the similar work of his great predecessor, the catalogue of Gennadius exhibits a real sense of proportion. The greater men stand out in its pages, and it conveys much real and valuable information. With due allowance for the bias referred to, it may be regarded as a trustworthy compilation, for which our gratitude is due.

The other treatise, variously entitled, as has been remarked, *Epistola de Fide meâ*, or *de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus Liber*, begins with a profession of faith in those articles contained in the three creeds retained in the Prayer Book of the English Church, interwoven with the names of those who are considered by the writer (with occasionally questionable accuracy) to have impugned this or that article of belief. A few lines will illustrate this feature. "Nihil creatum

aut serviens in Trinitate credendum, ut vult Dionysius, fons Arii; nihil inaequale, ut Eunomius; nihil inaequale gratiae, ut vult Aetius: nihil anterius posteriusve aut minus, ut Arius; nihil extraneum aut officiale alteri, ut Macedonius (cap. 4)." Gennadius considers (as later writers, *e.g.* Aquinas) that all men, even those alive at the second Advent, will have to die (7). But this conviction, though derived from a widespread patristic tradition (maximâ Patrum turbâ tradente) is, he admits, rejected by others equally catholic and learned. Of the theories concerning the soul of man subsequently known respectively as the creatianist and the traducianist views, he espouses the creatianist side. He will not allow the existence of the spirit as a third element in man besides the body and the soul, but looks upon it as only another name for the soul (19). Heretical baptism is not to be repeated, unless where it has been administered by heretics, who would have declined to employ the invocation of the Holy Trinity (52). He recommends weekly reception of the Eucharist by all who are not under the burden of mortal sin. Such as are should have recourse to *public* penitence. He will not deny that private penance may suffice; but even here outward manifestation, such as change of dress, is desirable. Daily reception of holy communion he will neither praise nor blame (53).

Evil was invented by Satan (57). Though celibacy be rated above matrimony, to condemn marriage is Manichaean (67). A Christian who has been twice married should not be ordained (72). Churches should be called after the martyrs, and the relics of martyrs honoured (73). He does not believe that any but the baptized attain eternal life; not even catechumens, unless they suffer martyrdom (74). Penitence thoroughly avails to Christians even at their latest breath (80). The Creator alone knows our secret thoughts. Satan can learn them only by our motions and manifestations (81). Marvels may be wrought in the Lord's name even by bad men (84). Men can become holy without such marks (85).

The assertion of the freedom of man's will is strongly asserted in this short treatise. But the commencement of all goodness is assigned to divine grace. The language of Gennadius is here not quite Augustinian; but neither is it Pelagian, or the work would not have been so long included among those of St. Augustine.

Editions.—The two treatises of Gennadius are easy of access; the *De Viris Illustribus* is given in most good editions of the works of St. Jerome (as *e.g.* Vallarsi's, the Benedictine, or that of Victorius, Paris, 1579); and the *Liber de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus* is to be found in the Appendix to tom. viii. of the Benedictine edition of St. Augustine (p. 75). The former treatise has also been published in company with the similar catalogues by Isidore of Seville and Honorius, as well as Jerome's, by Suffridus, 8vo. Coloniae, 1530; with notes by Miraeus, Antwerpiae, 1639, and with notes by Miraeus and E. S. Cyprianus, 4to. Helmstadii, 1700, and by Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiast.* Hamb. 1718.

The date of the publication of the *De Viris Illustribus* is, as has been said, about A.D. 495. The *De Eccles. Dogmatibus* is evidently, from Gennadius's own statement, an earlier work. This limits it to a period between A.D. 492–494, as otherwise it could not have been sent to pope Gelasius. [J. G. C.]

GENNADIUS (12), bishop of Hermopolis Parva (Damanhur) in Egypt. He was the last of the orthodox bishops, and was related to Timotheus of Alexandria (Liberatus, *Breviarium*, cap. xvii. in Patrol. Lat. lxviii. 1022). The same writer mentions that Gennadius was sent by Timotheus to the emperor Zeno, c. A.D. 480, and remained some time at Constantinople. (*Ibid.* cap. xvi.; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 516.) [J. de S.]

GENNADIUS (13), bishop of Zenopolis, in Pamphylia, present at the fifth general council, 553 (Mansi, ix. 393). As there is another town of this name in Lycia, writers have supposed two bishops of the name of Gennadius. (Gams, *Series Episc.* 450, 451; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 993, 1033.) [L. D.]

GENNADIUS (14), exarch of Africa, to whom Gregory the Great wrote about suppressing Donatist heretics who had again become troublesome in that country, A.D. 591. (Tillemont, 78, vi. p. 192; *Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 610–615, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

GENNARDUS, third abbat of St. Germer de Flaix in the diocese of Beauvais [GEREMARIUS]. He was previously vice-dominus of the church of Rouen and was succeeded, perhaps in 716, by his kinsman St. Benignus abbat of Fontanelle. (*Gall. Chr.* ix. 789.) [C. H.]

GENOCUS, friend of St. Finnian of Clonard, and probably the same as Mogenog, bishop of Cill-dumha-gluinn. [MOGENOG.] (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 196 b, 394, c. 11, 398, n. [13].) [J. G.]

GENOVEFA (GENEVIÈVE), patron saint of Paris and of France. The story of her life, as derived from the most ancient records, is as follows:—About the year 430 St. Germanus of Auxerre and St. Lupus of Troyes, being on their way to England to combat the Pelagian heresy, stayed one evening at Nanterre, then a village, about seven miles from Paris. The villagers assembled to see two prelates of such renown, and a little girl in the crowd attracted the notice of St. Germanus. Calling her to him, he asked the bystanders who she was, and learnt that her name was Genovefa, that she was seven years of age, and her parents' names were Severus and Gerontia. The parents were summoned at his desire, and in the spirit of prophecy he bade them rejoice in the sanctity of their daughter, for that she would be the means of saving many. Then addressing himself to the child, he dwelt on the high state of virginity, and engaged her to consecrate herself. The bishops then held a service in the church, and at nightfall bade Severus bring his daughter again at early dawn. Before departing St. Germanus reminded her of her promise, and giving her a brazen coin marked with the cross, bade her wear it as her only ornament, and leave gold and precious stones for the servants of the world. Henceforth miracles marked her out as the spouse of Christ. Her mother was struck blind for a thoughtless blow, and only healed by the girl's supernatural gifts.

Brought to the archbishop of Paris, generally supposed to have been Felix, to be formally consecrated as a virgin, he recognised her sanctity, and preferred her over the two older girls who accompanied her. In course of time her parents died, and Genovefa was taken by her godmother to live in Paris. Here she fell ill, and lay three days in a trance, in which an angel led her to see the dwellings of the just, and the rewards prepared for those who love God. She received, too, the gift of declaring men's thoughts. These privileges displeased the envious, and people were beginning to murmur against her, when St. Germanus arrived in Paris on a second journey to Britain. Of the people who came to meet him he asked tidings of St. Genovefa, and was met with the murmurs of her detractors. Disregarding their tales, he sought her dwelling, humbly saluted her and shewed the people the floor of her chamber wet with her secret tears, and, before departing, commended her to their love. But a fresh source of persecution soon arose. The rumour of Attila's merciless and irresistible progress reached Paris, and the terrified citizens were for fleeing with their families and goods. But Genovefa, prophesying that Paris would remain unharmed, and that those places they deemed safe would be ravaged, assembled the matrons and bade them seek deliverance by prayer and fasting rather than by flight. Then the Parisians rose against her as a false prophetess, and took counsel to kill her. But at this time there arrived in Paris an archdeacon bearing from St. Germanus the gift of some eulogiae or eucharistic loaves (vid. *Dict. Ch. Antiq.*) for Genovefa. He addressed the people, declaring the testimony of his bishop, and dissuaded them from their purpose. Nor did the Huns reach Paris, but were diverted through the efficacy of her prayers, as after ages believed (circ. 448).

The accounts we have of her do not enable a connected history to be given of her life. In fact, they are little besides a string of miracles. Meaux, Arcis-sur-Aube, Troyes, Orleans, Tours, the Seine, and, perhaps, Lyons, but probably Laon, besides Paris, all witnessed the usual commonplace miracles of the age. Childeric, the father of Clovis, having sentenced some prisoners to death, leaves Paris to escape her importunate entreaties for their release. The gates behind him by his order are locked, but fly open at the approach of Genovefa. The same thing happens to the doors of the baptistery of a church at Meaux when she and St. Cilinia, who had resolved to become a nun, were seeking sanctuary from the latter's disappointed lover. To her wonder-working powers, no less than to her zeal, was due the building at Paris of what was in its beginning a humble chapel (vilis aedicula, *Gesta Dagoberti*, i. 3; Bouquet, ii. 580) in honour of St. Denys and his companions, whom she held in especial reverence.

But her abstinence and self-inflicted privations are perhaps her greatest characteristic. From her fifteenth to her fiftieth year she ate but twice a week, and then only bread of barley or beans. Wine and strong drink were unknown to her. After her fiftieth year, by command of her bishops, she added a little fish and milk to her bread. Every Saturday night she kept a vigil in her church of St. Denys, and from the Feast of Epiphany till Easter she remained immured in her cell. Such was her fame that it came by means of travellers and merchants to Simeon Stylites, on his pillar in Syria, who sent his greetings to her, and asked for her prayers.

Before her death Clovis, of whose conversion a later legend has made her the joint author with Clotilda, began to build for her the church which later bore her name. Unfinished at his death, it was completed by Clotilda, and dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. Upon Genovefa's death (Jan. 3, A.D. 512) she was buried in it.

The chief authority for the history of St. Genovefa is an anonymous Life, the author of which asserts that he wrote eighteen years after her death, therefore, about A.D. 530. It was first published by Jean Ravisi, of Nevers, in his *Des Femmes Illustres*, Paris, 1521, and then by Surius, with corrections in the style (Jan. 3), again, by the Bollandists, in 1643, from better MSS., together with another life differing from the former only in unimportant particulars (*Acta SS.* Jan. 1, 138 seq.). There has been considerable divergence of opinion as to the authority to be attached to this life. The authors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France* (iii. 151) believe in its authenticity, and characterize the author as grave, judicious, full of piety and learned for his age. On the other hand, it has been asserted that there is no life of St. Geneviève worthy of credence (see Saintyves, *Vie de Ste. Geneviève*, p. 12, and cf. *Valesiana*, pp. 43–4, Paris, 1694). If we compare the life of St. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius (c. 5, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vii. 211) with that part of St. Genovefa's which relates to him, we can hardly doubt that they have a common source, or that one of them is taken from the other, with slight alterations. And that episode being subtracted, there is nothing in the remainder which might not well be the work of a later age. It seems clear that the history must be accepted with great doubt. There is no foundation for the belief that the life was written by Genesius, a priest, whose name occurs in the narrative. The life of St. Lupus (c. 2, *Acta SS.* Jul. vii. 74) has a mere allusion to the history of Genovefa. Innumerable lives of St. Genovefa have appeared in France in modern times, some of which are referred to below, but they are for the most part of a devotional character, and useless for critical or historical purposes.

A noticeable feature in the legend which has grown up round the name of St. Genovefa, and in which it differs from the original sources, is the prominence which it gives to the supposed humility of her birth and condition. The peasant girl of Nanterre, feeding her father's sheep, has been the favourite conception of her in sacred art, and the Clos and Parc de Ste. Geneviève are still pointed out near Paris as the scene of her occupation. This is remarkable, as beyond the fact that her parents dwelt in a village, there is no evidence of her birth being humble, but rather indications to the contrary (*Valesiana* ut sup.), and the practice of the Catholic church in the treatment of its heroines has certainly not erred in this direction. Nor does it appear that she has ever been considered in any special way the guardian saint of the poor.

The posthumous history of St. Genovefa was more eventful than her life. Though Bede's is the first *Martyrology* in which her name appears, her cult seems to have commenced in very early times (cf. Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Conf.* xci.), and to have extended from Paris through France generally. Hers was one of the shrines which St. Eligius enriched and adorned (*Vita S. Eligii*, i. 32, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 504), and her tomb became as celebrated for miracles as she herself had been when alive. In the 9th century her body had to be removed from its resting-place no less than three times to preserve it from the ruin which overtook the church and monastery at the hands of the Northmen. Twice it was carried to a distance from Paris (845 and 856), and the third time (885) within the city walls, where her coffin, carried in solemn procession to the point where the assault was fiercest, brought victory to the Parisians (Abbo, *de Bello Parisiaco*, lib. ii.; Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxii. 744). The flight and restoration were on each occasion attended by numerous miracles (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 149, seq.). It was not till 890 or 891 that she, St. Germanus and St. Maclovius were finally restored to their own churches. In 1130, though some place it earlier, occurred the famous miracle of the Ardents, commemorated Nov. 26 by order of pope Innocent II. Paris was devastated by a plague called the ignis sacer, against which all human remedies proved futile. At last the coffin of St. Genovefa was carried in solemn procession and elevated in her church. All who pressed near it were healed, except three, who were concluded from that circumstance to be unbelievers. Henceforth, the solemn carrying in procession of St. Genovefa was the favourite remedy for every public calamity, such as floods, famine, pestilence, or even unseasonable weather. In 1161 the coffin was solemnly opened in the presence of the archbishop of Sens and two other prelates, in consequence of a rumour that the body had been abstracted and sold by the new canons. It was found secure (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. 1, 152). In 1177 the abbey, which had never been completely restored since the ravages of the Northmen three centuries before, was entirely rebuilt by Stephen, the abbat of that time (*Epist.* 147, 148, 153; Migne, Patr. Lat. ccxi. 434, 435, 438). In 1242 the wooden coffin, in which the remains had hitherto been enclosed, was exchanged for one of gold, silver and precious stones. From 1650 to 1664 the precious relics had to be concealed on account of the civil wars. In 1757 was commenced the present church from the designs of Soufflot to commemorate the recovery of Louis XV. from illness thirteen years before. When the Revolution broke out the foundation was enormously important. It is said to have comprised seventy-seven abbeys and twenty-eight conventual priories. Its wealth was of course confiscated. On April 4, 1791, the Assembly decreed that the still unfinished church should henceforth receive the ashes of great men, and be called the Pantheon. The next day the body of Mirabeau was laid there, soon to be dispossessed in favour of Marat, who, in his turn a few years later, was ejected with ignominy. Meanwhile the rich coffin, which in 1792 was removed for safety to the church of St. Etienne du Mont, was broken up and sold, and the body of the saint, which was said to have been found incomplete, was burnt on the Place de Grève by public decree, Dec. 3, 1793. The church was afterwards restored by Napoleon I. to its name and cult. (Saintyves, *Vie de Ste. Geneviève*; Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Jan. 3, tom. ii. 417; Bédouet, *Histoire et culte de Ste. Geneviève*, Paris, 1866; Lefeuve, *Hist. de Ste. Geneviève*, c. xiii. Paris, 1842; Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* lxix. 22; lxxiv. 39; Dulaure, *Hist. de Paris*, i. 240–1.) [S. A. B.]

GENSERIC, king of the Vandals, the illegitimate son of Godigiselus, king of the Vandals, reigned for some time in Spain jointly with his legitimate brother Gunderic. [GUNDERIC.] On the death of the latter, A.D. 428, he succeeded to the undivided sovereignty. He is said to have been originally a Catholic, but early in life he embraced the Arian heresy.

Before the death of Gunderic, count Boniface, who through the intrigues of his rival Aetius had been forced to seek safety in revolt, had invited the Vandals to invade Africa. This invitation was readily accepted by Genseric, who assembled the Vandals with their families at the Straits of Gibraltar. On hearing, however, that Hermigarius, king of the Suevi, had ventured to enter the provinces he was abandoning, Genseric turned upon the invaders, drove them with their king into the Guadiana, and then in May, A.D. 429, according to Idatius (in A.D. 427 according to Prosper), crossed into Africa. His host numbered 50,000 warriors, and poured like a torrent over the fertile and defenceless provinces. Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius alone withstood the tide of invasion. The rage of the Vandals was especially directed against the churches, basilicas, cemeteries, and monasteries. Bishops and priests were tortured to compel them to disclose the treasures of their churches. Victor mentions two who were burnt alive, the venerable Papinian, one of his predecessors in the see of Vita, and Mansuetus, bishop of Urci. Neither age nor sex proved any protection against the violence of the barbarians. Hippo was besieged, but through the efforts of count Boniface, who had discovered the stratagem of Aetius, and had returned to his allegiance, supported by an army of allied Goths, the Vandals were obliged by famine, after a siege of fourteen months, to abandon the attempt. St. Augustine died in August, A.D. 430, in the third month of the siege. (Possidius, Life of St. Augustine in Migne, Patr. Lat. xxxii. 59.) Soon afterwards Boniface, who had received reinforcements from Rome and Constantinople under Aspar, the magister militum, ventured to give battle to the Vandals, but after a hotly contested engagement was defeated with great loss. He then abandoned Africa and returned to Italy. Genseric, however, who apprehended another expedition of the united forces of the Eastern and Western empires, was not unduly elated by his success, but concluded at Hippo, on February 10, A.D. 435, a peace with Valentinian, by which he undertook to pay a tribute for the territories he had conquered, and to leave unmolested those still held by Valentinian, and sent his son Hunneric as a hostage.

In A.D. 437, Genseric began to persecute the Catholic bishops in the ceded territories, of whom Possidius Novatus, and Severianus were

the most illustrious, and not only took their churches from them, but banished them from their sees. At the same time, four Spaniards, Arcadius, Probus, Paschasius, and Eutychius, who were faithful servants of Genseric, but who refused at his command to embrace Arianism, were tortured and put to death. Paulillus, a younger brother of Paschasius and Eutychius, was cruelly scourged and reduced to slavery.

Genseric, after procuring the restoration of his son, took Carthage by surprise, Oct. 19, A.D. 439. The bishops and noble laity were stripped of their possessions and offered the alternative of slavery or exile. Quodvultdeus, the bishop of Carthage, with a number of his clergy were compelled to embark in unseaworthy ships, in which, however, they reached Naples in safety. All the churches within the walls of Carthage were taken from the Catholics, and handed over to the Arians, and many of those outside, especially two dedicated to St. Cyprian, shared the same fate. It should, however, be recollected that the Arians in this were only meting out to the Catholics the treatment they received in towns where the latter party was the stronger. [CHRYSOSTOM, p. 524; AMBROSIUS, p. 95.] Genseric ordered the funeral processions of the Catholics to be conducted in silence, and sent the remaining portion of the clergy into exile. Some of the most distinguished of the clergy and laity of the provinces divided among the Vandals ventured to present themselves before the king with a petition to be allowed for the consolation of their people to live in peace under the dominion of the Vandals. He replied, "I have resolved to let none of your race and name escape. How then do you dare to make such a demand?" and he was with difficulty restrained by the entreaties of his attendants from drowning the petitioners in the adjoining sea. The Catholics, deprived of their churches, were obliged to celebrate the divine mysteries where and as best they could.

The year after the capture of Carthage, Genseric equipped a fleet, with which he ravaged Sicily, and besieged Palermo. At the instigation of Maximus, the leader of the Arians in the island, he persecuted the Catholics there, some of whom suffered martyrdom at his hands. According to Prosper, he was recalled from Sicily by news of the arrival in Africa of count Sebastian, the son-in-law of count Boniface, but Idatius places his arrival ten years later. Sebastian, however, had come as a friend to take refuge at his court, but Genseric, who feared his renown as a statesman and general, at first tried to convert him to Arianism, that his refusal might supply a pretext for putting him to death. Sebastian evaded his demands by a dexterous reply, which Genseric was unable to answer, but some other excuse for his execution was shortly afterwards found.

In A.D. 441, Genseric was attacked by a great fleet and army sent by Theodosius under the command of Areobindas, Anaxillas, and Germanus, who, however, delayed in Sicily, and proved rather a burden to the island than a defence to Africa. They were recalled the next year to defend Thrace and Illyricum against an invasion of the Huns.

The same year a new peace was concluded by which Valentinian retained the three Mauritanias and part of Numidia, and ceded the remaining part of his African dominions to Genseric, who divided the Zeugitane or proconsular province, in which Carthage was situated, among the Vandals and kept the other ceded lands in his own possession. The noblest and wealthiest of the natives were reduced to slavery, and handed over with all their property to the king's sons Hunneric and Genzo. While the Vandals, who were in possession of all the richest lands, were exempt from all imposts, the taxation on the inferior lands, which the former owners had been allowed to keep, was so crushing that the unfortunate natives were left totally destitute, and many of them suffered death for trying to evade the demands of the tax-gatherers by concealing their money. To guard against another invasion or a revolt of his subjects, Genseric dismantled all the towns except Carthage, to prevent the invaders or rebels from finding any fortified post they might use as a basis of operations. About this time Genseric discovered a plot among his nobles against himself, and tortured and executed many of them. Probably from alarm at this conspiracy, he began a new and severer persecution. The Catholics were allowed no place for prayer or the ministration of the sacraments. Every allusion in a sermon to Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, or Holofernes was regarded as aimed at the king, and the preacher was forthwith punished with exile. Among the bishops banished at this time, Victor mentions Urbanus of Girba, Crescius, a metropolitan who presided over 120 bishops, Habetdeus of Teudela, Eustratius of Suffectum, two of the provinces of Tripoli, and Felix of Adrumetum. The last was banished for receiving a foreign monk. Genseric prohibited new bishops being consecrated to fill the places of those banished. In A.D. 454, however, he yielded to Valentinian's requests, so far as to allow Deogratias to be consecrated bishop of Carthage. The see had remained vacant since the banishment of Quodvultdeus fifteen years before. In A.D. 455, Genseric, at the invitation of Eudoxia, Valentinian's widow, sailed to Italy, and took Rome without a blow. At the intercession of Leo the Great, he abstained from torturing or massacring the inhabitants, and burning the city, but gave it up to a systematic plunder. For fourteen days and nights the work of pillage continued, the city was ransacked of all its remaining treasures, and Genseric then returned unmolested to Africa, laden with booty and carrying with him many thousand captives, among whom was the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters. The eldest became the wife of his son Hunneric; the youngest, with her mother, was eventually surrendered to the emperor Leo. The most remarkable objects among the spoils were the vessels of the temple and the gilt bronze tiles that formed the roof of the Capitol. The sufferings of the prisoners were alleviated by the charity of Deogratias. [DEOGRATIAS.]

After the death of Valentinian, the whole of Africa fell into the hands of Genseric, and also Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands. His fleets year after year sailed from Carthage in the early spring, and ravaged all the coasts of the Mediterranean. As he was leaving Carthage on one of these expeditions, the helmsman asked him whither he ordered him to steer. "Against

those," he replied, "who have incurred the wrath of God." In these expeditions his object was not only to plunder, but to persecute. Spain, Italy, Dalmatia, Campania, Calabria, Apulia, Bruttium, Venetia, Lucania, Epirus, and the Peloponnese, all suffered from his ravages. The Vandals were not, however, always invincible. In A.D. 456, their fleet of sixty ships was defeated with great slaughter by count Ricimer, off Corsica according to Idatius, but according to Sidonius (301 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 653) off Agrigentum. After the death of Deogratias, A.D. 457, Genseric did not allow any more bishops to be consecrated in the proconsular province, the peculiar domain of the Vandals, so that of the original number of 164 only three were left in Victor's time. One Proculus was sent to compel the bishops to give up all their books and the sacramental vessels. When this was refused, Proculus and his escort seized them by force, and made the very altar cloths into shirts for themselves. St. Valerian, bishop of Abbenza, was expelled from that town. No one was allowed to receive him into their house, or even to permit him to remain on their land, and he was long obliged to lie by the roadside in the open air. At Regia the Catholics had ventured at Easter to take possession of their church. The Arians, headed by a priest named Adduit, attacked the church, part of them forcing an entrance with drawn swords and part shooting arrows through the windows. The reader was killed by an arrow in the pulpit, and many of the congregation were slain on the altar-steps. Most of the survivors were afterwards executed by Genseric's orders. Genseric, by the advice of the Arian bishops, commanded all who held office about his court to embrace Arianism. According to Victor's account, when Armogast, one of the number, refused, he was tightly bound with cords, but they broke like a spider's web; and when he was hung head downwards by one foot, he seemed to sleep as peacefully as if he were in bed. His persecutors finding themselves unable to overcome his resolution, were about to kill him, but were dissuaded by an Arian priest, as he would then have been reverenced as a martyr. He was accordingly compelled to labour in the fields and afterwards to tend cattle near Carthage.

Meanwhile the Romans refused to give up Africa as lost without a further struggle. The emperor Majorian, of whom the romantic story is told that he visited Carthage in disguise to explore with his own eyes the resources of his enemy, in A.D. 460 assembled a fleet of 300 vessels at Carthagena for the invasion of Africa. His plans were betrayed by domestic treason to the Vandals, who surprised and carried off the greater part of his ships. Genseric, however, alarmed at this attempt, concluded peace with Majorian.

In A.D. 468, Leo collected a mighty armament of 1113 ships, each containing 100 men (Cedrenus, 350, ed. Dindorf.), under the command of his brother-in-law Basiliscus. The campaign opened favourably. Marcellianus, who had acquired Dalmatia, and assumed the title of Patrician of the West, joined Leo against the common foe and drove the Vandals out of Sardinia. In the opposite direction, Heraclius recovered Tripoli. The main armament landed at the Hermaean promontory (Cape Bon), about forty miles from Carthage. Had Basiliscus attacked Carthage immediately, it would probably have fallen, but Genseric, by means, as it was generally believed, of a large bribe, induced him to grant a truce for five days. He used the interval to man all the ships he could, and the wind becoming favourable, attacked the Romans and sent fire-ships among their crowded vessels. Panic and confusion spread through the vast multitude, most of whom tried to fly, but a few fell fighting gallantly to the last. After this victory, Genseric recovered Sardinia and Tripoli, and ravaged the coasts of the Mediterranean more cruelly than before, till a peace was concluded between him and the emperor Zeno. Severus, the emperor's ambassador, when taking leave, requested Genseric, instead of giving him the gifts usually presented to an ambassador on his departure, to set his prisoners at liberty. The king replied he had no power over those who had fallen to the share of the other Vandals, but released to him those who had fallen to his own or his sons' lot, and allowed him to ransom as many of the others as he could. (Malchus *de Legationibus*, 3, ed. Dindorf.) At the same time Genseric, at Leo's entreaty, allowed the churches of Carthage to be reopened, and all the exiled bishops and clergy to return.

Soon afterwards he died, on Jan. 24, A.D. 477. He is said to have established as the law of succession in his family that the eldest male should succeed to the throne, so that the succession should not pass from father to son, but from brother to brother or uncle to nephew. This was, however, the usual rule of succession in early times. The Irish custom of Tanistry is an instance of it, and the best known example is furnished by the law of succession of the house of Othman.

According to the description of Jornandes (*de Gothorum Origine*, c. 33, in Cassiodorus, i. 412, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxix. 1274), Genseric was of moderate stature, and was lame from a fall from his horse. He was a man of few words, and thus was better able to conceal the deep designs he had conceived. His passionate nature scorned luxury, and was greedy of empire. He was a master of all the arts by which nations could be won to his side, and quarrels might be excited and the seeds of mutual discord sown among his enemies. A terrible instance of his cruelty is related by Procopius (*de Bello Vandalico*, i. 22). Enraged by a repulse at Taenarus, he sailed for Zante, captured 500 nobles of the island, and in revenge cut them in pieces and flung their bodies into the Adriatic. In forming an estimate of Genseric's character, it must be remembered that all our information about him is derived from authors who hated and dreaded himself and his nation both as heretics and enemies. After every allowance has been made for Salvian's rhetoric (*De Gubernatione Dei*, vii. in Migne, Patr. Lat. liii.), it must be admitted that, according to his description of the morals of the Vandals and those of the dissolute Carthaginians, the barbarian heretics appear in a more favourable light than the civilized Catholics.

Genseric's name is variously spelt Gizericus, Gaisericus, Geisericus, and Zinzirichus. The sources for the above account are the Chronicles of Prosper and Idatius (in Migne, Patr. Lat. li.);

Procopius *de Bello Vandalico*, i. 3–7; Isidorus, *de Reyibus Gothorum* (Isid. *Opp.* vii. 130–133, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxiii. 1076); and Victor Vitensis *de Persecutione Vandalica*, i. (in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii.). Gibbon, chaps. xxxiii. xxxvi. and xxxvii., may also be consulted; and Ruinart's dissertation in his appendix to Victor Vitensis, and Ceillier, *Histoire des Auteurs sacrés*, x. c. 28. [F. D.]

GENTENNUS, priest of Tirguaire (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 180 n.[149]). [GEINTEN.] [J. G.]

GENTIANUS, twenty-ninth bishop of Angers, succeeding Mauriolus and followed by St. Benedictus, about the close of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 552; Tresvaux, *Hist. de l'Église et du Diocèse d'Anyers*, i. 80.) [S. A. B.]

GENTILIS, bishop of Cubda, in proconsular Africa, was present at the council of Carthage, A.D. 646. (Mansi, x. 939; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 146.) [R. S. G.]

GENULFUS, is regarded as first bishop of Cahors. But the old lection which relates his preaching of the gospel in that part of the country, relates also that after three months he departed; and this fact seems hardly consistent with the belief that he was bishop. The Bollandist biographer supposes that he was consecrated bishop at Rome, and sent to establish himself in any place where he might be able to found a church. Probably he was but the first missionary. He may be the same with Gundulfus, who appears in the Roman martyrology at June 17 as sent by pope Sixtus II. in the time of Decius, and who came to the country of the Bituriges. He is hence described by Potthast as bishop of Bourges. His biography, with plentiful miracles interspersed, and an appendix of additional miracles by an anonymous Benedictine, is found in Boll. Jan. 17; *Acta SS.* ii. 82; *Gall. Christ.* i. 118. [R. T. S.]

GEORGIAN CHURCH, THE. [IBERIAN CHURCH.]

GEORGIUS (1), bishop of Salona (Spalato) in Dalmatia, between Joannes I. and Theodorus I. He is supposed to have suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Diocletian. (Farlati, *Illyric. Sacr.* i. 647, et seq.) [J. de S.]

GEORGIUS (2), bishop of Prusa in Bithynia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 696; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 615.) [L. D.]

GEORGIUS (3), bishop of Laodicea ad mare in Syria Prima (335–347), a leading figure in the second rank in the Trinitarian controversies of the 4th century. At first an ardent admirer of the teaching of Arius, he subsequently joined the ranks of the semi-Arians, but seems ultimately, outstepping his original position, to have united with the Anomoeans, whose uncompromising opponent he had once been, and to have died professing their tenets (Newman, *Arians*, part ii. ch. iv. § 1, p. 275). George was a native of Alexandria. In early life he devoted himself to the study of philosophy, in which he gained considerable distinction (Philost. *H. E.* viii. 17). He was ordained presbyter by Alexander, bishop of Alexandria (*ibid.* Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 62). Having embraced the opinions of Arius he united himself to Eusebius of Nicomedia in his exertions to procure their recognition by the church. Having passed from Alexandria to Antioch, he endeavoured to act the part of a mediator between Arius and the Catholic body, writing at the same time to Alexander and the leading Arians, with the view of explaining away the differences that kept them asunder. In his letter to the latter he shewed how, by a sophistical evasion, based on 1 Cor. xi. 12 (*τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ*), the orthodox test word *Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ* might be accepted by them (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 45; Athanas. *de Synod* p. 887). Naturally, the attempt at reconciliation was a complete failure, while the result to himself was his deposition and excommunication by Alexander, both on the ground of false doctrine and also of the open and habitual irregularities of his life (Athanas. *de Synod.* p. 886; *Apolog.* ii. p. 728; *De Fug.* p. 718; Theod. *H. E.* ii. 9). Athanasius styles him "the most wicked of all the Arians," reprobated even by his own party for his grossly dissolute conduct (*De Fug.* 718). After his excommunication by the church at Alexandria, George endeavoured to obtain admission among the clergy of Antioch, but was steadily rejected by Eustathius (Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* p. 812). On this he retired to Arethusa, where he acted as presbyter; and on the expulsion of Eustathius he was welcomed back to Antioch by the dominant Arian faction. Eusebius of Caesarea having declined the see of Antioch, George was nominated as bishop in A.D. 332, together with Euphronius, on whom the choice ultimately fell, by the emperor Constantine, as "of most approved faith" (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 63). He was not long in attaining the episcopate, being appointed bishop of Laodicea on the death of the Arian Theodotus (Athanas. *de Synod.* p. 886; *Or.* i. p. 290; Soz. *H. E.* vi. 25), Athanasius states that his elevation to the episcopate was his own act (*De Fug.* 718). As bishop he was present and took a leading part in the successive synods summoned by the Arian faction against Athanasius. He was at the council of Tyre in 335 (Athanas. *Apol.* ii. p. 728), that of Jerusalem in the same year (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 43), and that of the dedication at Antioch in 341, at which Athanasius was deposed and Gregory appointed bishop of Alexandria (Soz. *H. E.* iii. 5). He is probably the George named by pope Liberius in his letter to the emperor Constantius (Hilar. *Fragm.* ii. 39–43; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* Eusèbe de Verceil, note 3). On the assembling of the council of Sardica in 347 fear kept him from joining his brother bishops, by whom he was, with many others, unanimously deposed, as having been previously condemned by Alexander, and as holding Arian opinions (Theod. *H. E.* iii. 9; Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 678; Athanas. *Apolog.* ii. p. 765; *De Fug.* p. 718). Of this deposition George took no heed, and in 358, on Eudoxius, the newly appointed bishop of Antioch, openly siding with Aetius and the Anomoeans, he wrote an earnest appeal to Macedonius of Constantinople, and the other bishops who were visiting Basil at Ancyra for the purpose of consecrating a newly-erected church, calling on them to lose no time in summoning a council to condemn the Anomoean heresy and eject Aetius, unless they desired that city to be lost to them

altogether. His letter is given in full by Sozomen (*H. E.* iv. 13; Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 790). At Seleucia, in 359, when the semi-Arian party was split into two, George headed the more numerous faction opposed to that of Acacius and Eudoxius, whom, with their adherents, they deposed (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 40). If, as is probably the case, he is to be identified with the George named by Basil (*Epist.* 251 [72]) as siding with Eudoxius and Acacius in the persecution of the orthodox at Constantinople in 360, the difference was short-lived. One of the frivolous charges against Cyril of Jerusalem, on which he was deposed at this council, was his receiving George into communion after his deposition (Soz. *H. E.* iv. 25). During his episcopate George was brought into contact with the two Apollinarii (father and son), the younger of whom subsequently occupied the see of Laodicea, where they were both residing as teachers of rhetoric. Their intimacy with the heathen sophist Epiphanius of Petra had been the cause of their excommunication by George's predecessor Theodotus, which was continued or renewed by George himself. Another pretext for their excommunication was, according to Sozomen, that Apollinarius the younger had given a hospitable reception to Athanasius when passing through Laodicea, which had resulted in an intimate friendship. George's obstinate refusal to readmit Apollinarius to communion is unreasonably enough assigned by Socrates and Sozomen as the cause of his developing the heresy by which he has become celebrated (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 46; Soz. *H. E.* vi. 25). On the vacancy of the see of Antioch after the expulsion of Anianus, George was the chief instrument of the election of Meletius, believing him to entertain the same opinions with himself. He was speedily undeceived, for on his first entry into Antioch the emperor Constantius having desired the bishops who were present to deliver successive expositions of the crucial text—"The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old" (Prov. viii. 22), after George himself had delivered an address of a strong Arian colour, and Acacius had cautiously steered a middle course between the Catholic faith and Arian heresy, Meletius startled his hearers by an unequivocal declaration of the truth as laid down at Nicaea. Indignant at being thus entrapped, George and his fellows lost no time in undoing their work by the deposition and expulsion of a bishop of such uncompromising orthodoxy (Theod. *H. E.* ii. 31; Philost. *H. E.* v. 1; Socr. *H. E.* ii. 44; Soz. *H. E.* iv. 28). George's literary activity does not appear to have been great. Gregory Nyssen mentions a letter of his relating to Arius (*in Eunom.* i. 28), and Socrates quotes a panegyric composed by him on the Arian Eusebius of Emesa, who was his intimate friend and resided with him at Laodicea after his expulsion from Emesa, and by whose intervention at Antioch he was restored to his see. (Socr. *H. E.* i. 24, ii. 9.) He was also the author of some treatises against heresy, especially that of the Manicheans. (Theod. *Haer. Fab.* i. 28; Photius, *Bibl.* c. 85; Niceph. *H. E.* vi. 32.) [E. V.]

GEORGIUS (4), commonly called of Cappadocia (Athanasius, *Epist. ad Episc.* 7), Arian intruding bishop of Alexandria (356–361). He was born, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, at Epiphania in Cilicia (xxii. 11, 3), and, if so, must have been Cappadocian only by descent. Gregory Nazianzen describes him as not purely free-born (*Orat.* xxi. 16). His actual birthplace, "it was reported," was a fuller-shop (Ammian.). He began his career as a pork-contractor for the army, and, according to his Catholic adversaries, was detected in peculation, and fled. (Athan. *Hist. Ari.* 51, 76, comp. *De Syn.* 12; Greg. *l. c.*) He seems to have soon recovered position, and although Gregory describes him as "unlearned," he undoubtedly collected a library which Julian, no bad judge, describes as very large and ample," richly stored with philosophical, rhetorical, and historical authors of all kinds, and, not least, with various works of "Galilaean" or Christian theology (*Epist.* 9, 36). While Julian was in Cappadocia, George lent the future emperor several of his books to be transcribed, which were duly returned to him. This must have been between 345 and 351. He was *not* at the synod of Sirmium in 351 (Soc. ii. 29). In the February of 356, after Athanasius had retired from Alexandria, in consequence of the attack on his church, which all but ended in his seizure, he heard that George was to be intruded into his throne, as Gregory had been sixteen years previously. Rumour did George considerable injustice in one respect; it was reported to Athanasius that he was "not even a Christian, that he had no knowledge of the rudiments of Christianity, that he was addicted to idolatry." The coarse and tyrannous nature of the man was depicted in the words, "He has the temper of an executioner" (*Ep. to Egypt. Bishops*, 7). "Being ordained bishop," says Ammianus, "against his own and the public interest," he arrived in Alexandria, escorted by soldiers, during the Lent of 356 (*De Fugâ*, 6). The date given in the Festal Index prefixed to Athanasius's Festal Epistles, and in the Maffeian Fragment or 'Chronicon Acephalum' appended to them, is February 24, 357; but it is altogether improbable that his installation should have been delayed for more than a year after the flight of Athanasius, and for eight months after the adherents of Gregory (meaning George), are said by the Fragmentist to have been put in possession of the churches on "Payni 21," or June 15, 356. George's installation was a signal for new inflictions on Alexandrian churchpeople. "After Easter week," says Athanasius, (*De Fugâ*, 6) "virgins were imprisoned, bishops led away in chains" (some 26 are named in *Hist. Ari.* 72) .... "attacks were made on houses," &c.; and on the first Sunday evening after Pentecost a number of people who had met for prayer in a secluded place were cruelly maltreated by the commander, Sebastian, a "pitiless Manichean," for refusing to communicate with George.

The new intruding bishop—remembering the ordinary title of Alexandrian bishops, we might call him the new "anti-pope"—was a man of resolution and action (Soz. iii. 7). Gregory of Nazianzus, who disparages his abilities, admits that he was like a "hand" to the Arians, while he employed an eloquent prelate — probably Acacius—as a "tongue." He belonged to the Acacian section of the party; he was consequently obnoxious to the semi-Arians, who "deposed him" in the council of Seleucia. He

even allowed the notorious adventurer Aetius, founder of the Anomoeans or ultra-Arians, to officiate as deacon at Alexandria, after having been ordained, as Athanasius tells us (*De Syn.* 38), by Leontius of Antioch, although he afterwards "compelled" the Arian bishops of Egypt to sign the decree of the Acacian synod of Constantinople of 360 against Aetius (Philostorgius, iii. 2). He induced Theodore, bishop of Oxyrynchos, first to submit to degradation from the ministry, and then to be re-ordained by him as an Arian bishop (*Lib. Marcell. et Faustini*, Sirmond. i. 135). He managed his own matters so well as to gain and keep the confidence of Constantius, who congratulated the Alexandrians on having abandoned such "grovelling teachers" as Athanasius, and entrusted their "heavenward aspirations" to the guidance of "the most venerable George," and who also exhorted the two Abyssinian sovereigns to send their bishop Frumentius (whom Athanasius had consecrated) to Alexandria, in order to be instructed by George in the true knowledge of the "Supreme God" (Ath. *Apol. to Const.* 30, 31). But, in fact, George was far from recommending his form of Christianity either to the orthodox or to the Pagans of Alexandria. "He was severe," says Sozomen, "to the adherents of Athanasius," not only forbidding the exercise of their worship, but "inflicting imprisonment and scourges on men and women after the fashion of a tyrant;" while, towards all alike, "he acted as if determined to strike terror, and wielded his authority with more violence than belonged to the episcopal rank and character." He was "hated by the magistrates for his supercilious and imperious demeanour, by the people for his tyranny" (Soz. iv. 10, 30). He stood well with Constantius, who was guided theologically by the Acacians, and whose ears were as "wide open" (so Ammianus phrases it) to accusations as the hands of his chamberlains were to bribes (see Greg. *Orat.* xxi. 16). It was easy for the "pope" of Alexandria to embitter his sovereign (as Julian says he did, *Ep.* 10) against the Alexandrian community, to name several of its members as disobedient subjects, and to suggest that its grand public buildings ought by rights to pay tax to the treasury (Ammianus, etc.).

Meantime, he shewed himself in the light of a keen, grasping man of business, enriching himself by vexatious and ignoble monopolies, "buying up the nitre-works, the marshes of papyrus and reed, and the salt lakes, and even keeping in his own hands, not from humanity, but for profit," the management of funerals; so that it was not safe even to bury a corpse without employing those who let out biers under his direction (Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxvi.). He shewed his anti-pagan zeal by arbitrary acts and insulting speeches; he procured the banishment of Zeno, a pagan physician in extensive practice (Julian, *Ep.* 45); he prevented the pagans from offering sacrifices and celebrating their national feasts (Soz. iv. 30); he brought Artemius, "duke" of Egypt, much given to the destruction of idols (Theodoret, iii. 18), with an armed force, into the very citadel of Alexandrian paganism, the superb temple of Serapis, which was forthwith stript of images, votive offerings, and ornaments (Julian, l. c.; Soz. l. c.). He ought to have known the temper of that multifarious population, which had often been lashed into furious tumult by far less provocation than he recklessly gave. On the 1st day of Thot, the 29th of August, A.D. 358 ("the consulate of Tatianus and Cerealis," adds the Maffeian Fragment), the people broke into the church of St. Dionysius, where George was then residing; and it was with difficulty, and after hard fighting, that soldiers rescued him from their hands. On the 5th of Paophi, *i. e.* October 2, he was obliged to leave the city; and the "Athanasians" occupied the churches from October 11 to Dec. 24, when they were again ejected by Sebastian. On June 23, 358, —the year of the councils of Ariminum and Seleucia—an imperial secretary named Paul arrived with a mandate for the restoration of George, and punished many who had taken part against him. So says the Fragmentist; but his next statements involve a difficulty. He says that five months later, on the 30th of Athyr (= Nov. 26), George returned, but that this was in the year of the consuls Taurus and Florentius, which was A.D. 361, "3 years and 2 months," he adds, "after his flight:" and that this return was only "3 days" before the insurrection which proved fatal to him. There is evidently a confusion in this account. It is inconceivable that the imperial mandate should have been inoperative from June 23, 359, to November 26, 361. Probably George returned soon after he had quitted the Seleucian council, *i. e.* in the November of 359, and the "3 years and 2 months" represent the period between his flight and the final catastrophe. It was, perhaps, on his return at this time, if not after some previous visit to "the court," that as he passed by the splendid temple of the Genius or Fortune of Alexandria, he fixed his eyes on it with scornful hatred, and exclaimed in the hearing of the crowd that escorted him, "How long will this sepulchre stand?" (See Ammian. l. c.) This speech agrees well with the menace attributed by Ammianus to the reinstated bishop, that he would make many a man suffer for his exile. It would naturally strike "like a thunderbolt" ("velut fulmine," Ammian.) on pagan listeners, and would feed the vindictive wrath which was keeping its accounts and biding its time. That time came, not, as Ammianus thinks, after the emperor Julian had arrived at Antioch in 362, and had put to death Artemius, but as soon as the news of his accession had arrived at Alexandria, Nov. 30, 361. George was in the height of his pride and power: he had persecuted the pagans anew, and wounded them to the quick by carrying about in procession a number of skulls which had been found below the floor of a temple of Mithras, which had been granted to him by Constantius, and on the site of which he intended to build a church (Soc. iii. 2). He was also carrying on, with the assistance of a "count" named Diodorus, the still unfinished works of the great Caesarean church; and Diodorus had shorn the long curls of some boys by way of insult to paganism (Maff. Fragm., Ammian.). But now, the pagans were officially informed, there was an emperor who worshipped the gods; the gods, therefore, could at last be avenged. The shout arose, "Away with George!" and "in a moment," says the Fragmentist, they threw him into prison, and with him Diodorus, and Dracontius the master

of the mint, who had overthrown a pagan altar, which he found standing there (see Ammianus). The captives were kept in irons until the morning of Choiac 28 (Dec. 24). Then, as if "impatient," says Gibbon, "of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings," the pagan mob again assembled, dragged forth the prisoners with "horrible shouts" of triumph, beat them with fists and sticks (cf. Epiphanius, *l. c.*), "pulled their limbs this way and that," and utterly kicked the life out of them. As Julian, in his letter of remonstrance, expressed it, "the people actually tore a man in pieces, as if they had been dogs" (*Ep.* 10, see it in Soc. iii. 3). When the deed was done, they flung the mangled body of George on the back of a camel, which they led through every part of the city, while the two other corpses were drawn along with ropes. At last, at 1 P.M. they burned the remains on the shore, and cast the ashes into the sea, by way of preventing them from being honoured as martyrs' relics; the Paschal Chronicle adds that they were mingled with the carcases of animals. Compare the Fragment with Ammianus, who adds that "the wretched men might have been defended by the Christians, had not all been equally embittered against George."

The murderers were all of them pagans, as we infer from Julian's letter: in spite of which, however, the Arian Philostorgius had the hardihood to say that the will of Athanasius was the true leader in the affair (*στρατηγῆσαι τῆς πράξεως*, vii. 2). Some eighteen years afterwards, Gregory, preaching on the character of St. Athanasius, refers to the tragedy as well known. "You all know about that camel, and her strange burden, and the new elevation (*τὸ καινὸν ὕψος*), and the first, as I believe, and the only circuit (thus made round the city)—things even now brought up by way of menace to insolent men" (*Orat.* xxi. 26). George's death, says Epiphanius, would have placed him high among martyrs had he died "for the truth, for the confession of Christ." The Arians of course regarded him in this aspect: and Gibbon took an evident pleasure in representing "the renowned St. George of England," and, he might have added, the "Great Martyr" of the Eastern calendar, as the Alexandrian usurper "transformed" into a heroic soldier-saint. [Georgius (43).] He adds in a note that in some of the spurious 'Acts of St. George,' still extant, we may yet distinguish the combat which St. George of Cappadocia sustained in the presence of Queen Alexandra against the magician Athanasius. He omits to say that in these Acts (which have been assigned to the 6th century, and are therefore much older than the mediaeval romance about a dragon and a princess) the Athanasius who comes forward to withstand St. George, and denounces his belief in a "crucified God," is converted by his miraculous powers, confesses Christ as "God Almighty," and is beheaded for his new faith (*Acta SS.* April, iii. 120, and app. p. xii.). However, this may have been a Catholic emendation of that "Passio" which pope Gelasius, at the end of the 5th century, reprobated in his famous decree, as "forged by heretics." But his words, as Gibbon admits, clearly suppose the existence of a true martyr named George, "known rather to God than to men" (Mansi, viii. 163). Bishop Milner, in his *Historical Inquiry into the Existence and Character of St. George* (1792), shews that the saint was honoured in Gaul throughout the 6th century, and that an Asiatic church of St. George, known to have existed early in that century, was probably then ancient. "No supposition," he thinks, "is more natural than . . . that certain Arians, by corrupting the history of a celebrated orthodox martyr of the name of George, and artfully blending with it certain remote allusions to their champion of the same name, should endeavour to invest the latter with rays stolen from the former. Had not the name of George been previously borne by some favourite orthodox saint, the conduct of the Arian George would evidently have made it as odious in the church as that of Arius himself" (*Inquiry*, p. 50). Of the details of that saint's life and death, of his native country, of his date, we have no certain information. But that he existed at some time prior to that of his Alexandrian namesake has been the constant tradition of the Eastern Church; and Constantine is said to have founded the church that stood over his reputed grave near Lydda. The *Chronicon Paschale*, which mentions the murder of George of Alexandria, dates the martyr, whom it connects with St. Babylas, 259 years after the Ascension (i. 510, 546). Compare Geo. Cedrenus, i. 464, 523; but he dates St. George in the Diocletian persecution, and the Bollandists think he may have been the nameless Christian who, according to Eusebius, tore down the first edict of persecution (Eus. viii. 5). See also Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, April 23, on the inscription found by Burckhardt in a ruined church of St. George, referring its later portions to A.D. 365 or 367; and on another in a ruined church at Ezra in Syria, belonging to A.D. 346, and styling George a holy martyr. [W. B.]

GEORGIUS (5), an infamous favourite of a powerful lady at Doara in Cappadocia, whom she procured to be elevated to the bishopric of Doara, circ. 375. (Basil, *Epist.* 239 [10]; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 417.) [E. V.]

GEORGIUS (6), the first bishop of Anicium (Le Puy) at some period before the 5th century. The legend is that he was sent from Rome by St. Peter in company with St. Fronto, and that he first exercised his ministry at Vetula in Vellay. The see of the diocese of Le Puy was originally at Vetula. This bishop was commemorated on Nov. 10. [Evodius (2).] (Tillemont, *Mém.* iv. 502; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 687.) [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (7), bishop of Pelusium. He is mentioned in the life of St. Saba written by Cyrillus Scythopolitanus (ap. Cotelier, *Monum. Eccles. Graec.* iii. 220 sq.), as having been consecrated by Zoïlus of Alexandria. This fixes the period of his episcopate between A.D. 538 and 551, in which latter year Zoïlus was deposed. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 534.) [J. de S.]

GEORGIUS (8), the name of four bishops attending the council of Constantinople in 553, their respective sees being—

Tiberias (Mansi, ix. 173 b, 191 c, 193 b, 202 c, 230 b, 297 d, 346 d, 368 a, 389 a) in Palestine (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 708);

Ptolemais (Mansi, ix. 176 b, 392 c), but whether Ptolemais in Phoenicia, *i.e.* Acre, or Ptolemais Cyrenaïca, Le Quien is uncertain, and places the bishop under both sees (*O. C.* ii. 621, 816);

Justinianopolis in Armenia (Mansi, ix. 192 d, called Gregorius at pp. 175 c, 391 d; *O. C.* i. 435);

Nova Justiniana Cypseli tanorum (Mansi, ix. 175 c, 192 d, 391 c), the same as Cypselus on the Hebrus in Thrace (*O. C.* i. 1203).

[J. de S.]

GEORGIUS (9), bishop of Pessinus in Galatia, and metropolitan, cir. A.D. 600. Pessinus was suffering from drought, and Theodorus Siceota, bishop of Anastasiopolis in the same province, was invited by George and the people to come and unite with them in a solemn supplication. From the church of St. Sophia the assembled citizens made a procession headed by the two prelates to the church of the Holy Angels beyond the walls, and on their return Theodorus celebrated the sacrament at St. Sophia's, when rain fell in torrents. (*Vit. Theodori*, cap. xi. § 89, in Boll. *Acta SS.* 22 Apr. iii. 52; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 491.) [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (10) I., said to have been ninth bishop of Carpentras, between Odofridus and Petrus I. at the beginning of the 7th century. (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 604 n. viii. tom. ii. 563; *Gall. Christ.* i. 897.) [S. A. B.]

GEORGIUS (11) II., patriarch of Alexandria, between Joannes Eleemosynarius and Cyrus. In the chronological table (rejected by Henschen, vid. *Acta SS.* Boll. Mart. iii. p. xxv. and Patrol. Gr. cviii. 1165) which accompanies the text of Theophanes, George's first year is placed under A.C. 611 (the Alexandrian system being employed), and the first year of his successor under A.C. 625, fourteen years being thus assigned to his patriarchate; but the text, omitting to notice the commencement, places its close in A.C. 621 (Theoph. *Chronog.* in Pat. Gr. cviii. 634, 679 B, 690). Nicephorus Patriarcha (*Chronog. Brev.* in Pat. Gr. c. 1054) gives him eleven years, but without dates. The annals (not very trustworthy) of Eutychius of Alexandria (pt. 2, p. 267) state that George began his rule in the thirteenth year of Heraclius (*i.e.* A.D. 622), and the first of the calif Omar, and that after four years, when the Moslem armies had overrun Palestine and were advancing on Egypt, he set sail for Constantinople and was succeeded by Cyrus. In another passage, however, this annalist places the retirement of George in the third year of Omar (Pat. Gr. cxi. 1095, 1122). Nearly all modern writers agree in making him die in 630 (as Baronius, Pagi, Le Quien, Clinton); but Clinton, believing there is authority for the fourteen years, dates his accession in 616, as does Oudin. Le Quien thinks there must have been some interregnum after John, owing to the desolate condition of Alexandrian affairs, and he does not therefore date the accession. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 447; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 620, x. 630 xiii., and Pagi iii.; Clinton, *F. R.* ii. 547.) Baronius conjectures that George may have been the relative of his predecessor mentioned by Leontius; but Pagi remarks that Leontius makes the relative too young for a patriarch.

Photius (cod. 96) describes at great length a life of Chrysostom, entitled τὰ περὶ τὸν Χρυσόστομον, written by a George bishop of Alexandria, whom he is unable to identify. He calls the style poor, and says the matter is culled from Palladius, Socrates, and others; concluding with the observation that the author appears οὐκ ὀλίγα παριστορῶν, Schott taking this participle to mean "praeter historiae fidem narrare," but Lambecius limiting it to "tradere obiter." By general modern consent the writer is this patriarch. The life itself is extant in more than one manuscript; that in the imperial library of Vienna is described by Lambecius (*Biblioth. Caesar. Vindob.* t. viii. p. 578, num. 13, ed. Kollar). In 1557 a Latin version of it, by Godfridus Tilmannus, was published at Paris (Fabr. *Bibl. Gr.* viii. 457, ed. Harles) and may be seen in Surius (*de Prob. Hist. SS.* 27 Jan. i. 474). The Greek was edited, 1612, by Henry Savile in his edition of Chrysostom's works (vol. viii. p. 157). The editions of Chrysostom's works by Migne and Montfaucon omit the life by George. Leo Allatius remarks (*De Georgiis*, in Fabr. xii. 16) that Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, and John Moschus, in addition to Socrates and Palladius, are laid under contribution by George. Savile criticizes the life in the form of an "Admonitio" (printed in Pat. Gr. xlvii. p. xxv.). David Blondel in a searching chapter of his *De la Primauté en l'Église*, 1641, produces (pp. 1229 sqq.) numerous instances of George's corrupt copying of his predecessors besides a long list of his inventions. The reader may also consult Cave (*Hist. Lit.* i. 577), and especially Oudin (*de Script. Eccl.* i. 1599 sqq.), who gives an elaborate statement of the reasons which led him to attribute the *Chronicon Paschale* to this author. [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (12) I., patriarch of Antioch during the Saracen domination, residing at Constantinople. The chronology is very uncertain. Eutychius of Alexandria (*Annal.* pt. 2, pp. 323, 324, 348, in Patr. Gr. cxi. 1108 C, 1114 C) states that he was a Maronite, *i.e.* a Monothelite; that he succeeded Macedonius in the third year of the Calif Othman, *i.e.* in A.D. 645 or 646, and was appointed at Constantinople, where five years afterwards he died and was buried, having never visited Antioch; that he was succeeded by Macarius; and that he was anathematized with Macedonius and Macarius in the sixth general council, 680. In Pococke's Latin translation of Eutychius he is called Jarihus and Chazjus. Constantius, in Neale's *Patriarchs of Antioch* (p. 167), gives him fifteen years, from A.D. 640. Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* ii. 741) places his appointment in 655. [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (13), seventh bishop of Agde, between Tigridius and Wilesindus, present at the eighth council of Toledo in A.D. 653. Some have identified him with St. Georgius archbishop of Vienne, but apparently without sufficient reason. (Mansi, x. 1222; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 668; xvi. 33.) [S. A. B.]

GEORGIUS (14), bishop of Syracuse, who received a letter from pope Vitalian in 668. (Mansi, xi. 19; Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* 165.)

[A. H. D. A.]

GEORGIUS (15), bishop of Catania, present at the Roman synod, held under pope Agatho, in Oct. 679. (Hefele, § 290; Mansi, xi. 179.) [A. H. D. A.]

GEORGIUS (16), patriarch of the Nestorians, a disciple of Jesujab, whom he succeeded, A.D. 660. When a young man he gave Beth-haba, his inheritance, to the monastery there established, and thus attracted the notice of Jesujab, then bishop of Nineveh, whom he afterwards accompanied to Adiabene. Jesujab, on becoming patriarch, appointed Georgius his successor in the latter see, and finally recommended him to the bishops as his successor in the patriarchate. Georgius bishop of Nisibis at first would not recognise the new patriarch; but when the latter visited him in his own city, the indignation of his flock compelled submission. Scarcely had the patriarch returned when Georgius bishop of Mesene [GEORGIUS (21)] rebelled against him. This necessitated another journey. The quarrel was adjusted by the good help of Raban Çodahua, abbat of Beth-halé. After this the patriarch restored order among the Catarenses (*Beth-qatorye*), and then went home to his monastery. The literary labours of Ananjesu were undertaken at his request. He died at Hirta, after an episcopate of twenty years. Thomas Margensis eulogizes a poem by George, which begins *Deus qui a saeculo est, qui in sempiternum bonus est, neque ex sua bonitate mutatur.* His other works consisted of some orations, nineteen canons extant in an Arabic version, and a litany, translated by Schönfelder. (Assem. *Bib. Or.* iii. i. 149–153; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1123.) [C. J. B.]

GEORGIUS (17), bishop of Nisibis, a Persian, contemporary with and an opponent of George patriarch of the Nestorians, and like him ordained by Jesujab. [GEORGIUS (16).] He was author of the hymn, "Praise to thy pity, Messiah our king, Son of God," &c. used in the Nestorian and Maronite offices. (Assem. *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. 1, 456.) [C. J. B.]

GEORGIUS (18) II., patriarch of Antioch in the period of the Saracen domination between Thomas and Stephen III. He is frequently mentioned at the council of Constantinople in 680, being described as presbyter and monk, the apocrisiarius and representative of the bishop of Jerusalem (Mansi, xi. 211 c, 549 e, &c.). At the Trullan or Quinisext council of Constantinople, A.D. 692, his title is bishop of Antioch (Mansi, xi. 988 c). Eutychius of Alexandria (*Annal.* pt. 2, p. 365, in Patr. Gr. cxi. 1118) places his accession in the first year of the Calif Abdulmalech (*i.e.* A.D. 685), and assigns twenty-four years to his episcopate; Constantius, in Neale's *Patriarchs of Antioch* (p. 167), only five, from 690 to 695. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 743.) [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (19) I., 44th bishop of Constantinople, patriarch and metropolitan for six years (678–683) during the interrupted episcopate of Theodorus I., and in the reign of the emperor Constantine III. Pogonatus. At the time of his elevation he was chancellor and treasurer of the church of the Deipara in the district Sphoracium. His patriarchate was remarkable for the 6th General Council, held at Constantinople in 680. Of the council an account is given in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. It remains here to point out the part taken by George, who was at this time a Monothelite. The first occurrence Nov. 7, 680, was an appeal by the Roman legates to George and Macarius to account for the origin of certain novel expressions concerning the nature of Christ, which for forty-six years since the days of the patriarch Sergius had been troubling the churches. George and Macarius replied that they had learned these phrases from the oecumenical councils, from recognised fathers, and particularly from Sergius, Paul, Pyrrhus, and Peter who had in succession filled the chair of Constantinople, from pope Honorius, and from Cyrus of Alexandria. The emperor then allowed them to demonstrate their position provided they adduced proofs only from general councils and recognised fathers. On this Macarius asked the prince to order the warder of the charters of the church of Constantinople to bring the books of the councils from the Patriarchal Palace. The rest of the day was spent in reading the acts of Ephesus.

In the 7th session, Feb. 13, 681, the Roman legates begged Constantine to ask the patriarch George and Macarius whether they agreed with the letters sent by pope Agatho and his council. The patriarchs asked for copies of them, that they might verify the quotations at leisure. The originals were carefully sealed up.

In the 8th session, March 7, came the recantation of George. He admitted that the quotations were genuine, and declared his agreement with Agatho. On this, bishop after bishop of his patriarchate came forward and made the same announcement. The patriarch then requested that the name of pope Vitalian should be replaced in the diptychs, and the assembly endorsed this ratification of peace.

In the 16th session, August 9, George made a request, which was supported by the bishops of his province, that the names of his four predecessors, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter should be excepted from the anathemas pronounced against the Monothelite leaders. But the council refusing to see any grounds for the exculpation, George declared that he yielded to the opinion of the majority, and anathemas were pronounced afresh on the four patriarchs of Constantinople, on Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Honorius of Rome, Macarius of Antioch, and all heretics.

In the 17th session, September 11, the declaration of faith was determined, and was read aloud by Agatho, reader and notary of the patriarch George. It declared for two natures wills and two operations in Jesus Christ. George signed after the signature of the Roman legates. The proceedings terminated with the composition of a synodal letter to pope Agatho. Before, however, the legates departed for Rome, news arrived of the pope's death, which took place Jan. 682.

Nothing more is known of George, except that the see of Constantinople was vacant in 68 and that Theodore returned. George is commemorated as a saint by the Greeks on Augu 18th. (Theoph. *Chronogr.* §§ 300, 301, Pat Graec. cviii. 723, 733, &c.; Pope Paul V.'s *Concil. General.* iii. 8, &c.; Beda, *de Temp. Ration* Patr. Lat. xc. p. 568; Paulus Diaconus,

Gestis Langobard. vi. 4, Patr. Lat. xcv. 625; Niceph. Callist. *Enarr. de Episc. C. P.* Pat. Graec. cxlvii. p. 458; Baron ad ann. 678–683; *AA. SS.* Boll. *Hist. Chron. Patr. C. P.* August, vol. i. p. 85; *AA. SS.* Boll. August 18, p. 655; Ceillier, xii. 945–956.) [W. M. S.]

GEORGIUS (**20**), bishop of Tauranium or Taurianum (formerly a town of the Bruttii in Calabria, near the mouth of the Metaurus). He signed the synodal of Agatho at Rome in 680 (Mansi, xi. 302). [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**21**), bishop and metropolitan of Mesene, a district of Mesopotamia at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates represented by Bassora, cir. 650 (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1209). He was one of the monks and disciples of Jesujab III., created metropolitan by that patriarch on account of the wide extent of his jurisdiction (Thomas Margensis in Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 151). The opposition he offered to Jesujab's successor (*ib.* 152) is mentioned under GEORGIUS (16). [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**22**), bishop of Agrigentum, who signed the synodal of Agatho at Rome in 680 (Mansi, xi. 306). Georgius is the reading of all the manuscripts, and there is no authority for Gregorius given by Baronius in the notes of his *Roman Martyrology*, and copied from him by others. See GREGORIUS (35) of Agrigentum. [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**23**), the name of other bishops present at the councils of Constantinople in 680 and 692 (Trullan or Quinisext), one or both, viz. the bishops of—

Abramiasus in Armenia, 692 (Mansi, xi. 1000 a; Arabissus, Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* i. 450).

Aenos in Thrace, 692 (Mansi, 992 e; *O. C.* i. 1201).

Antioch in Syria, 692 (M. xi. 987 E; *O. C.* ii. 743). [GEORGIUS (18).]

Antioch by Maeander, 692 (M. 1001 b; *O. C.* i. 908).

Arce, 680 (M. 616 b).

Bizya in Thrace, 680 (M. 613 c), and 692 (according to Le Q. i. 1147, who thinks Βιζύης must be meant where Mansi, 992 b, has Οὐζούσης.

Cadosia in Bithynia, 680 and 692 (M. 649, 995 c; *O. C.* i. 631).

Camache in Great Armenia, 680 and 692 (M. 613, 993 c; *O. C.* i. 435, or Daranalis).

Camuliana, 680 and 692 (M. 212, 613 d; *O. C.* i. 393).

Chios, 680 (M. 616 c; *O. C.* i. 931).

Cherson in Doras, 692 (M. 992 d; Tauric Chersonese, *O. C.* i. 1330).

Cinna. See Synnada.

Cordylus in Pamphylia, 692 (M. 1004 e; *O. C.* i. 1032).

Cos, 680 (M. 212 a, 616 c; *O. C.* i. 936).

Cratia, 680 and 692 (M. 616 b, 677 b, 1000 c; or Flaviopolis, *O. C.* i. 578).

Cyzicus, 680 (M. 613 a; *O. C.* i. 755); accompanied Gregorius, bishop of Agrigentum to Rome for the trial of the latter (Simeon Metaph. Nov. 13, in Patr. Gr. cxvi. 252).

Daranalis. *Vid.* Camache.

Flavias in Cilicia, 680 (M. 616 d; *O. C.* ii. 900).

Flaviopolis. *Vid.* Cratia.

Galaus in Pisidia, 680 and 692 (M. 616 a; 1004; Paralaus, *O. C.* i. 1059).

Hylarima in Caria, 692 (M. 1001 a; Loryma, *O. C.* i. 915).

Hyniandus in Lycia, 680 and 692 (M. 1001 a; Oenoanda, *O. C.* i. 989); in some copies of the signatures this bishop appears to be called Gregory.

Irenopolis in Isauria, 692 (M. 997 e, 1018; *O. C.* ii. 1030).

Junopolis or Jonopolis, in Pontus, 680 and 692 (M. 616 b, 677 a, 1000; *O. C.* i. 556).

Loryma. *Vid.* Hylarima.

Miletus, 680 (M. 613 c; *O. C.* i. 919).

Naxos, 680 (M. 616 c; the Latin version calls this bishop Gregory; *O. C.* i. 938).

Nicaea, 692 (M. 989 c; *O. C.* i. 644).

Oenoanda. *Vid.* Hynianda.

Palaeopolis in Asia, 692 (M. 693 d, 993; *O. C.* i. 731).

Paralaus. *Vid.* Galaus.

Selymbria, 692 (M. 992 c; *O. C.* i. 1137).

Syedra in Pamphylia, 692 (M. 997 a; *O. C.* i. 1007).

Synnada in Galatia, 692 (M. 1000 d; Cinna, *O. C.* i. 484).

Theorina, 692 (M. 1005 b; Theorium, *O. C.* ii. 491).

Thera, an island in the Aegaean, 680 (M. 629 b; *O. C.* i. 941).

Triocala in Sicily, 680 (M. 306). Pirri (*Sic. Sac.* i. 490) reads the name Gregorius. [GREGORIUS (38).]

Uzusa in Thrace. *Vid.* Bizya.

Xanthus in Lycia, 692 (M. 1001 a; *O. C.* i. 984).

Zela in Pontus, 692 (M. 997 c; *O. C.* i. 543). [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**24**), ST., thirty-seventh bishop of Vienne, between St. Bobolinus I. and St. Deodatus. He is mentioned in the *Chronicon* of Ado as a bishop of great virtue (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 117 D). There is some uncertainty as to his date. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (xvi. 33) quote an *index* to the effect that he died Nov. 2, 699, and was buried in the church of St. Peter, while the *Necrologium* of Vienne makes him contemporary with the emperor Anastasius II., who did not reign till A.D. 713. In Gams's list again he is placed earlier than either of these dates (p. 654). If he was identical with Georgius bishop of Agde, as has been conjectured, though without good ground, the earliest of the dates is the most probable. [S. A. B.]

GEORGIUS (**25**), bishop of "the Arabs," or of "Nations" (Syr. *'amme*), according to Barhebraeus (*Lib. Ethic.* 4) a contemporary of Jacobus of Edessa and John of Damascus, cir. 710. (From Barhebr. *Chron.* we learn that these Arabs were Monophysites, who at last became Moslems, owing to the persecutions of the Eastern emperors.) Syrian writers ascribe many works to this Georgius. Assemani mentions two, viz. a commentary on the Scriptures, much quoted by Barhebraeus in his *Store-*

house of Mysteries, and a dodecasyllabic poem, in twenty-four sections, called *De Chronico* (Syr. *metul Kruniqon*). It is a kind of sacred calendar, treating of the epact, the moveable feasts, the solar and lunar cycles, the months, and weeks, and other matters relating to the ecclesiastical reckoning. The poem was written, as the writer himself tells us, to vindicate the honour of the Syriac as against the Arabic muse. (Assem. *Biblioth. Or.* i. 494–5). Other works: an epistle to one Joshua, published in Lagarde's *Analect.*; and a Syriac version of Arist. περὶ ἑρμηνείας, Hoffm. *de Hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristoteleis*, Lips. 1869. [C. J. B.]

GEORGIUS (**26**), bishop of Sarug, identified by Matagne (*Etudes Relig. Hist. et Lit.* p. 151) with Georgius bishop of the Arabs. [GEORGIUS (25).] A letter by Mar Jacobus of Edessa on Syriac orthography, addressed to this Georgius, has been edited by Dr. Phillips (London, 1869), and by J. P. Martin (*Jacobi episcopi Edess. epist. ad Georg. Sarug.*: Paris, 1869). [C. J. B.]

GEORGIUS (**27**), bishop of Martyropolis (Maipheracta), in the province of Mesopotamia, on the river Nymphius, a tributary of the Tigris. This bishop originally presided over the see of Apamea, and was translated to Martyropolis by the emperor Philippicus in the first year of his reign, A.D. 711 (Theophanis *Chronogr.* A.M. 6204). He adhered to the orthodox faith according to the decisions of the council of Chalcedon, in behalf of which he wrote works that are quoted in the extant apologetic letter of Elias, a Jacobite bishop. He seems to have also been bishop of Tacritum, a town identified by Assemani with Martyropolis, but probably a separate bishopric lower down in Mesopotamia. Assemani wrongly assigns Georgius to the end of the 6th century. (*Bibl. Orient.* i. 465; Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 1000.) [L. D.]

GEORGIUS (**28**), bishop of Portus. In Oct. 709, he followed pope Constantine in his journey to Constantinople, with Nicetas bishop of Silva Candida. (*Vita Constantini* in *Liber Pontificalis*, Migne, cxxviii. 949; Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* 173.) In 721 he was present at the Roman council under Gregory II. (Mansi, xii. 265). [A. H. D. A.]

GEORGIUS (**29**), bishop of Nepi, present at the Roman synod under Gregory II., in 721. (Mansi, xii. 265; Hefele, § 330.) [A. H. D. A.]

GEORGIUS (**30**), archbishop of Salamis, the metropolis of Cyprus, a strong upholder of image worship, and consequently anathematized by name along with Germanus who had resigned the see of Constantinople, and John of Damascus, at the synod held (see Mansi, xii. 575) by Constantine Copronymus, A.D. 754, as recited in the sixth session of the second Nicene council, when this anathema was removed. He is here described as a meek man who endured the blows and insults of the heretics without retort. [GREGORIUS (44).] (Mansi, xiii. 356–7; Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 1051.) [L. D.]

GEORGIUS (**31**), bishop of Sinigaglia (Senogallia), present at the Lateran synod under Stephen IV. in 769. (Mansi, xii. 715.) [A. H. D. A.]

GEORGIUS (**32**), bishop of Praeneste, who ordained the intruding pope Constantine subdeacon and deacon, June 28, 767. On the following 5th July, with Eustratius bishop of Alba and Citonatus bishop of Porto, he consecrated Constantine pope. (Vita Stephani, iv. *Liber Pontificalis*, Migne, cxxviii. 1150; Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* 198.) He also subscribed a letter of pope Paul I. in June 761, to the abbat John, about the privileges of the monastery of St. Stephen and St. Silvester in Rome. He is there called Gregory. (Pat. Lat. lxxxix. 1194; Mansi, xii. 649; Jaffé, 195.) [A. H. D. A.]

GEORGIUS (**33**), bishop of Ostia, who took part in important missions by the popes in the second half of the 8th century. In 756 he was sent by Stephen III. to Pippin with letters concerning the disasters inflicted by the Lombards (*Cod. Carol.* Jaffé, p. 47, 54). In 757, after the death of Aistulph, he was sent again to Pippin by Stephen III., and in 758 or 759 by Paul I. In 759 or 760 Georgius was commended by the pope to Pippin, and apparently remained for some time at Pippin's court. In 764 Paul wrote, specially permitting Pippin to retain him. In 767 pope Constantine II. wrote to Pippin, asking him to send Georgius back to Rome. (*Cod. Carol.* Jaffé, pp. 66, 77, 82, 84, 132.)

In 769 his name appears among the signatures to the Lateran synod concerning the election of popes and image-worship. (Mansi, xii. 714; Hefele, § 343.)

In 787 (according to Jaffé, *Mon. Alc.* p. 155, &c., in 786), Georgius (wrongly called Gregory by Spelman and others) wrote to pope Hadrian announcing what he had done, together with Theophylact bishop of Todi and the abbat Wighod, a legate of Charles the Great, during his mission to England.

Georgius landed in England in 786. He went first to the court of Offa, then to the court of Northumbria, where a synod was held (probably that of Pincanhale). He returned to Offa, where a synod of southern bishops was held, probably that of Chelsea (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Documents*, vol. iii. p. 443, p. 445 note, and Legatine synods p. 447–462; also Jaffé, *Monumenta Alcuina*, p. 155–162). The acts of the southern synod are to be found in the letter of George, which appears to be incomplete. They are also alluded to in a later letter of pope Leo III. ann. 797 to Kenulf king of the Mercians. (Jaffé, *Monum. Alc.* p. 365.) [A. H. D. A.]

GEORGIUS (**34**), bishop of Antioch in Pisidia. He took part in the second Nicene council, which restored image-worship, A.D. 787 (Mansi, xiii. 137). When Leo V. (the Armenian) made a fresh attempt to crush out this form of worship in the East, Georgius refused to comply with his orders, and was driven into exile, where he died, c. A.D. 814. He is commemorated by the Greeks on April 18. (Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 1039; Basil. *Men.* in Migne, Patrol. Graec. cxvii.) [L. D.]

GEORGIUS (**35**), bishop of Trimuthus in Cyprus, taking part in the proceedings of the 7th general (second Nicene) council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 144; Le Quien, *O. C.* ii. 1072.) [L. D.]

GEORGIUS (36), given by Ughelli as the first bishop of Vigilia (Veglia or Biseglia), and believed to have been Sergius bishop of Megylia, otherwise Bargylia. He attended the second council of Nicaea, A.D. 787. A Sergius is spoken of as having suffered martyrdom at Biseglia, but he does not appear to have been its bishop. (Mansi, xii. 1105 C, xiii. 147 B; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vii. 938; Sarnelli, *Vesc. di Biseglia*, p. 12.) [R. S. G.]

GEORGIUS (37), the name of several other bishops attending the council of Nicea in 787, viz. of—

Antioch in Pisidia (Mansi, xiii. 137 a, Gregorius in the Latin; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1039).

Appia in Phrygia Pacatiana (M. xii. 1107a, xiii. 148 c; *O. C.* i. 626).

Basilinopolis in Bithynia (M. xii. 1003 a; *O. C.* i. 626). [GREGORIUS (48).]

Briula or Priulla in Asia (M. xii. 1098 b, xiii. 141 c; *O. C.* i. 704).

Camuliana in Cappadocia Prima (M. xii. 1098 a; *O. C.* i. 393).

Gordus in Lydia (M. xii. 1102 d; *O. C.* i. 882). [GREGORIUS (48).]

Cibyra in Caria, not Libyra as M. xii. 1105 b, Latin; *vide* Gregorius (47) of Cibyra.

Midaeum in Phrygia Salutaris (M. xii. 1107 b; *O. C.* i. 842).

Nissa or Nessa in Lycia (M. xiii. 145 e, not Gregorius as in the Latin at xii. 1103 e; *O. C.* i. 987). He is the only known bishop of this city.

Oenoanda in Lycia (M. xiii. 148 a, not Gregorius as in the Latin at xii. 1105 a; *O. C.* i. 990).

Peltae or Felti in Phrygia Pacatiana (M. xii. 1106 d, xiii. 148 c; *O. C.* i. 802).

Plotinopolis in Thrace (M. 1110 c, xiii. 149 b; *O. C.* i. 1186).

Thermae Basilicae in Sicily (M. xiii. 141 c; Pirri, *Sicil. Sacr.* i. 494).

[C. H.]

GEORGIUS (38) I., patriarch of Armenia (792–795) between Solomon and Joseph II. He was of the town of Aschdarag in the canton of Arakadzodn (Saint-Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arm.* i. 439; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 1393). [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (39) (GREGORIUS, SERGIUS), patriarch of Jerusalem at the close of the 8th century and the commencement of the ninth. He had been the syncellus of his predecessor Elias (*Vit. S. Steph. Sabait.* in Boll. *Act. Sanct.* Jul. iii. 551 E). He appears to have been the patriarch who sent a monk to Charlemagne with relics from Palestine, A.D. 799. The king received the monk kindly and sent him back accompanied by Zacharias a presbyter of his court, carrying alms to Georgius for distribution in his patriarchate. On the return of Zacharias, Georgius sent with him two monks who carried the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of "Calvary" to Charlemagne, "causa benedictionis" (*Ann. Franc.* ap. Du Chesne, *Script. Franc.* ii. 18, 41; *Vit. Car. Magn.* ib. 59, 79; *Poet. Saxon. de Gest. Car. Magn.* ib. 164; Eginhard. *Annal.* ib. 250, 251). Georgius is said to have occupied the patriarchate thirty-six years (Eutych. Alex. Patr. *Annal.* in Migne, Patrol. Gr. cxi. 1125; Papebroch. *Patriarch. Hierosol.* in Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. Introd. p. xl.; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 317). Baronius is mistaken in saying that the patriarch of Jerusalem, A.D. 795, was named Joannes (*s.a.* lxiv. Pagi, *Crit. s.a.* vii.; Le Quien, *u.s.*). [T. W. D.]

GEORGIUS (40), bishop of Amastris (Sesamus), on the coast of Paphlagonia, in the reign of Constantine VI. and Irene, and under the patriarchates of Tarasius and Nicephorus. His parents, Theodorus and Megetho, had been long childless before his birth, residing at Chromna near Amastris, where he was born. For some time he led a solitary life in a cave at the foot of a mountain called Agriosérica, and afterwards took up his abode in a monastery named Bonyssa, till, by the desire of the people of Amastris, he was almost forced away by Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, and consecrated their bishop, although Constantine VI. (c. A.D. 797) had fixed on some one else. When he had experienced some ill-treatment from his metropolitan of Gangra, he managed to have his see elevated to the rank of an archbishopric, so as to be subject only to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. (Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 563.) He was a man of great sanctity of life, and was revered as a saint by the Greeks and Latins on Feb. 21 (*Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 268). Le Quien makes him follow Gregorius, who attended the council of Constantinople in 787, and suspects that they are both the same person. [GREGORIUS (48).] [L. D.]

GEORGIUS (41), (GREGORIUS), 20th bishop of Amiens, between Vitulfus and Jesse. He was one of the bishops who consecrated the churches of St. Saviour and St. Benedict in the monastery of St. Riquier (Centulense) in A.D. 798, and also thirteen altars in the church of St. Mary in the same year. (*Vita S. Angilberti*, cap. ii. Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 99.) Some chronicles edited by Joseph Scaliger, after the chronicle of Eusebius, are attributed to him. (*Gall. Christ.* x. 1157.) [S. A. B.]

GEORGIUS (42), an obscure bishop of Mitylene in Lesbos (called "Episc. Melitenus," by Baronius, *Annal.* a. 735, iii., Pagi ii.). He is treated by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 7 Apr. i. 668–69), but there is much doubt as to his period and acts. According to Basil's *Menologium*, April 7 and May 16, he was born of wealthy and pious parents, and his great virtue was in almsgiving. He was elected bishop of Mitylene, and is said to have been a great opponent of the Iconoclasts in the time of Leo III. the Isaurian (A.D. 717–41), but he is also said to have lived in the time of Leo V. the Armenian (A.D. 813–20), and the solution by Papebrochius, that his life may have extended to the times of both emperors, is impossible. [J. G.]

GEORGIUS (43), martyr, Ap. 23 (variously called *Μεγαλομάρτυς*, Bas. *Men.*; *Τροπαιοφόρος*, Sym. Metaph.; *Ταξιάρχης*, *Καλλίνικος*, Böckh; by the Arabs, Abd Maaz; by the Turks, El Khoudan, Burckhardt; traditionally the patron saint of England), a military tribune and martyr under Diocletian at Nicomedia, A.D. 303.

He was a native of Cappadocia and of good birth, and akin to St. Nina the woman by whom the Iberians were converted in the reign of Constantine (Malan, *Hist. of the Georgian Church*, p. 32; Socr. i. 20). He entered the army as a centurion, and rose to be a military tribune. Some time before the outbreak of the great persecution, he accompanied his mother to Lydda, in Palestine, where she possessed property. As soon, however, as he heard of the publication of the first edict (Feb. 23, A.D. 303), he returned to Nicomedia, where, as some think, he was the celebrated person who tore down the imperial proclamation, and then suffered death by roasting over a slow fire (Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 5). [DIOCLETIAN.] They lay stress on a very doubtful argument, derived from his *natalis*, and suppose that the edict having been published on Good Friday, which fell that year on April 16, his trial, prolonged torture, and slow death filled up the time to April 23, which, as J. Assemani says (Kal. *Eccles. Univ.* t. vi. p. 284), has been unanimously fixed by all churches as the day of his martyrdom. But then, unfortunately for this argument, Lactantius tells us (*De Mort. Persecut.* xii. xiii.) that the edict which was torn down by the nameless Christian was published on Feb. 24 (cf., however, *Acta SS.* Boll. April. iii. 107, for a full statement of the argument. The Greeks on the contrary ascribe the destruction of the edict to a martyr named John). The earliest historical testimony to the existence and martyrdom of St. George comes from an inscription in a church at Ezr'a or Edhr'a, in Southern Syria, copied by Burckhardt and Porter, and discussed by Mr. Hogg in two papers read before the Royal Society of Literature, published in their *Transactions*, t. vi. p. 292, t. vii. p. 106. This inscription states that the building had been a heathen temple, but was dedicated as a church in honour of the great martyr St. George, in a year which Hogg, by an acute argument, fixes as A.D. 346. (For another view, however, which assigns the inscription to A.D. 499, see Böckh's *Corp. Inscript. Graec.* ed. Kirchhoff, t. iv. num. 8627.) His name occurs again in another inscription in the church of Shaka, twenty miles east of Ezr'a, which Hogg dates at A.D. 367. (Böckh. *l. c.* num. 8609, cf. 8630; for other instances of transformations of heathen temples into churches and hospitals in the 4th and 5th cent., see Böckh, *l. c.* 8645, 8647.) We next meet with St. George in the decrees of the council assembled at Rome by pope Gelasius, A.D. 494 or 496 (Hefele, *Concil.* i. 610, iii. 219, ed. Paris, 1869). This synod condemned the acts of St. George, together with those of Cyricus and Julitta, as corrupted by heretics, but expressly asserted that the saints themselves were real martyrs, and as such worthy of all reverence. (Cf. Pitra, *Spicileg. Solesmen.* iv. 391, for a repetition, three centuries later in the East, of this condemnation by the patriarch Nicephorus, in his *Constitut. Ecclesiast.*) After the period of Gelasius, the testimonies to his existence rapidly thicken, but decrease in value. Gregory of Tours in the 6th century mentions him as highly celebrated in France, while in the East his cultus became universally established (cf. Fleury, *H. E.* xxxiv. 46), and churches were erected in all directions in his honour, one of the most celebrated being that built probably by Justinian over his tomb at Lydda, whither his relics had been transferred after his martyrdom. This church still exists. (For an engraving of it, see Thomson's *The Land and the Book*, ii. 292; cf. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, iii. 51–55, with Le Quien, *Oriens Christian.* iii. 1271, for full particulars of St. George's connexion with Lydda.) Another famous one is that of Thessalonica described in Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 132–142, where strong reasons are presented for assigning its erection to Constantine (cf. Procopius, *de Aedif.* iii. 4, ed. Bonn).

(2) *The Mediaeval Legends.*—The condemnation of the acts of St. George by Gelasius gives us the clue to the source whence the legendary stories connected with him sprang. The Arians of the 5th century displayed great literary activity, availing themselves of every channel for diffusing their opinions. (Mai, *Nov. Coll.* t. iii. par. ii. pp. 238, 239.) They seem to have corrupted his acts for their own purposes. Their story is that he was arrested by Datianus, emperor, according to some, of Rome, according to others, of Persia, by whom he was in vain ordered to sacrifice to Apollo. He was then confronted with the magician Athanasius, who undertook to confound the saint. After various attempts the magician was converted and baptized, as well as the queen Alexandra. After many miracles and various tortures, St. George was beheaded. It is a strange fact that, notwithstanding the decrees of Rome and Constantinople, this Arian corruption became the basis of all the subsequent legends, and even found its way into the hymns of St. John Damascene in honour of St. George (Mai. *Spicileg. Rom.* t. ix. p. 729; Ceillier, xii. 89). The addition of a horse and a dragon to the story arose out of the imaginations of mediaeval writers improving upon the allegorical ideas of earlier times. The dragon evidently represents the devil, and was suggested by St. George's triumph over him at his martyrdom. A glance at Eusebius, *Vita Constant.* iii. 3, where we find the description of the picture in the imperial palace of Constantine triumphing over a dragon, will explain this. Accordingly we find that when the race of the Bagratides ascended the throne of Georgia at the end of the 6th century, they adopted St. George slaying the Dragon as their arms, in addition to other Scriptural and Christian subjects, David's sling and harp, Our Lord's coat, &c. (Malan, *l. c.* p. 15, 29). [GURAM.] The horse was added during the Frankish occupation of Constantinople as suitable, according to mediaeval ideas, to his rank and character as a military martyr. St. George was depicted on a horse as early as 1227, according to Nicephorus Gregoras (*Hist. Byzant.* viii. 5), where will be found a curious story concerning a picture in the imperial palace at Constantinople, of St. George mounted upon a horse, which was accustomed to neigh in the most violent style whenever an enemy was about to make a successful assault upon the city. The earliest trace we can now find of the full-grown legend of St. George and the dragon, and the king's daughter Sabra, whom he delivered, is in the *Historia Lombardica*, popularly called the *Golden Legend*, of Jacobus de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, A.D. 1280, and in the breviary service for St. George's day, till revised by Pope Clement VIII. Thence it became the foundation of the story as

told in Johnson's *Historie of the Seven Champions of Christendom*, and the old ballad of *St. George and the Dragon*, reprinted in the third volume of Percy's *Reliques*, many features of which Spenser reproduces in his *Faëry Queen*. Busbecq in the 16th century found in the heart of Asia Minor a legend of the Turkish hero Chederles to whom were ascribed exploits similar to those of St. George (ep. 1, pp. 93, 95, ed. 1633). He also found the Georgian Christians venerating above every other image that of St. George on horseback, regarding him as having conquered the evil one (ep. 3. p. 209). [IBERIAN CHURCH.]

(3) *Connexion with England.*—St. George and his story were well known in England from the seventh century, most probably through the Roman missionaries sent by Gregory. In the end of the seventh century, Arculf, the early traveller, when returning to his bishopric in France, was carried northward to Iona, about A.D. 699, where he told the monks the story of St. George, whence, through Adamnan and Bede, it became widely known in Britain. [ARCULF; ADAMNAN.] In accordance with these facts, we find that St. George has a place in the Anglo-Saxon ritual of Durham assigned to the early part of the 9th century, published by the Surtees Society in A.D. 1840, while again, among the publications of the Percy Society, we have an Anglo-Saxon *Passion of St. George*, the work of Aelfric archbishop of York A.D. 1020–1051. (*Passion of St. George*, ed. Hardwick, in Percy Society's publications, A.D. 1850; in its preface is much interesting information on this point.) His special fame, however, in this country arose immediately out of the early Crusades. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Reg. Angl.* ed. Sir T. D. Hardy, ii. 559) tells us that, when the Crusaders were hard pressed by the Saracens at the battle of Antioch, June 28, 1089, the soldiers were encouraged by seeing "the martyrs George and Demetrius hastily approaching from the mountainous districts, hurling darts against the enemy, but assisting the Franks" (cf. Gibbon, cap. lviii.; Michaud's *Hist. of Crusades*, i. 173, ed. London; on the military fame of St. Demetrius see Böckh, *Corp. Inscrip.* iv. 8642; Du Cange, *Gloss.* i. 974; Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 123–132). This timely apparition at the very crisis of the campaign led the Crusaders, among whom were numbered a large contingent of Normans, under Robert, son of William the Conqueror, to adopt St. George as their patron. During the campaigns of Richard I. in Palestine, St. George appeared to that king, so that he became a special favourite with the Normans and English. (Itinerar. of Richard I. in *Chronic. of Crusades*, ed. Bohn, p. 239.) We therefore find in 1222 that a national council at Oxford ordered his feast to be kept as a lesser holiday throughout England. He was not, however, formally adopted as patron saint of England till the time of Edward III. That prince founded St. George's Chapel at Windsor in 1348. In 1349 he joined battle with the French near Calais, when, "moved by a sudden impulse," says Thomas of Walsingham, "he drew his sword with the exclamation, Ha! St. Edward, Ha! St. George, and routed the French" (cf. Smith's *Student's Hume*, cap. x. sec. 8). From that time St. George replaced St. Edward the Confessor as patron of England. In 1350, according to some authorities, the order of the Garter was instituted under his patronage, and in 1415, according to the *Constitutions* of archbishop Chichely, St. George's Day was made a major double feast, and ordered to be observed like Christmas Day. In the first prayer book of Edward VI. St. George's feast was a red letter day, and had a special epistle and gospel appointed. This was changed in the next revision and never restored. (Ashmole, *Order of the Garter;* Anstis, *Register;* Pott, *Antiquities of Windsor and History of Order of Garter*, A.D. 1749.) The same influence of the Crusades led to the adoption of St. George as their patron by the republic of Genoa, the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, and to the institutions of order of knighthood under his name all over Europe (cf. *AA. SS.* Boll. April. iii. 160). In northern Syria, again, St. George's day is even still observed by the Christians as a great festival (Lyde, *Secret Sects of Northern Syria*, London, 1853, p. 19).

(4) *Controversy.*—The consentient testimony of all Christendom attested the existence of St. George till the Reformation. Calvin first questioned it. In his *Institutes*, lib. iii. cap. 20, sec. 27, when arguing against invocation of saints, he ridiculed those who esteem Christ's intercession as of no value unless "accedant Georgius aut Hippolytus aut similes larvae," where, unfortunately for himself, he places Hippolytus in the class of ghosts or phantoms together with St. George. Dr. Reynolds, in the beginning of the 17th century, was the first to identify the orthodox martyr of Lydda with the Arian bishop of Alexandria [see further under GEORGIUS (4)]. Against him Dr. Heylin argued in an exhaustive treatise dedicated to king Charles I. (*History of St. George of Cappadocia*), where on pp. 164–166 will be found a very full list of all the authors who up to that date had referred to St. George, including a quotation from a reputed treatise by St. Ambrose, *Liber Praefationum*, on which, as not being now extant, we have laid no stress. The controversy was continued during the last century, when Pegge discussed before the London Society of Antiquaries (whose anniversary is held on St. George's Day) the theory that St. George was a mere allegory, and Mr. Byron's view that Gregory the Great was the real patron of England. Dr. Milner, in the last century, wrote a book in defence of the historical reality of St. George, provoked doubtless by Gibbon's well-known sneer in cap. xxiii. of his history. For further history of the controversy, see the exhaustive paper of Mr. Hogg already quoted, and an essay on St. George in Baring-Gould's *Myths of the Middle Ages*, where an ingenious attempt is made to account for the popularity of his cultus in the East by connecting it with the worship of Tammuz and Adonis, and with various other Eastern beliefs. (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*, *Mart.* Adon., *Mart.* Usuard., which all fix his martyrdom at Diospolis in Persia (cf. Herod. ed. Rawlinson, i. 72, v. 49, vii. 72); Hogg, *l.c.*, however, well suggests that Diospolis may be the Bithynian town of that name, which was in the Persian empire under Cyrus. Persia was a term of very vague meaning in the middle ages, specially owing to the frequent irruptions of the Persians into the decaying Eastern empire; *Pasch. Chron.* ed.

Bonn, p. 510. Sym. Metaphrast.; *Magdeburg. Centur.* cent. iv. cap. xii.; Ceillier, xi. 404, xii. 58, 89, 297; Alban-Butler, *Lives of Saints*, Malan, *Hist. of the Georgian Church*, pp. 28, 51, 54, 72.) [G. T. S.]

GEORGIUS (**44**), deacon, of whom Grègory Nazianzen entertained a high opinion for the services he had rendered to the church. Being harassed by some powerful man, Gregory circ. 383 recommended him to the protection of Asterius, assessor of the governor of Cappadocia (Greg. Naz. 126 ep. 150 al. 126). He is probably the same deacon whom Gregory accompanied to inquire into the charge against Euthalius of having violently ill-treated Philadelphius, and to bring him with him to answer for himself (ep. 149 al. 182). [EUTHALIUS (3).] He may also be the same in whose behalf Gregory wrote to Nectarius of Constantinople, begging him to help him to extricate himself from the troubles in which he was involved, and do what he could to gain some indulgence for him from the "Comes Domesticorum" (ep. 151 al. 226). [E. V.]

GEORGIUS (**45**), a turbulent monk, who was troubling Cappadocia with his preaching and his writings A.D. 453; described by Leo the Great in a letter to Julian bishop of Cos as having rendered himself unworthy of the name and the profession of a monk by his attacks upon the faith. Leo expresses his surprise that Thalassius bishop of Caesarea had given him licence to preach, though still unordained, and commissions Julian, if he sees good, to write to Thalassius and remonstrate with him. "To preach," Leo asserts, "belongs to presbyters, not to monks" (Leo Magn. *Epist.* 118 [91]). [E. V.]

GEORGIUS (**46**), solitary on Mons Malaeus in Laconia in the 5th or 6th century. The Bollandists give a compendium of his life from the Greek *Menaea*, but it offers nothing very tangible. He is said to have assumed the name of Georgius or Agricola on his baptism, as intending to cultivate his mental furrows (Boll. *Acta SS.* 4 Apr. i. 326). [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**47**), disciple of Jacobus of Sarug in Mesopotamia, fl. cir. 520, author of a metrical encomium on his master, beginning "Jesu! light at whose rising the whole world rejoices!" (Abbeloos, J. B. *de Vitâ et Scriptis S. Jacobi Batn. Sarug.* Lovan. 1867.) (Assem. *Biblioth. Orient.* i. 340.) [C. J. B.]

GEORGIUS (**48**), presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of Cyrus, present at the council of Constantinople in 536 (Mansi, viii. 909, the name here being Gregorius in the Latin, 989 D, 1012 B). [GREGORIUS (59).] [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**49**), presbyter and hegumenus of Crana, under Photinus bishop of Chalcedon, present at the council of Constantinople in 536 (Mansi, viii. 1013 E). [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**50**), abbas inclusus, a monk of Palestine in the 6th century, whose story John Moschus heard from Anastasius an abbas of Scythopolis in Palestine. Anastasius going one night on his rounds to call up the monks to prayers, heard the old man George sobbing and wailing because of his dream. He thought he was standing by the throne of Christ where many thousand people were deprecating His anger, and He would not hear them. At last came a woman robed in purple, and interceded for the suppliants, but still Christ was inexorable. This was at the dawn of Holy Thursday, and on the following day, Good Friday, an earthquake overthrew the maritime cities of Palestine. (Joann. Mosch. *Prat. Spir.* cap. 50.) [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**51**), presbyter of the church of SS. John and Paul at Rome attending the Roman council of 745 (Mansi, xii. 381). The presbyter of the same church in 721 was Gregorius, who may have been the same person, as the two names are frequently interchanged by the error of transcribers. [GREGORIUS (69).] This George is identified in other letters of the same date (Mansi, 374 E, 377 D, 379 B), from his order in the list, though his church is not mentioned. (See also Jaffé's *Monum. Mogunt.* 136, 141, 144, 147.) [C. H.]

GEORGIUS, presbyter and messenger of pope Gregory III. [GREGORIUS (68).]

GEORGIUS (**52**), a solitary of Mount Sinai, stated to have been the brother of St. John Climacus. (Daniel, *Vit. Joan. Clim.* in La Bigne, *Max. Bibl. Pat.* x. 388 e.) After living the life of an anchoret for seventy years, he was summoned by his brother to succeed him as abbat of the monastery of Sinai, a responsibility which filled him with apprehension. St. John Climacus, when dying, promised that if his prayers were of any avail with God, Georgius should be taken out of the world within a year; and he in fact died six months after his brother. (Joan. Mosch. *Prat. Spir.* cap. 127; Ceillier, *Histoire des Auteurs Eccles.* xi. 678.) [I. G. S.]

GEORGIUS (**53**), a venerable Palestinian monk in the monastery of Theodosius bishop of Capitolias (in Palaestina Secunda, cir. A.D. 600, Le Quien, *O. C.* iii. 717). Theodosius, who spoke of him to John Moschus, had for twelve years observed that George was never troubled, although at that time sloth, negligence, luxury, and insubordination were rampant. No one like him could rein the eye, close the ear, control the tongue; he was as a sunbeam in the hearts of all the brethren. (Joan. Mosch. *Prat. Spir.* cap. 109.) [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**54**), PISIDES, poet, deacon of the great church at Constantinople. Little is known of his life, which was probably uneventful. He lived at Constantinople during the reign of the emperor Heraclius, A.D. 610–641, and the patriarchate of Sergius, and was in high favour with both of them, undoubtedly on account of his poetic gifts. He is called by some authorities chartophylax (keeper of the archives), by others sceuophylax (keeper of the sacred vessels), at the church of St. Sophia, and from certain expressions in his poem, *De Expeditione Persicâ* (ii. 122, iii. 131), it appears that he accompanied Heraclius in some of his campaigns against the Persians. His works may be divided into two classes, (*a*) those relating to the history of his own times; (*b*) religious poems. Those that have come down to us of the

first class are, (1) *De Expeditione Persicâ*, a poem in three hearings or declamations (ἀκροάσεις) narrating the expedition of Heraclius against Chosroes, A.D. 615; it is full of adulation, both of the piety and of the valour of the emperor, and applies to the Persians the verse of the 136th Psalm, "Blessed be he that taketh thy children and dasheth them against the stones" (ii. 114); (2) *Bellum Avaricum*, narrating the fruitless attack of the Avars on Constantinople, whilst the Persian army was encamped at Chalcedon; (3) *Hymnus Acathistus*, a hymn to the virgin to be sung standing, a thank-offering for the same defeat of the Avars; (4) *In Sanctam Resurrectionem*, where George exhorts Constantine, the son of Heraclius, to follow the example of his father; (5) *Heraclias*, a rapid review of the life of the emperor, written on the news of the death of Chosroes. Of the second class there are these: (1) *Hexaemeron*, the longest and most elaborate of George's works, dedicated to Sergius. It consists of 1910 lines, but is thought to be imperfect; (2) *De Vanitate Vitae*, a short moral poem; (3) *Contra Severum*, against the Monophysite heresy, but ignoring Monothelitism, which was favoured by the patriarch; there is also a prose work, *Vita S. Anastatii Martyris*, a Persian who suffered martyrdom in Palestine when that country was under the dominion of Chosroes. Greek writers quote from other works of this author, of which fragments are alone extant. George composed in iambic metre, and his verses are correct and elegant; greatly admired by his contemporaries, he is a court poet, writing with an eye to his patrons, and profuse in his praises of them; his elegance often sinks into frigidity. He must be distinguished from George bishop of Nicomedia, who flourished at the end of the 9th century, with whom Cave wrongly identifies him. (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xcii. 1160–1754; Ceillier, xi. 653; Cave, *Script. Eccl. Hist.* i. 583; Allatius, *de Georgiis* in Fabric. *Bibl.* x. 561–9.) [L. D.]

GEORGIUS (**55**), presbyter abbat, who enquired of St. Maximus concerning the mystery of Christ's person, in reference to the Monothelite controversy. Maximus addresses him as an unwearied student of holy Scripture, and one abstracted from all lower things in the contemplation of the spiritual. (S. Maxim. Conf. *Opuscula*, in La Bigne, *Max. Bibl. Pat.* tom. xii. p. 521.) [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**56**), surnamed ARSA, a Paulinianist, to whom Sergius patriarch of Constantinople wrote c. A.D. 620, asking for authorities on the Monothelite argument. (S. Maxim. Conf. *Disput. cum Pyrrho* in La Bigne, *Max. Bibl. Pat.* xii. 503 a.) [R. S. G.]

GEORGIUS (**57**), patricius of Africa, c. A.D. 647 (Maxim. *Ep.* 18; Migne, Patrol. Gr. xci. 584). [GREGORIUS (77).] [T. W. D.]

GEORGIUS (**58**), archimandrite of the monastery of St. Theodosius, thanked in a letter from pope Martin I. A.D. 649 (Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 162) for having supported Stephen bishop of Dores, the oriental legate of the Roman see under the late pope. Martin exhorts him to yield a similar obedience to his own legate in the East, John bishop of Philadelphia. (Martin. ep. 8 in Pat. Lat. lxxxvii. 167, and Mansi, *Concil.* x. 819.) [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**59**), presbyter and monk of the monastery of St. Renatus at Rome, present at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 680 (Mansi, xi. 616 d). He, or another of the same name, was legate of pope Agatho to the council (*ib.* 611). [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (**60**), of Nesra in Adiabene, also called Bar Sajada (Sayode), *i.e. son of fishermen.* He was archimandrite of Beth-haba, A.D. 690, in the patriarchate of Ananjesu. He wrote a treatise *De Obedientiâ* (*di meshtamo'nutho*). Thom. Marg. (*Hist. Monast.* lib. 2, cap. 20) says he will not write a life of Georgius, because that has been done by bishop David in chap. i. of the *Little Paradise.* In lib. 1, cap. 21, Marg. tells how Ananjesu sent some monks accused of heresy to Georgius, who found them not guilty. (Assem. *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. i. 217–218.) [C. J. B.]

GEORGIUS (**61**), a native of Scythopolis, presbyter of the great church of Constantinople, mentioned by Phocas bar Sergius of Edessa in the 8th century as having written in defence of the authenticity of the writings of Dionysius Areopagita. Some extracts from George's book are given by Phocas (W. Wright, *Cat. of Syrian MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* pt. ii. p. 495, col. 1). [T. W. D.]

GEORGIUS (**62**), deacon of Amastris in Paphlagonia, signing for his bishop Zoilus at the council of Constantinople in 692. (Mansi, xi. 1000 b.) [L. D.]

GEORGIUS (**63**), surnamed CLIDOPOEUS (Κλειδοποιός), presbyter and logographus in the church of the Severians at Alexandria, late in the 7th century, who disputed with Anastasius Sinaita the priest and monk (Anastas. Sinait. *Viae Dux*, cap. 10 in Migne, Pat. Gr. lxxxix. 188). [T. W. D.]

GEORGIUS (**64**)—Oct. 21. Martyr at Jerusalem with sixty others, at the hands of the Saracens, A.D. 723. They were buried in the church of St. Stephen at Jerusalem. (*Acta SS.* Boll. Oct. ix. 360–362.) [G. T. S.]

GEORGIUS (**65**), surnamed LIMNIOTES—Aug. 24. A monk, and opponent of Leo the Isaurian in the iconoclastic controversy, A.D. 736. Like the rest of the monks, he was an enthusiastic supporter of the worship of images. He usually lived a very ascetic life beside a lake near Mount Olympus in Asia Minor, whence his surname. According to some, he was put to death; according to others, he was mutilated by the emperor for his opposition. (Bas. *Menol.*; *Mart. Rom.* ed. Baron.; *Acta SS.* Boll. Aug. iv. 841; Maimbourg, *Hist. Iconoclast.* t. i. l. 2, p. 108, ed. 1686.) [G. T. S.]

GEORGIUS (**66**), prior "scholae cantorum," at Rome, mentioned in a letter of pope Paul I. to Pippin, 763, as then dead and having been succeeded by Simeon. (*Codex Carolinus*, Jaffé, no. 41, ann. 758–67; Pat. Lat. lxxxix. 1187; Jaffé, *Reg. Pontif.* 196.) [A. H. D. A.]

GEORGIUS (**67**), martyr, commemorated Aug. 27, according to Usuardus (more cor-

rectly July 27, according to Baronius). He went to Jerusalem upon a pilgrimage, and on his return, bearing relics from the Holy City, he was killed by the Saracens at Cordova, together with Aurelius, Felix, Natalia, and Liliosa, some time in the 8th century. Usuardus fixes Oct. 20 as the day of the translation of his body into France, upon which point his authority may be completely trusted, as he was himself the agent in the removal. In the year 858 Usuardus was sent with another monk named Odilard by the abbey of St. Germain, near Paris, to look for the relics of St. Vincent at Valentia in Spain, a city which was then in ruins, owing to the ravages of the Saracens. They bore with them a commendatory letter from king Charles the Bald. They did not find the relics of Vincent, but discovered and bore away from Cordova the bodies of George the deacon, of Natalia or Natalius, and of Aurelius. On their return to France they found that the community of St. Germain had fled to a place in the diocese of Sens because the Normans had burned their monastery. They did not, therefore, return to Paris till 863, when Charles the Bald was so delighted with the relics that he ordered Usuardus to compile his famous *Martyrology*. (*Mart.* Usuard., *Roman.* ed. Baron.; Eulogii, lib. ii. *Memoral.* cap. 10; J. Bouillart. *Prolegom. Mart. Usuard.* in Migne's Patrol. Lat. vol. 123, 583–586; Ceillier, xii. 611.) [G. T. S.]

GEORGIUS (68) SYNCELLUS, a monk of Constantinople towards the close of the 8th century, and author of a *Chronographia* or Chronology of the world, extending from the days of Adam to those of Diocletian, A.D. 285, when the further progress of the work seems to have been stopped by his death. He received the epithet Syncellus from the office held by him near the person of Tarasius patriarch of Constantinople. This office was that of a kind of privy councillor of the patriarch, an adviser in all his affairs (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s. v. Syncellus).

Nothing is known of the birth or early history of George, but his writings, the honours received by him in later life, and the testimony of Theophanes of Constantinople, a contemporary writer and a continuator of his *Chronographia*, are sufficient to prove the high esteem in which he was held. Theophanes speaks of him as an illustrious and most learned man, who had examined with the greatest diligence the works of his predecessors, and had attained a success which had marked none of them. (Theophan. *Chronogr.* prooem. p. 4 in *Corp. Scr. Hist. Byz.* Bonn.) This tribute of praise has not, however, been received without question by succeeding writers. Scaliger in particular, offended at some of George's depreciatory remarks on his favourite Eusebius, uttered too, it would seem, at a time when Syncellus was making large use of the very authority he was underrating, is very severe in his language of condemnation, styling him light and foolish and insane, and charging him with having obtained his whole history from the person whom he took it upon him to depreciate (*Dissertatio* by Bredovius, prefixed to the second volume of the works of Syncellus in the *Corpus Script. H. B.* p. 10). There seems to be but little foundation for these charges. That George but made use of Eusebius is unquestionable, he used all from whom he thought that he could gather materials for his work. Of these writers, such as Julius Africanus, and Alexander Polyhistor, he has preserved many fragments that would otherwise have been lost, and a large portion of the Chronicon of Eusebius has been from him restored to its true author.

The work of Syncellus has always been highly esteemed in the church, more especially for its preservation of passages from earlier writers, who would otherwise have been almost unknown. It is worth noticing that among the quotations given in it are a good many from the Apocryphal book of Enoch. The *Chronographia*, of which only one MS., in the National Library at Paris, is known, was first published by the Dominican Jacob Goar in the year 1652. The best edition now is that of Dindorf, in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, in two vols., with the *Dissertatio* of Bredovius and the *Preface and Notes* of Goar. [W. M.]

GEORGIUS (69)—Jan. 22, martyr. During the reign of Leo the Armenian, the pagan Bulgarians attacked Adrianople, seized Manuel the bishop, whom they at once martyred, with a large number of captives, clergy and laity. Tzocus, the Bulgarian prince, gathered together the captives, among whom was Georgius, and upon their refusal to abjure their faith put them all to death. (Bas. *Menol.*; Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 114.) [G. T. S.]

GEORGIUS (70), the name of three hegumeni of Greek monasteries, present at the council of Nicaea in 787, viz. of

Domnica (Mansi, xiii. 153 c).
The Holy Theotokos (*ib.* 155 b).
Pega (*ib.* xiii. 1112 d, Gregorius in the Latin).
[C. H.]

GEORGIUS (71), presbyter at the council of Nicaea, 787, representing the bishop of Cephallenia (Mansi, xiii. 145 b, Greek; Gregorius in the Latin). [C. H.]

GEORGIUS (72), a layman of Paspasus, sent to Gregory Nazianzen by his friend Theodorus bishop of Tyana, that he might convince him of the guilt he had involved himself in by refusing to be bound by an oath he had taken, on the ground that it had never been registered. Georgius had brought the matter into court, and seems to have gained his suit. Gregory succeeded in bringing him to repentance, and sent him back to Theodorus with the request that he would inflict suitable penance on him, regulating its length by his contrition (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 219). Gregory's letter was read in the second council of Constantinople by Euphrantus, the bishop of Tyana, by whom Georgius was stated to have been the superior of a convent at Paspasus (Labbe, *Concil.* v. 477). Tillemont doubts the correctness of this statement (*Mém. Eccl.* ix. 570). [E. V.]

GEORGIUS (73), a prefect under the emperor Phocas. He was sent into Palestine, about 606, to compel the Jews to receive baptism, a course often pursued by the Byzantine emperors, and a notable instance of which occurred a century later, at the beginning of the reign of Leo the

Isaurian. [Leo III., Iconoclasm.] (Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 34.) As soon as he arrived at Jerusalem he assembled their chief men, and asked if they were the servants of the emperor. Upon receiving their assent he announced in the high-flown language of the imperial court, that "the Lord of the Earth had ordered them to receive baptism." After a pause, one of them, Nunnus by name, answered, "We are willing to do anything save this." The prefect thereupon boxed his ears violently, saying, "How dare slaves like you not obey your lord!" and ordered them at once to be baptized. (Dionysius Telmar, in Mai, *Spicil. Rom.* x. 224; Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 102.) [Dionysius.] [G. T. S.]

GEPPAN, addressed together with Eoban, Tatwinus, Wigbert, "and all our brothers and sisters," by St. Boniface in a short letter, telling them of his prosperous voyage to Rome and joyful welcome by the pope, A.D. 738 (Bonif. Mogunt. Ep. 42 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 741). [S. A. B.]

GERADUS, bishop of Bologna. [Gerardus.]

GERAINT. [Gerontius.]

GERALDUS (1) (Garalt) of Mayo, abbat and bishop, March 13. A life of this saint taken from a MS. of the monastery of All Saints, in Lough Ree, and supposed to have been written by the monk Augustin Magraidin, is given by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 599 sq.) It is also given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 13 Mart. ii. 288) from MSS. in the Bodleian Library, but is cut up and presented with a running comment. (Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. ii. 371, pt. ii. 797, gives the MS. and printed authorities: see also the article in O'Hanlon's *Irish Saints*, iii. 361 sq.) Unfortunately this life is almost entirely unworthy of credit, being full of anachronisms and fables. Geraldus is believed to have been of Saxon lineage and birth, and is generally supposed to have been one of those who accompanied Colman (Feb. 18) from Lindisfarne after the synod at Whitby [Colman (23)] in the year 664: but if so, he must have been young when he left Northumbria and settled with the other Saxons in Colman's new foundation at Mayo, unless, with some, we place his death at a very early date. He became abbat of the monastery of Mayo, but whether he was also bishop or not is a matter of dispute, depending in great measure upon the interpretation to be put upon the entry in the *Annals of Ulster* and *Annals of Tighernach*, at A.D. 731 and 732, and thus upon the date assigned to his death. It is not to be credited, as told in the *Life of St. Gerald*, that Adamnan (Sept. 23), abbat of Iona, who died A.D. 704, governed the church of Mayo for seven years after St. Gerald's death, and that therefore St. Gerald died at latest in the year 697, as accepted by Ussher and O'Conor. The *Four Masters* give his death in A.D. 726, but O'Donovan is very strongly in favour of the entry in the *Annals of Ulster* and *Annals of Tighernach* being read, "A.D. 732, the pontiff of Mayo of the Saxons, Gerald, dies," *i.e.* "Gerald, pontiff of Mayo of the Saxons, dies." This is the date usually received, but it is not free from doubt, as the reading varies so much from the usual idiom. He is also said to have been superior of a monastery at Elitheria or Kill-an-alithir, "the church of the pilgrim," and of another called Teach-Saxon, both in the diocese of Tuam, and probably dependencies of Mayo. His feast is usually observed on March 13, but March 10 and 12 are also named as his commemorations. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 19, § 7; *Gen. &c., of Hy Fiachrach* by O'Donovan, 138 sq. 452, 453; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 324 n.[b]; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, liii. liv.; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* vi., Ind. Chron. A.D. 692, 697; O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script.* ii. 219, n. [10], 238, n. [51], iv. 82, n. [2]; Ware, *Ir. Ant.* c. 26; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* viii. 37; *Mart. Doney.* by Todd and Reeves, 75; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* Mar. 12, pp. xviii. 95.) [J. G.]

GERALDUS (2) I. (Gerardus), said to have been thirteenth bishop of Apt, following Magnericus, or Magnicus, and succeeded by Seudardus, but the only authority for his existence is the occurrence of his name in the catalogues of the monastery of St. Aignan. His date is placed towards the close of the 8th century (*Gall. Christ.* i. 352). [S. A. B.]

GERARDUS (1) (Gerontius), sixteenth bishop of Bologna, between Julianus I. and Theodorus I. The signature Laurentius Bobiensis occurs in the 5th synod of Rome in 500 (Mansi, viii. 299 c), and Bobiensis has been suspected as a misreading for Bononiensis, thus making Laurentius and not Gerardus the bishop of Bologna at that date. But Ughelli shews that the suspicion is groundless (Ug. *Ital. Sac.* ii. 11; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, iii. 462, 579). [C. H.]

GERARDUS (2) (Giraldus), bishop of Velitrae (Velletri), c. A.D. 596–600. He had been a monk under Gregory the Great. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 59; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* i. 459.) [R. S. G.]

GERARDUS (3), tenth bishop of Laon, succeeding Peregrinus, and followed by Serulfus in the latter half of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 512.) [S. A. B.]

GERASIMUS (1), one of four bishops named in the inscription of an edict of the emperor Gratian, in which he defines the respective limits of the jurisdictions of ecclesiastical and civil tribunals. The edict is dated Treves, July 17, A.D. 376 (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 23). The others are Artemius, Euridicus, and Appius. There was an Artemius bishop of Embrun, A.D. 374 (*Gall. Ch.* iii. 1055), and an Artemius bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, after A.D. 388 (*Gall. Ch.* ii. 229; Greg. Turon. *Hist. Fr.* i. 41; ii. 12). [T. W. D.]

GERASIMUS (2), a celebrated anchoret of Palestine towards the middle of the 5th century. He was a native of Lydia. After having gained great celebrity by his monastic virtues, he was led astray by Theodosius the intruding bishop of Jerusalem, and adopted his heretical tenets. Having been led to visit Euthymius at his laura he was by him brought back to a sound faith (Cyril. Scythop. *Vit. S. Euthym.* § 77). Gerasimus afterwards founded a large laura near the Jordan, affording accommodation for as many as seventy anchorets, in the middle of which he constructed a coenobium for the younger monks, who were not yet accustomed to the austerities of monastic life. His rule, which

is given by Cyrillus, was one of excessive severity. He absolutely refused his anchorets leave to heat water, to partake of cooked food, or to have a lamp to read by. Such indulgences he said were suitable only for coenobites. He is reported to have fasted through the whole of Lent, taking no food for forty days besides the sacramental elements. He died March 5, A.D. 475. John Moschus gives a long account of his familiar companionship with a lion (Joannes Mosch. *Prat. Spirit.* cap. 107; see also Boll. *Acta SS.* 5 Mart. i. 386). [E. V.]

GERBALDUS, thirty-fourth or thirty-fifth bishop of Liége, between Agilfridus and Walcandus. In the *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium* of Anselm the name only occurs (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 1081). He is said to have sat for twenty-five years, and to have died on the 15th of November, probably in 810, after enriching the church with gifts. He is one of the bishops mentioned as having been present at the canonization of St. Suidbertus in the spurious letter attributed to St. Liudger of Münster. (*Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, tom. i. 150, ed. Chapeaville, Liége, 1612; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 832.) [S. A. B.]

GERBERTA, daughter of St. Gertrude abbess of Hamay and mother of St. Adalbald. (Mabillon, *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. ii. p. 941, ed. 1669.) [A. B. C. D.]

GEREBERN (GENEBERN, GENEBRARD), martyr, commemorated May 15. He was an Irish priest, who baptized and instructed St. Dimpna (May 15) of Gheel, while her Christian sympathies were yet unknown. [DIMPNA.] He also accompanied her from Ireland to the Continent, and was put to death at the same time and place with his pupil. He is commemorated on the same day, and is regarded as the patron of Sonsbeck in the ancient Duchy of Cleves. But by Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 311) he is called "S. Gerebernus Scotus, S. Asaphi Scoti discipulus in extrema senecta ac S. Philani socius, presbyter vitae religiosissimae," &c., and is said to have left Wales for Ireland, and written *Ad Dympnam Institutio*, lib. i.; *Pro vero Dei cultu*, lib. i.; his martyrdom taking place at Gheel in the year 700 (Tanner, *Bibl.* 312). But evidently much of this is fanciful. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 16, § 13; O'Hanlon, *Life of St. Dympna*, pass.; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, May 15; Usuard, *Mart. Auct.* 15 Mai. ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 57 sq.) [J. G.]

GEREBERTUS, sixteenth bishop of Verdun, succeeding his uncle Gisloaldus, and followed by Armonius. Before his consecration he was abbat of Tholey (Theologium), a monastery in the diocese of Treves, in which capacity he fought against the exactions of Ebroin. He is said to have died in 689, after an episcopate of twenty-four years (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 563, 1170). [S. A. B.]

GEREBOLDUS, ST., thirteenth bishop of Bayeux, succeeding St. Ragnobertus, and followed by St. Framboldus, subscribed the council of Rouen, held under the presidency of the archbishop Ansbertus (A.D. 682 or 692). He was buried in the monastery of Liberiacum (Livray) which he founded, and is commemorated in his own diocese Dec. 7. In the *Auctaria* of Grevenus to Usuard for that day occurs a legend of his being imprisoned and cast into the sea as a punishment for his firm resistance to the sin of unchastity. (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 778; Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* xi. 1044, Flor. 1759–98; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 350.) [S. A. B.]

GEREINT. [GERAINT.]

GEREMARUS, abbat of Flaviacum (St. Germer de Flay) in the district of Beauvais. He is said to have been born at the vill of Giviarandra or Warandra, on the Itta, about A.D. 610, his parents being named Rigobert and Aga, the latter of a noble Frankish family. He was invited to court by king Dagobert, who greatly honoured him; married a lady named Domana; founded a monastery called Insula, near Flaviacum, on a spot afterwards named St. Peter in the Wood, and placed Archarius as abbat over it. Longing at length for monastic retirement himself, he made over his property to his son Amalbert, and retired from court in the eleventh year of Clovis II., *i.e.* cir. 648, to the monastery of Pentallum near Rouen, on the river Lirizinus. Of this house he became abbat, but resigned his office and withdrew as a hermit to a cave near the Seine, in which seclusion he was ordained presbyter by Audoenus (St. Ouen), bishop of Rouen. His son, who had succeeded him at court, and followed the king to the wars, was cir. 654 prematurely cut off, and with the property which thus returned to his hands Geremar erected the monastery of Flaviacum, on the Itta, over which he presided for three years and a half, until his death on Sept. 24, 658. An anonymous ancient life of Geremar was appended by D'Achery in 1651 to his edition of Guibert of Nogent, and may also be seen in *Patrol. Lat.* clvi. 1203. It was edited with a few notes by Mabillon (*Acta SS. O.S.B.* ii. 455) and by the Bollandists (Sep. vi. 698) with more notes and a commentary by Perier. In these notes some of the obscure localities of the narrative are identified. The Itta is the Epte. Warandra is Vardes near its left bank below Gournay. Flaviacum is Germer de Flay, across the Epte and in a line due east with Beauvais. Pentallum (which was existing in the ninth century) was beyond the Seine between Pontaudemer and Honfleur; Lirizinus the Lizaine. Geremar's successor in the monastery of Flaviacum is not known, but the third abbat was Gennardus (*Gall. Chr.* ix. 787). [C. H.]

GEREON, martyr. [LEGIO THEBAEA.]

GERESINA is described by Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 312), as matron and queen of Sicily, a Scot by birth, sister of St Daria, aunt of S. Ursula, mother of St. Adrian prince and martyr, and of the daughters Babila Aurea and Victoria, and also sister of bishop Macririus; she suffered in Germany with St Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins, A.D. 454. But the whole tale is evidently fabulous. [J. G.]

GERETRANNUS, ST., eleventh bishop of Bayeux, succeeding Leudovaldus, and followed by St. Ragnobertus, at the close of the 6th century. He is commemorated in the Gallican Martyrology, Dec. 7 (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 349). [S. A. B.]

GERFRID (1) (GILFREDUS, GILFRIDUS), said to have been twenty-second bishop of Laon, following Sigebaudus, and succeeded by Wanilo II., but his position in the list is somewhat conjectural. He was present in 798 and 799 at the dedication of the churches of the monastery of St. Riquier (Centulense) in the diocese of Amiens. (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 799, n. vii. tom. vi. 680–81; an. 818, n. xx. vii. 493; Mabillon, *Annales Ord. Ben.* ii. 331; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 512.) [S. A. B.]

GERFRID (2) succeeded his uncle Liudger as bishop of Münster in A.D. 809. In A.D. 819 he and his uncle Hildegrim, bishop of Halberstadt, are mentioned together as visitors of the abbey of Werden. In A.D. 834 he received from one Frithuard half a farm in the vill of Hesing, in the Ripuarian Gau, with rights of pasturage and taking wood, in exchange for half a farm in the vill of Castorp, in the Broktergau, and 20 "Furlangas" in the vill of Werina, in the Gau of Dregin. In the same year, he gave to the nunnery of Nuitlon, founded by St. Liudger, of which his cousin Heriburgis was abbess, the farms of Buchuldi and Oildinchus. In A.D. 838 he is mentioned as being present at the palace at Nimeguen, at the settlement before the emperor Louis and his sons Louis and Charles, of a dispute between count Gozbert and abbat Hrabanus of Fulda. He died in A.D. 839. (Erhard's *Regesta Historiae Westfaliae*, i. 89–99; Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Scriptor.* iii. 3.) [F. D.]

GERICUS. [GOERICUS.]

GERINUS. [GAIRINUS.]

GERIVALDUS, bishop. [GARIVALDUS.]

GERMANA, virgin martyr; commemorated Oct. 1. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 1 Oct. i. 33–4) give her acts taken by Vignerius from three MS. codices of the priories of St. Germana and St. Machutus (Maclou), and prefix a commentarius praevius; her acts, written by an anonymous author, have no evident authority, and the date of her martyrdom is unfixed to more than the 5th century. Its place is conjectured to have been at Bar-sur-Aube rather than Bar-sur-Seine, in the French department of the Aube, and her priory was probably on or near the present Mont-Ste.-Germaine. (See also Saussayus, *Mart. Gall.* 674, Paris, 1637.)

According to her legend, she suffered death at the hands of the Vandals when they came into France; her decapitated body was buried in the church of St. Stephen, or where it afterwards stood. Vignerius calls her deaconess. [J. G.]

GERMANIANUS, a bishop present at the council of Carthage, A.D. 412, against Pelagius and Celestius. (Aug. *Ep.* 175.) [H. W. P.]

GERMANICUS (1), a nobleman concerning whom Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* iv. 13) writes to Vectius. He was son of one bishop and father of another, yet at sixty years of age dressed and lived like a young man. Sidonius is distressed at his spiritual condition, and prays Vectius to influence him to enter the sacred ministry. [R. T. S.]

GERMANICUS (2)—Jan. 19. A martyr in the flower of youth with the aged Polycarp at Smyrna, A.D. 167. [POLYCARP.] His courage in provoking the beasts to which he was condemned is praised in the circular letter addressed by the church at Smyrna to other Christian churches. He suffered a short time before Polycarp. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Usuard.; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*; Ceill. i. 393.) [G. T. S.]

GERMANIO (1), the thirty-second bishop of Jerusalem, who succeeded Pius at the end of the 2nd century. He was succeeded by Gordius. (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 10; Epiphan. *Haer.* lx. 20.) [E. V.]

GERMANIO (2). Pope Innocent I. in a letter to Marcian, bishop of Naissus, written at Ravenna, states that Germanio and Lupentius, who claimed to be a priest and deacon respectively, had come to him as a deputation from many others in the same position as themselves. They complained that, notwithstanding that their ordination by Bonosus had been long before his condemnation, Marcian refused to admit them to communion with him, although he permitted them to keep possession of their churches. They also accused one Rusticius, who apparently had been ordained by Bonosus, of getting himself ordained a second time. Innocent accordingly reminds Marcian that he had pronounced that those who had been ordained by Bonosus before his condemnation ought to be received back into the church if they had wished, or even then wished, to return (*S. Innocentii Epist.* 16, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xx. 519; Ceillier, *Histoire des Aut. sacr.* vii. 514). [BONOSUS.] [F. D.]

GERMANUS (1), a bishop of some part of Egypt, and for a time an adversary of St. Dionysius of Alexandria. In answer to his calumnies, St. Dionysius wrote various letters, parts of which are extant in Eusebius. Germanus had accused St. Dionysius of cowardice in neglecting his people while he took care of his own personal safety, and in taking to flight in order to avoid persecution, and of refusing to hold the public assemblies of the faithful. In answer to this, St. Dionysius recounts what had happened in the persecutions under the emperors Valerian and Decius. (Eusebius, bk. vi. ch. 40, and bk. vii. ch. 11; Tillemont, iv. pp. 272, 273.) [J. W. S.]

GERMANUS (2), bishop of Neapolis (Sichem, or Nablus), in Palestine, present at the council of Ancyra, A.D. 314, and that of Neocaesarea in the same year. (Mansi, ii. 534, 548; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 647.) [J. de S.]

GERMANUS (3), bishop of Petra, who was intruded by the Arian party into that see, when the orthodox bishop Asterius was banished by Constantius. He attended the synod at Seleucia, 359 A.D., and signed with the semi-Arian party. (Epiphan, *Haer.* lxxiii. § 26; Mansi, iii. 324 a; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 723.) [E. V.]

GERMANUS (4), bishop of Corycus on the coast of Cilicia. He was present at the second general council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. (Mansi, iii. 568; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 879.) [J. de S.]

GERMANUS (5), bishop of Besançon, in the 4th century. His martyrdom is fixed at A.D.

407. But his acts are disfigured by legends, as that he carried his head after decapitation, the walls of Baume tottering all the while. Baume, near Besançon, shews no trace of having ever had walls. The foundation of the abbey of that place is ascribed to Germanus. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 11 Oct. v. 622, 626 E; *Gall. Chr.* xv. 7.) [R. T. S.]

GERMANUS (6), the name of two bishops of Mauretania Caesariensis, viz. of Gypsaria (Catholic) and of Zugabbera, Sugabbaris, or Sucabiarta (Donatist), present at the Carthaginian conference of 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* 128; 135.) [H. W. P.]

GERMANUS (7), one of the bishops who met at Carthage, A.D. 412, against Pelagius and Celestius. (Aug. *Ep.* 175.) [H. W. P.]

GERMANUS (8), ST., bishop of Auxerre in the fifth century. His life was written about 40 years after his death, *i.e.* about A.D. 488 (*Gallia Christiana*, xii. 262) by Constantius, a presbyter of Lyons, himself an eminent person in the Gallic church, and highly esteemed by Sidonius Apollinaris (Sidon. *Ep.* i. 1, iii. 2, in which latter epistle he addresses Constantius as "aetate gravis, nobilitate sublimis, religione venerabilis," and as a benefactor in more than one sense to the city of Châlons). Constantius undertook the task at the request of Patiens bishop of Lyons, and when his book was written, published it at the request of Censurius bishop of Auxerre. In his preface he says that a long time has elapsed since the death of Germanus, who was born "probably about the year 378" (*Life of St. German*, in *Lives of the English Saints*, p. 15) at Auxerre (Autessiodurum, Autissiodorum, or Autosidorum, Ammian. xvi. 2, 5), reckoned as the third city in Lugdunensis Quarta, or Senonia (Bingham, l. ix. c. 6, s. 8), and situated near the southern border of what was afterwards named Champagne, and about the centre of the present department of the Yonne. It is described in *Gallia Christiana*, as "an old and illustrious city, not inferior to many great Gallic cities in respect to its fertile soil, its vineyards, its navigable river;" it had been evangelized, according to its local traditions, by Peregrinus, sent from Rome in the middle of the 3rd century, and Amator, who came to its see in 388, was reckoned as its fifth bishop. The parents of German (to adopt the familiar abbreviation of his name) were of noble descent; their names (see Tillemont, xv. 8) are given as Rusticus and Germanilla. They caused their son to be baptized, and gave him the best attainable education; he attended "Gallic schools," in which, as St. Jerome wrote in A.D. 411 (*Ep.* 125, 6) "learning was most flourishing;" among these one of the chief, and the most accessible to a native of Auxerre, was at Lyons; after a time he went to Rome, studied for the bar, and practised as an advocate before "the tribunal of the prefect," on his return he married a lady named Eustachia, and rose to high secular office by becoming one of the six "dukes" of Gaul, each of whom had the government of a certain number of provinces (Gibbon, ii. 320). Auxerre was included in German's district: and the young duke, "whose habit then was rather to indulge in the pursuits of youth than to give serious heed to Christian duties," was a keen huntsman, and used to hang up the heads of his game on a large pear-tree in the midst of his native city. This offended Amator, the bishop, who saw in it a resemblance to a Pagan fashion of honouring large trees. He often remonstrated with German, but in vain. However, one day the "duke" went to a country estate of his, and the bishop took the opportunity of destroying the pear-tree, and casting away the heads of game, which Constantius calls "oscilla." German, hearing of this, actually set off for Auxerre in order to kill the bishop: Amator, warned of his peril, and "thinking himself unworthy to be a martyr," took the extraordinary step of visiting the prefect Julius, then at Autun, and requesting his permission to make German a cleric, as he was the fittest person to succeed to his own see. Julius reluctantly assented: Amator returned, exhorted his flock to choose his future successor, because he felt his death to be at hand, led them to the church, bade them lay aside their weapons, and seeing German among those who obeyed, caused the doors to be barred, laid hands on the duke, cut his hair short, and then conferred on him the clerical character, bidding him live as one who was destined to be bishop. Soon afterwards he fell ill, obtained from his people a promise to elect German, and on Wednesday morning, May 1, 418, caused himself to be carried to the church, and just lived to be placed once more upon his throne. He was buried beside his predecessors in the neighbouring Mount Autricus, and German, unanimously elected, was consecrated on Sunday, July 7. "He received the episcopate under compulsion, but it wrought in him a sudden and total change." His wife became to him as a sister: he distributed his property to the poor: he became a severe ascetic, as Constantius says, a "persecutor of his body," abstaining from salt, oil, and even from vegetables, from wine, excepting a small quantity much diluted on Christmas-day or Easter-day, and from wheat bread, instead of which he ate barley bread with a preliminary taste of ashes (*cinerem praelibavit*). He wore the same hood and tunic in all seasons, and slept on ashes in a framework of boards. "Let anyone speak his mind," says Constantius, to whom some details of German's life must have come down not free from exaggeration: "but I positively assert that the blessed German endured a long martyrdom." Withal he was hospitable, and gave his guests a good meal, though he would not share it with them. He founded a monastery outside Auxerre, on the opposite bank of the Yonne, which he often crossed in a boat to visit the abbat and brethren. His biographer, who believes miracles to have accompanied him through life, tells us that some oil blessed by him was effectual against an epidemic affection of the throat, which had proved widely fatal.

We must now follow German to Britain. Pelagianism had been rife in its founder's native island; and the British clergy, unable to refute the heretics, requested help from the church, we may say from their mother church, of Gaul. Accordingly "a numerous synod was assembled, and by consent of all application was made to the two glorious luminaries of religion, German and Lupus, the bishop of Troyes, both of whom accepted the call, the more

readily because of the labour involved" in it. So says Constantius, who is followed and for the most part transcribed by Bede (i. 17). But here comes a difficulty. Prosper of Aquitaine, a contemporary, in his Chronicle for the year 429, says that pope Coelestine, "at the suggestion of the deacon Palladius, sent German as his representative" (*vice sua*) into Britain: and in his *Contra Collatorem*, written about 432, speaks of Coelestine as "taking pains to keep the Roman island" (Britain) "catholic" (c. 21, or 24). Now Prosper could not but be well informed about the proceedings of Coelestine, for he was at Rome, for the express purpose of lodging a complaint against Gallic Semi-Pelagianus, in 431. Constantius wrote about sixty years after German's British journey, but with full access to local information. Unless Prosper wrote a mere falsehood, Coelestine must have had something to do with German's mission; but it is likely enough that Prosper from his "Roman" standpoint would overrate the importance of Coelestine's action, and also that Constantius would dwell simply on the action of the Gallic synod. The truth probably lies in a combination of the pope's action with the councils, at any rate so far as German was concerned. Lupus is not named with German by Prosper; of him evidently Coelestine took no thought, but we may reasonably believe that Coelestine gave some special commission to German either before (as Tillemont thinks, *Mémoires*, xiv. 154) or at the time of the Gallic synod: it is not probable that, as Lingard supposes, the synod's commission was only to Lupus, and German was "sent" by the pope alone (*Angl. Sax. Ch.* i. 8).

When the two prelates, travelling northward, reached Metrodovum or Nanterre, near Paris, German saw in the crowd which came to meet them a girl named Genovefa, asked her whether she wished to dedicate herself to God, received her affirmative answer, and bade her live as one espoused to Christ. She became "St. Geneviève of Paris." German and Lupus had a perilous voyage across the Channel: Constantius, in whose eyes German's path was, as a matter of course, strewn with miracles, affirms that he stilled the storm by pouring oil into the sea, with invocation of the Trinity. Arrived in Britain, the bishops preached the doctrines of grace in churches, in the country, on the roads, with great effect: at last the Pelagian leaders took heart, and challenged them to a discussion, which took place apparently near Verulam. A great multitude assembled; "on the one hand," says Constantius, "was Divine authority, on the other, human presumption;" the heretics, conspicuous by their wealth and their rich garb, were collected by obsequious disciples, and opened the debate in speeches more verbose than forcible. The two bishops replied, appealing to Scripture in support of the Catholic position; "pouring forth," says Constantius, "the torrents of their eloquence with the thunder peals (Bede alters this into 'showers') of evangelists and apostles." They silenced their opponents, and the shouts of the audience hailed their victory. German and Lupus then visited the reputed tomb of the British protomartyr Alban, and Constantius adds the famous tale of the Alleluia Victory. The Britons are menaced by Picts and Saxons; German and Lupus encourage them to resist, catechize and baptize the still heathen majority in their army, and then, shortly after the Easter of 430, station them in a narrow glen, and at the invaders' approach repeat thrice the Paschal Alleluia. The Britons send the shout ringing through the defile; the enemy is seized with panic, and "faith without the sword wins a bloodless victory." On returning home German found the people of Auxerre suffering under an unusual demand of tribute; he set forth at once for Arles, the seat of the central government, and obtained from the prefect Auxiliares a "remedium," or remission of the demands.

In 447 he was again entreated by British churchmen to aid them against Pelagianism. He took with him Severus, bishop of Treves, a disciple of Lupus, and having, on his way, vindicated Genovefa against calumniators, he landed in Britain, and (not without a miracle, according to Constantius) triumphed again over the Pelagians, and procured their banishment from the island. Welsh traditions have much to tell about German's activities on behalf of the British church. They lay the scene of the Alleluia victory at Maes-garmon, near Mold; they speak of colleges founded by German, of national customs traced to his authority; and although much of this is legendary, and the stories in Nennius about his relations with king Vortigern are apocryphal, it seems not improbable that he did more for British Christianity than Constantius knew of, or felt an interest in recording. He had no sooner returned home than another occasion for his humane intervention presented itself. The Armoricans, whose country had not yet acquired, through British immigration, the name of Brittany, were in a state of chronic revolt against the empire. They were, if not the whole, yet the greater part of that vast coalition of insurgents who went by the name of Bagaudae (*Life of St. German*, p. 219), but who had been goaded into insubordination or rebellion by the villanies and robberies, the proscriptions and spoliations carried on by the provincial government (Salvian, *Gub. Dei*, v. 6). Aetius, now again at the head of affairs under the emperor Valentinian III., and invested with the dignity of patrician, gave permission to Eochar, king of the Alani, to invade their territory, which had once apparently been under German's rule as duke. He now stepped between the people and their enemies; he went to meet the Alani, where "cavalry, like an iron mass, filled the road" (Constant. ii. 5). He reached the presence of Eochar, and entreated him to pause; the barbarian put aside the request; the old bishop, taking his life in his hand, grasped the king's bridle, and this daring act overawed the barbarian into promising a truce until German should have obtained favourable terms for Armorica from the emperor or from Aetius. German set forth at once for Italy, and a beautiful instance of his kindness of heart occurred while he was crossing the Alps. He fell in with a poor old labourer, lame, and carrying a burden. They came to a torrent crossed by slippery stones. The bishop of Auxerre, the envoy between Armoricans and their emperor, himself about 70 years old, carried over on his own shoulders

first the bundle, and then the old man himself. It was June 19, 448, when he reached Milan; after leaving it, he yielded, against his attendants' wish, to a request for his presence on the part of a fever-stricken family. He entered Ravenna by night, but his hope of their escaping a public reception was disappointed. Galla Placidia, the empress-mother, sent him a silver dish full of delicate food, but containing no meat. He sold the dish for the poor, having given its contents to his attendants; in its place he sent back a little wooden platter with barley bread; the empress, we are told, kept the bread, and encircled the plate with gold. He was said to have opened a prison by his prayers; the fact being, apparently, that the empress, at his entreaty, released the inmates. He obtained pardon and immunity for the Armoricans, but unfortunately news came that they had again revolted. His power of helping them was thus destroyed by their own act; they were punished by the invasion which could no longer be delayed. German's life-work was now over; he had a dream in which he seemed to receive from his Lord provision for a journey to his country. The bishops who constantly attended on him, and to whom he told the dream, interpreted it in an earthly sense; he answered, "Well do I know what that country is which God promises to His servants." He was soon afterwards taken ill. His lodging overflowed with visitors; a choir kept up ceaseless psalmody by his bedside. He expired on the 31st of July, 448, having been bishop 30 years and 25 days: his body was embalmed, and a magnificent funeral journey to Gaul attested the reverence of the court. In Gaul, roads were mended and bridges made in expectation of the corpse; and the interment took place in a chapel near Auxerre, on October 1. So lived and died St. German, of whom the "Missa S. Germani" says, in a terse summary of his career, "He so began as to increase; he so fought as to conquer." Constantius's 'Life of Germanus' is in Surius *de Probatis Sanctorum Historiis*, vol. iv. A metrical "Life" and a prose account of his "miracles," both by a monk named Hereric, are in *Acta Sanctorum*, July 31. Hereric wrote under Charles the Bald. He follows Constantius in ignoring a papal commission to German (*Metr. Life*); but he gives the legend of German sending his disciple Patrick to Celestine, and Celestine sending him to Ireland (*De Miruc.*). He professes to give incidents which Constantius had passed over. In spite of his wearisome prolixity and exaggerations, one line of his on German's excellence is worth quoting; after mentioning his teaching, labour, kindness, constancy, fervour, he adds: "Quodque est praecipuum, dilectio plurima fratrum." [W. B.]

GERMANUS (9), bishop of Amiens, said by Rosweyd, on the authority of Belgian MSS., to have been "Anglus natione" converted by St. Germanus of Auxerre in 429. Other accounts make him Scotch (*i.e.* Irish) by birth, and relate that his father, prince Audinus, came for some purpose to Britain, and there fell in with the French saint. Rosweyd also believes him to be the same with St. Eloquius, who came with SS. Fursey, Columbanus, and others from Ireland to Gaul. By others he is supposed to have been a companion of St. Boniface in the 8th century. His legend contains an extraordinary notice of Julian the apostate, whom it makes to have been a priest. In this legend Germanus of Auxerre meets Audinus and his wife Aquila with their little son, and struck with their angelic appearance takes the child, gives him his own name, and educates him. The young Germanus, when grown up, sailed on a waggon-wheel to Gaul, and working everywhere plentiful miracles, visited Rome, Spain, and England again, but was at last martyred at Amiens. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 2 Mai. i. 259.) [R. T. S.]

GERMANUS (10), reputed bishop of Man. In the *Mart. Tallaght* on July 30 there is the commemoration of German, son of Goll, said by many to have been the Germanus who was appointed by St. Patrick to be the first bishop of Man, as related by Joceline. His consecration is assigned to the year 447, and he is still reckoned patron of the ruined church within the precincts of Peel Castle, in the parish of St. Germain, Isle of Man. His ancient feast in Man was July 3. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 59, cc. 1, 2, 60, n.[5], and *Tr. Thaum.* 86, c. 92, 98, c. 152, 113, n. [103]; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* vi. 181, Ind. Chron. A.D. 474; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 204, n. [5], 207; Keith, *Cat. Scott. Bps.* 295.) [J. G.]

GERMANUS (11), bishop of Rouen, at the first council of Tours, A.D. 461. (Mansi, vii. 947; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 9.) [R. T. S.]

GERMANUS (12), bishop of Peradam in Byzacene, present at the convention of bishops, A.D. 484, and said to have been scourged by order of Hunneric. (Vict. Vit. *Notit.* 57; *De Persec. Vand.* ii. 16, v. 1; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 244.) [R. S. G.]

GERMANUS (13), bishop of Pisaurum (Pesaro) c. A.D. 497. He was sent on a mission to Constantinople, together with Cresconius bishop of Todi, by pope Anastasius II. (Mansi, viii. 189 d; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 948; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* iii. 341; Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* p. 61; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacr.* x. 518.) [R. S. G.]

GERMANUS (14), bishop of Verona, probably towards the end of the 5th century. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, x. 747, 813; Biancolini, *Vescovi di Verona*, pt. i. 28, ii. 2.) [R. S. G.]

GERMANUS (15), third bishop of the Veromandui (Vermandois) before the 6th century. The seat of the bishopric was afterwards fixed at Noyon. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 979.) [R. T. S.]

GERMANUS (16), bishop of Capua, sent with other legates in 519 to Constantinople by pope Hormisdas. They were instructed to hold communion with no one who would not sign the *Libellus*, which contained the condemnation of the patriarch Acacius and his successors, Euphemius and Macedonius, on the ground of their unorthodoxy in the matter of Monophysitism. The legates were received with great honour in Constantinople. Hormisdas wrote several letters to Germanus and his companions (Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* 67–69; Mansi, viii.442, seq.). Gregory the Great relates that St. Benedict saw the soul of

Germanus carried up by angels to heaven. (Greg. Magn. *Dial.* iii. 35; iv. 7.) [A. H. D. A.]

GERMANUS (17), bishop of Aemonia (now Cittanova), about ten miles north of Parenzo in Istria, c. 546. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, viii. 747.) [A. H. D. A.]

GERMANUS (18) (GERMAIN), ST., 20th bishop of Paris, born at Autun of parents of rank named Eleutherius and Eusebia (circ. A.D. 496). He was sent to school at Avalon, between Autun and Auxerre, and next, to Luzy (Lausia), between Autun and the Loire, where he was well educated. In due time he was ordained deacon by St. Agrippinus, and three years later priest. He was next made abbat of the monastery of St. Symphorian at Autun, by Nectarius the bishop. Here his generosity to the poor was so great that he nearly starved his monks, who rose in rebellion. In 555, being present at Paris on some mission to Childebert, when that see was vacant by the death of Eusebius, he was raised to the archbishopric. His great object seems to have been to check, as far as he was able, the unbridled licence of the Frank kings, and to ameliorate the misery produced by the perpetual civil wars. In 557 he was present at the third council of Paris, at which the assembled prelates tried to devise some cure for the evils suffered by the church from the miseries and disturbances of the times. He appears to have exercised considerable influence over Childebert, though the authenticity of the charter cannot be sustained, in which that king purports to give to him and the Church of Paris the royal domain of Celles in the district of Melun. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Childebert's edict against the pagan revelry with which holy days were celebrated was due to St. Germanus (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxii. 1121). It was no doubt, too, at his instigation that Childebert built the church of St. Vincent to receive the stole of that martyr which he had brought from Spain. (See the charter given by Aimoin, *de Gest. Franc.* ii. 20, ed. Jac. du Brevi, Paris, 1602, and cf. the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 270.) This church was said to have been consecrated by St. Germanus on the day on which Childebert died (Dec. 23, 558). Childebert's successor Clotaire was, according to Venantius Fortunatus, at first not equally amenable, but a sickness changed his disposition. It was to St. Germanus that Radegund in 559 wrote *Sacramentales Litteras*, conjuring him to intercede for her with the king, who was on his way to take her by force from her monastery at Poitiers. Throwing himself in tears at Clotaire's feet before the shrine of St. Martin of Tours, the archbishop induced him to forego his resolve and ask the queen's pardon. In 566, at the second Council of Tours, he was one of the seven prelates who signed the letter to Radegund sanctioning rules for her monastery, and he consecrated Agnes the first abbess. In 568 Charibert was excommunicated by him for sacrilege. In 573 St. Germanus was present at the fourth Council of Paris, at which Promotus was deposed, and he subscribed the letter addressed by the council to Sigebert, with special words of entreaty of his own. In 575 when Sigebert was preparing to crush his brother Chilperic, and for this purpose had summoned to his standard the barbarians from across the Rhine, Germanus appealed in a letter to queen Brunichilde to avert the destruction which was impending over the country (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxii. 77; cf. Ceillier, xi. 307), and when Sigebert arrived in Paris on his way to besiege Chilperic in Tournay, St. Germanus met him and prophesied his death if he persisted in seeking his brother's destruction. The assassins of Fredegund soon after verified the prediction. Germanus himself survived but a short time, dying the 28th of May. The year is not certain, being variously given as 575, 576, and 577. He was buried in an oratorium near the vestibule of the church of St. Vincent, and a metrical epitaph, ascribed to Chilperic, but not perhaps his unaided composition, was placed above his remains. (Aimoin, iii. 16; Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 245, Paris, 1668–1701; *Gall. Christ.* vii. 20.)

In some of the MSS. of Aimoin (*de Gest. Franc.* iii. 9, Bouquet, iii. 69, n.) there is a story, apparently without foundation, that he made a pilgrimage to the holy places at Jerusalem, and on his return visited Justinian at Constantinople, whose presents of gold and silver he refused, but gladly accepted some relics for his church of St. Vincent. This story is repeated in the *Chroniques de St. Denis* (liv. iii. 2, Bouquet, iii. 210–211).

In the 7th century his tomb was enriched and ornamented by St. Eligius of Noyon (Audoenus, *Vita S. Eligii*, i. 32, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 504), and in A.D. 754 the body was removed with great ceremony by Lantfredus, abbat of St. Vincent, from the oratory into the church itself, in the presence of Pippin and his son, Charles the Great, then a child. This church henceforth was called after him (St. Germain des Prés).

Besides the letter to Brunichilde above mentioned, there is extant by St. Germanus a treatise on the mass, or exposition of the old Gallic Liturgy (Patr. Lat. lxxii. 89; cf. Ceillier, xi. 308 seq., for the reasons for ascribing it to him). It was first published by Martene and Durand (*Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, v. 91). For a description and criticism of its contents see Ceillier ut supr. and the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 312 seqq. Among his writings is also generally counted the privilege which he granted to his monastery exempting it from all episcopal jurisdiction (circ. 565). This document is mentioned by Gislemar, who lived in the 9th century (*Vita S. Doctrovei*, Bouquet, iii. 438), and given in full by Aimoin (*de Gest. Franc.* iii. 2, pp. 75–6, ed. Jacob du Brevi, Paris, 1602). Its authenticity has been vehemently attacked and defended (see Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxii. 81 n. and the authorities there referred to). St. Germanus's life was written by Venantius Fortunatus, his contemporary and friend, but the work is infected with the worst faults of the age, and is, in fact, little else than a string of miracles. It is to be found in Mabillon's *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* i. 234–245, Paris, 1668–1701. Besides, and more important than it are the scattered notices in Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 26, 42, 52; v. 8; ix. 39; *De Glor. Conf.* lxxx.; Venant. Fort. Misc. ii. 13 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 102; *Gesta Reg. Franc.* c. xxxiii; Aimoin, *Hist. Franc.* iii. 16; *Vita S. Doctrovei* in Bouquet, iii. 437–8; *Vita S*

Radegundis, auct. Baudonivia, ii. 6 in Bouquet, iii. 457. See also Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 774 seqq.; *Gall. Christ.* vii. 18–21; Mansi, ix. 747, 805, 867, 869. For his translation see Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. iii. pars 2, 94–104; and for the monastery the *Dissertatio* of Ruinartius, in Bouquet, ii. 722. [S. A. B.]

GERMANUS (19), bishop of Damascus, and metropolitan of the province Phoenicia Secunda. He is mentioned by Theophylactus Simocatta (lib. ii. cap. 1, 2), as having lived in the time of the emperor Maurice. He was invited to the camp of Priscus, to perform the ceremonies and services proper to Passion week and Easter, in order to calm a rebellion among the soldiers. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 863. The account given by Theophanes varies considerably, but it is less trustworthy than that of Theophylact.) [J. de S.]

GERMANUS (20), bishop of Syracuse, c. 609. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xxi. 619.) [A. H. D. A.]

GERMANUS (21), a bishop of Bologna. He is said to have succeeded Petrus, who was living A.D. 616, and to have been followed by Constantinus, but his exact date, if not his existence, is very uncertain. (Alidosi, *Pont. Bologn.* p. 4; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iii. 470; *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 11.) [R. S. G.]

GERMANUS (22), bishop of Dumium in 633. He signs the fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633) 27th out of 62. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 385; *Esp. Sagr.* xviii. 39.) [S. Martin.] [M. A. W.]

GERMANUS (23), bishop of Ciumtuturbium in Africa (in what province is uncertain), at the council held in proconsular Africa A.D. 646. (Mansi, x. 940 e; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 144.) It has been suggested that the name of the town may be a corruption of civ. m. Tuburbium, *i.e.* civitas major (or minor) Tuburbii (Victor Vitensis, p. 15, *vid.* Patr. Lat. lviii. note 52, 291 b). [R. S. G.]

GERMANUS (24), bishop of Umana (Numana) near Ancona, present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649, which condemned the heresy of the Monothelites. (Mansi, x. 866, 1163; Hefele, § 307.) [A. H. D. A.]

GERMANUS (25), bishop of Tarentum, signed the second letter of pope Agatho, which was sent in 680, after a synod in Rome, to the third council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 299.) [A. H. D. A.]

GERMANUS (26), 49th bishop of Constantinople, and patriarch, between John VI. the heretic and Anastasius I. (Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 235).

He was born of a noble family, about 635, in the days of the emperor Heraclius. His father, Justinian, was a Patricius, who held many of the highest offices of state, but having become involved in a scheme against the succession of Constantine Pogonatus, was executed with the other conspirators. Germanus was on the same occasion castrated for his violent conduct (Theoph. *Chronog.* p. 293, sub anno mundi 6160). This was about 668, so that if Germanus was born in 635 he must have been now over thirty years of age. By 680 he had risen to a leading position, for it is stated in a subsequent letter of pope Gregory II. to Leo the Isaurian that the sixth general council in that year originated in the zealous efforts of Germanus. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 517 B.)

The date of his appointment to the see of Cyzicus is not known; but we learn from Theophanes (*Chronog.* A.C. 704, p. 320 in Pat. Gr. cviii. 771), and from Nicephorus the patriarch (*De Reb. post Maur.* p. 54, in Pat. Gr. c. 951 A) that he was bishop there in the reign of Philippicus, who was emperor from Dec. 711 to June 713. He is said by Theophanes and Nicephorus to have written at this time against the 6th General Council, and to have helped Philippicus in his efforts for the Monothelites. But from the letter of Gregory just referred to, and from the further testimony borne to Germanus at the second council of Nicaea in 787 (Mansi, xiii. 718 E) this accusation is scarcely probable, and it is likely that the story which reached Theophanes and Nicephorus arose among Isaurian opponents.

On June 4, 713, the Catholic Artemius or Anastasius II. received the crown of the East. In his second year, 715, August 11, he held a synod, and procured the deposition of the heterodox patriarch John VI., and the translation of the bishop of Cyzicus. Germanus must have been at this time eighty years old. How Stephanus junior, then an unborn child, through the eagerness of his mother obtained the patriarch's blessing at the ceremony of his enthronization in the great church will be related in the life of Stephanus.

Germanus signalized his first year of office by holding a synod of a hundred bishops, in which he anathematized his predecessors Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Peter, Paul, and John, and declared for the Two Wills and Two Operations. He thus avowed himself on the side of complete orthodoxy. This Council is said to have been held during the first siege of Constantinople by the Saracens. Mansi (xii. 258) dates the council at the end of 715 or the beginning of 716.

About Jan. 716 Anastasius was dethroned by Theodosius IV., the Adramyttian. Germanus was sent with other friends of the fallen emperor to Nicaea to acquaint him with the events of the capital and the hopelessness of his cause (Theoph. 323; Niceph. 58), but does not seem to have otherwise suffered by this revolution.

The rule of Theodosius, who shewed himself a zealous Catholic, terminated in March 717. The chronology of these few ephemeral reigns is obscure, and we have followed Pagi who has investigated it. (Baron. ann. 714; Pagi, i.–vi.)

On March 25, 717, Germanus crowned Leo the Isaurian. The ceremony was performed with all the customary honours of an orthodox prince, on the demand of the new emperor himself. Leo swore that he would keep the Catholic faith undefiled in all things, and wrote to pope Gregory II. asking for communion. Germanus also wrote to the pope, assuring him of the truth of the professions of Leo.

The early years of the reign of Leo were disturbed by another siege of Constantinople by the Saracens. It is spoken of by Bede, Paul the Deacon, and Anastasius, and appears to have lasted more than a year. Three hundred thousand persons are said to have died of the plague that

raged inside the walls. The Saracen fleet was at length broken up by a storm (A.D. 717), a result which was attributed to St. Mary the Mother of Jesus, and to the intercessions of Germanus, who, "though far advanced in life, was vigorous in mind, blossoming with all good deeds, renewed like an eagle in his extreme old age." This deliverance is alluded to by Gregory II. in a letter to Germanus (quoted in the fourth action of the second council of Nicaea, Mansi, xiii. 91).

In 719 and 720 Germanus officiated at the coronation of the empress Maria and at the baptism and coronation of her infant son Constantine Copronymus.

In 726 the emperor Leo began his enterprise against the worship of images, and in that year occurred the demolition of the great statue of Christ in the Chalcopratia.

On the public declaration of Leo's plans, the aged patriarch, now over 90, called by Baronius (ann. 727, xvii.) the first Coryphaeus who raised the standard of Confession against the Iconoclasts of the East, sent a message of remonstrance. He argued that idolatry was only the worship of heathen deities, and adduced the legends of St. Veronica painting a portrait of Our Lord, of Abgarus sending for this picture, of Luke painting St. Mary.

Interviews followed. Leo appealed to Holy Scripture. "I have heard," replied Germanus, "that the holy images will be cast down, but not in your time." "Under whose reign?" asked the emperor. "That of Conon, sire," answered the patriarch. "Why, my baptismal name was really Conon," said the reformer. "Far be it, sire, from thy reign," said the aged prelate, "to work such a woe. It is the forerunner of Antichrist who shall do this thing, the destroyer of the Incarnation." Leo began now to speak with some firmness; Germanus reminded him of the oaths he had taken at his coronation. Three years passed away in what must have been on the whole a fairly amicable controversy.

Germanus wrote to pope Gregory II., giving him an account of the controversy. The letter is lost, but the reply is extant, and is of great length. He also wrote three letters to Constantine bishop of Nacolia, John archbishop of Synnada, and Thomas bishop of Claudiopolis. These remain (Pat. Lat. xcviii. 55). The anathemas pronounced by the second council of Nicaea against those who refused to worship images were taken from these letters of Germanus.

The prolonged vitality of the archbishop and his vigorous opposition to the imperial measures, supported as it was also by Gregory of Rome and John of Damascus, seem to have perplexed Leo. He did not wish to eject him, or to use force, but could not help wishing that he had to appoint a successor. He allowed Anastasius, chancellor of St. Sophia, to understand that on him the choice would fall. Anastasius was one day attending the archbishop to the palace, and neglecting to pay the due respect to his aged superior, trod on the border of his robe. "Do not be in a hurry," said the patriarch, turning round: "the day will come when you will be carried into the circus faster than you wish."

The end of the struggle now came. In January, 730, Leo summoned an assembly at his palace, determined to make a new effort. The patriarch was invited. The old man weary of the contest took off his pontifical robe, and concluded a long speech with these words: "If I am a Jonah, throw me into the sea; apart from a general council, sire, I can make no change in the faith." He retired to an estate of his family, and lived the rest of his life in prayer and silence. He was ninety-five years old at the time of his abdication, and lived rather more than three years afterwards, dying on May 12, 733.

The earliest biographical account of Germanus is a short notice in Basil's *Menology* under May 12, on which day he was commemorated. The letters of pope Gregory II. his contemporary, contain a few interesting passages relating to him. From these sources, and from other later writers, a memoir of the patriarch was drawn up by Henschen (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 155). Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.* xi. 155) gives a list of his works, which is reprinted with annotations by Migne, and placed with the *Vita* by Henschen in vol. xcviii. of the Patrol. Graec.

Besides the three letters already mentioned, *A Letter from the Greeks to the Armenians in Defence of the Decrees of the Council of Chalcedon* is attributed with plausibility to Germanus. The *Treatise on Lawful Retribution* described by Photius (cod. 233) has been lost. It defended Gregory of Nyssa from those who imputed to him the doctrines of Origen. *History of the Holy Councils and of the Heresies since the Preaching of the Apostles.* [Heresiologists.] This is not to be confounded with a *Treatise on the Six General Councils*, edited without a name by Justellus, Harduin, and Galland, and occasionally attributed to Germanus. Another work attributed by Cardinal Mai to Germanus, according to the authority of a very old MS. in the Vatican, is a *Discourse on the Limit of Life*, among the questions of Photius to Amphilochus. This work sets the fathers on an equality with the Apostles, especially Basil, Gregory the Theologian, and Athanasius. The mystical treatise on the ceremonies of the Liturgy is thought to be more safely attributed to Germanus II., Patriarch in the 13th century. But there is no reason why the *Sermons and Hymns on the Virgin*, the *Presentation*, the *Worship of the True Cross*, and others usually given among the works of Germanus I., should not be his. [W. M. S.]

GERMANUS (27)—July 7. Martyr under Trajan. Seeing a martyr, Astus, smeared with honey and stung by wasps, Germanus blessed him, for which act he was arrested with six others, and executed. (Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

GERMANUS, presbyter of Antioch. [Gemi-nus (1).]

GERMANUS (28)—Nov. 3. Martyr at Caesarea in Cappadocia, with Theophilus, Caesarius, and Vitalis, in the Decian persecution, A.D. 250. [Caesarius (4).] (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, *Mart.* Adon., Usuard., Wandalbert.; Petrus de Nat. *in Catalog.* lib. x. cap. 18.) [G. T. S.]

GERMANUS (29), martyr at Gerona with Paulinus, Justus, and Scicius, during Diocletian's persecution. Germanus and Paulinus are said to

have been brothers, and first cousins of Justus and Scicius, who were also brothers. They all were sculptors or stone-cutters, and were put to death by Rufinus, the deputy of Dacianus, the praeses of Spain, for refusing to make images of heathen gods. On the taking of Gerona by Charlemagne their bodies were found in the church outside the walls then dedicated to the Virgin, but afterwards to St. Felix, and were translated to the cathedral. Amaldus, canon, and afterwards bishop of Gerona from about A.D. 1198 to A.D. 1216, removed their remains to a chapel he founded in their honour. The only source of our information about these saints is an apocryphal life, said to have been procured at Rome by the above-mentioned Amaldus. This life is considered by the Bollandist editors to be the work of some forger, who imposed upon the simplicity of the good canon. The names of Dacianus and Rufinus were well-known, and the part they had played in Diocletian's persecution, and the fact that the saints in question were four in number, suggested to the composer of the legend to borrow from the story of the "Quatuor Coronati" the circumstances of their having been sculptors, and having suffered martyrdom for refusing to make images of heathen gods. The same editors doubted whether they should include these *Acta* in the *AA. SS.*, but finally decided to do so, and leave them to the reader's judgment. These saints are commemorated on June 8. (Boll. *AA. SS.* June, ii. 58; J. T. Salazar, *Mart. Hisp.* iii. 463; *Esp. Sagr.* xliii. 272.) [F. D.]

GERMANUS (30)—Oct. 23. A martyr in Spain with Servandus, under the president Viator, during the Diocletian persecution. Germanus was buried at Emerita (Merida) near St. Eulalia. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

GERMANUS (31)—Nov. 13. A martyr in Palestine with Antoninus and Zebinas, A.D. 308. (Eusebius, *de Mart. Palaest.* c. 9; Bas. *Men.* i. 196.) [G. T. S.]

GERMANUS (32), a presbyter of Constantinople, one of Chrysostom's most faithful adherents. He was one of the deputation who conveyed to the council of the Oak the reply of Chrysostom himself and that of the assembled bishops. (Pallad. *Dial.* pp. 13, 70.) After the conflagration of the cathedral, he with Cassian the deacon, as custodians of the treasury, drew up an inventory of the goods of the church Chrysostom had been accused of confiscating. In A.D. 405 he and Cassian were the bearers of a letter to pope Innocent from the clergy and laity of Constantinople describing the violent deposition and expulsion of Chrysostom and the persecutions to which his friends were still exposed (*ib.* p. 27; Soz. *H. E.* viii. 26; Innoc. Pap. *Epp.* 7, 10, in Pat. Lat. xx. 501 note ε, 512; Chrysostom's first ep. to Innocent, § 2, in Pat. Gr. lii. 531). He was a very intimate friend and probably a relation of Cassian, whom he accompanied in his travels in Egypt and elsewhere. So great was their attachment to one another that they were said to have one soul in two bodies. Germanus's name frequently occurs in the *Conferences* of Cassian. (Joann. Cassian. *Collat.* var. loc. esp. i. 1, 9, where see notes by Gazaeus, in Pat. Lat. xlix. 483, 493; Ceillier, viii. 147, &c.) [E. V. and I. G. S.]

GERMANUS (33), April 29, presbyter; martyr at Alexandria. (Wright, *Syrian Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 426.) [G. T. S.]

GERMANUS (34), deacon, who with Memnon, the keeper of the sacred vessels, and the priest Epiphanius, was sent by the council of Constantinople, A.D. 448, to convey their third citation to Eutyches to appear before the council. (Mansi, vi. 496 n.) [F. D.]

GERMANUS (35), presbyter and archimandrite of Constantinople, who subscribed by the hand of the deacon Glycerius the deposition of Eutyches, at the council of Constantinople in A.D. 448 (Labbe, iv. 232). He appears also among the orthodox archimandrites, who appealed to the emperor Marcian against the Eutychians in A.D. 451. [Faustus (28).] [C. G.]

GERMANUS (36), brother of St. Gibhrian, a Scot, one of the many Christian teachers attracted to Rheims by the fame of St. Remigius, the bishop. Colgan says he flourished in the year 509. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 232 n. ³, 271, c. 1; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 16, § 15; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 301, 303.) [J. G.]

GERMANUS (37), nephew of the emperor Justinian I., and addressed as "vir illustrissimus" during the lifetime of Justinus I. by pope Hormisdas, when he wrote to him in A.D. 519, and recommended to his good offices three papal legates, the bishops Helias, Thomas, and Nicostratus (Mansi, *Conc.* viii. 473–4, epp. 60, 61). But he appears to have been little mixed up with the church's history. [J. G.]

GERMANUS (Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 137), teacher of St. Columba. [Gemmanus.] [J. G.]

GERMANUS (38), prior of Westminster. He is said, in the legendary history of Westminster, to have succeeded Ordbriht, the first abbat, with the title of prior, in the year 616 (Sporley, *MS. Hist. West. Mon. Angl.* i. 266). The whole list of these early abbats is mere fabrication. [S.]

GERMANUS (39), abbat of Grandivalle or Münsterthal in Alsace, and martyr, in the 7th century. He was a native of Treves, where his father Optardus was of senatorial rank. In his youth he was educated by Modoaldus, bishop of Treves (cir. 625). When grown up he distributed his property to the poor and sought out bishop Arnulphus, then living as a hermit in the desert of Horenberg, who gave him the tonsure and sent him to the monastery of St. Romaric, then called Castellum and afterwards Herrenberg on the summit of the mountains. After residing here for a time he went in company with a Burgundian named Chuanes to the monastery of Luxovium (Luxeuil) in the Vosges mountains, where Waldebert was then abbat. Waldebert having built a monastery upon an estate which he named Grandis Vallis, given him by Gundonius dux of Alsace, placed Germanus over it. After a time Gundonius was succeeded in his honours by Bonifacius or Cathicus, who oppressed the monastery, devastated its lands, and ill-used the tenantry. Germanus remonstrated, for which

he was set upon by the tyrant's marauders and murdered. He was commemorated on Feb. 21. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 264.) [C. H.]

GERMARUS, abbat. [GEREMARUS.]

GERMERIUS, ST., May 16, eighth in the list of the bishops of Toulouse, succeeding Heraclianus, and followed by Magnulfus, early in the 6th century. According to the apocryphal *Acta*, purporting to be by Pretiosus, his contemporary and comrade, he was born at Angoulême, or, according to another reading, Jerusalem. Upon the conquest of Toulouse by Clovis, in 507 or 508, and consequent establishment of the orthodox faith, he settled in that city, and was ordained subdeacon, and deacon, by Gregory, bishop of Saintes, and finally consecrated bishop of the diocese by Tornoaldus, with the approbation of Clovis, signified by an invitation to his palace and gifts to the church of Toulouse. Upon his death, after fifty years passed in the episcopate, he was buried at Doz, where a monastery was afterwards built and called by his name. His remains were said to have been in later times translated to the church of St. James, at Murellum, or Muretum, on the Garonne. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 591; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 7). [S. A. B.]

GERMINATOR. [GENIALIS.]

GERMINIUS (1), bishop of Cyzicus, the metropolis of the Hellespontine province, who was translated to Sirmium in Pannonia by the emperor Constantius, A.D. 356 (Athan. *H. Arian.* 307). He belonged to the Arian party, and was the joint composer with Valens, Mark of Arethusa, and George of Alexandria of the third Sirmian creed, drawn up in his episcopal city, sometimes called the "dated creed" because its heading recites the consuls for the year and the day of the month, May 22, 359, which provoked the sarcasm of Athanasius (*de Synod.* 8). At the council of Ariminum, in the same year, his creed was produced and read, but was indignantly rejected by the supporters of the Nicene faith, who deposed Germinius along with the other leaders of the Arians and semi-Arians, declaring them enemies and disturbers of the church, and wrote a letter to Constantius telling him what they had done. (Socrates, *H. E.* ii. 37; Soz. *H. E.* iv. 15; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 749.) [L. D.]

GERMINIUS (2). The eighteenth sermon of St. Gaudentius bishop of Brescia, according to the common reading, is addressed to a person of this name, and this is the reading adopted by Ceillier (*Auteurs sacrés*, viii. 41). Migne's edition (Patr. Lat. xx. 971) prefers the reading Serminius, and mentions that one MS. reads Herminius. Gaudentius praises him as a person who was well acquainted both with profane and sacred learning. The subject of the letter is an explanation of the parable of the Unjust Steward, which Germinius had requested Gaudentius to give him, as he had been unable to find any satisfactory interpretation of it. The precise date of Gaudentius's episcopate is uncertain, but it is probable that it extended from about A.D. 386 to A.D. 410. [F. D.]

GERMOCHUS, ST., an Irish chief who accompanied St. Breaca (Vol. I. p. 333) to Cornwall in the middle of the 5th century. The parish of Germoe is next to Breage, and they are united parishes. There is a holy well in the parish, and a building called king Germoe's throne, which may have taken the place of an earlier one. William of Worcester gives St. Germoe's day as June 24 (p. 107, ed. Nasmith). [C. W. B.]

GEROBOLDUS. [GOBALDUS.]

GEROCH succeeded St. Willibald as bishop of Eichstädt in A.D. 786. He is said to have given to his cathedral a golden chalice and a jewelled case of gold for keeping the Gospels in. The date of his death is given as Feb. 2, A.D. 801. Popp however (*Anfang des Christenthumes in Süd Deutschlande*, 225) points out that the dates of the five bishops who followed St. Willibald are doubtful. The *Liber Pontificalis* of Gundecar, the source of the early history of the diocese of Eichstädt, states their episcopates lasted one hundred years, and later writers divided this period into five nearly equal parts, assigning one to each bishop, and it is in this way the date of A.D. 801 for Geroch's death is arrived at. (Potthast, *Bibl. Suppl.* p. 311; Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae*, ix. 243, 256.) [F. D.]

GEROLDUS, fortieth bishop of Mentz, succeeding Richbertus or Rigobertus. According to a quotation in the *Gall. Christ.* from Merssaeus, he was a man of wisdom and capacity, able in the transaction of business, but civil rather than ecclesiastical, of distinguished personal appearance, undaunted courage, and great magnanimity, but fonder of the life of courts than of the services of the church, for which he cared little or not at all. He was killed in battle by the Saxons in one of Carloman's campaigns (A.D. 743), and was succeeded by his son Gewilieb, who avenged his father's death and was deposed at the second council of Germany. [GEWILIEBIS.] (*S. Bonifacii Vita*, lib. i. cap. 37; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 652; *Gall. Christ.* v. 437.) In the *Gallia Christiana* he also appears among the bishops of Worms (v. 663). [S. A. B.]

GERONCIUS (THERONCIUS), bishop of Assido (Medina Sidonia, or Xerze de la Fontera (*Esp. Sagr.* x. 15, Cortes y Lopez, *Dicc. Geogr. Hist. de la España Antigua*), from about A.D. 690 onwards. He subscribed the acts of the sixteenth Council of Toledo, A.D. 693. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 333; *Esp. Sagr.* x. 60.) [RUFINUS.] [M. A. W.]

GERONTIUS. See also GERUNTIUS.

GERONTIUS (1) (LEONTIUS), bishop of Larissa in Syria Secunda, south of Apamea. He was one of the fifteen bishops who took part in the synod of Neo-Caesarea, c. A.D. 315, held shortly after that of Ancyra, and attended by nearly the same persons. Considerable doubts have been cast upon the real date, and even the existence, of this synod; however, the record in the *Libellus Synodicus* (Mansi, ii. 551) contains several important differences. (Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, i. 210; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs sacrés*, ii. 640; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 917.) He subscribed also, according to some MSS., the canons of the council of Nice in A.D. 325.

Other MSS. read Leontius, but Gams (*Series Episc.* 436) prefers the former reading. (Mansi ii. 547, 694, 698.) [J. de S. and F. D.]

GERONTIUS (2), bishop of Come-Charran (Charra) in the province of Phoenicia Secunda, north-east of Damascus. He was one of the bishops who attended the first general council at Nicaea, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 694; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 849.) [J. de S.]

GERONTIUS of Barium. [GERVASIUS (2).]

GERONTIUS (3), bishop of Raphanea in Syria Secunda, south of Apamea. His name appears among the signatures at the synod of Philippopolis, A.D. 344, where his see is written erroneously "Lamphania." (Mansi, iii. 139; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 921.) [J. de S.]

GERONTIUS (4). Amongst the subscriptions to the canons of the Sardican council, 347, is found "Gerontius a Macedonia de Brebi," and "de Brevi," corrupt readings that, in all probability, should be altered to Berrhoeâ, or perhaps it should stand Dobero. Doberus was a town in Macedonia, of which two bishops are mentioned. (Mansi, iii. 39, 41; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 71, 77; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* vol. vii. "St. Athanase," note 50; Gams, *Series Episc.* 429.) [L. D.]

GERONTIUS (5), bishop of Tomi, or Constantiana (the modern Kustendji), in Scythia Minor, present at the council of Constantinople, 381 (Mansi, iii. 572); in the law of Theodosius, issued to Auxonius, proconsular of Asia, he is called Terentius bishop of Scythia. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1213.) [L. D.]

GERONTIUS (6), bishop of Claudiopolis, the metropolis of the province of Honorias, present at the synod at Constantinople under Nectarius, A.D. 394. (Mansi, iii. 852; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 569.) [L. D.]

GERONTIUS (7), bishop of Nicomedia, metropolitan of Bithynia, "a singular specimen of an ecclesiastical adventurer." He had been a deacon at Milan during the episcopate of Ambrose, whose grave displeasure he incurred by publishing a ridiculous story of an Empusa, or spectre with asses' legs (ὀνοσκελίς), by which he asserted he had been attacked by night. Gerontius set at nought Ambrose's injunction to remain in seclusion for a year and pass his time in penitence, and repaired to Constantinople, where his skill in medicine, aided by a plausible address and popular manners, gained him favour with persons of power at the imperial court, through whose instrumentality he obtained the metropolitan see of Nicomedia. He was consecrated by Helladius, bishop of Caesarea, and exarch of Pontus, for whose son Gerontius's court influence had procured a high appointment in the army. Ambrose, on hearing of Gerontius's elevation to the episcopate, wrote to Nectarius, the bishop of Constantinople, demanding his deposition. The new bishop, however, had speedily managed to ingratiate himself so completely with the people of Nicomedia that the intelligence of Ambrose's requisition aroused a vehement opposition, which the gentle Nectarius wanted spirit to resist. Chrysostom, however, on being invested with power, speedily employed it to rid the church of so great a scandal. Gerontius was deposed, and Pansophius, formerly tutor to the empress Eudoxia, was consecrated in his room. The loss of their favourite bishop gave great umbrage to the Nicomedians. They rose in open sedition, and extolled both in public and private the excellences of Gerontius, and the benefits both rich and poor had derived from his medical skill. Both at Nicomedia and also at Constantinople, to which they sent deputations, the people paraded the streets singing litanies, as in the time of some great public calamity. Chrysostom stood firm, and compelled Gerontius to retire. The Nicomedians parted from him with great reluctance, and shewed the utmost aversion to his pious and gentle successor. The deposition of Gerontius was one of the charges brought against Chrysostom at the council of the Oak. (Soz. *H. E.* viii. 6; Photius, *Cod.* 59, p. 60; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 588.) [E. V.]

GERONTIUS (8), a Macedonian bishop. Two letters of pope Innocent I. are addressed to him. The first names twenty-two other bishops along with him, is dated Dec. 13, A.D. 414, and is in reply to letters sent by the bishops to the pope by the archdeacon Vitalis. The questions it chiefly deals with are whether the clergy might marry widows; whether if a man whose wife had died before he had been baptized had married again, he should be considered to have married twice; and how those ordained by heretics, and especially by Bonosus, were to be treated? The second is addressed to him with six others "episcopis per Macedoniam constitutis," and relates to the case of Bubalius and Taurianus, who had been condemned by the Macedonian bishops. (*S. Innocentii Epist.* 15 and 18, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xx. 526, 557; Ceillier, *Histoire des Aut. sacr.* vii. 574.) [BONOSUS.] Gerontius is one of the ten orthodox bishops of Macedonia to whom, with Anysius, a letter of Chrysostom is addressed. (Chrys. *Epist.* 163, in Migne, Patr. Graec. lii. 706.) [ANYSIUS.] [F. D.]

GERONTIUS (9), bishop of Claudiopolis in Isauria, on the Calycadnus. He was present at the first meeting of the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and signed the protest against the commencement of its deliberations in the absence of John of Antioch. (Mansi, iv. 1270; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 1027.) [J. de S.]

GERONTIUS (10), bishop of Basilinopolis in Bithynia, present at the synod held at Constantinople by Flavian, A.D. 448 (Mansi, vi. 757), and also at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451; he is probably the bishop referred to by Anastasius of Nicaea at the 13th session as having been consecrated by his predecessor at Nicaea, and so claimed as his suffragan. (Mansi, vii. 305; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 625.) [L. D.]

GERONTIUS (11), bishop of Seleucia Pieria in Syria, present at the Ephesine *Latrocinium*, A.D. 449, and two years later at the council of Chalcedon. He also signed the synodical epistle of his province addressed to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458, referring to the murder of Proterius at Antioch, and also the encyclical of Gennadius against the simoniacs. (Mansi, vi. 914; Patrol. Gr. lxxxv. 1620; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 779.) [J. de S.]

GERONTIUS (12), bishop of Arcadiopolis, a town unknown in the province of Asia; at the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, his name was subscribed in his absence to the definition of the faith by Hesperius of Pitane at the instance of Stephen of Ephesus. (Mansi, vii. 168; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 711.) [L. D.]

GERONTIUS (13), bishop of Milan, probably c. A.D. 465. He succeeded Eusebius, and was followed by Benignus, but the dates are not precisely ascertained, Gerontius being placed by different authorities at various periods between A.D. 462 and 479. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 73; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, xi. 110.) [R. S. G.]

GERONTIUS, bishop of Camerinum (Camerino). [HIERUNTIUS.] [R. S. G.]

GERONTIUS (14), bishop of Fidenae, present at the third Roman synod under pope Symmachus, Oct. 501, according to the reckoning of Dahn (*Die Könige der Germanen*, iii. 209), who accepts with a slight alteration the arrangement of Hefele, § 220. (Mansi, viii. 252.) [A. H. D. A.]

GERONTIUS (15), bishop of Cervia (Ficoclensis), near Ravenna, martyred c. 501. (*Acta Sanct.* Boll. 9 Mai. ii. 461.) [A. H. D. A.]

GERONTIUS of Bologna. [GERARDUS (1).]

GERONTIUS (16), a bishop to whom Ennodius bishop of Pavia, from A.D. 511 to A.D. 521, addresses a poem (Ennod. *Carm.* lib. ii. 85, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxiii. 350). In it he praises Gerontius, saying that his predecessor had no reason to fear death when he knew he would have such a successor. [F. D.]

GERONTIUS (17), a presbyter living as a solitary, whom in 405 Chrysostom prevailed upon to undertake missionary work among the pagan inhabitants of Phoenicia. He was anxious to visit Chrysostom at Cucusus on the way to the scene of his labours; but Chrysostom advised him to proceed straight to Phoenicia as he had already lost time by illness, and he might be detained by winter which was approaching. It is evident that Gerontius was relinquishing his life of solitary contemplation with a reluctance which Chrysostom endeavoured to overcome by enlarging upon the greater glory and higher reward of the active exertions for the souls of others on which he was about to enter. Constantius, he informed him, had orders to supply him with necessary funds for building, and the relief of those in want, and he urged instant despatch. (Chrysost. *Epist.* 53, 54.) [E. V.]

GERONTIUS (18), priest of Constantinople, deposed in company with Celopodius (q. v.), as a Eutychian heretic, by the archbishop Anatolius in A.D. 451 (Labbe, iv. 522 D). Some one of the same name appears among the Eutychians, headed by Charosus, who, claiming to be archimandrites, appealed to the emperor Marcian in the same year asking for a general council (Labbe, iv. 524). The orthodox archimandrites however in the council of Chalcedon did not recognise this Gerontius whether as archimandrite or as anything else, stating Γερόντιον οὐκ οἴδαμεν. (Labbe, iv. 518.) [C. G.]

GERONTIUS (19), bearer of two letters from Julian bishop of Cos to pope Leo (Leo. Mag. Epp. 140, 1295; 141, 1296, Migne) in the end of A.D. 454, or the beginning of 455; also carried letters from Leo the pope in September 457 to the emperor Leo (Ep. 148 of Ep. 158, 1328) and at the same time to Julian and to Aetius, presbyter of Constantinople (*Epp.* 152, 153; 1314, 1315). [C. G.]

GERONTIUS (20), archimandrite, to whom Theodoret wrote, thanking him for his letters which expressed the piety of his soul, and his active services on his behalf, and asking for his prayers. (Theodoret, *Epist.* 50.) [E. V.]

GERONTIUS (21), archimandrite of Palestine towards the middle of the 5th century, successor of Melania in the government of her convent at Jerusalem, which he held for 45 years. He was a resolute Eutychian, and attached himself to Theodosius the intruding bishop of Jerusalem, refusing to communicate with Juvenal the legitimate prelate. He was sent by Theodosius, together with Elpidius another archimandrite, to Euthymius the celebrated solitary, to invite him to a conference with the view of settling their doctrinal differences. This invitation was indignantly rejected by the aged anchoret, whose words convinced Elpidius of his errors, but failed to have any effect on Gerontius (Cyrill. Scythop. *Vit. S. Euthym.* §§ 74, 76). He was equally deaf to the exhortations of the empress Eudocia, who, after an interview with Euthymius, had renounced the doctrines of Eutyches, and by her conversion had led many to adopt the Catholic faith (*ibid.* 86). When the rest of the schismatic monks (aposchistae) had been prevailed upon by Martyrius, soon after his accession to the episcopal throne, A.D. 478, to return to the unity of the church, Gerontius and Romanus of Thekoa alone remained obstinate. For this they were expelled from their monasteries, and passed the remainder of their days as homeless wanderers in great misery (*ibid.* 124). [E. V.]

GERONTIUS (22), a turbulent Eutychian monk, whom the schismatic party at Jerusalem elected as their president (ἀρχιμανδρίτης) after the flight of Theodosius the intruding bishop of that see, c. 476, who is stated to have been guilty of as many acts of violence and homicide as Theodosius himself (Cyrill. Scythop. *Vit. S. Euthym.* § 113). He seems to be different from Gerontius, St. Melania's successor. (Cf. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* vol. xvi.; Acace de C. P. n. ix.) [E. V.]

GERONTIUS (23) (GERAINT), son of Erbin, and king of Damnonia, killed A.D. 508 (or 530) at the battle of Llongborth, perhaps near Lyme Regis, fighting against Cerdic. (Lappenberg, i. 108, transl.; Nash, *Taliesin*, 328; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 113, 169, 232.) He was perhaps called a saint from his being killed in battle against the pagan Saxons. His pedigree is given under CONSTANTINUS, ST., Vol. I. 660. The celebrated elegy on him is attributed to Llywarch Hên and he is the hero of the second Mabinogi, which Tennyson has followed in his Idyll. [C. W. B.]

GERONTIUS (24) (GERAINT), king of Cornwall, died A.D. 596 at Din-gerein, the round

fort existing in the parish of St. Gerrans, near St. Just in Roseland, east of Falmouth Harbour. (Leland, and Earle's *Saxon Chronicle*, 290.) In the life of St. Teilo it is said that the saint on his way from Wales to Brittany, at the time of the yellow death, visited king Gerennius and promised to come back to him before his death, which was seven years and seven months afterwards. (*Liber Landavensis*, 102, 107.) The king was probably canonized by the popular voice. The feast day of this parish was on Aug. 10, and is now on the second Sunday in August. (Whitaker, *Cathedral of Cornwall*, i. 202, 293, 303; ii. 17.) [C. W. B.]

GERONTIUS (25), the accuser of Lampetius. (Photius, *Cod.* 52.) [EUCHITES.] [G. S.]

GERONTIUS (26), abbas, presiding over the monastery of St. Euthymius in Palestine, who related to John Moschus the following story. One day he was ascending the mountains on the other side of the Dead Sea, in company with two other anchorets, when they observed at a distance another anchoret walking on the shore. They saw some Saracens pass him, one of whom presently turned back and decapitated him. As Gerontius and his companions were deploring the dead, they suddenly beheld a bird swoop down from the sky, carry the Saracen up in the air, let him drop, and kill him. (Joann. Mosch. *Prat. Spirit.* cap. 21, in Pat. Lat. lxxiv. 129.) [C. H.]

GERRIG, Welsh saint. [GIRRIG.]

GERTRUDIS (1), ST., first abbess of Nivelle in Brabant, daughter of Pippin of Landen, the first of the three Pippins, mayor of the palace under Clothaire II., Dagobert I., and Sigebert II. Landen, the home of the family and the birthplace of Gertrude, was about twenty miles west of Tongres and some forty miles north-east of Nivelle. Pippin and Iduberga or Itta his wife, who were afterwards honoured as saints, had three children: Grimoald who succeeded his father; St. Begga, mother of Pippin of Heristal and foundress of the monastery of Anden, and Gertrude, the youngest. Gertrude shewed her vocation to a religious and celibate life at a very early age, by her refusal, more decided than courteous, of an offer of marriage made to her by Dagobert I. on behalf of a young nobleman then present. This must have happened in 625. On the death of Pippin in 639 Itta, by the advice of the bishop St. Amandus, built a large double monastery at Niviala (Nivelle) on land belonging to herself and Gertrude. She made her daughter abbess, and passed the rest of her life as a nun under her rule, helping her with advice and sympathy. It was Gertrude's great delight to receive pilgrims and religious travellers, and entertain them hospitably; she often procured relics or sacred books by their means from Rome or elsewhere, or got them to teach her and her nuns hymns or portions of Scripture, of which she was so fond that she is said to have learnt nearly the whole of the Bible by heart in the course of her life. With the assistance of her mother, she gave an estate at Fosse or Mors les Fossez to the Irish monks, SS. Foillan and Ultan, that they might build a monastery there, to be a perpetual place of reception for pilgrims and travellers journeying that way; she gave them all that was needful for the work, and when it was finished Ultan took the government of it, and Foillan returned to Nivelle to teach psalmody to the nuns, and be useful to Gertrude in many ways. Twelve years after the death of Pippin, and five from the time that Gertrude became abbess, Iduberga died.

Gertrude then chose a few of the best qualified of her monks and nuns to help her in managing the affairs of the community. Nevertheless she soon found herself overburdened by the duties and responsibilities of her office. She was about the age of thirty when she resigned her post to her niece Wulfetrude, who was twenty, and had been brought up from childhood under the care of her saintly aunt and grandmother. She lived three years in increased asceticism and constant devotion, and died at the age of thirty-three, about 659 or 664; Baronius and Henschenius give the earlier date, Mabillon the later. She is one of eleven holy women named Gertrudis venerated by the Benedictines as belonging to their order, four of whom lived in the 7th century, and one in the time of Charlemagne. She seems to have been regarded during her life as a person of supernatural holiness, and to have been worshipped as a saint very soon after her death; a church was dedicated in her name in the next generation by Agnes, third abbess of Nivelle, whom she had brought up with St. Wulfetrude. All biographies of this saint are based on one by a contemporary monk, who had some of the facts from herself, and the others from eye-witnesses. It is given in full by Mabillon (*AA.SS. O.S.B.* saec. ii. 464), part of it is in Bouquet (iii. 517, *De Dagoberto*). She is mentioned in the life of B. Peppin, the duke (Bouquet, ii. 603; *AA. SS.* Bolland. Feb. iii. 260; Duchesne, *Script.* i. 594). The accounts of her endowment of the Irish monks and of her death are given at considerable length in the life of St. Ultan (*AA. SS.* Boll. May i. 118). She is also incidentally mentioned in most of the biographies and chronicles of her time collected by Bouquet, and generally with some epithet indicating her reputation for sanctity. Her name is in the martyrology of Bede, and in the metrical one attributed to him, and in the modern Roman Martyrology, on the 17th of March. She appears also in the martyrology of Usuard, and in the Additamenta to that of Ado.

She is patron saint of travellers, pilgrims, cats, of several towns in the Netherlands, against fever and against damage by rats and mice, especially the out of door sorts. She is represented with rats and mice at her feet, or running up her pastoral staff, or on her dress.

[A. B. C. D.]

GERTRUDIS (2), ST., abbess of Hamay. Her parentage is not recorded. By her husband Rigomar she became the mother of Gerberta, and perhaps also of Sigfrid. When a widow, Gertrude built the abbey of Hamay on the Scarp, very near that of Marchiennes, founded by Rictrude, the wife of her grandson Adalbald. She adopted her great-granddaughter Eusebia, daughter of Adalbald, and made her her heiress and successor. St. Gertrude died about A.D. 649 or 655, and was honoured Dec. 6. The chief

authority for her is the Life of St. Rictrude (Mabillon, *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. ii. 984, ed. 1669; Boll. *Acta SS.* 12 Mai. iii. pp. 87 c, 101 f, 154 b). [A. B. C. D.]

GERTRUDIS (3), virgin and martyr of Valduletum (Vauxdiuellet) in the country afterwards called Lorraine. Her feast immediately followed Ascension Day. She was the daughter of a heathen prince of Brabant, and embraced Christianity without her father's knowledge. He wished to marry her to another pagan prince, but she refused, having determined upon a celibate life. She fled into the wilderness, but was followed and murdered by her brothers at Belval. She is reputed to have been the niece of Gertrude, abbess of Nivelle (No. 1), and if so, she belongs to the 7th century; but there is not much reliance to be placed upon her Life. (*Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. vii. 515.) [G. T. S.]

GERTRUDIS (4), ST. (CEBETRUDE, CEBEDRUDE, GEBERTRUDE, GEBETRUDE, TECTA, TETTA), third abbess of the double monastery of Habend, afterwards Remiremont, in the 7th century, succeeding Gegoberga. [GEGOBERGA.] In Mabillon's *Observationes praeviae* to the Life of St. Gertrude of Nivelle (*Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. ii. 462, ed. 1669), the Gertrude of this article is called first abbess of Habend; but she was in fact third abbess, as appears from the Life of St. Amatus (Mab. *ut supra*, 129, 133), that of St. Romaric (p. 415 et seq.), and that of St. Adelphius (p. 602 et seq.). She succeeded St. Cecilia, otherwise Clara or Gegoberga, and was followed by St. Perpetua, according to Mabillon's *Observationes praeviae* to the Lives of St. Romaric and St. Adelphius. It is recorded of this abbess that she went out with candles, crosses, and music, at the head of a procession to meet the funeral of St. Adelphius, the third and contemporary abbat of the male side of the community, who had died at Luxeuil, but was brought back to be buried at Habend. [A. B. C. D.]

GERTRUDIS (5), ST., nun at Blangy in Artois, eldest of five daughters of Sigfrid son of Rigomar. Her mother was St. Bertha, foundress and first abbess of Blangy. About A.D. 682, Ruodgarius, a great man of the court, tried to insist on Gertrude's marrying him although she had taken the veil, and he refused to leave the monastery without seeing her. St. Bertha having allowed him to see her as she stood at the altar singing with the other nuns and dressed like them, told him that if he dared to carry off the bride of Christ he might do so. Ruodgarius did not dare. The authority for this story is a Life of St. Bertha written in the 11th century, given at length in Boll. *Acta SS.* 4 Jul. ii. 52, the bulk of it being, as observed by Bouquet (*Recueil*, iii. 621) and Duchesne (*Script. Franc.* i. 665), silly and fabulous. [A. B. C. D.]

GERTRUDIS (6), ST., of Neustadt. There is a legend that Gertrude, alleged to have been a sister of Charlemagne, fled from his court to become a nun, and founded a church at Neustadt and a monastery at Carleburg, both near Würtzburg in Franconia. The Bollandists, as Mabillon observes, leave no stone unturned to discover anything about this saint, but come to the conclusion that Charlemagne had no sister Gertrude, and that all trustworthy accounts of the saint whose cloak was kept in veneration at Neustadt, are hopelessly lost, the monastery having been sacked by the mob in 1525, and the books and documents destroyed. (Mabillon, *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. iii. pars i. 718, ed. 1672, Life of St. Burchard of Würtzburg and introduction to Life of St. Gertrude of Nivelle; Boll. *Acta SS.* 17 Mart. ii. 601, notes to St. Gertrude of Nivelle.) [A. B. C. D.]

GERULPHUS—Sept. 21. Murdered about the middle of the 8th century, at Truncinium (Dronghesse) in Flanders, when returning from a confirmation held by Elisaeus bishop of Noyon. His life was written in the 10th century by a Belgian monk, who inveighs against his father because he left unfulfilled his son's bequests to the church. Gerulphus was buried by his father at his birthplace, a village called Merendra, whence, on Oct. 8, 915, his relics were translated with great pomp to Dronghesse. In 1030 all the relics in Flanders were gathered to Oudenarde, in Western Flanders, and borne in solemn procession, to secure peace, when his body, as being that of a Flemish martyr, took the first place. (Molani, *Nat. SS. Belg.*; *Acta SS.* Boll. Sept. vi. 250–270.) [G. T. S.]

GERUNTIUS (1). Among the works attributed to St. Jerome is a letter addressed to the daughters of Geruntius. Their father had inserted in his will a clause disinheriting them on account of their devoting themselves to chastity, and their love of religion, and the letter is an answer to their inquiries as to what they should do. The writer advises them not to appeal to the secular judge, and exhorts them, if they have offended Geruntius for Christ's sake, to persevere in offending him. For if Christ is the cause of offence, the disinheriting clause of their impious father's will is a reason for joy and not for grief. It appears probable that the author of this letter was the presbyter Eutropius, who is stated by Gennadius (*de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, c. 49, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 1087), to have written two letters to two sisters who had been disinherited by their parents for their devotion to religion, in which he supported his position not only by arguments but by numerous quotations from Scripture, a description which agrees with the letter ascribed to St. Jerome. This letter was written about A.D. 400, as it speaks of St. Paulinus of Nola's retirement from the world, which took place about A.D. 395, as a recent event (S. Hieronymi *Opera*, xi. *Ep.* 2, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xxx. 45; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, vii. 647). [F. D.]

GERUNTIUS (2), a presbyter of the Cappadocian Caesarea, to whom Firmus his bishop wrote, expressing his regret that he should have been detained so long from his duties, and especially those of the Easter Festival, by sickness, and gently reminding him that now that his indisposition had yielded, and only delicacy of health remained, he should return as soon as he could. Firmus thanks him for his Easter gifts to his table, two brace of partridges, half a home-fed pig, as big as a wild boar, and an amphora of wine, as well as a pair of young colts. (Firmus, *Epist.* 10.) [E. V.]

GERUNTIUS (3), abbat, with another named Chalcedonius, over the twin abbeys,

Viviers and Castel, of the monastery founded by Cassiodorus. They appear to have been the first abbats, but it is not said to which of the houses they respectively belonged (Ceillier, i. 238). Cassiodorus gives his abbats excellent advice for the higher training of their monks. He bids them especially to exercise hospitality, to succour the poor, to instruct the country people in good manners, and in the way of salvation; to study the Holy Scriptures and the commentaries of the doctors, the lives of the fathers, and the Acts of the saints; to mortify their passions, and to believe all that they ought. (Cassiod. *Inst. Div. Lit.* cap. 32, in Patr. Lat. lxx. 1147.)

[C. H.]

GERUNTIUS (4), king of Damnonia, to whom Aldhelm, abbat of Malmesbury, wrote, A.D. 705, at the request of a synod, respecting the time of keeping Easter, and the mode of making the tonsure. The letter was addressed, "Domino gloriosissimo, occidentalis regni sceptra gubernanti, Geruntio Regi, simulque cunctis Dei sacerdotibus per Domnoniam conversantibus" (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 268: see above, v. ALDHELM, I. 78, and Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*, v. § 215, p. 361), and it had the desired effect. Gerontius reigned at least till A.D. 710, for in that year the *Saxon Chronicle* says, "Ine and Nun, his kinsman, fought against Gerente, king of the Welsh." That the Celtic chronicles preserved no account of this important chief of the West Britons, under whom the schism was healed, proves the truth of Nennius's words, "I have endeavoured to write some extracts which the broken spirit (hebetudo) of the British nation had cast away, for the teachers of that island, Britain, have had no knowledge, nor have they set down any memorial in books." They had no heart to chronicle the misfortunes of their nation. (See Haigh in *Yorkshire Archaeol. Journal*, 1877, iv. 446.) Ine's humane laws, about A.D. 690, shew that the English had been conciliating their Celtic subjects. Perhaps Glastonbury, which was taken before 658, was the first Christian church that the conquerors spared, and it thus became a meeting-point for the traditions of the two races. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 164.) Probably two bishops of the Cornish church joined with Wini, the English bishop of Wessex, in consecrating Ceadda to York, A.D. 664. (Haddan and Stubbs, i. 124.)

[C. W. B.]

GERVASIUS (1), June 19 (Us.); Oct. 14, (Bas. *Menol.*). Martyr with Protasius at Milan, under Nero. Their history is very curious. They were two brothers, the sons of Vitalis, whose martyrdom at Ravenna and mythical acts are recorded in *Mart.* Adon. April 28. After 300 years, and when their memory had entirely faded from among men, God is said to have revealed their place of burial to St. Ambrose in a dream. [AMBROSIUS.] The empress Justina was striving to obtain possession of one of the churches of Milan for Arian worship, and help was needed to sustain the orthodox in their opposition to the imperial authority. Just at this time a new and splendid basilica was awaiting consecration. The people, as a kind of orthodox demonstration, wished it consecrated with the same pomp and ceremonial as had been used in the case of another new church near the Roman Gate. To this St. Ambrose consented, on condition that he should have some new relics to place therein. He therefore ordered excavations to be made in the church of St. Nabor and St. Felix, near the rails which enclosed their tomb. Very soon their labours were rewarded by the discovery of the bodies of "two men of wondrous size, such as ancient times produced" (Amb. *Ep.* xxii. § 2), with all their bones entire and very much blood. They were removed to the church of St. Fausta, and on the next day to the new Ambrosian church, where they were duly enshrined. At each different stage St. Ambrose delivered impassioned and fanciful harangues. In that pronounced on the occasion of their enshrinement, he claims that they had already expelled demons, and restored to sight a blind butcher, one Severus, who was cured by merely touching the pall that covered the sacred relics. The Arians on the other hand ridiculed the matter, asserting that Ambrose had hired persons to feign themselves demoniacs. The whole story has afforded copious matter for criticism. Mosheim (cent. iv. pt. ii. c. 3, sect. 8), Gibbon (c. xxvii.), Isaac Taylor (*Ancient Christianity*, vol. ii. 242–272), consider the thing a trick got up by the contrivance and at the expense of St. Ambrose himself. Taylor, indeed, in the lengthened passage just cited, discusses the action of the archbishop in the most merciless manner. There are two distinct points which demand attention. 1st, the finding of the bodies; 2nd, the reputed miracles. All the hostile critics seem to consider the discovery of the bodies either a miracle or a trick. This dilemma is not, however, exhaustive. The churches were very frequently built in cemeteries, and a chance excavation in any of them might easily be rewarded by a discovery of two bodies. Then, again, some have fixed the Diocletian persecution as the time of their martyrdom. St. Ambrose, as the official custodian of the church records, might therefore have some knowledge of their resting-place, and in times of intense theological excitement, we know how very often and how very easily men have imputed to dreams or supernatural assistance that for which, under calmer circumstances, they would account in a more commonplace way. Indeed, it is hardly possible to read through the epistle of St. Ambrose to his sister Marcellina (*Ep.* xxii.), in which he gives an account of the discovery of the relics, and still imagine that such genuine enthusiasm could go hand in hand with conscious knavery and deceit. There remains, however, the question of the miracles. which St. Ambrose and St. Augustine (*de Civit. Dei*, xxii. 8; *Confess.* ix. 7; *Ser.* 286 and 318) testify were wrought by the relics. These miracles were of two distinct kinds: the restoration of demoniacs, and the healing of a blind man. As to the case of the demoniacs, we cannot decide either way. At times of religious excitement cases akin to such cures have occurred and can be accounted for on purely natural grounds. In any case they belong to an obscure region of psychological phenomena, which yet awaits a thorough examination. The case of the blind man, whose cure is reported by St. Augustine, then resident at Milan, as well as by St. Ambrose, stands on a different footing, and it is the one really important point of the narrative with which Taylor fails effectively to grapple. On

the one hand, we must observe in favour of the miracle that St. Ambrose calls immediate attention to it, and that no one seems to have challenged either the fact of the man's blindness, or the reality of his restoration to sight. There is also to be noted the further fact that Severus devoted himself in consequence as a servant of the church, wherein the relics were placed, and continued such for more than twenty years. On the other hand we must observe that we have no means of judging as to the nature of the disease in his eyes with which Severus was affected. He was not a man born blind, he had simply contracted some kind of ocular disease, since he was a butcher by trade. He might therefore have only been affected in some such way as powerful nervous excitement might cure, but for which he and St. Ambrose would naturally account by the miraculous power of the martyrs. In the *Criterion of Miracles*, by bishop Douglas (pp. 130–160, ed. 1803), there are many acute observations on similar reputed miracles in the 18th century. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Bedae, Usuard.; *Kal. Carthag.*; *Kal. Front.*; Till. *Mém.* ii. 78, 498; Fleury, *H. E.* viii. 49, xviii. 47; Ceill. v. 386, 490, ix. 340.) [G. T. S.]

GERVASIUS (2), given by Ughelli as the first known bishop of Barium (Bari), present at the council of Sardica, A.D. 347 (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* vii. 593). The name does not occur in Mansi's lists, and seems to have been taken from the "Gerontius de Brebi" and "de Brevi," which occur there (Mansi, iii. 39 b, 42 d, 46 e). Gams (*Ser. Ep.* 856) apparently understands it so. [GERONTIUS (4).] [R. S. G.]

GERVASIUS (3), bishop of Tarentum, 659. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xxi. 132; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ix. 126.) [A. H. D. A.]

GERVASIUS (4)—July 6. He was a native of Châlon-sur-Saône, and living in the 7th century. Having made a pilgrimage to Rome, he was murdered by robbers on his return, when but a few miles from home. He was thereupon elevated to the rank of a martyr, and miracles were ascribed to him. His acts are of the 10th or 11th century, and worthless as historical records. They testify, however, to the existence at that time of the practice of infant communion in the West. "At his baptism, which was performed by the bishop, after the ceremony was completed, he placed the holy body of Christ in the infant's mouth, as is the custom. Then, seeing a drop of blood on the child's lips, he said to those around, 'Know, for certain, that this child as he is joined by name to the blessed martyr Gervasius, so he will be a brave soldier of Christ, being joined to Him by His blood.'" On the custom of infant communion, consult Suarez, *Disp.* 62, *de Eucharistiâ*, sect. 4, and *Disp.* 69, sect. 2. Concerning apparitions of Christ's body in the sacrament, sometimes as a boy, sometimes as flesh or blood, see Suarez, *Disp.* 55, *de Eucharist.* sect. 1–4. (*Acta SS.* Boll. Jul. ii. 314–316.) [G. T. S.]

GERVILIO, bishop. [GEWILIEBUS.]

GERVOLDUS, sixteenth bishop of Evreux, following Maurinus. He was of aristocratic parents, named Walgarius and Walda, and chosen on that account, while still a clerk, as chaplain to Bertrada, Charles the Great's mother, by whose influence he was elevated to the bishopric. But three years after the Queen mother's death a vacancy occurred in the abbacy of Fontanelle by the death of Wido. The post had been promised to Witboldus, Wido's nephew, and Charles the Great's chaplain, but as he was engaged on a mission at Constantinople, which was likely to be of long duration, the abbacy was conferred on Gervoldus (A.D. 786 or 787). To obtain this dignity, he relinquished the see, in which his successor's name is unknown. Gervoldus had been much employed on state affairs, and at one period of his life had been entrusted by Charles with the collection of dues and tributes. According to the Chronicle of Fontanelle, his journeys had even extended to Britain, and brought him into contact with king Offa of Mercia, to whom Charles had sent him as ambassador, and with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship. The same authority states that about the year 794, when he was now an abbat, he was chosen by Charles to conduct the negotiations with reference to his son Charles's marriage with Offa's daughter. Offa consented to the alliance, but on the condition that his son should also marry Charles's daughter Berta. This Charles would not listen to, and an open quarrel was only averted by the wise entreaties of Gervoldus. But all this is problematical.

He was very liberal to his monastery. A long inventory of the plate, vestments, and MSS. which he gave to it is to be found in the Annals of Fontanelle. The monastery buildings were restored by him, and, finding a general ignorance of letters, he established a school in the abbey, especially devoted to music, in which he provided the best instruction the times could afford, for he himself, the annalist informs us, though not overmuch skilled in other learning, was versed in the art of song, and not wanting in sweetness and excellence of voice. Finally, on his deathbed he gave to the monastery all his possessions near Evreux. He died A.D. 806.

Le Cointe distinguishes him from the Gerbodus, whose expulsion from the episcopate which he had usurped was decreed by the council of Frankfort in A.D. 794. (*Chron. Fontanellense*, cap. xvi. *Spicilegium*, tom. ii. p. 277; Pertz, *Monument. Germ. Hist.* ii. 291–2; *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 788, n. ii.; an. 790, n. lxxxiii.; an. 794, n. cix. *Gall. Christ.* xi. 568.) [S. A. B.]

GERWYN, ST. [BERWYN.]

GÉRY. [GAUGERICUS.]

GESALIC (GISALEICUS), natural son of Alaric II. (Visigoth, king of southern Gaul and Spain from 485 to 507), and half brother, therefore, of Amalaric, Alaric's lawful heir. After the fatal battle of Vouillé or Voulon, near Poitiers (see Dahn's *Könige der Germanen*, v. 109, note 8), in 507, at which Alaric was killed, and the power of the Visigoths in southern Gaul was permanently broken by the Franks; the defeated Visigoths split into two parties, one supporting Amalaric, then a child of five years old, the other preferring the elder Gesalic, on the ground, so often taken in every German state, of maturity and seniority. Gesalic was elected king at Narbonne, while Amalaric and his supporters

fled into Spain. From the time of the battle near Poitiers until June 508, the victorious Franks and Burgundians pressed their advantage in southern Gaul, finding little or no resistance, and helped everywhere by the Catholic party, whose efforts had been for some time past directed towards transferring the rule of southern Gaul from the Arian Visigoths to the orthodox Franks. [EURIC, ALARIC II.] Chlodwig's (Clovis's) son Theuderic with the Burgundians under Gundebad marched on the towns of the Rhone and Loire early in 508, and Gesalic, attacked by Gundebad, fled from Narbonne—which was taken—over the Pyrenees to Barcelona. In June, 508, however, the great Theodoric appeared on the scene from Italy on behalf of his grandson Amalaric, and matters changed greatly. His championship of Amalaric led Gesalic later to seek an alliance with the Franks and Burgundians against his half brother and Theodoric, but as Dahn points out (l. c. p. 114) the assertion hitherto made by Aschbach, Lemoine, and others, that already in 507 he had betrayed Narbonne and what remained of southern Gaul to the Franks in return for aid against Amalaric in Spain, finds no authority in the sources. After great successes against the Franks and their allies in 508–9, Theodoric's general, Ibba or Ebba, attacked Gesalic at Barcelona, and drove him from Spain in 510. He fled to Africa to ask help from the Vandals (mindful perhaps of his grandfather Euric's old alliance, with Genseric), was however refused it (according to Isidore, *Hist. Goth.* ad ann. 507. *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 456), and returning not to Spain, but to Aquitania "ob metum Theuderici," opened negotiations with the Franks. He stayed there one year, and then entered Spain with an army (furnished him by the Franks?), met Ibba near Barcelona, was defeated, pursued, and killed (512). His personal character was all along such as allowed him no chance of success. During his short reign at Barcelona, he made himself hated by his own partisans; and Isidore says of him, "sicut genere vilissimus, ita infelicitate et ignavia summus." He counts, however, as the rightful successor of Alaric, and Amalaric's reign only begins from his death. (Dahn, v. l. c.; Lafuente, *Hist. de España*, ii. 331.) [M. A. W.]

GESSIUS, an advocate, to whom Firmus, bishop of the Cappadocian Caesarea, wrote to comfort him on his brother, a military man, being called away on a fresh campaign, and to strengthen his hope in his safe return (Firm. *Epist.* 6). [E. V.]

GESTIDIUS, a friend of Paulinus of Nola, who addresses two letters to him. The first is partly in prose and partly in verse, and was sent with a present of beccaficoes, which had been caught with birdlime, to which they had been enticed by the bird-catcher imitating their cry. The second accompanied a present of oysters. In both letters Paulinus apologizes for sending such trifling presents. (Paulinus of Nola, Poems 1 and 2, 327–330, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxi. 437–439.) [F. D.]

GETA, bishop of Elepea (Niebla) before 680. He subscribes the acts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth councils of Toledo, A.D. 681, 683, and 688. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270, 287, 313; *Esp. Sagr.* xii. 66.) [BASILIUS.] [M. A. W.]

GETA, bishop of Jubaltiana, in Byzacene, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* 128.) [H. W. P.]

GETHES, king of the Heruli. [GREPES.]

GETULICUS (1), a bishop calumniated and ill-treated by the Donatists, and even forced to perform on his knees an act of penance. (Opt. ii. 19, 25.) [H. W. P.]

GETULICUS (2), Donatist bishop of Victoriana in Mauretania Caesariensis, present at the Donatist council of Cabarsussis, A.D. 393. (Aug. *En. in Ps.* 36, 20.) [H. W. P.]

GETULIUS—June 10. Martyr under Hadrian, with Symphorosa his wife, seven sons, his brother Amantius, and Cerealis. Their acts are mere mediaeval inventions, though admitted by Ruinart into his *Acta Sincera*. As a specimen they tell us that, when thrown into a furnace, they walked about therein without feeling any hurt, and even sang praises to God (*Rom. Mart. Vet.*, Adon. Usuard.; Till. *Mém.* ii. p. 241). Dodwell, however, in *Dissert. Cyprian.* xi. sect. 28–33, *de Paucitate Mart.* throws great doubt on all stories in the Martyrologies of any persecution of martyrs under Hadrian, especially at Rome. He says expressly, sect. 33, "Nullius martyris in probis monumentis extare memoriam qui passus fuerit sub Hadriano." [G. T. S.]

GEWILIEB (GEWILIOB, GEOLEOBUS, GEWELIP, GERVILIO, GERVILIUS), forty-first bishop of Mentz, deposed at the second council of Germany, A.D. 745. His father Geroldus, who preceded him in the see, fought under Carloman against the Saxons, and was killed. The son thereupon took orders and was elevated to the bishopric. Soon afterwards (A.D. 744) Carloman started on another campaign against the Saxons, and Gewilieb accompanied him. While the two armies lay encamped on opposite sides of the river Wisaraha, Gewilieb sent his servant to the Saxons to seek the slayer of his father and challenge him to single combat. Riding to the charge the two met in the centre of the stream, and the Saxon fell pierced by the bishop's sword. The battle became general, and the Saxons were routed. For this crime of homicide, and for sporting with hawks and hounds, he was deposed at the council on the accusation of Boniface, who was made bishop in his place. The deposition is alluded to in a letter from pope Zachary to Boniface (*S. Bonifacii Vita*, lib. i. cap. 37 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 652; Zach. Pap. *Epistolae*, xiii. in Migne, 949; Bar. xii. ann. 745, iii. iv.).

Serarius (*Rerum Moguntiacarum*, tom. i. p. 170, ed. Frankfort, 1722) quotes from a MS. of D. Latomius to the effect that after his deposition he left all his property to the church, and received for his sustenance the villula of Spanesheum and a church called Caput Montis, where he lived in good repute fourteen years and displayed especially the virtue of hospitality. He never again sought to attend councils or synods at Mentz, but sometimes at the Lord's Supper would wash feet in the churches, in token of his

humility, and at length died peacefully (765). An epitaph is also given by Serarius expressive of the bishop's penitence. In the *Gallia Christiana* he also appears in the list of the early bishops of Worms (v. 663). See also *Monument. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, pp. 2, 3, 151, 471–473, 495, 496.
[S. A. B.]

GHILLO (GUIDULPHUS), is said to have been servant of Guthagon, and to have remained at Oestkirk in Flanders after Guthagon's death. Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 315–16) puts his death in A.D. 299, yet much doubts the Christianity of Scotia at that time. [GUTHAGON.] (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 16, Wks. vi. 315, Ind. Chron., A.D. 299; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 204, 213). [J. G.]

GIBERIUS, bishop of Bigastrum from after 656 till before 673. He appears at the eighth and ninth councils of Toledo, A.D. 653, 655, and is represented at the tenth by his vicar, Egila. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448; iv. 145, 158; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 127.) [VINCENT.] [M. A. W.]

GIBHRIANUS, GIBRIANUS (GIBIRINUS, GYBRIAN), commemorated May 8. In the *Lives of S. Tressan, S. Gibhrian, S. Eloquius, and others*, we have an account of the arrival of a band of Christian teachers in Gaul in the time of Clovis I., but it is very doubtful whether all the reputed members of that band belonged even to the 6th century. According to some accounts there were seven brothers and three sisters, the chief among the former being Tressan, German, and Gibhrian. The last-named spent a holy life in the district of Châlons-sur-Marne, and long after he had died there, his remains were translated to the abbey church of St. Remigius at Rheims, where his memory was kept on May 8. (*Hist. Lit. de la France*, v. 676.) He is usually assigned to the beginning of the 6th century. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 16, § 15; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* lib. iii. c. 4, pp. 139–143; Boll. *Acta SS.* 8 Maii, ii. 297–300; Tanner, *Bibl.* 316.) [J. G.]

GIBOALDUS, tenth bishop of Angoulême, in the early part of the 7th century. He is mentioned, though without his see, in the will of St. Bertchramnus, bishop of Le Mans, as the former possessor of an estate thereby devised. (Mabill. *Vet. Analecta*, p. 261, Paris, 1723; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxx. 404; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 981.) [S. A. B.]

GIBULDUS (GEBAUDUS, GEBAVULTUS), a king of the Alemanni, towards the close of the 5th century. In the *Acta S. Lupi* (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vii. 70, 81) this king is spoken of as shewing especial reverence for St. Lupus, and setting free, without ransom, some prisoners whom his people had carried off from Brienne, in Champagne, on receiving a letter from that saint. In the *Vita S. Severini* (c. vi. § 27, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. 1, 491) he also appears as friendly to St. Severinus the apostle of Noricum, to whose entreaties he granted the release of some other captives. We do not know whether he was the king of the Alemanni whom Clovis conquered in 496. (Mascou, *Hist. of the Ancient Germans*, xi. 8, 5; Bar. an. 482 n. liv.–lvii.) [S. A. B.]

GIGANTIUS (otherwise SIGANTIUS), a correspondent of Gregory Nazianzen. The wickedness of the world around having led him to adopt an ascetic life, he wrote to acquaint Gregory with his determination, and to request him to pay him a speedy visit. His letter also contained a clear statement of the orthodox faith on the Trinity, the perusal of which caused Gregory the greatest joy, which he expressed in his reply. He could not promise to visit him immediately on account of the approach of winter and the feebleness of his health, but he would come when he could (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 239). On a subsequent occasion he fulfilled his intention, but found Gigantius absent, so that, as he complains in an epigram, having come to the fountain and found it without water, he went away more thirsty than ever. (*Carm. Iamb.* 29, p. 180.)
[E. V.]

GIGNANTIUS or GIGANTIUS, a bishop present at the council of Milevis against Pelagianism, A.D. 416. (Aug. *Ep.* 176.)
[H. W. P.]

GIGNEUS, a disciple of St. Enna, and also a foreigner. He was living at Ballynacourty, co. Galway, when St. Enna visited that district, and he may be the cook of St. Enna, who for a slight transgression of the monastic rule was banished from Aran, and perhaps took up his abode on the island of Tawyn or Tawna, in the parish of Ballynacourty. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 709, c. 24, 711, c. 1.) [J. G.]

GIGUEL, Armorican prince. [JUDICAEL.]

GILA, bishop of Osma. [EGILA (1).]

GILABERTUS of Geneva. [GUBERTUS.]

GILBERTUS (1)—June 24. Martyr with Agoadus, near Paris; they were, according to legend, converted by missionaries sent into Gaul by St. Peter. (*Mart.* Usuard.; *Acta SS.* Boll. Jun. iv. 815–817.) [G. T. S.]

GILBERTUS (2), 13th bishop of Nevers, succeeding St. Deodatus, or, according to Coquille's list, twelfth, between Rauracus and Rogus. It is said that in old MSS. of the church of Nevers he is described as sitting in A.D. 665 (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 628; Gams, *Series Episc.* 584; Coquille, *Hist. du Nivernois*, sub fin. Paris, 1612). [S. A. B.]

GILBERTUS, bishop of Noyon. [GISLEBERTUS.]

GILDARDUS (1) (GILDAREDUS, GODARDUS), bishop of Rouen. A belief prevailed in the middle ages that he and St. Medardus were twin brothers, were ordained on the same day, and died on the same day. But no mention of Gildardus occurs in the earliest lives of St. Medard, and Gildardus attended the first council of Orleans in 511, while St. Medard was not consecrated till 530. He was buried in a chapel of St. Mary, in later times called after him, at that time without the walls, but afterwards enclosed by the growth of the city. He was commemorated at Rouen with his reputed brother, June 8. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 67; Mansi, viii. 356; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 10.) [R. T. S.]

GILDARDUS (2) ST., priest of Luperciacum (Leurcy), in the district of Nevers, conjecturally assigned to the 7th century and comme-

morated Aug 24. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 840; Usuard. *Martyrologium*, Auctaria.) [S. A. B.]

GILDAS (GILDASIUS, GILDUS, GILLAS), commemorated January 29. A close and accurate account of Gildas is surrounded with difficulties, and after all that has been written, the facts of his life and his very existence are left in uncertainty. In the mediaeval Lives he appears in a well-defined individuality, but a more critical view detects so many anachronisms and historical defects, that it has been questioned, first, as to whether he ever lived, and secondly, as to whether there were more Gildases than one, and if more, how many. Though he is mentioned by name, and his writings quoted from by Bede, Alcuin, William of Newburgh, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Giraldus Cambrensis, there is no memoir of him written within several centuries of the time when he is supposed to have flourished, and the two oldest, on which the others are based, cannot be regarded in a higher light than as ordinary specimens of that unhistorical tone of mind which prevailed in the 11th and 12th centuries. In order to surmount the chronological and historical difficulties, Ussher, Ware, Bale, Pitseus, Colgan, and O'Conor have imagined that there must have been at least two, an elder and a younger, perhaps even four or six, about the 5th and 6th centuries. These have received different designations to mark them, and thus have obtained a recognised position in history. But the more probable and more generally received opinion is that, though called Albanicus, Albanius, Badonicus, Cambrius, Hibernicus, Hibernius, Historicus, and Sapiens, there was but one Gildas, and that he could not have lived earlier than about the end of the 5th century, or later than about the end of the 6th. The oldest authority is *Vita Gildae, auctore monacho Ruyensi anonymo*, first published by Johannes a Bosco (in the *Bibliotheca Floriacensis*, pp. 249 sq.), then by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 181 sq.), Mabillon (*Acta SS. O. S. B.* i. 138 sq. ed. Paris, giving the complete text), and the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 29 Jan. iii. 573 sq.). This Life has often been published in Latin and English since that time, and is attributed to the 11th century, or earlier. The other was written by Caradoc of Llancarvan in the 12th century, and first published in Stevenson's *Gildas de Excidio Britanniae* (Engl. Hist. Soc. 1838) from two MSS. in the British Museum: on this Capgrave's *De S. Gilda Abb. et Mart.* (*Nov. Leg. Angl.* f. 156) is founded. (For published and MS. Lives, see Hardy's *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. i. 151–6, pt. ii. 799.) Along with voluminous notes and special sections treating of the many points in dispute regarding Gildas, the Bollandists give only one Life as above, but Colgan publishes four, the two principal being Capgrave's, followed by some extracts from the Life by Caradoc as given by Ussher, and the Ruyensian: the former he calls *Vita S. Gildae Albani Abb. et Confess.* from Capgrave, and the latter *Vita S. Gildae Badonici Abb. et Confess.* from John a Bosco. Proceeding upon what seems more or less a common groundwork of fact, these Lives present much that is irreconcileable in themselves and with each other. "Nor need this seem so very strange," says O'Hanlon (*Irish Saints*, i. 473–4), "when both accounts had been drawn up several centuries after the lifetime of Gildas, and when they had been written in different centuries and in separate countries. The diversities of chronological events, and of persons hardly contemporaneous, will only enable us to infer that the sources of information were occasionally doubtful, while the various coincidences of narrative seem to warrant a conclusion, that both tracts were intended to chronicle the life of one and the same person. It deserves remark, however, that" (quoting from *Mon. Hist. Brit.* i. pt. i. 59, n.) "both are said to have been born in Scotland. One was the son of Nau, the other of Cau: the eldest son [? brother] of one was Huel, of the other Cuil. Both lives have stories of a bell, both Gildases go to Ireland, both go to Rome, and both build churches. The monk of Ruys quotes several passages from Gildas' *De Excidio*, and assigns it to him: and Caradoc calls him, 'Historiographus Britonum,' and says that he wrote *Historiae de Regibus Britonum.*" To this we may add the short conclusion of Bp. Nicolson (*Eng. Hist. Libr.* 32, 3rd ed.): "He was monk of Bangor about the middle of the 6th century: a sorrowful spectator of the miseries and almost utter ruin of his countrymen by a people under whose banner they had hoped for peace."

By those who suppose there were two or more bearing the same name Albanius is placed in the 5th century (425–512, Ussher), and Badonicus in the 6th (520–570, Ussher). Those who believe there was only one Gildas do not entirely agree as to his dates, one for his birth being sought between A.D. 484 and 520, and one for his death between A.D. 565 and 602. In his *De Excidio Britanniae* he says he was born in the year of "obsessionis Badonici montis, qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur, . . . annus . . . qui jam et meae nativitatis est" (c. 26). The *Annales Cambriae* place the "bellum Badonis" in the year 516, and the *Annales Tigernachi* Gildas' death in the year 570; these dates are probably to be accepted as nearest the truth.

The writing ascribed to Gildas was long regarded and spoken of as one treatise, *De Excidio Britanniae;* but it is now usually divided into the *Historia Gildae* and *Epistola Gildae.* The former is a dry and barren recital of the events of British history under the Romans, and between their withdrawal and his own time; the latter is a querulous, confused, and lengthened series of bitter invectives cast into the form of a declamatory epistle addressed to the Britons, and relating specially to five kings, "reges sed tyrannos," named Constantinus, Aurelius, Conan, Vortiporus, Cuneglasus, and Maglocunus.[b] Accusations, however, and reproaches are cast so freely against kings, priests, and people, especially against the crimes of the kings, and the ignorance, avarice, idleness and other faults of the priesthood, that many, though probably without quite sufficient reason, have come to regard the composition as the work of a later writer, and as intended in the ecclesiastical differences of the 7th and 8th centuries for purely polemical purposes, while others would

[b] Skene (*Four Anc. Books of Wales*, i. 63, 64) regards them as contemporary rulers, and as living, one in Devon and Cornwall, two in Wales, and two probably in the north of Ireland.

assign it even a still later date. (See useful notes on both sides in *Notes and Queries*, 4 ser. i. 171, 271, 511, and on the side of genuineness and authenticity, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, t. iii. 280 sq.)

Of Gildas's work only two MSS. are known to exist, both in the library of the University of Cambridge (Dd. i. 17, and Ff. i. 27, the latter having only the *Historia*); a third MS. (Cotton Libr. Vit. A. vi.) is lost, but fortunately represented with great accuracy in Josseline's edition. The work has often been published in this country and on the continent; edited by Polydore Virgil, Lond. 1525; by Josseline, London, 1568; by Stevenson, London, 1838 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); and republished at Berlin, 1844, with German introductions and notes, by San-Marte. It is also found in *Mon. S. Patr. Orthodox.* t. i. Bas. 1555, and t. ii. Bas. 1569; *Hist. Brit. Script.* xv. ed. Gale, Oxon. 1691; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 1847; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c., Oxford, 1869. Translations are by Habington, Lond. 1638; by Giles, Lond. 1841; republished, with additions, in Bohn's *Six Old English Chronicles*. (For its bibliography, see Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.* Ang.-S. per. 134; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* i. pt. i. 59 sq.; *Man. Brit. Hist.* 1, 2, ed. Pickering, Lond. 1845; Giles, *Hist. Doc. Anc. Brit.* iii. iv. pref.; *Hist. Lit. de la France*, t. iii. 280–284.)

His history is often confounded with the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius [NENNIUS], and many other works have been attributed to the one or more Gildases; the *De Victoria Ambrosii Aurelii*, which is quoted by Geoffrey of Monmouth, is not now, and probably never was, extant, and the prophetical verses ascribed to him by Bede are evidently spurious. Some canons or rules of discipline, ascribed to Gildas, are given by D'Achery (*Spicil. Vet. Scrip.* t. ix. 4–50, Paris, 1669). He is sometimes (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 225 sq.; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 17, 18, 166) identified with the Welsh poet Aneurin, and the Irish annalists associate David, Cadoc, and Gildas in the giving an order of mass to the second order of Irish saints, which proves at least the strongly Irish connexion through which he has been called Hibernus and Hibernicus. (Bollandists, *Acta SS.* 29 Jan. iii. 566–582; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 176–203, 226–228; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 9; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* cc. 13–17, and Ind. Chron.; Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.* Ang.-Sax. per. 115–135.) [J. G.]

GILDAS. (I.) Albanicus, Albanius, commemorated Jan. 29. If we assume with Ussher and others that Gildas Albanicus or Albanius, was a real person in history distinct from others of the name of Gildas, and that the *Vita Gildae*, written by Caradoc of Llancarvan, is the memoir of this saint, we find him to have been one of the twenty-four sons of Nau (called Can by Capgrave, Caunus by Mabillon, and Navus by Bale), king of Albania (Scotland); to perfect his learning he went seven years to Gaul, and on his return became anchoret, teacher, and preacher throughout the three kingdoms of Britain (called by Camden, *Brit.* 573, the Silures, Dimetae, and Ordovices), announcing at this time the birth of St. David. He also passed over into Ireland and resided chiefly at Armagh, where he converted many to the Catholic faith. There the news reached him that his brothers had gone to war against king Arthur, and that his eldest brother Huel had fallen. Leaving, therefore, his school at Armagh, he returned to Britain, met Arthur, and gave him the forgiveness he desired for having been the cause of Huel's death, proceeded to Rome with a famous bell (which he wished to present to the pope, but which shewed by its silence that St. Cadoc had a better claim to it), and on his return to Britain had a school at Llancarvan, co. Glamorgan, where he wrote a beautiful copy of the Gospel, which was long preserved in the church of St. Cadoc. He afterwards retired with St. Cadoc to an island in the Severn, and after a time, finding this place disagreeable on account of the pirates from the Orkney Islands, he went to Glastonbury and wrote his *Historiae de Regibus Britanniae*. He then became a recluse near Glastonbury, built a chapel to the Holy Trinity, died, and was buried there in the middle of the church of St. Mary. Following this Life, Abp. Ussher places Gildas's birth in the year 425, his visit to Armorica in 455, his return to Britain in 462, Huel or Howel's death in the island of Mona and Gildas's return from Ireland in 508, his resort to Glastonbury in 510, and his death in 512 (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* cc. xiii. xv., Works, v. 506 sq., vi. 216 sq., and Ind. Chron., ed. Elrington; Stevenson, *de Exc. Brit.* xxxi.–xli.; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 179, 180; Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* xi. c. 3). There are attributed to him, but without any semblance of truth (except in the one fact of a Gildas having written *De Excidio Britanniae*), *Commentarii Quart. Evangeliorum*, lib. iv.; *De primis habitatoribus insulae*, lib. i.; *Versus vaticiniorum*, lib. i.; *De Sexto Cognoscendo*, lib. i.; *Super eodem Sexto*, lib. i.; *Regum Brytannorum historia*, lib. i.; *De victoria Aurelii Ambrosii*, lib. i.; *Acta Germani et Lupi*, lib. i. (Tanner, *Bibl.* 319, following Bale and Pitseus; Ware, *Ir. Writ.* ii. c. 1; *Biographie universelle*, t. xvii. 365; Pitseus, *de Ill. Angl. Scrip.* 92, 93; Balaeus, *Ill. Maj. Brit. Scrip.* f. 27.)

(II.) Badonicus, Historicus, and Sapiens, commemorated Jan. 29. Accepting this Gildas as different from the preceding, and following the account given by the monk of Ruys in his *S. Gildae Sapientis Vita*, we seem to have a distinct historical outline. This Gildas was born at Arecluta on the river Clut (Dumbarton on the Clyde in Scotland); his father was Caunus, and of his four brothers the eldest was called Cuillus, and succeeded his father in the kingdom. Gildas was educated by St. Iltutus, and his school companions were St. Samson and St. Paul, who were afterwards famous bishops in Armorica. From Llantwit he went to Ireland, took priest's orders apparently there, and returned to North Britain, where he laboured among those who were Christians, but not Catholics, being entangled in divers heretical deceits. At the invitation of St. Brigida (Feb. 1), and also of king Ammericus (Ainmire), he returned to Ireland, the foresaid king promising to obey the holy man in all things if he would restore the Catholic faith in his kingdom. From Ireland he passed through England to Rome and Ravenna, and, returning to Brittany in the reign of king Childeric, built a monastery at Ruys (in Monte Reuvisii), where he died and was buried. At Ruys he wrote "epistolarem libellum in quo quinque Reges ipsius insulae

(*i.e.* Britain) redarguit diversis sceleribus atque criminibus irretitos." As in this he says of himself that he was born in the year the battle of Mons Badonicus was fought (hence his name Badonicus), Ussher places his birth in the year 520, his writing his querulous epistle in 564, and his death at Ruys in 570. (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* cc. xiii. xv., Works, v. 506 sq., vi. 216 sq., and Ind. Chron., ed. Elrington; Tanner, *Bibl.* 319–322, but mixing up the two Lives, and adding in a note that he wrote *De Immortalitate Animae*, lib. i.; *De Excidio Britanniae*, lib. i.; *in sui Temporis Clerum*, lib. i.; *De Gestis Britonum Historia*, lib. i. See also Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* xii. c. 10; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 181–202, with notes and learned appendix of four chapters; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* 424–426, putting him later than Ussher does; *Hist. Lit. de la France*, t. iii. 279–285, following the Life in Mabillon, and putting his arrival in Armorica in the year 520, his writing in 530, and his death in 565, giving also a detailed and most important account of the works attributed to him and their editions on the continent; Fleury, *Hist. Christ.* xxxiv. 15; Ware, *Irish Writ.* ii. c. 1; *Gen. Biog. Dict.* i. 851, 852; *Biographie universelle*, t. xvii. 365–367; Balaeus, *Ill. Maj. Brit. Scrip.* fol. 33; Pitseus, *de Ill. Angl. Scrip.* 102; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 165, 166; Rowlands, *Mon. Ant. Rest.* 138–180, 2nd edit.)

(III.) Cambrius. This Gildas is evidently a reflexion of the historical writer, but is placed by Pitseus (*de Illust. Angl. Scrip.* 70), Balaeus (*Maj. Ill. Brit. Scrip.* f. 15), and others, in the 1st century of the Christian era, and credited with the authorship of numerous writings; he seems, however, to be entirely fictitious. (Tanner, *Bibl.* 319.)

(IV.) Quartus has received his name to distinguish him from Albanius, Badonicus and Cambrius, and is said by Pitseus to have flourished as an old man in 860, and by Dempster in 870. According to these writers he was an Irishman, monk at Bangor, and writer of *Historia Britanniae*, lib. i.; *Breviarium Gildae*, lib. i.; *De Mirabilibus Britanniae*, lib. i.; *De Primis Habitatoribus Britanniae*, lib. i.; *De Rege Arthuro*, lib. i.; *De Sepulchro ejus incognito*, lib. i.; and some others. But these are more than doubtful, especially as the first work is Nennius's *History*. Ussher places him in A.D. 820, and says he wrote *Liber de Computo*, in 99 chapters, of which in his *Sylloge* (Wks. iv. 472) he gives the preface, which is addressed to a monk called Rabanus, the work itself being in MS. in the Cottonian Library. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 201, 202, c. 4; Pitseus, *de Illust. Angl. Scrip.* 70, 166; Balaeus, *Vit. Ill. Brit. Scrip.* ii. 21; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 322; Ware, *Ir. Writ.* ii. c. 1; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 604; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* 519.)
[J. G.]

GILDASIUS, abbat, fellow-student of St. Samson and St. Paul. He came from Ireland to France in the reign of king Grallon, who built for him and his disciples a monastery on the island of Ruys in the 5th or 6th century. Colgan (*Acta SS.* 176) takes this account from the Breviary of Nantes, and presents it at Jan. 29; but the legend is evidently a part of that of Gildas Badonicus, and reappears, only under a different form, and in more detail connecting him with St. Philibert of Jumiéges in the 7th century, in the memoir of St. Gildasius, confessor of Blavet at Jan. 31, taken by Colgan (*ib.* 226–8) from the Breviary of Quimper. [GILDAS (II.).] (O'Hanlon, *Ir. Saints*, Jan. 29 and 31, i. 495, 496, 602–607; Usuard. *Mart. Auct.* 27 Jan. ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 702.) [J. G.]

GILDEMIRUS (SULDEMIRUS), bishop of Complutum, from before 681. He is represented by his vicar Annibonius at the twelfth Council of Toledo, A.D. 681. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 188.) [ASTURIUS.] [M. A. W.]

GILDO (1), a presbyter appointed to succeed Rufus as bishop of Lamzellum, in Numidia, but not yet installed at the time of Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* 206). [H. W. P.]

GILDO (2), son of Nubel and brother of Firmus [FIRMUS (7)], invested by Theodosius with the title and authority of count of Africa. Having revolted against Honorius, he was defeated by his brother Mascezel, A.D. 398, and died by his own hand (Gibbon, c. xxix.). During the time of his ascendancy he favoured the Donatists, and Optatus, bishop of Thamugada, received the name of Gildonianus in consequence of the support which Gildo gave to him, and the violence which he exercised towards the Catholics. (Tillemont, 73, vol. vi. p. 181.) [OPTATUS.]
[H. W. P.]

GILES. [AEGIDIUS.]

GILIMIR. This is the name, according to Villanueva (*Viage Litterario*, xiii. 6), of the bishop of Gerona, otherwise known as Miron, whose signature is found to the acts of the sixteenth council of Toledo, A.D. 693. (Mansi, xii. 85 a.) Gams (*Ser. Episc.* 32) places both Miron and Gilimir in the list of bishops of Gerona. (*Esp. Sagr.* xliii. 67; Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 586). [F. D.]

GILLAS, British historian. [GILDAS.]

GILLENUS is spoken of by the Scotch annalists, Fordun, John Major, Camerarius, and Dempster as a Scot who lived in Gaul, and was a disciple or contemporary of St. Columbanus (Nov. 21). Dempster says he wrote *Speculum Vitae Humanae*, lib. i., *Epistolae ad Fratres*, lib. i. and flourished A.D. 540, but this must be too early. Fordun says he lived in the time of the Scotch king Eugenius, or Eocha Buidhe in the beginning of the 7th century, and Camerarius commemorates him on June 23; he must, however, have been an Hibernian Scot. (Fordun, *Scotichr.* l. iii. c. 32; Joannes Major, *de Gest. Scot.* l. ii. c. 7; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 159, and *Kal.* June 23; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 308.) [J. G.]

GILLES. [EGIDIUS.]

GILLUS (GELOS), Aug. 30, martyr at Ancyra with six others. (Wright, *Syrian Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 429.) [G. T. S.]

GILULFUS (EGILULFUS), bishop of Asta (Asti), c. A.D. 813. It is said that the archives of his cathedral were burnt A.D. 820. His successor was Roserius. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* iv. 479; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiv. 88.)
[R. S. G.]

GIOVANNICIUS. [JOANNICIUS.]

GIRALDUS of Velitrae. [GERARDUS.]

GIRICUS. [GOERICUS.]

GIRRIG (GERRIG, GWRIG,), patron of Llangirrig or Llangwrig, in Montgomeryshire. The more common form of his name is Curig or Cyricus. [CYRICUS.] (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 82, 307; *Cambr. Quart. Mag.* i. 490, iii. 507.) [J. G.]

GISA, daughter of Grimoald king of the Lombards. She was given by her brother Romuald, duke of Benevento, as a hostage to the emperor Constans, who was besieging Benevento, c. 663. She afterwards died in Italy. (Paulus Diac. v. 8, 14; *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* 1878, p. 148–150.) [A. H. D. A.]

GISELBERGA, wife of Luitprand's nephew Gregory duke of Benevento, c. 732. (Paulus Diaconus, *Gest. Lang.* vi. 55.) [A. H. D. A.]

GISALEICUS, Visigoth king. [GESALIC.]

GISELHERE, GISELHERUS, the seventh bishop of the South Saxons at Selsey (*M. H. B.* 618). His date, as ascertained by charters, falls between 772 and 787; in the former year his predecessor Osa or Oswald was in office (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 402), and in the latter his successor Totta (ib. p. 461). The name of Giselhere appears in the list of prelates present at the Council of Brentford in 781 (Kemble, *C. D.* 143; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 439), and in a grant of Oslac, ealdorman of the South Saxons, dated at Selsey in 780. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1012.) [S.]

GISELPERTUS, duke of Verona in the time of Paulus Diaconus. He opened and rifled the grave of king Alboin. (Paulus Diacenus, ii. 28.) [A. H. D. A.]

GISELTRUDA, sister of Anselm the first abbat of the monastery of Nonantula, and wife of Aistulph king of the Lombards, 749–756. (*Vita Anselmi Abb. Nonan.* in *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* p. 567.) [A. H. D. A.]

GISIBARIUS, a priest, Scot, disciple and associate of St. Rudbert, or Rupert. He wrote *Ad Boiarios Homiliae*, and flourished about A.D. 630. (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 308; Tanner, *Bibl.* 326.) [J. G.]

GISILARIUS, priest. [GISLARIUS.]

GISIUS, bishop of Mutina (Modena), succeeded Geminianus IV. c. A.D. 796, and died probably A.D. 811 or 812. His successor was Deodatus. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 113; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xv. 233.) [R. S. G.]

GISLA (1) (GISILA, GISLANA), daughter of Pippin and only sister of Charles the Great, born A.D. 757. The robes in which she issued from the baptismal font were sent by her father to the pope, Paul I., in token of her spiritual adoption by him (cf. the letter of Paul, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 1183). Her hand was sought in marriage by Constantine Copronymus, the emperor of the East, for his son Leo, and later by Adalgisus, son of Desiderius, king of the Lombards; but both offers were opposed by the reigning popes, and neither was accepted (cf. the letter of Stephen III. written in 770 to Charles and Carloman in Migne, Patr. Lat. xcviii. 255, and Bouquet, v. 543). Almost from girlhood she was dedicated to religion, and became ninth abbess of Chelles (Cala), the monastery of St. Bathildis, where she built at her own cost the church of St. Mary and St. Saviour. Here she was visited by Charles, when sick, in 804, and by Alcuin, of whom we have two letters addressed to her. (Bouquet, v. 615, 616; Migne, Patr. Lat. c. 362, 363.) There is extant a diploma by which she granted large possessions to the monastery of St. Denys in A.D. 799 (Bouquet, v. 760). Her death took place in 810. (*Annales*, in Pertz, i. 11; Eginhardi *Vita Caroli Magni*, § xviii.; Bouquet, v. 97, 613; *Monum. Carolin.* ed. Jaffé, var. loc. see index; *Translatio S. Bathildis*, in Mabill. *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. iv. pars 1, p. 452, Paris, 1668–1701; *Gall. Christ.* vii. 560.) [S. A. B.]

GISLA (2) (GISOLA), daughter of Charles the Great and Hildegarde, baptized, and received from the font at Milan, by Thomas the archbishop, in A.D. 781. With the rest of her family she is celebrated in the magniloquent verse of Angilbert (229–242; Pertz, ii. 397), who lauds her beauty and her horsemanship in the chase, to which she was wont to accompany her father. Alcuin wrote her a short letter (Migne, Patr. Lat. c. 363; Bouquet, v. 616), exhorting her to lead a life of holiness. (Eginhardi *Vita Caroli Magni*, xviii. in Bouquet, v. 96; *Annales Laurissenses*, and Einhardi in Pertz, i. 160–1.) [S. A. B.]

GISLA (3), daughter of Theodulfus bishop of Orleans (ob. A.D. 821), who addresses one of his poems to her with the gift of a psalter (*Carm.* iii. 4 in Migne, Patr. Lat. cv. 326). [S. A. B.]

GISLARIUS (GISILARIUS, GIZOLARIUS), presbyter of Salzburg about the middle of the 8th century, a companion of St. Hildulph, St. Rudbert and others in Germany; he probably was an Irishman, and seems to have died at Salzburg. Associated with St. Chunibaldus he is commemorated at Feb. 8, Sept. 24, and Oct. 20. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 8 Feb., ii. 151) place them among their praetermissi at Feb. 8, and give at Sept. 24 a Sylloge Historica, "de SS. Chunialdo et Gisilario presbyteris Salesburgi in Germania, de cultu translatione et gestis, circa saec. viii." (*ib.* Sept. tom. vi. 708–13). Colgan was preparing a life of the same two holy men for Sept. 24. (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 374; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 111, ii. 414; Hansiz, *Germ. Sac.* ii. 45, 46.) [J. G.]

GISLEBERTUS (GILBERTUS), thirty-third bishop of Noyon and Tournay, between Dido, or Dodo, and Pleon. He was educated in the monasterium Elonense (St. Amand on the Scarpe, dep. Nord) and before his elevation became its abbat. In A.D. 769 he subscribed the Lateran Council under Stephen III. He died A.D. 782 in his own monastery, and was buried in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. Two epitaphs, one of them by Alcuin, are extant. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 256; ix. 986; Mansi, xii. 715.) [S. A. B.]

GISLEMORIUS—Sept. 16. One of the Thebaean legion, and regarded as patron of Borgo di San Donnino in Italy. [MAURITIUS; LEGIO THEBAEA.] [G. T. S.]

GISLENUS (Guilain, Guislein), ST., founder and first abbat of the monastery of Cella, afterwards St. Guislain, in the 7th century. The story of his life, which has come down to us, is as follows. He was born of noble stock in Attica, and after being trained in philosophy at Athens entered a monastery subject to the rule of St. Basil. In time he became a priest, and bethinking him of the example of St. Dionysius the martyr, who left Athens to seek Rome, he resolved to go thither likewise. He had not been there long when a voice from heaven bade him depart and come to Hainault. Thither he went, accompanied by two disciples, called Lambert and Bellirius. On his arrival he sought an interview with St. Amandus, whose fame filled the neighbourhood, and commenced to build a cell on a spot called Castrilocus. He afterwards obtained from Dagobert a site upon the Haine in Hainault, and here he built a monastery, which was at first called Cella, and afterwards gave rise to the town named from him St. Ghislain or St. Guislain. Autbert archbishop of Cambray (656–668) and Amandus consecrated it. The remainder of his life was spent in works of piety, and among other good deeds he persuaded St. Waldetrude to purchase the spot on which he had first settled, and there build a monastery. In this work she was assisted by St. Hidulfus, and the monastery of Castrilocus (St. Vaudru de Mons; cf. *Gall. Christ.* iii. 144) was there erected. To him too, St. Aldegundis, who founded the monastery of Melbodium (Maubeuge), and others, owed their conversion. He died at Cella (A.D. 681, according to Mabillon's conjecture), and was buried in his own church, though, in the time of Charles the Great, when the oratorium was restored by abbat Elefans, his bones were removed for the consecration, and were not again restored to their original resting-place.

The foregoing account is from the anonymous Life published by Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 788, Paris, 1668–1701) and by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Oct. iv. 1030). In his preliminary observations Mabillon enumerates as many as six different lives. In the *Auctaria* of Molanus to Usuard (*Mart.* Oct. 9) Gislenus is called bishop of Athens, but there seems to be no foundation for such a statement. His day was Oct. 9 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iv. 1010). [S. A. B.]

GISLHERE (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* No. 143, A.D. 781), bishop of Selsey. [Giselhere.] [C. H.]

GISLOALDUS, fifteenth bishop of Verdun, succeeding St. Paulus and followed by his nephew Gerebertus. He had been a monk of Tholey (Theolegium), in the diocese of Treves. He was perhaps the bishop Gislochardus, one of those consulted by Sigebert as to the foundation of the monasteries of Malmédy and Stavelo in the Ardennes, which took place in A.D. 648, the year of his consecration (Notger, *Vit. S. Remacli*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. i. 680). He was also one of the bishops to whom Numerianus, archbishop of Treves, addressed his charter in favour of the monastery built by St. Deodatus of Nevers, in the Vosges (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1191). His death is placed A.D. 665. (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 1170, instr. 291.) [S. A. B.]

GISO (1) (Guiso), 15th archbishop of Cologne, succeeding Aldewinus and followed by Anno. According to Le Cointe he was sitting in 695 when Pippin buried the remains of the martyred Hewalds at Cologne, as related by Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 10. (*Gall. Christ.* iii. 628; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 695, n. iii. tom. iv. p. 312.) [S. A. B.]

GISO (2), c. 790, bishop of Vercelli. (Cappell. *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xiv. 369; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 764.) [A. H. D. A.]

GISOLA, daughter of Charles the Great. [Gisla.]

GISTLIANUS (Gistilianus, Giustilianus, Guistlianus, Gweslan), bishop at Menevia before St. David his nephew, and son of Gynyr of Caer Gawch, by his second wife Anna, daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid (Vortimer). His first house was at Old Menevia, near the present St. David's, and was endowed by his father Gynyr, but was afterwards removed to Rosina, where the cathedral now stands, at the suggestion of St. David. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 162, 163, 173, 194; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 425; Leland, *Collect.* iii. 103; Jones and Freeman, *Hist. of St. David's*, p. 243.) [J. G.]

GISULFUS, first duke of Friuli, and the first Lombard duke appointed upon the invasion of Italy by Alboin in 569. The district was the first conquered by Alboin, who, before proceeding farther into Italy, offered the charge of it to his nephew and marshal (marpahis) Gisulf. Upon condition of being allowed to retain certain selected families to settle with him he consented, and received the title of the "ductor." (Paulus Diaconus, ii. 9.) Gisulph was one of the dukes under whose rule the Lombards lived for ten years after the death of Kleph, when there was no king (Paul. Diac. ii. 32). After some discord with the king Agilulf, of which the cause is unknown, he was received peaceably by him c. ann. 602 (Paul. Diac. iv. 27). Together with the king he ratified the appointment of a bishop (or patriarch) to Aquileia, which was then in opposition to the see of Grado. He lost his life, together with the greater part of his army, c. 610, in resisting an invasion of the Avars. His son, Grimoaldus, then a child, escaped to the court of Benevento, and afterwards became duke of Benevento, and eventually seized the kingdom. It is possible that the first duke appointed was Grasulf, father of Gisulf, and that Paulus Diaconus is wrong. (*Monum. Langob. Rerum*, 1878, p. 77; Muratori, *Ann.* a. 590; Pabst, *Forschungen z. d. G.* p. 426.) [A. H. D. A.]

GISULFUS, a Lombard duke, who upon the advance of Romanus, exarch of Ravenna, into Istria, gave himself up with his whole army. He was at the time quite young (Letter of Romanus to Childebert, king of the Franks; Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* i. p. 132). It is possible that he is the same as the above-mentioned Gisulf. (This is not allowed by Troya, but see Muratori, *Ann.* a. 590.) [A. H. D. A.]

GISULFUS, duke of Benevento, 689–706, succeeded his brother Grimoald. In the time of pope John VI., c. 702, he laid waste Campania and took many captives, who were all redeemed

by the pope. (Paulus Diaconus, *G. L.* vi. 2. 27, and *Gesta Pontif.* Vita Johann. vi. cf. note in *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* p. 174.) [A. H. D. A.]

GISULPHUS, bishop of Chiusi (Clusium), appeared apparently to act as judge upon Ausfredus bishop of Siena, mentioned in a letter of pope Stephen III., May, 752, to Stabilis bishop of Arezzo. (Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* iv. 413; Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* p. 189.) [A. H. D. A.]

GISULPHUS II., duke of Benevento, son of Romuald, and nephew of king Luitprand. His father died c. 731, when he was quite a child. An attempt was made to kill him, but the people of Benevento protected him. Luitprand then came and carried him off for a while to his court at Pavia, placing another nephew, Gregory, in the duchy. Gregory died in 739, and Godescalc became duke, but on the arrival of Luitprand, three years after, he prepared to fly to Constantinople, but before embarking was killed by the Beneventans. Gisulf then became duke of Benevento in 742. His gifts and concessions to the monasteries of Alife, S. Vincenzo on the Volturno and others, range from September, 742, to the beginning of 751, in which year he probably died. (Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* n. 553–643 passim. Oelsner, *König Pippin*, excurs. i. p. 444; Paulus Diaconus, vi. 55–58.) [A. H. D. A.]

GISULPHUS, bishop of Cajazzo in Campania, c. 776. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xx. 62.) [A. H. D. A.]

GISVALDUS, confessor, companion, and disciple of St. Dysibod, accompanied his master to Belgium, and flourished A.D. 664, but Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 313) refuses the suggestion of Leslaeus (*de Reb. Scot.* lib. iv. p. 154) that he lived at Fulda. [J. G.]

GIULFUS (BIULFUS), ninth bishop of Strasburg, said to have ruled in the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 779; Potthast, *Biblioth.* Suppl. p. 414.) [R. T. S.]

GIUSTILIANUS. [GISTLIANUS.]

GIVERICUS (GIVERINUS), bishop of Mentesa (nr. Jaen), before 646. He sent a deacon, Ambrosius, to represent him at the seventh Council of Toledo, A.D. 646 (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 423; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 259). [PARDUS.] [M. A. W.]

GIZOLARIUS, priest. [GISLARIUS.]

GLADUSA, Welsh saint. [GWLADUS.]

GLAINDIUBAIR (GLAINDIBUR, *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 766), abbat of Laraghbrine, co. Kildare, died A.D. 767. (*Four Mast.*, by O'Donovan, A.D. 762, i. 365.) [J. G.]

GLAPHYRA, virgin, of Amasea, Jan. 13. She appears to have been in Licinius's household at Nicomedia, and afterwards at Amasea, where she became acquainted with Basileus the bishop, assisted him, with the help of Licinius's wife, who was Constantine's sister, to build a church at Amasea, and at last suffered death with him about the beginning of the 4th century. Her *Acta* are given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 13 Jan. i. 771–2) from the *Acta Martyrii S. Basilei Episcopi Amaseae;* see also Assemani (*Act. Martt. Occid. et Orien.* pt. ii. 216), but they do not amount to history. [J. G.]

GLASANUS (GLASSICUS) is commemorated at Oct 1, in *Mart. Doneg.*, and may be the same as the Glassicus, whom St. Patrick left at Kilglas, when that saint was preaching in Dalaradia, co. Antrim, and was being opposed by the sons of Coelbadius. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 147 c. 131, 182, n. [207]; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 338.) [J. G.]

GLAUCIAS, an alleged interpreter (ἑρμηνεύς) of St. Peter, who was claimed as the instructor of BASILIDES. (Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 17, p. 898.) [G. S.]

GLAUCUS, bishop of Alii (Alini), in Phrygia Pacatiana, present at the fifth general council, A.D. 553. (Mansi, ix. 393; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 809.) [L. D.]

GLEWIS, lay witness to a grant by Erb, king of Gwent and Ergyng, to St. Dubricius and the see of Llandaff (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 318). He may be the same as Glywys of Glewissig (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 309). [GLYWYS (2).] [J. G.]

GLIN-MAUR, i.e. *magni-genu*, surname of Eata of Northumbria. [EATA (3).] (*Hist. Nennii* in *M. H. B.* 75 B.) [C. H.]

GLIUUSUS, GLIVISSIUS, GLIVISUS, Welsh chieftain, the father of Gwynllyw Filwr (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 145; Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. 87, 88). [GLYWYS (2).] [J. G.]

GLODWY, clerical witness to grant of Caer Riou, near Monmouth, by king Athrwys, son of Ffernwael, to bishop Cadwared (Catgwarett and the see of Llandaff in the 8th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 464.) [J. G.]

GLORINUS, bishop of Junce, in Mauretania Caesariensis, and supposed to have been primate of that province, was banished by Hunneric A.D. 484. (Vict. Vitens. *Notit.* 59; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 193.) [R. S. G.]

GLORIOSUS (1), Donatist bishop of Migispa, or Migirpa, in proconsular Africa, at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* 126.) [H. W. P.]

GLORIOSUS (2), bishop of Ostia, contemporary with Gregory the Great, who addressed a letter to him and other bishops. (Lib. ix. indict. ii. *Ep.* 25. Migne, lxxvii. 964.) [A. H. D. A.]

GLORIOSUS (3), bishop of Camerino, present at the Lateran synod under pope Martin in 649, which condemned the Monothelite heresy. (Hefele, § 307; Mansi, x. 866.) [A. H. D. A.]

GLORIUS, a person to whom, in conjunction with Eleusius and Felix, St. Augustine addressed two letters. In the first of them the name Grammaticus is added, and other persons are mentioned, though not by name. [ELEUSIUS (3).] (Aug. *Epp.* 43, 44.) [H. W. P.]

GLOWYBWY, clerical witness to a grant by king Rhys, son of Ithael, to bishop Cadwared (Catgwaret) and the see of Llandaff in the 8th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 465.) [J. G.]

GLUIGIUS, Welsh chieftain. [GLYWYS (2).]

GLUNSALACH, son of Costamhail. O'Clery suggests that this saint, who was of the race of Irial, son of Conall Cearnach, and lived at Sliabh-Fuaid, a mountain near Newton-Hamilton, co. Armagh, may have been a famous outlaw, who forsook his evil ways, joined himself to the company of St. Coemgen, and died in sanctity, being commemorated on the same day as his master, June 3. Colgan had a Life in preparation for that day. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 145; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* vii. 373.) [J. G.]

GLUVIAS (GLUVIANUS or GLUVIACUS), ST., the saint of a parish which includes Penryn, in Falmouth harbour. It is possible that the name is connected with that of Glywys Cerniw in the 6th century (Rees's *Welsh Saints*, 114, 233, 268). [C. W. B.]

GLYCERIA—May 10. Virgin and martyr at Trajanopolis in Thrace, under Sabinus, the president in the time of Antoninus Pius, or of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 138–180. She seems to have challenged the martyr's fate. When the president was sacrificing, she publicly reproved him, for which she was tortured and cast to the beasts. She converted her guard, Laodicius, who suffered with her. (Bas. *Menol.*; Surii *Vitae SS.* 10 Mai.; *Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. iii. 189–192; Dodwell, *Dissert. Cyprian.* xi. *de Paucit. Mart.* sect. 33–38.) [G. T. S.]

GLYCERIA, martyr with Anna and Theodato; commemorated on Oct. 22. They embraced the Christian faith on witnessing the sufferings of bishop Alexander, and shared in his martyrdom. (Basil. *Menol.* i. 134.) [C. H.]

GLYCERIUS (1), April 23. Martyr with Donatus and Therinus in A.D. 303. (*Acta SS.* Boll. April. iii. 164.) [G. T. S.]

GLYCERIUS (2), Dec. 18. Presbyter and martyr under Maximian. (Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

GLYCERIUS (3), Jan. 14. Deacon, martyr at Nicomedia. (Wright, *Syrian Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 423.) [G. T. S.]

GLYCERIUS (4), June 8. Martyr at Antioch with Hesperius and Sosistratus [HESPERIUS]. (Wright, *Syrian Mart.* in *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 427.) [G. T. S.]

GLYCERIUS (5), a deacon in Cappadocia, who caused Basil much annoyance by his extravagant and disorderly proceedings circ. 374. Glycerius being a vigorous young man, well fitted for the humbler offices of the church, requiring actual labour, and having adopted the ascetic life, was ordained deacon by Basil. The name of the church he served is doubtful. It is given in different MSS. as Venesa, Veësa, Venata, and Synnasa. His elevation turned the young man's head. He at once began to neglect the duties of his office, and gathered about him a number of young women, partly by persuasion, partly by force, of whom he took the direction, styling himself their patriarch, and adopting a dress in keeping with his pretensions. He was supported by the offerings of his female followers, and Basil charges him with adopting this spiritual directorship as a trade, that he might get his living without work. The wild and disorderly proceedings of Glycerius and his deluded adherents created great scandal in his own city and neighbourhood, which caused him to be gravely admonished by his own presbyter, his chorepiscopus, and finally by Basil himself. Glycerius, however, turned a deaf ear to all, and having swelled his fanatical band by a number of young men, he one night hastily left the city with his whole troop, many of the girls being compelled to join him against their will. The scandal of such a band wandering about the country under pretence of religion, singing hymns, and leaping and dancing in a disorderly fashion, great in itself, was increased by the fact that a fair was going on at the time, so that the young women were exposed to the rude jests of the lowest rabble. The fathers who came to rescue their daughters from such disgrace were driven away by Glycerius with the utmost contumely, and he carried off his whole band to a neighbouring town, of which a certain Gregory was bishop; who this Gregory was is uncertain. Garnier is inclined to believe that it was Gregory Nazianzen (among whose letters the correspondence concerning Glycerius is found, as well as in the letters of Basil), though he allows that there is much in favour of Gregory Nyssen (*Vita S. Basil.* c. xxxi. § 4). Gregory not only allowed Glycerius and his motley band to remain unchallenged, but appears to have been disposed to regard him with some degree of favour. On this Basil wrote to him narrating the whole circumstances, and shewing how little Glycerius deserved any consideration. He requested him to order Glycerius to return at once with his whole band of virgins. If he did this, and brought commendatory letters from Gregory, he might depend upon lenient treatment; if he refused to obey, Basil begged Gregory to send back the virgins, or at least to enable those who desired it, to free themselves from Glycerius' spiritual tyranny. If Glycerius continued obstinate he threatened that he should be removed from the ministry (Basil, *Epist.* 169 [312]). At the same time Basil wrote to Glycerius himself, promising to deal with paternal kindness towards him if he would return at once, and send to their homes the disciples whom he was leading not to God but to the abyss (*ibid.* 170 [314]). Their return being still delayed, Basil wrote again to Gregory, hinting that his unwillingness to compel them to come back might be due to some desire to curry favour with others, or to some unfriendly feeling towards himself, and begged him to put all such feelings aside and induce them to return without any apprehension. If they continued obstinate he washed his hands of them. (*Ibid.* 171 [313].) The further issue is not known. [E. V.]

GLYCERIUS (6), bishop of Milan between Martinianus and Lazarus, cir. A.D. 432–440 (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 49; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 109, 301). Ennodius dedicates a short poem to his memory (carm. 82 in Pat. Lat. lxiii. 349). [C. H.]

GLYCERIUS (7), 2nd bishop of Conserans, following St. Valerius and succeeded by Theodorus, subscribed the council of Agde (A.D. 506), and is said to have died in 548. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 1125; Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* viii. 337, Flor. 1759–98.) [S. A. B.]

GLYCERIUS (8), emperor of the West, afterwards bishop of Salona. In March 473, being at that time comes domesticorum, he asserted the imperial title at Ravenna in succession to Olybrius; but the emperor of the East, Leo I. the Thracian, set up Julius Nepos in opposition, who was proclaimed at Ravenna late in 473 or early in 474, marched against Glycerius and took him prisoner at Portus. (See art. GLYCERIUS in the *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.*) It is the episcopate of Glycerius that claims the chief notice in this work. He has been reckoned bishop of Portus, of Milan, and of Salona. The *Chronicon* of Marcellinus Comes under the year 474, states that Glycerius "imperio expulsus, in portu urbis Romae ex Caesare episcopus ordinatus est, et obiit" (Patr. Lat. li. 931); on the strength of which passage he has been named bishop of Portus, as by Paulus Diaconus, who writes: "Portuensis episcopus ordinatur" (*Hist. Misc.* lib. xv. in Patr. Lat. xcv. 973 B). Ughelli (who calls him Gulcerius) assigns him to that see between Petrus and Herennius, and Cappelletti does the same (Ug. *Ital. Sac.* i. 111; Capp. *Le Chiese d' Ital.* i. 497). This conclusion from the doubtful language of Marcellinus might pass were there no other statements to be considered. Evagrius, for instance, relates (*H. E.* ii. 16) that Nepos appointed Glycerius bishop of the Romans *ἐς Σάλωνας*, scarcely however intending to say, as Canisius understands him, that Glycerius was made bishop of Rome. He must mean (writing as a Greek) that Glycerius was ordained bishop for Salona by the Roman ecclesiastical authorities, that his see belonged to the Roman or western part of the empire, and to the Roman patriarchate rather than the Byzantine. Jornandes likewise states that Nepos "Glycerium ab imperio expellens, in Salona Dalmatiae episcopum fecit" (Jorn. *de Reg. Succ.* in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* t. i. p. 239 B). It is therefore best to understand with Canisius (note on the passage in Evagrius, *vid.* Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. pt. 2, p. 2546) that the deposition of Glycerius took place at Portus, where at the same time he was ordained to the see of Salona. So also Farlati understands (*Illyr. Sac.* ii. 117–120). It should be remarked that the principality of Dalmatia belonged to Nepos independently of the imperial title. Thither he retired before his successful competitor Orestes, and then was brought into contact once more with Glycerius. Photius (*Biblioth.* cod. 78) mentions the now lost *Byzantine History* of Malchus the Sophist as stating that Nepos having divested Glycerius of his Caesarian authority and invaded "the empire of the Romans," clericated Glycerius, made him a bishop, and finally perished by his machinations (insidiis petitus), not "assassinated" as stated by Gibbon. Farlati assigns six years to the episcopate of Glycerius, placing his death in 480.

The supposition that the ex-emperor was bishop of Milan rests on very slender ground. Ennodius bishop of Pavia, who dedicates short poems to several successive bishops of Milan, inscribes one of them to bishop Glycerius, whom he places between Martinianus and Lazarus (carm. 82, in Patr. Lat. lxiii. 349); but there is nothing in the verses to identify him with the ex-emperor. Ennodius likewise, in his Life of Epiphanius bishop of Pavia, mentions the emperor Glycerius as shewing so much veneration for that saint as to accept his intercession for some people in the diocese of Pavia, who had incurred the imperial displeasure (Ennod. *Vit. Epiphan.* in Patr. Lat. lxiii. 219 A). These are the sole grounds on which Gibbon hazards, though doubtfully, the statement (*Decl. and Fall*, vol. iv. p. 295, ed. Smith) that Glycerius was promoted by Orestes from the see of Salona to the archbishopric of Milan in reward for his assassination of Nepos. [C. H.]

GLYCON, bishop of Caesarea, in Palestine. His name appears in the catalogue of bishops who accepted the decision of the council of Chalcedon. He signed through a representative, Sozimus or Zosimus "episcopus Minoidensis" or "Edinensis." (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 83, 788.) [E. V.]

GLYWYS (1) Cerniw, son of Gwynllyw Filwr, and founder of a church at Coed Cerniw, now Coedkernew, co. Monmouth, in the 6th century. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 114, 233.) [J. G.]

GLYWYS (2) (GLEWIS, GLIUUSUS, GLIVISSIUS, GLIVISUS, GLUIGIUS), ap Tegyd ap Cadell (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 114), was father of Gwynllyw-Filwr [GWYNLLYW (2)], and "nobilissimus rex Australium Britonum" (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 145). He is supposed to have been chieftain of a district called from him Glewissig, probably including parts of the present counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth; according to the legend, he married Gwladus, or Gladusg, daughter of Brychan, and was father of seven sons, of whom Gwynllyw was the eldest (Rees, *ib.* 145, 309), and amongst whom his sovereignty was divided at his death. Williams (*Emin. Welsh.* 174) numbers him among the Welsh saints, and says he founded the church of Machen in the hundred of Wentllooge, Monmouthshire (Rees, *ib.* 449 n.). [J. G.]

GNATHNAT (GNATNAD), called abbess of Kildare in *Four Masters*, and abbat by Tigernach, died A.D. 690. (*Ann. Tig.* eod. an.; *Four Mast.* A.D. 687.) [J. G.]

GNAVAN, disciple of St. Cadoc, probably a Briton. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 326.) [J. G.]

GNOSIMACHI (*Γνωσιμάχοι*). A sect who are said to have opposed all scientific theology (*πάσῃ γνώσει χριστιανισμοῦ*) on the plea that nothing more is required of Christians than a holy life. Damascenus mentions it among those which arose after the emperor Marcian, A.D. 451–457. (Jo. Damasc. *de Haeres.* lxxxviii.; Migne, Patr. Gr. xciv. 758; Nicet. Choniat. *Thesaur. Orth.* Migne, *u. s.* cxxxix. 1095; Suicer, *Thesaur.* s. v.) [T. W. D.]

GNOSIS, one of the mythical beings who, in the Barbelite system described by Irenaeus (i. 29, p. 108), answer to the Valentinian Aeons. From her is represented to have sprung the "Tree," also called knowledge. With this is to be compared that part of the system of JUSTINUS (Hippol. *Ref.* v. 26) which counts the trees of paradise as angels, and in particular the tree of knowledge, as the angel Naas. In PISTIS SOPHIA also one order of celestial beings is designated as trees (pp. 18, 192). [G. S.]

GNOSTICISM. The zeal with which a learner commences the study of ecclesiastical history is not unfrequently damped at an early stage, when he finds that, in order to know the history of religious thought in the 2nd century, he must make himself acquainted with speculations so wild and so baseless that it is irksome to read them and difficult to believe that time was when acquaintance with them was counted as what alone deserved the name of "knowledge." But it would be a mistake to think too disdainfully of those early heretics who go by the common name of Gnostics. In the first place, it may be said in their excuse that the problems which they undertook to solve were among the most difficult with which the human intellect has ever grappled; namely, to explain the origin of evil, and to make it conceivable how the multiplicity of finite existence can all have been derived from a single absolute unconditioned principle. And besides, these speculators only did what learned theologians have constantly since endeavoured to do; namely, combined the doctrines which they learned from revelation with the results of what they regarded as the best philosophy of their own day, so as to obtain what seemed to them the most satisfactory account and explanation of the facts of the universe. Every union of philosophy and religion is the marriage of a mortal with an immortal; the religion lives; the philosophy grows old and dies. When the philosophic element of a theological system becomes antiquated, its explanations which contented one age become unsatisfactory to the next, and there ensues what is spoken of as a conflict between religion and science; whereas, in reality, it is a conflict between the science of one generation and that of a succeeding one. If the religious speculations of the 2nd century appear to us peculiarly unreasonable, it is because the philosophy incorporated with them is completely alien to modern thought. That philosophy gave unlimited licence to the framing of hypotheses, and provided that the results were in tolerable accordance with the facts, no other proof was required that the causes which these hypotheses assumed were really in operation. The Timaeus of Plato is a favourable specimen of the philosophic writings which moulded the Gnostic speculations; and the interval between that and a modern treatise on physics is fully as wide as between Gnosticism and modern scientific theology. So it has happened that modern thought has less sympathy with heretical theories deeply coloured by the philosophy of their own time than with the plain common sense of a church writer such as Irenaeus, which led him to proceed by the positive historical method, and reject what was merely fanciful and speculative. And it may be said that deeply important as were some of the particular questions discussed in the conflict between the church and Gnosticism, yet even a more important issue of that conflict was the decision of the method by which religious knowledge was to be arrived at. The Gnostics generally held that the Saviour effected redemption by making a revelation of knowledge, yet they but feebly attempted to connect historically their teaching with His; what was derived from Him was buried under elements taken freely from heathen mythologies and philosophies, or springing from the mere fancy of the speculator, so that, if Gnosticism had triumphed, all that is distinctively Christian would have disappeared. In opposition to them, church writers were led to emphasize the principle that that alone is to be accounted true knowledge of things divine which can be shewn by historical tradition, written or oral, to have been derived from the teaching of Christ and His apostles, a principle the philosophic justice of which must be admitted if Christ be owned as having filled the part in the enlightenment of the world which orthodox and Gnostics alike attributed to him. Thus, by the conflict with Gnosticism reverence in the church was deepened for the authority of revelation as restraining the licence of human speculation, and so the channel was marked out within the bounds of which religious thought continued for centuries to flow.

The plan of this Dictionary embraces an article on the name of every Gnostic teacher, and on every Gnostic technical term; consequently, the information which in some other works of the same kind is given in a single article on Gnosticism is in this work scattered through several articles. We only deal here with some general aspects of the subject, referring to the subordinate articles for details as to the special tenets of the different Gnostic sects.

Use of the Word Gnosticism.—In logical order we ought to begin by defining Gnosticism, and so fixing what extension is to be given to the application of the term, a point on which writers on the subject are not agreed. Baur, for instance, reckons among Gnostics the sectaries from whom the Clementine writings emanated, although on some of the most fundamental points their doctrines are diametrically opposed to those commonly reckoned as Gnostic; and his work on Gnosticism includes a discussion of the doctrines of Jacob Böhme, Schelling, Schleiermacher, and Hegel. We conform to more ordinary usage in giving to the word a narrower sense, but this is a matter on which controversy would be only verbal, Gnosticism not being a word which has in its own nature a definite meaning. If we speak, for instance, of Valentinians, we speak of a sect having a certain real unity, the members of which owned the authority of the same teacher, and held in common certain doctrines derived from him, and whose mutual relationship was recognised alike by themselves and by their opponents. But when we use the word Gnostic, we have no proof that the members of every one of the sects which we comprise under the name ever claimed the title for themselves or had it applied to them by others; with regard to those who did claim the title for themselves, we have no proof that they would have conceded it to the others whom we join with them under the same designation, or that they had any relationship with those others save that of being alike condemned by the church. There is no difficulty in naming common characteristics of the sects commonly called Gnostic, though perhaps none of them is distinctive enough to be made the basis of a logical definition. If we were to lay stress on the characteristic already noted, viz. the failure of the Gnostic sects to offer satisfac-

tory proof that their doctrines formed part of Christ's revelation, we might be forced to own that on this subject the difference between them and the church was not one of principle. They did profess to be able to trace their doctrine to the apostles. Basilides was said to have learned from a companion of St. Peter; gospels were in circulation among them which purported to have been written by Philip, Thomas, and other apostles; and they professed to be able to find their doctrines in the canonical scriptures by methods of allegorical interpretation which, however forced, could easily be paralleled in the procedure of orthodox writers. If we made our definition turn on the claim to the possession of Gnosis, and to the title of Gnostic, we should be forced to count Clement of Alexandria among the Gnostics and the First Epistle to Timothy among Gnostic writings; for the church writers refused to surrender these titles to the heretics and, claiming to be the true Gnostics, branded the heretical Gnosis as "falsely so called." If we fix our attention on the predominance of the speculative over the practical in Gnosticism, which, as Baur truly remarks, led men to regard Christianity less as a means of salvation than as furnishing the principles of a philosophy of the universe, we must allow that since their time very many writings have been published in the church which are open to the same criticism. We come very close to what we are in search of if we make the criterion of Gnosticism to be the establishment of a dualism between spirit and matter; and, springing out of this, the doctrine that the world was created by some power different from the Supreme God, yet we might not be able to establish that this characteristic belongs to every one of the sects which we count as Gnostic; and if we are asked why we do not count such sects as the Manichaeans among the Gnostics, the best answer is that usage confines the word to those sects which took their origin in the ferment of thought when Christianity first came into contact with heathen philosophy, excluding those which had clearly a later beginning.

The history of the use of the name is that a title of honour claimed by these sectaries for themselves, and at first refused them by their opponents, was afterwards adopted as the most convenient way of designating them. We have no reason to think that the earliest Gnostics intended to found sects separated from the church and called after their own names. Their disciples were to be Christians, only elevated above the rest as acquainted with deeper mysteries, and called γνωστικοί, because possessed of a Gnosis superior to the simple faith of the multitude. Probably the earliest instance of the use of the word is by Celsus, quoted by Origen, v. 61, where, speaking of the multiplicity of Christian sects, he says that there were some who professed to be Gnostics. There is no reason to suppose that Celsus would be careful that there should be no overlapping in his enumeration, and therefore the fact that other sects are in the same context mentioned apparently as distinct, which we should now count as Gnostic, does not warrant us in inferring that the word was then used in a narrower sense. Irenaeus (i. xxv. 5, p. 104), speaking of the Carpocratians and in particular of that school of them which Marcellina established at Rome, says that they called themselves Gnostics. It is doubtless on the strength of this passage that Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 7), quoting Irenaeus in the same context, calls Carpocrates the father of the sect called that of the Gnostics. In the habitual use of the word by Irenaeus himself it does not occur as limited to Carpocratians. Irenaeus, in his first book, when he has gone through the sects called after the names of heretical teachers, gives in a kind of appendix an account of a number of sects, in their general characteristics Ophite, but he does not himself use that name. He calls them "multitudo Gnosticorum," tracing their origin to Simon Magus, and counting them as progenitors of the Valentinians. And constantly we have the expression Basilidians, Valentinians, &c., "et reliqui Gnostici," where, by the latter appellation, the Ophite sects are specially intended. The form of expression does not exclude from the title of Gnostic the sects named after their founders; and the doctrine of the Valentinians is all through the work of Irenaeus a branch of "Gnosis falsely so called": yet it is usually spoken of less as Gnosticism than as a development of Gnosticism, and the Valentinians are described as more Gnostic than the Gnostics, meaning by the latter word the Ophite sects already mentioned. In the work of Hippolytus against heresies, the name is almost exclusively found in connection with the sect of the Naassenes or Ophites, and three or four times it is repeated (v. 2, p. 93; 4, p. 94; 11, p. 123) that these people called themselves Gnostics, claiming that they alone "knew the depths." Though Hippolytus believes Naassenes to have been their older, Gnostics their later, name, the probability is all the other way. The value which they attached to knowledge appears from their saying (pp. 95, 132) that the beginning of perfection was the knowledge of man, and the knowledge of God was complete perfection; see also the expressions in the Ophite hymn, p. 123. That the word, however, is used by Hippolytus in a wider sense appears from his giving the name to Justinus (v. 28, p. 159). The common source of Epiphanius and Philaster had an article on the Nicolaitans, tracing the origin of the Gnostics to Nicholas the Deacon (see also Hippolytus, vii. 36, p. 258, and the statement of Irenaeus [II. ii. p. 188] that Nicolaitanism was a branch of Gnosis). Epiphanius divides this article into two, making the Gnostics a separate heresy (*Haer.* 26). He gives several alternative names for them, and from the doctrines and language which he attributes to them it is plain that he had in view one of the Ophite sects. Several later writers have naturally followed Epiphanius in counting one of the branches of the sects now commonly known as Gnostics as constituting a separate sect of "Gnostics." It is plain from this sketch that ancient usage leaves a good deal of latitude to modern writers in deciding which of the 2nd century sects they will count as Gnostic.

Classification of Gnostic Sects.—For the same reason that we have thought ourselves able to decline controversy concerning the definition of Gnosticism, we have not found it necessary to make any classification of Gnostic sects, beyond the alphabetic arrangement of them forced on us

by the plan of this work. Some general principles of philosophic classification may be easily agreed on, but when they come to be applied, it is found that there are some sects to which it is not obvious where to assign a place, and that some sects are separated whose affinities are closer than those of others which are classed together. A very important, though not a complete, division is that made by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 5) into the ascetic and licentious sects: both parties agreeing in holding the essential evil of matter; the one endeavouring by rigorous abstinence to free as much as possible man's soul from the bondage to which it is subjected by union with his material part; and refusing to marry and so enthral new souls in the prisons of bodies; the other abandoning as desperate any attempt to purify the hopelessly corrupt body, and teaching that the instructed soul ought to hold itself unaffected by the deeds of the body. All actions were to it indifferent, for to the pure all things were pure; nay, it was a duty to set at nought restrictions only imposed by the commands of that Being who did the evil work of shutting up men's souls in matter. The division of Neander is intended to embrace a wider range of sects than that just described. Taking the common doctrine of the Gnostic sects that the world was made by a Being different from the supreme God, he distinguishes whether that Being was held to have acted in subordination to the Supreme, and on the whole to have carried out his intentions, or to have been absolutely hostile to the supreme God. Taking now into account the generally acknowledged principle that the Creator of the world was the same as the God worshipped by the Jews, we see that Gnostics of the second class would be absolutely hostile to Judaism, which those of the former class might accept as one of the stages ordained by the Supreme in the enlightenment of the world. Thus Neander's division classifies sects as they are not unfriendly to Judaism or hostile to it; the former class taking its origin in those Alexandrian schools where the authority of such teachers as Philo had weight, the other among Christian converts from Oriental philosophy whose early education had given them no prejudices in favour of Judaism. Neander, with a good deal of ingenuity, deduces from the opposite decisions on his fundamental point of distinction the leading doctrines of the schools on both sides, though in each case it is easy to see that he has chiefly in view the opinions of one representative sect, and that his descriptions do not equally apply to all the sects which he has joined together. In fact, the sects which are joined together in this classification are not those whose natural affinities are the greatest. Marcion is joined with the Ophites, while the Valentinians, who have a closer resemblance to the latter, are on the opposite side: Basilides is on one side, his later followers on the other. Baur improved on Neander's principle of classification by taking into account not only how the sects regarded Judaism, but also how they regarded heathenism. All regarded Christianity as the absolutely true religion, but the point of difference was whether they represented it as absolutely hostile to the two other systems, or whether they would recognise seeds of religious truth in each of these dispensations. Thus then he divides into (1) sects which were willing to allow Christianity to look with a certain countenance of friendliness both on Judaism and on heathenism, (2) which made Christianity look with absolute hostility on both, (3) which identified Christianity with Judaism while placing both in opposition to heathenism. The last class embraces only the sectaries of the Pseudo-Clementines; and it may be suspected that it was only in order to maintain the symmetry of his classification that Baur was led to count these as Gnostic at all. Setting these aside, it is found that the result of Baur's method is to place the school of Marcion on one side and all other Gnostic sects on the other, a classification which really carries us but a little way. Gieseler divides into Alexandrian Gnostics, whose teaching was mainly influenced by the Platonic philosophy, and Syrian strongly affected by Parsism. In the former the emanation doctrine was predominant, in the latter dualism. Undoubtedly the most satisfactory classification would be if it were possible, as Matter suggested, to have one founded on the history of the generation of the sects, distinguishing the school where Gnosticism had its beginning, and naming the schools which successively in different places altered in different directions the original scheme. But a good classification of this kind is rendered impossible by the scantiness of our materials for the history of Gnosticism. Irenaeus is the first to give us any full details, and he may be counted two generations later than Valentinus; for Marcus, the disciple of Valentinus, was resisted by one whom Irenaeus looked up to with respect as belonging to the generation above his own. On the other hand, the interval between Valentinus and the beginning of Gnosticism is likely to have been quite as great as that between Valentinus and Irenaeus. It has been already mentioned that we learn from Hippolytus that it was the boast of the members of the sect of the Naassenes that they alone "knew the depths": now we find that this same phrase, "knowing the depths," was also a watchword of the false teachers reprobated in the Apocalypse (Rev. ii. 24). We can hardly avoid the inference that the Naassenes of Hippolytus inherited a phrase continuously in use among heretical teachers since before the publication of the Revelation of St. John. Of the writers who would deny the pastoral epistles to be Paul's, a large proportion date the Book of Revelation only two or three years after St. Paul's death; therefore, whether we suppose or not that it was Paul who wrote of the "falsely called knowledge," it remains probable that heretical pretenders to Gnosis had arisen in Paul's lifetime. If we find reason to place the beginnings of Gnosticism in apostolic times, we have no reason for surprise that the notices of its origin given by Irenaeus, who wrote more than a century afterwards, are so scanty; and that the teachers to whom its origin has been ascribed, Simon, Menander, Nicolas, Cerinthus, remain to us shadowy or legendary characters. It follows that any conclusions we come to as to the order of succession of the early Gnostic sects and their obligations one to another, rest less on trustworthy historical evidence than on the critical sagacity of the modern enquirer, and consequently that such conclusions do not form a very secure basis of classification. Still, some general facts

in the history of the evolution of Gnosticism may be considered as fairly certain; and accordingly we are well disposed to accept as a whole the classification of Lipsius, and with him to count three stages in the progress of Gnosticism, even though with regard to particular sects there may be room for dispute as to what place in the division this or that sect is to be assigned. The birthplace of Gnosticism may be said to be Syria, if we count that word as including Palestine and Samaria, where church tradition places the activity of those whom it regards as the founders of Gnosticism, Simon and Menander. It may also be inferred from the use made of the Old Testament and of Hebrew words that Gnosticism sprang out of Judaism. The false teaching combated in the Epistle to the Colossians, which has several Gnostic features, is also distinctly Jewish, insisting, as it did, on the observance of sabbaths and new moons. The Epistles to Timothy and Titus, which deal with a somewhat later development of Gnosticism, describe the false teachers, whom they censure as "of the circumcision" as "professing to be teachers of the law," and as propounders of "Jewish fables." It is not unlikely that what these epistles characterize as "profane and old wives' fables" may be some of that Jewish Haggadah of which the early stages of Gnosticism are full. The story of Ialdabaoth, for instance, told by Irenaeus (i. 30), we hold to date from the very beginning of Gnosticism, if not in its present shape, at least in some rudimentary form, as may be inferred from the appearance of fragments of it in different Gnostic systems; in particular of the representation of the work of Creation as performed by an inferior Being who still fully believed himself to be the Supreme, saying, "I am God, and there is none beside me," until after this boast his ignorance was enlightened. The Jewish Cabbala has been asserted to be the parent of Gnosticism; but besides that the records of Cabbalistic doctrine are quite modern, and that any attempt to pick out the really ancient parts must be attended with uncertainty, the latest investigations have led to the result (see Lipsius, p. 270, and Grätz, referred to by him) that the Cabbala is certainly not older than Gnosticism, its relation to it being not that of a parent, but of a younger brother. If there be direct obligation, the Cabbala is the borrower, but many of the common features are to be explained by regarding both as branches from the same root, and as alike springing from the contact of Judaism with the religious beliefs of the farther East. Jewish Essenism especially furnished a soil favourable to the growth of Gnosticism, with which it seems to have had in common the doctrine of the essential evil of matter, as appears from the denial by the Essenes of the resurrection of the body, and from their inculcation of a disciplining of man's material part by very severe asceticism. Concerning these and some other affinities of Essenism and Gnosticism, see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 119, *seq.* It may be added that the Ebionite sects which sprang out of Essenism, while they professed the strongest attachment to the Mosaic law, not only rejected the authority of the prophetical writings, but dealt in a very arbitrary manner with those parts of the Pentateuch which conflicted with their peculiar doctrines. We have parallels to this in theories of some of the early Gnostic sects which referred the Jewish prophetical books to the inspiration of Beings inferior to him by whom the law was given, as well as in the arbitrary modes of criticism applied by some of the later sects to the books of Scripture. What has been said as to the affinities of Essenism and Gnosticism sufficiently illustrates the growth of Gnosticism from Judaism when the latter was brought into contact with the mystic speculations of the East, whether we suppose Essenism to have been a stage in the process of growth or whether we suppose both to have been independent growths under similar circumstances of development. Lipsius notes as the characteristics of those sects which he counts as belonging to the first stage of Gnosticism that they still move almost or altogether within the circle of the Jewish religious history, and that the chief problem they set themselves is the defining the relation between Christianity and Judaism. The solutions of this problem at which they arrive are very various. Those Jewish sects whose Essenism passed into the Ebionitism of the Clementines regarded Christianity as essentially identical with Judaism, either religion being sufficient for salvation. These sects are quite orthodox in their theories as to the Creation, their utmost deviation (if it can be called so) from the received belief being the ascription of Creation to the immanent wisdom of God. Other Jewish speculators came to think of the formation of matter as accomplished by a subordinate Being, carrying out, it may be, the will of the Supreme, but owing to his finiteness and ignorance doing the work with many imperfections. Then came the theory that this subordinate Being was the God of the Jews, to which nation he had issued many commandments that were not good, though overruled by the Supreme so as to carry out His ends. Lastly came the theory of the Cainites and other extreme Ophite sects, which represented the God of the Jews as the determined enemy of the Supreme, and as one whose commands it was the duty of every enlightened Gnostic to disobey. With all this variety of results, these sects agreed in the importance they attached to the problem of settling the true relations of Judaism to Christianity. They do make use of certain heathen principles of cosmogony, but these such as already had become familiar to Syriac Judaism, and introduced not so much with the object of effecting a reconciliation between Christianity and heathenism as with the view of giving an explanation of the exact service rendered to the world by the publication of Christianity, the absolute religion. This is made mainly to consist in the aid given to the soul in its struggles to escape the bonds of finiteness and darkness, by making known to it the supersensual world and awaking it to the consciousness of its spiritual origin. Regarding this knowledge as the common privilege of Christians, the first speculators would count their own possession of it as differing rather in degree than in kind from that of other Christians; and so it is not easy to draw a sharp line of distinction between their doctrine on the subject of Gnosis and that admitted as orthodox. Our Lord had described it as the privilege of His disciples to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; later when His followers learned to know the doctrine of a suffering Messiah, and of the fulfilment of the

types and shadows of the Mosaic law in the person of Jesus, they felt that the veil which was spread over the Jewish mind in the reading of the law had been removed for them, and that they enjoyed a knowledge of the meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures to which their unconverted brethren were strangers. This feeling pervades the Epistle to the Hebrews, and still more that of Barnabas. Another doctrine which Paul describes as a mystery formerly kept secret, but now revealed through his gospel, is the admission of the Gentiles on equal terms with the Jews to the inheritance of the kingdom of Christ. It was no part of orthodox Christian doctrine that all Christians possessed the knowledge here referred to in equal degree. It was owned that there were among the Christians some who required to be fed with milk, not with strong meat, and who had not their senses exercised by reason of use to discern between good and evil. We have quoted, Vol. I. p. 565, the distinction made by Clement of Alexandria between faith and knowledge. We hesitate therefore to say that the earliest Gnostic doctrine concerning the relations between faith and knowledge was specifically different from that of the church, the difference, as we believe, mainly turning on the character of what was accounted knowledge, much of the Gnostic so-called knowledge consisting in acquaintance with the names of a host of invisible Beings and with the formulae which were useful in gaining their favour.

Gnosticism, in its first stage, did not proceed far outside the limits of Syria. What Lipsius counts as the second stage dates from the migration of Gnostic systems to Alexandria, where the myths of Syriac Gnosis came to be united to principles of Grecian philosophy. Different Gnostic systems resulted according as the principles of this or that Grecian school were adopted. Thus, in the system of Valentinus, the Pythagorean Platonic philosophy predominates, the Stoic in that of the Basilidians as presented by Hippolytus. In these systems, tinged with Hellenism, the problem of assigning the true place to Judaism in the history of the world's development drops into the background, the Jewish religion being not so much controverted or disparaged as ignored. The mythological personages among whom in the older Gnosis the work of creation was distributed are in these Hellenic systems replaced by a kind of abstract beings (of whom the Valentinian aeons may serve as an illustrative specimen) which personify the different stages of the process by which the One Infinite Spirit communicates and reveals itself to derived existences. In these systems, again, the distinction between faith and knowledge, which in the older system had been one of degree, becomes sharpened, the persons to whom faith and knowledge respectively are to serve as guides being represented as essentially different in nature. The most obvious division of men into classes would have recognised but two classes: a kingdom of light, and a kingdom of darkness. Probably, the need of a third class may have first made itself felt from the necessity of finding a place for members of the Jewish religion, who stood on a level so far above heathenism, so far below Christianity. The Platonic[a] trichotomy of body, soul, and spirit, afforded a principle of threefold classification, and men are divided into earthly (ὑλικοί or χοϊκοί), animal (ψυχικοί), and spiritual (πνευματικοί). In these Hellenic Gnostic systems, the second class represents not Jews but ordinary Christians, and the distinction between them and the Gnostics themselves (who are the spiritual) is made so to rest on an original difference of nature as to leave little room for human free-will. The mode of salvation by faith and corresponding works is disparaged as suitable only for the psychical, the better sort of whom may, by this means, be brought to as high a position in the order of the universe as their nature is capable of; but the really spiritual need not these lower methods of salvation. It suffices for them to have the knowledge of their true nature revealed to them, when they become certain of shaking off all imprisoning bonds and soaring to the highest region of all. It results from these theories that ordinary historical Christianity runs the risk of meeting the same fate in the later Gnostic systems that befel Judaism in the earlier. The doctrines and facts of the religion are only valued so far as under their veils can be made to appear the peculiar notions of Gnosticism; and the method of allegorical interpretation is now so freely applied to the New Testament as well as the Old that all the solid parts of the religion are in danger of being volatilized away.

The natural consequence of this weakening of the historic side of Christianity was the removal of all sufficient barrier against the intrusion of heathen elements into the systems; while their moral teaching was injuriously affected by the doctrine that there were certain who were secure of salvation by necessity of their nature and irrespectively of their conduct. In the third stage of Gnosticism, it struggles in various ways to avoid these faults, and so again draws nearer to the teaching of the Catholic church. Thus the DOCETAE of Hippolytus no longer divide mankind into two or three great classes; but allow of immense variety corresponding to the diversity of the ideas derived from the world of aeons, which each has received, while again they deny to none a share in our Lord's redemption, but own that members of different sects are entitled, each in his degree, to claim kinship with Jesus, and to obtain forgiveness of sins through Him. So again in one of the latest of the Gnostic systems, that of PISTIS SOPHIA, there is no assertion of an essential diversity of nature among men, but the immense development of ranks and degrees in the spiritual world, which the work referred to professes to reveal, is used so as to provide for every man a place according to his works. Once more, in the system of Marcion, the theory of essentially different classes of men is abandoned; the great boast of Christianity is made to be its universality; and the redemption which the Gospel brings is represented, not as the mere rousing of the pneumatic soul to consciousness of privileges, which as a fact it had all along possessed, but as the introduction into the world of a real principle of moral life through the revela-

[a] An Assyrian origin is ascribed to the threefold division (Hippol. v. 7, p. 98).

tion of a God of love forgiving sins through Christ.

In the account which we have just given we have closely followed Lipsius; but we shall now attempt to supply materials for constructing or testing any more general classification of Gnostic systems by giving under each head of doctrine, irrespectively of any theory, a classified list of the tenets of each. We can only touch lightly, however, on the systems of Valentinus and Marcion, these being too important to admit of satisfactory treatment except in separate articles.

Doctrine with Regard to the First Principle.—Irenaeus states that nearly all the heresies acknowledged the unity of God, and in almost identical words he describes several of the earliest of them as counting as the first principle one Father unknown to all; but their systems may be divided into (A) those which, as far as our knowledge of them reaches, do not proceed beyond the limits of the old Jewish monotheism; (B) those which contain some perverse development of the Christian Logos doctrine, and personify immanent attributes of deity so as to make them distinct entities; (C) those which imply a knowledge of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. To class A belong Saturninus, as far as our scanty knowledge of him extends, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, and the Ebionites, Cerdo and Marcion. To class B we refer Simon and Menander, who, according to Irenaeus, agreed in teaching that angels and archangels were not produced directly by the Supreme, but by his thought or conception [ENNOEA] personified and regarded as a female originating principle. The account given by Hippolytus of the system of Simon more plainly brings it under this class; for Hippolytus himself remarks the analogy between the Simonian doctrine concerning the six "roots" and the Valentinian theory of aeons. Basilides, according to the account of Irenaeus, belongs to the same class, interposing, as he does, between the unborn Father and the angels the abstractions Nous, Logos, Phronesis, Dynamis, and Sophia.[b] These do not appear in the account of Hippolytus (see Vol. I. p. 271). The Barbelite system described by Irenaeus (i. 29) contains a richer growth of similar personifications, and the method culminates in the aeonology of Valentinus. To class C we cannot help referring the Ophite system described by Irenaeus (i. 30). It is scarcely possible to account except through the influence of Christian doctrine for the representation in this system of the first principle as threefold, consisting of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, though the Syriac use of a feminine noun to denote the last led to the description of the third principle as female, on which was founded some revolting mythology. In the Basilidian system as described by Hippolytus, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit have an equally prominent part. The system of the Peratae, who belong to the Cainite section of the Ophites, retains the doctrine of two male and one female principle, but the last of those is changed, the three being now Father, Son, and Matter; and this is substantially also the teaching of Justinus. The Naassenes, Sethites, and Docetae of Hippolytus, who all appear to be later than the Irenaean Ophites, agree in ascribing triplicity to the first principle.

In the Ophite system, both as described by Irenaeus and Hippolytus, the name Man is given to the first principle. This has been connected with the Adam Kadmon of the Cabbala; but it seems to us likely that this phraseology took its origin from the title Son of Man which in the Gospels our Lord applies to Himself (see Irenaeus, i. 12, p. 59).

Creation and Cosmogony.—Philo (*de Op. Mund.*) had inferred from the expression, "Let *us* make man," of the Book of Genesis that God had used other beings as assistants in the creation of man, and he explains in this way why man is capable of vice as well as virtue, ascribing the origin of the latter to God, of the former to his helpers in the work of creation. The earliest Gnostic sects ascribe the work of creation to angels, some of them making use of the same passage in the Book of Genesis (Justin. *Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 67). Simon and Menander, according to Irenaeus, represent the world as made by angels, but these angels not themselves the immediate work of God, but springing from his consort Ennoea. Saturninus appears not to have used this refinement; his angels are represented as made by the unknown Father, and those who made the world are represented as seven in number. It is they who use the words, "Let us make man"; but not after their own likeness, but after the likeness of a form descending from above, of which the Supreme Power permitted them to get a sight. They were unable, too, to give their creature power to stand erect until a spark of life was sent down into him through the pity of the Supreme Power. The Basilides of Irenaeus teaches substantially the same theory of creation, except that he more distinctly places the world-making angels at an immense distance below the Supreme, teaching that there are many heavens with their rulers, and that it was only the angels of the very lowest heaven who framed this earth. With him agree Carpocrates, who taught that this world and its contents were created by angels, greatly inferior to the unbegotten Father, and Cerinthus, who, in like manner, taught that the world was made by a power far separated from, and ignorant of, the Supreme Power. The story of the work of the creative angels is told more fully by Irenaeus in his account of the Ophite system (i. 30). In the preceding chapter he had related the cosmogony of the Barbelite system, which is proved by a number of verbal coincidences to be only another and shorter version of the same story. This story agrees with the system of Simon in making the creative angels the immediate offspring of a female principle, and not of the Supreme God; but not, however, of the first female principle the Holy Spirit, but of a second derived from her, to both of which the name of Wisdom is given. In this myth no explanation is given of the first creation of matter, but the lowest regions are represented as occupied from the first by a chaotic world of seething waters.

[b] Neander makes up the number seven by adding to he five mentioned by Irenaeus two other incidentally mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 25, p. 637); but we count this to be a very insecure combination, and the word Ogdoad seems to be used in the passage of Clement as a name of place, not of number.

Into these lower regions the second Sophia descends, prompted, according to one account, by a desire to find a consort, and thence is long unable to return, being detained by the waters which eagerly lay hold of the light which she brings with her (see also Hippol. v. 19, p. 139; viii. 9, p. 264). There she gives birth to a son, Protarchontes or Ialdabaoth, who in turn generates other angels, and who frames the lower world, all in ignorance of his mother, and unaware that he has any superior; for he cries "I am a jealous God and there is none other beside me." In this legend the story of the creation of man is told nearly in the same way as in the doctrine of Saturninus, but with this difference, that the spark of light to animate the first formed man is given not by pity of the superior power, but by his father Ialdabaoth, Sophia having so contrived it, in order that Ialdabaoth may thus be emptied of the light which he had received from her. And according to this myth the world's subsequent history is that of the plans by which Sophia contrives to recover from these lower regions the light which souls of men have inherited, and to effect its restoration to the heavenly regions whence it came. Neander (*Ch. Hist.* ii. 146) sees in this story of Sophia a mythological expression of the Pantheistic doctrine of an *anima mundi*, the source of all spiritual life, which reabsorbs into itself all that has flowed out from it. This tale of a descent and recovery of Sophia early established itself as a part of divergent Gnostic systems. It is the principal subject of the book *Pistis Sophia*, and it is worked out in much detail in the system of Valentinus, who added certain explanations and developments, besides founding on it an explanation of the origin of matter, the pre-existence of which seems to have been assumed in the earlier systems. The Cosmogony of the Basilides of Hippolytus has been sufficiently detailed (Vol. I. pp. 271 seq.). To the indications noted p. 277, from which it is inferred that the system there described is later than Valentinus, may be added the use of the text, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" (Hippol. vii. 26, p. 239; Clem. *Strom.* ii. 8, p. 448), which was employed by Valentinus with respect to the fear and conversion of Sophia (Hippol. vi. 32, p. 191); the use made of Ex. vi. 2, 3 (Hippol. ii. 36, p. 196; vii. 25, p. 238); the application of the title Demiurgos to the great Archon (vii. 23, p. 236); the use of the word ἐκτρώμα (vii. 26, p. 241); the technical use of the word τόπος in reference to the Hebdomad (compare vi. 32, p. 191, vii. 24, p. 237, *Excerpt. ex Script. Theod.* 38), and the doctrine of the "Great Ignorance," which has a certain resemblance to the part ascribed to Horus in bringing different orders of beings to a state of contentment by making known to them the necessary limitations which separate them. Concerning each of the coincidences noted, however, the question arises whether Basilides borrowed from Valentinus or both adopted common elements from the earlier Gnosis. There are points of resemblance also which seem more than accidental between this Basilidian system and that of the Sethites described in the fifth book of Hippolytus, for instance, the whole doctrine that the progress of the world's history is a resolution into its elements of what had been a confused mixture (Hippol. v. 21, vii. 27), the illustration that a young child possesses potentially the faculties which he afterwards brings into exercise (v. 19, vii. 227), and the use of the spreading of fragrance to illustrate the operation of the Spirit (v. 19, vii. 22). If there be obligation on either side it must be on the Basilidian; for the connexion of the Sethite system with the earlier Ophite systems is so much closer than with the Basilidian that we cannot conceive the last interposed between the former. We have noted under DOCETAE the resemblances between the doctrines of that sect and of this Basilidian system.

Doctrine with respect to Judaism.—The doctrine that the Creator of the world is not the supreme God leads at once to the question, what then is to be thought of the God of the Jews, who certainly claimed to have created the world? This question is most distinctly answered in the doctrine of the Ophite system (*Iren.* i. 30). According to it he who claimed to be a jealous God, acknowledging none other, was led by sheer ignorance to make a false pretension. He was in truth none other than the chief of the creative angels, holding but a subordinate place in the constitution of the universe. It was he who forbad to Adam and Eve that knowledge by which they might be informed that there were superiors to him, and who on their disobedience cast them out of paradise. It was he who brought a deluge on mankind, from jealousy that they did not pay him due honour, though baffled by a higher power in his attempt to destroy them. It was he who made a covenant with Abraham, that if his posterity would serve him they should possess the earth; he who brought that posterity out of Egypt, and gave them a law by Moses. It was he who inspired the Pentateuch and some other parts of the Old Testament; the rest of the volume was inspired by his subordinate angels; but yet his mother Sophia had provided that each of the writers should give intimations of those higher truths whereof the God of the Jews Himself was ignorant. Accordingly these sectaries used the Old Testament, but in a very arbitrary way, finding in it where they could confirmations of their theories, and rejecting without scruple whatever made against them. Yet all this polemic against Judaism has the marks of being addressed to men brought up to reverence the Old Testament, and who needed theories to make them feel themselves justified to disregard it. In systems previously described by Irenaeus we find traces of the same theory, though not so fully worked out. Their common statement, already quoted, that the Creative power was far below the supreme God, and ignorant of him, implies a rejection of the Old Testament doctrine, which plainly ascribes the work of creation to the Supreme, as well as a charge of ignorance against him who inspired the claim. It may be inferred also that the knowledge which they professed to communicate contained a revelation of that higher power of which the Creator was ignorant. The doctrine ascribed by Irenaeus to Simon is in many points identical with that which he ascribes to Carpocrates. Simon is represented as teaching a transmigration of souls,[c] and a

[c] The doctrine of a transmigration of souls, not only into human bodies but into those of beasts, is said to

consequent detention of souls in these lower regions until they have learned to cast off the yoke of the angels who made the world. It is these angels who inspired the teaching of the Jewish prophets which must be disregarded by enlightened men, who will live as they please, knowing that the actions which have the reputation of being righteous are not really so in their own nature, but only through the arbitrary appointment of these angels. This language would lead us to think of a rejection not of Jewish practices merely, but of the ordinary rules of morality; and accordingly church writers agree in accusing the followers of Simon of gross licentiousness of conduct. Besides this freedom of living, magical charms were the means by which they and the kindred sects hoped to bring under their power the makers of the world. The Ophite formulae preserved by Origen (*cont. Cels.* vi. 31), and that of the Marcosians given by Irenaeus (i. 13), are specimens of the valuable secrets which this Gnosis had to communicate. Saturninus and Basilides are described by Irenaeus as agreeing in the doctrines that the God of the Jews was but one of the creative angels, and that the Old Testament owed its inspiration to different sources, as already related. The opposition to the God of the Jews reaches its extreme in the system of the Cainites, which glorified Cain, Esau, Korah, and the others who are described in the Old Testament as disobedient to God. A specimen of this doctrine is to be found in the fragments of Peratic teaching preserved by Hippolytus (v. 16). The heroes of the Peratae are Cain, who refused to propitiate with a bloody sacrifice the God of this world, who delights in blood, Nimrod the mighty hunter, and Esau, who got no blessing from the blind old man, but whose face, notwithstanding Jacob saw, as though it had been the face of God. But in this system the place of honour is given to the serpent. In the system which we have so often referred to, described by Irenaeus (i. 30), though commonly called Ophite, the serpent is the father of the mundane demons, and the enemy of the human race, though sometimes, by the overruling influence of Sophia, made the minister of good. It is to be observed, however, that the name Nous is given to him, which is the title which in other Gnostic systems is given to one of the primal emanations of Deity. But in the Peratic system the serpent is identified with the Son, and is made the mediator between God and matter; it was he who gave wise counsel to Eve; he was the serpent-rod by whose means Moses performed his miracles; he was the brazen serpent who saved those who believed on him from being bitten by the serpents of the wilderness; it was he in whose likeness it was said the Son of man should be lifted up. They pointed out what a high place the serpent held among the constellations of heaven, and how the same form could be traced in the anatomy of the human frame. (See also v. 9, p. 119; 19, p. 142.)

The account of Valentinus given by Hippolytus (vi. 35, p. 194) would imply that he completely rejected the Old Testament, whose writers, inspired by the Demiurge, were as ignorant as himself, even as the Saviour said: "All who came before me are thieves and robbers." But from the account of Irenaeus (i. 7) we learn that Valentinus made the same discriminating use of the Old Testament as the earlier heretics, ascribing part of it to Sophia herself, part to her spiritual seed, and only the remainder to the Demiurge. His system looks on the Jews as like the Demiurge, whose people they are, limited in knowledge, but not incapable of enlightenment and spiritual elevation.

Doctrine concerning the Nature of Man.—We have already given the story told by Saturninus of the animation of a previously lifeless man by a spark of light from above.[d] With this myth he connected the doctrine, in which he was followed by almost all the Gnostic sects, that there would be no resurrection of the body, the spark of light being taken back on death to the place whence it had come, and man's material part being resolved into its elements. Saturninus is said to have taught the doctrine, antagonistic to that of man's free will, that there were classes of men by nature essentially different, and of these he counted two—the good and the wicked. The doctrine became common to many Gnostic systems that the human frame contained a heavenly element struggling to return to its native place. The Basilides of Hippolytus must be counted an exception, whose doctrine it is that things always tend upwards, and who therefore refuses to admit any real descent of a heavenly element from above. But he explains that things below can be affected by things above without any real contact, in the same way as Indian naphtha will light up while still at a considerable distance from the fire. This illustration was also employed by the Peratae (v. 17, p. 137), who also used the illustration that heavenly forms are imparted to material things in the same way that forms are transferred by a painter to his canvas without his removing anything from the objects which he draws. And this seems also to have been the Docetic doctrine (viii. 9, p. 264). The Saturninian twofold division of man's nature was soon replaced by a threefold. In the Irenaean Ophite system Adam is described as having (1) a body, before the fall, light and spiritual, but after his expulsion from paradise dark, gross, and sluggish; (2) a soul (*mundialis insufflatio*) inspired by Ialdabaoth; and (3) the sweet savour of the sprinkling of light bestowed on them by the compassion of the mother Prunikos. The Naassene system (Hippol. v. 6) divides man's nature into the parts *νοερόν*, *ψυχικόν*, and *χοϊκόν*. The system of JUSTINUS relates that there have been implanted in man's body two mutually hostile principles, the soul, derived from Eden, the source of all man's errors and misery, and the spirit given by Elohim, destined one day to be liberated. Valentinus completely followed the Ophite doctrine just mentioned. He counted man's bodily part as twofold —a hylic or subtle body, such as Adam was first created with, and a choïcal or gross earthly body, the "coat of skin" (see Vol. I. p. 313), with which he was arrayed after the fall; he besides ascribed to man the *ψυχή* derived from the Demiurge, and the *πνεῦμα*, derived from Achamoth, which, without the knowledge of the

have been also taught by Basilides (Clem. *Strom.* iv. 12, p. 600; *Excerpt. ex Script. Theod.* 28, p. 976, Origen, v. 1, in Rom. vii. 9, vi. p. 336, Lomm.).

[d] A similar story is attributed by the Naassenes to the Chaldees (Hippol. v. 7, p. 97).

Demiurge, was through his instrumentality inspired into the spiritual seed. These "spiritual," however, are only an ἐκλογή from among men; they are certain of salvation, whatever be their actions, even as pure gold remains gold though it be rolled in the mire; next to them come the psychical, the use of whose free will will decide whether they shall rise to a higher or sink to a lower lot, and who may accordingly be divided into two classes; last of all are the hylic, who are incapable of salvation. In the consummation all that is merely material will be burned up; the purified ψυχή will rise to the highest position below the Pleroma; the spiritual seed leaving their ψυχαί outside shall enter, pure spirit, into the Pleroma, and there enjoy bridal union with the angels who there have their dwelling. Basilides appears to have agreed with Valentinus in making the difference between the elect and others to be one of nature (*Strom.* v. 1).

Redemption and Christology.—The Gnostic systems generally represent man's spirit as imprisoned in matter, and needing release. The majority of them recognize the coming of Christ in the days of Herod as a turning-point in human affairs, but if we ask in what way man's redemption is effected, the answers of almost all reduce the Redeemer's work to the impartation of knowledge and the disclosure of mysteries. With regard to the nature of Christ, we may place as holding the lowest view Justinus, who describes Jesus but as a shepherd boy commissioned by an angel to be the bearer of a divine revelation, and who attributes to him at no time any higher character. Carpocrates, too, makes Jesus a man like others, only of more than ordinary steadfastness and purity of soul, possessing no prerogatives which other men may not attain in the same or even higher degree if they follow, or perhaps surpass, his example. Besides furnishing an example, he was also supposed to have made a revelation of truth, to secret traditions of which the followers of Carpocrates appealed. At the opposite pole from those who see in the Saviour a mere man are those who deny his humanity altogether. We know from St. John's epistle that the doctrine that our Lord had not really come in the flesh was one which at an early time troubled the church. Saturninus taught that the Saviour had been man merely in appearance, and the doctrine attributed to Basilides by Irenaeus makes him to be a spiritual being, the first-begotten Nous, and his sufferings and crucifixion to be but deceptive appearance. Other schemes attribute to the Saviour a double personality, representing him as a real man temporarily inhabited by a messenger from the unseen world. Cerinthus, for instance, taught that Jesus was an ordinary man, though of unusual righteousness and wisdom, but that on his baptism a spiritual Being, Christ, in the form of a dove, descended on him; that at his crucifixion Christ departed, leaving Jesus to suffer and rise again. Our imperfect accounts of Simon of Samaria leave us in some uncertainty as to his doctrine. He is said to have taught a real descent of the supreme God into the world, and his conjunction with a real human personality, viz. his own. But he is said also to have taught a previous incarnation of the Supreme in Jesus, and to have given a docetic account of his sufferings. All other Gnostic systems make the heavenly person who assumes human form to be subordinate to the Supreme. The Irenaean Ophites, for instance, agree with Cerinthus in distinguishing Christ from Jesus. Christ is brother to Sophia, of higher nature than his sister. He descends for her rescue and restoration, passing on his way through the seven heavens, and emptying their rulers of their power (see Vol. I. p. 424). Jesus is the son of the Virgin, divinely prepared beforehand as a pure vessel into which Christ might descend, purer, wiser, and more righteous than other men. At his baptism Christ united to Sophia descends into him, and enables him then first to work miracles. At the crucifixion Christ departs, leaving Jesus alone to die, but afterwards raises him up again, at least as far as his psychic and pneumatic parts, for the gross earthly body was left to be resolved into its elements. Jesus remains on earth for eighteen months instructing his disciples, and after that ascends to sit on the right hand of his father Ialdabaoth, unperceived by whom he unites to himself all holy souls, thus preparing the consummation of all things, which will arrive when Ialdabaoth is completely exhausted of his light, and all has been collected and united by Christ. The Valentinian theory, of which we shall speak in full afterwards, agrees with that just described in making the rescue of Sophia the primary object of the descent of Christus, and in the complexity which it attributes to the nature of the Redeemer. The system of Basilides, as described by Hippolytus, reduces redemption to a minimum, for it makes the progress of the world to its perfect state to be a natural process of evolution arising out of the properties which the seminal principles of things possessed from their first constitution. But yet it was the Saviour's necessary work to give the impulse needed for this development. This he did in the first place by the communication of knowledge. As the son of the great Archon caught the knowledge of supermundane things from the sonship above, and communicated it to his father, and likewise the son of the archon of the Hebdomad caught the like knowledge from the Ogdoad, and enlightened the Hebdomad with it, so the same light came down on Jesus, and enabled him to liberate the sonship entangled in the formlessness of this lower world, and to give it power to soar to that above. And in this system place is found for the work of the Saviour's Passion; for the most striking difference between the Basilides of Hippolytus and of Irenaeus is that the former acknowledges, the latter denies, the reality of the Passion. What was then accomplished is stated to have been the complete separation of the Saviour's component parts. His bodily frame, which belonged to the "formlessness" suffered, and there remained. His psychical part was resuscitated, and rose to the Hebdomad, whence it had come. So in like manner of that part of him which had been derived from the Ogdoad, and of that which had been derived from the limitary spirit, while the most subtle part of all passed into the supermundane regions. In this Jesus was the first fruits of creation, and it is by a separation such as this of the subtler from the grosser elements that the third sonship is enabled to ascend to its destined place.

Authorities.—The great work of Irenaeus against heresies is the chief storehouse whence writers, both ancient and modern, have drawn

their accounts of the Gnostic sects. It was primarily directed against the then most popular form of the heresy of Valentinus; and it has thence not unnaturally happened that this form of Gnosticism has thrown all others into the shade; and that many modern writers when professing to describe Gnosticism really describe Valentinianism. Irenaeus was largely copied by Tertullian, who, however, on Marcionism ranks as an independent authority; by Hippolytus, who in his newly-recovered work against heresies adds to what he has taken from Irenaeus large extracts from his independent reading of Gnostic works, and by Epiphanius, who also gives a few valuable additions from other sources. The *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria, though provokingly desultory and unsystematic, furnish much valuable information about Gnosticism, which was still a living foe of the church when the work was written. The writings of Origen also yield much important information. The gleanings of matter not borrowed from Irenaeus to be had from later heresiologists are scanty, and of doubtful value.

We give the following list of modern works which have made valuable contributions to the knowledge of Gnosticism, omitting monographs on particular sects. Of the authors cited Neander, Baur, and Lipsius are those from whom we have learned most. The prolegomena to Massuet's Irenaeus (1710), Beausobre, *Manichéisme* (1739); Mosheim, *de Rebus Christ. ante Constantinum*, 1753; Neander, *Genetische Entwickelung*, 1818; and *Church History*, vol. ii. 1825, and 2nd edition, 1843 (we refer to the latter work by the pages of the translation in Clarke's series); Matter, *Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme*, 1828, 2nd edition, 1843; Burton, *Bampton Lectures*, 1829; Baur, *Christliche Gnosis*, 1835; and *Die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1853, 2nd edition, 1860; Möller, *Kosmologie*, 1860; Lipsius, the article "Gnosticismus" in Ersch und Gruber, 1860; *Quellenkritik des Epiphanios*, 1865, out of which arose some interesting discussion between him and Harnack, 1873 and 1875; Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, 1875.

We do not think it necessary to give cross references to articles on the names of Gnostic teachers, as these are likely to be known to the reader, and the majority of them have already been mentioned in this article. On the relations between Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism see PLOTINUS. [G. S.]

GNOUAN, abbat of the altar of St. Cadoc at Llancarvan, and witness to the restoration of Abermenei by king Ithael to bishop Berthgwyn and the see of Llandaff in the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 429.) [J. G.]

GOALDUS. [EOALDUS.]

GOAR, Irish saint. [GUAIRE.]

GOAR, ST., a priest of Aquitaine, who settled on the Rhine, where the town now stands which bears his name, in the 6th century. His life, written, according to the common opinion, not long after his death, by an anonymous author, was first published by Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. ii. 276–280, Paris, 1668–1701), and then by the Bollandists, with notes (*Acta SS.* Jul. ii. p. 333). Moved by the rudeness of the style and the command of his abbat, Wandelbert, a monk of Prüm (circ. A.D. 813–870), re-wrote and polished the old life, and added an account of the miracles performed by the relics of the saint under the first three abbats of Prüm down to the year 839, and an account of the consolidation by Pippin of St. Goar's cell with the monastery of Prüm. Wandelbert's work was first published at Mainz, in 1489, then by Surius (July vi.), and from another and fuller MS. by Mabillon. (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. ii. 281–299, Paris, 1668–1701.) The second book containing the miracles may also be found in Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. ii. 337. Rettberg is probably correct in his surmise that neither of these lives are earlier than the 9th century. His view is that the account is a mere legend written with a purpose, that of vindicating the pleasures of the table against ill-natured asceticism. (*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 481–2.) However that may be, the narrative teems with fable and chronological difficulties, and is, historically, almost valueless. The story is, that in the days of Childebert, son of Clovis (511–558), there came from Aquitaine a man endowed with all the noblest qualities, named Goar, son of Georgius and Valeria, and took up his abode upon the Rhine, between Oberwesel and Boppard, with the sanction of Felicius, then bishop of Treves. (No bishop of this name is found in the records of the see.) Here he built a little church, and furnished it with relics of the Virgin and other saints. He passed his days in fasting, prayer and all good works, made converts among the surrounding heathen, and hospitably entertained passing strangers, his habit being, after celebrating religious service early in the morning, to eat with the traveller and the poor who came to him. But in the quaint language of his biographer, the devil, taking it hardly that a pearl of such price should be in a German town, stirred up the bishop of Treves, now Rusticus, to send messengers to spy out whether they could find any new or vain thing. Upon their slanderous report that he spent his days and nights in gluttony, they were sent back again to summon St. Goar to Treves. On his way, by a somewhat grotesque miracle, he delivers his enemies from death by hunger and thirst. Brought before the bishop, he is accused of eating and drinking in the early morning, and the bishop proposes to try him whether he is from God or the devil. The test proposed is that he should cause a foundling, three days old, to declare its parents. The child's mouth is opened, and it declares Rusticus to be its father. The bishop overwhelmed with shame falls at the saint's feet, and confesses his sin. Goar exhorts him to repentance, and imposes on himself seven years' vicarious penitence. Sigebert, king of the Franks, hearing of these things, summons him to his presence, and would put him in the place of Rusticus, but the saint refuses during the bishop's lifetime. With difficulty he obtains permission to return to his cell on the plea of reflection, where he remained for seven years. At the end of that time the king's messengers find him sick of a fever, and still firm in his refusal. He lived three years and three months longer, and was

then carried off by fever at a good old age (according to Mabillon, circ. 649). He was buried where he died, and, as he had directed, by two priests named Agrippinus and Eusebius, together with a great company. He is commemorated July 6, on which day he is mentioned in the martyrologies of Wandalbert, Bede, Usuard, and Ado. The first notice of his cell occurs towards the close of the 8th century, when it was the subject of a contest between the abbat of Prüm and the archbishop of Treves, which was finally composed by Charles the Great. The present church was built 1444–1469, and restored in 1843. In addition to the authorities cited above, see the *Observationes Praeviae* in Boll. *A. SS.* Jul. 2, 327–332, the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 501–2; v. 378; and Herzog sub nom. His life is included in Baillet's collection. (*Vies des Saints*, Juillet 6, tom. v. 88.)

[S. A. B.]

GOBALDUS (GEROBOLDUS), twenty-eighth bishop of Soissons, succeeding Galconus, and followed by Hubertus or Gerabertus, probably a little before the middle of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 339; Gams, *Series Episc.* 633.)

[S. A. B.]

GOBBAN (GOBAIN, GOBAN, GOBHAN), a common name among the ancient Irish, and a form evidently of the Irish Gobha, a smith, and of Goban, their Vulcan or smith-god (Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 221, 4th ed.). Under this name there are eight commemorations in the *Martyrology of Donegal*, and another Gobban was the most famous architect belonging to that early period in which he lived.

(1) Son of Nasc, commemorated March 17. Colgan (*Acta SS.*, March 17, p. 83) has compiled the acts of St. Gobban and his two brothers, mostly from the life of St. Carthach Mochuda (May 14). About or before the year 620, St. Carthach was for some time at Inispict (the name is now obsolete, but the place was near Sherky Island or Inishercan, beside Cape Clear, off the coast of Cork); on departing to Rahen, he left in his monastery three brothers, Gobban, Graphan (or Straphan), and Laseran, under the charge of bishop Domaingen. Gobban afterwards became a bishop, but whether to succeed Domaingen at Inispict, or to serve elsewhere, is unknown. [DOMAINGEN.] (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 14, § 15.)

(2) Abbat of Airdne and Ard-Dairinnsi, commemorated, March 26 and May 30. On these days the *Mart. Doneg.* commemorates severally the abbat of Ard-Dairinnsi, and the abbat of Airdne, but they probably represent one and the same person. Colgan attempts a memoir at March 26, of the "Abbat of Airdne-Dairinnsi," but is in doubt as to whether he was (*a*) the disciple of St. Ailbhe, who became patron of the church of Kinsale, which after his death was founded to his honour, or (*b*) the friend of St. Laserian, the abbat of Killamery, and possibly the founder of the monastery at Leighlin or Old Leighlin, before St. Laserian came to settle there, and establish the see [GOIBNENN]; he evidently leans to the latter, but probably without good reason, though we have as little authority for identifying him with the former. Kelly (*Cal. Irish Saints*, 105) places Airdne-Dairinnsi "near Wexford, close to Beggery." (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 92, n. 6, 715, c. 7, 750; Ware, *Ir. Ant.* c. 29.)

(3) Finn, of Cill Lamhraidhe and Tigh-da-gobha, commemorated Dec. 6. Gobban Finn was son of Luighdech, of the Ui Liathan, who were descended from Oilill Olum. He is called "the father of a thousand monks," and is said to rest at Clonenagh, a townland near Mountrath, in Queen's County, but in the ancient kalendars his name is more frequently connected with Cill-lamruidhe (now Killamery, co. Kilkenny) and Tigh-da-gobha (now Seagoe, on the Bann, in the barony of Oneilland East, co. Armagh); on the latter Dr. Reeves says, Seagoe, "Sessio Gobhae," was anciently called "the house of Gobha" or "the house of the two Smiths." He died A.D. 639. He is by some identified with the Gobbans of Ard-Dairinnse (March 26) and of Tascoffin (May 23) [GOBBAN (2), and GOIBNENN]. The people of the old tribe district of Ui Caithrenn, round Killamery, are said by Aengus the Culdee to have placed themselves, their families, and their fortunes under him, *i.e.* under his patronage and invocation. (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 326; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 92, n. 6, 750; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 107, 108, 317; *Journ. Kilken. Arch. Soc.* iii. 360 n. iv. 253, 254, v. 211, n.; Joyce, *Ir. Names of Places*, 300, 3rd ed.; *Mon. Hib.* 22, 101.)

[J. G.]

(4) Saer. The personal history and lineal descent of Gobban Saer, the builder, are hid in the deepest obscurity, and legend has used his name so freely that some authors entirely question his ever having really existed or been other than a fancied embodiment and impersonation of ecclesiastical architecture as an art. Yet O'Curry, Petrie, Reeves, and other Irish authorities, accept him as a real historical personage, and the architect of churches and round towers in the sixth and seventh centuries, the very legends being vouchers for a certain basis of truth. So famous did his name become, that when a building was afterwards found of more than ordinary beauty, extent, or delicacy of workmanship, it could be attributed to none but Gobban Saer, so that what was put into the form of prophecy is likely to become true in fact, that "his fame as a builder in wood and in stone will exist in Ireland to the end of time," or, at least, of Ireland as a nation. His father appears to have been called Tuirbhi Traghmhar, *i.e.* Tuirbhi of the Strand (a place now known as the Strand of Turvey, on the coast of Dublin), but it is not known whether Gobban was a native or come of foreign descent. O'Curry thinks he was descended from Teige or Tadg, son of Cian, son of Oilill Olum, but Petrie rather inclines to the opinion that, while he was born at Turvey, he did not belong to the Scotic race, but that the very curious account of him, in the *Books of Lecan and Ballymote*, had best be interpreted as shewing that he was either of foreign extraction, and thus the inheritor of a better skill and style of architecture, or belonged to the race of the Tuatha De Dananns, who preceded and were driven out by the Scoti, and were always referred to as superior to the Scoti in the knowledge and practice of the arts. The tradition is generally accepted that he built the round towers of Antrim, Killala, and Kilmacduach, and in the legendary lives of the saints, like those of St. Maedhog (Jan. 31), St. Moling (June 17), and St. Ailbhe (Sept. 12), he is often introduced as the church-builder: according to

the *Life of St. Maedhog* (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 247, 570) he owed his eminence, as an architect, entirely to the blessing of St. Maedhog. According to the tradition in the country (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 404, n. [h]) he was interred at Derrynavlan, a townland in the parish of Graystown, barony of Slieveardagh, co. Tipperary, and we find his name at Gobbin's Heir Castle (literally Gobban Saer's Castle, a church ruin in the townland of Drumeeny, parish of Ramoan, and barony of Cary, co. Antrim), and probably at Kilgobbin, a parish in the barony of Rathdown, co. Dublin. (Petrie, *Round Towers of Ireland*, 348, 380 sq. 404 sq.; O'Curry, *Lec. Man. and Cust. Anc. Ir.* iii. 34–45; Brash, *Eccl. Arch. Irel.* 155 sq.; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 285; *Battle of Magh Lena* (Celt. Soc.), 96 n.; *Journ. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Ass. Ir.* 4 ser. i. 571 sq.; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 570 sq.)

(5) Friend of St. Fursey, commemorated June 20. Starting from Bede's statement (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. c. 19) that, when St. Fursey left Britain, he gave his monastery at Cnobhersburg, now Burgh Castle in Suffolk, to the care of his brother St. Foilan, and of two priests, Gobban and Dicull, later writers have compiled or imagined lives of St. Gobban and the rest. [FURSEY.] The Scotch authors say he was an Albanic Scot, but he is more likely to have been Irish. Soon after the departure of Fursey, Gobban also passed into France, was some time at Corbeny and Laon, and finally took up his abode in a forest near the Oise, and built his cell and stately church dedicated to St. Peter, between Le Frere and Premontré, where he was highly honoured by king Clothaire III., and at last was put to death by some barbarians in search of treasure. The place of his martyrdom was first called Le Mont d'Hermitage, and is now St. Gobain. He must have flourished in the third quarter of the 7th century. He is usually commemorated on June 20, but Camerarius places him at Nov. 3, and Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* 304, 305) ascribes to him *Acta Fursaei*, lib. i. *Epistola ad eundem*, lib. i. (Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, June 20; Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, June 20, vi. 280; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 88, c. 3, 92, n. [e], et al.; Lanigan, *Ch. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 16, § 9; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 185; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 304; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 17, Wks. vi. 539; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 260, n. [39]; Tanner, *Bibl.* 328.) [J. G.]

(6) Priest, was one day offering the church's sacrifice (presbyteri sacrificium offerentis) in the hearing of St. Fintan of Clonenagh, when the latter was filled with emotion, saw and heard only a wicked priest triumphing in deadly sin, foretold his withdrawal from their society, his return to the world, and his shameful death in the midst of his sin. (*Vita S. Fintani*, c. 16, in Colgan, *Acta SS.* 351; Bolland, *Acta SS.* 17 Feb. iii. 19, c. ii.) [J. G.]

(7) Of Tigh-Scuithin. (*Mart. Tall.* May 23, ap. Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xxv.) [GOIBHNENN.] [J. G.]

GOBBONET, abbess. [GOBNAIT.]

GOBHAN. [GOBBAN.]

GOBNAIT (GOBBONET, GOBINET, GOBNAT, GOBNATA, GOBNET, GOPNAT), Virgin, commemorated Feb. 11. Though her fame is great in Munster, remarkably little is known of her history. Colgan (*Acta SS.* Feb. 11, p. 315) has been able to draw together but a few details from the ancient Irish authorities, and the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 11 Feb. ii. 507) place her name among their praetermissi. In the *Mart. Doneg.* (by Todd and Reeves, 47) she is entered at Feb. 11 as both Gobnat and Cognat. St. Gobnait was of the race of Conaire, son of Modh-Lamha, monarch of Ireland, of the race of Heremon; she was born at Boirenn (called also Burneach, Baile Mhuirnè, and now Ballyvourney, in the barony of West Muskerry, co. Cork), and is said to have been made abbess of the monastery there by St. Abban (March 16): (for the remains there, see *Proc. Roy. Irsh Acad.* viii. 283.) She also had dedications at Ernuidhe (unidentified) and at Moinmor, now perhaps Moanmore, co. Clare, or more probably Moinmore, near Mallow, as it is specially said (*Mart. Doneg.*); "At Móin-mor, in the south of Erinn, is her church." She had also a dedication on Insheer, in Galway Bay, and seems to have flourished in the beginning of the 6th century, but her date is very uncertain. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 17, § 4; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 315, 714; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* pp. xv. 73; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 47; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 462–70, giving a full account of St. Gobnata, her ancient and modern legends and antiquities.) [J. G.]

GOBRIANUS, ST., eleventh bishop of Vannes, succeeding St. Mereadocus and followed by St. Bilus or St. Cadocus. He is said to have died in A.D. 725, on the 3rd Nov., the day of his commemoration. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 919; Gams, *Series Episc.* 649.) [S. B. A.]

GOD. The first struggle in which Christians were engaged when they entered on the work of preaching the gospel to "the Gentiles," was that of maintaining the unity and power of GOD. We have abundant evidence of the character of this struggle in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the letters which St. Paul addressed to Gentile churches. He rejoiced in reminding the Thessalonians (1 Thess. i. 9) "how they had turned to God from idols to serve a living and true God." At Lystra, he had urged those who would have done him sacrifice "to turn from these vanities unto the living God who made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein;" and at Athens he spoke to his hearers of "God that made the world and all things that are therein," and described Him as "Lord of heaven and earth." This truth must, of necessity, have been grasped before the Greeks and Latins and the rest could enter into the mystery of the Incarnation, or have any appreciation of the work of the Son of God; and accordingly we find one great object of the Christian Apologists was to displace the current beliefs of the ordinary Greeks and Romans as to the members of their Pantheon, and lead them up to a belief in one God, the Creator and Governor of the world. It was this effort that met with the bitterest opposition, and brought on the Christians the worst of persecutions. Again and again do we read in the Acts of the Martyrs that this was the testing question: "Would they submit to serve the daemons as all the nations did?"

Again and again the reply was this: "There is one God who made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things therein, and one Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God. I will not sacrifice to any man; I will not sacrifice to daemons." The anxiety of Tertullian to avail himself of the popular phrases, "Which God grant," "If God will," as proving that underlying the more open popular conceptions was the deeper belief that there is one God, to whom all power belongs, and to whose will all men look, is evinced both in his *Apology* (§§ 17, 18) and *The Testimony of the Soul*. But the faith of the Christians of course refused to attribute any power, any will, to the objects of their neighbours' reverence; and because of this refusal they were tortured and put to death.

But the Christians had to meet, in connexion with this same subject of the creation, a difficulty from another quarter—the Gnostic heresies, whose origin was in the East. All these sects[a] held that the world was not created by the supreme God, but was framed by inferior or hostile powers [see DEMIURGUS, Vol. I. p. 804, where the subject is discussed]. It was, undoubtedly, with reference to these divergent lines of thought—the imperfections of the Western philosophies, the vulgar conceptions of the ordinary Western mind, and the Gnosticism of the East—that the article became embodied in the creeds of all the churches, East and West, that GOD is THE MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

But even the Christians who had been converted from Greek and Roman conceptions of the Deity, had need to pass through much before their faith in God could be enlarged and purified from earlier mistakes. Thus we find Origen assuming that all Christians held that there is one God, who created and arranged all things, and called all things into existence; but yet he deemed it necessary to contend that God is immaterial and incorporeal. "Some attempted to say, even twisting the declaration of our own Scriptures" (such as *our God is a consuming fire*, and *God is spirit*), that "He is a body." It is still one of the most difficult of problems to conceive incorporeal existence; but it is strange to find that a passage, which to us seems most distinctly to affirm such existence, was used in the 3rd century to support the opposite opinion. Origen's argument in support of the incorporeal nature of the Deity may be seen in the first chapter of his work *De Principiis*. He proceeds to uphold two further truths in regard to God which, to us, seem incontrovertible, but to which it thus appears that Christians were brought by pain and labour, viz. the *singleness* or *simplicity* of the Divine nature (*natura illa simplex*), and *the impossibility of our measuring it*. Again, God is *incomprehensibilis atque inaestimabilis*.[b]

Additional light is thrown on the history of the reception of these truer conceptions of God from the great and systematic work which Lactantius addressed to Constantine after his conversion. Lactantius takes up and reviews the chief arguments of his predecessors, combining them in one view. Thus he asserts that it is necessary that God is *incorruptibilis, perfectus, impassibilis, nulli rei subjectus*. Neither is He subject to any necessity, for He is Governor no less than Creator. A few years later and we come to the Creed of Nicaea, embodying here the article of the Creed of Caesarea: "We believe in one God, Father Almighty, the maker of all things, both visible and invisible."[c] A few years later bring us down to another systematic treatise—the collection of lectures addressed by Cyril of Jerusalem to the candidates for baptism. The fourth lecture contains brief teachings on God, on Christ, on the Birth from the Virgin, on the cross, &c. On GOD, the catechumens were taught that "He is one, alone uncreate, without beginning, incapable of change or mutability; not begotten by another, nor having any successor; not having commencement of life in time, or ever a termination of life." Cyril speaks (to reject it) of the thought that the Author of our souls is different from the Creator of our bodies. He teaches that God is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (who is God of God); that He is not contained in any place; that He is in all things and out of all things. Thus we may say that, before the middle of the 4th century, everything was taught explicitly of God which the church has been permitted to attain to, viz. that He is uncreate, unmeasured, eternal, Almighty.

The relations between the three Persons in the Godhead will be treated in the article TRINITY. The remainder of this article will be devoted to a more special consideration of the teaching of the Church concerning GOD THE FATHER.

Instances are so numerous in the Scriptures of the New Testament in which the name GOD, taken absolutely, is used of the Father, that we ought not to be surprised at finding that the same Name is used in the same way in all ages of the church. "God so loved the world that He sent His only-begotten Son;" "God raised Him from the dead." "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God." Often, too, we find that this Name is supplemented by the addition "the Father"—*i.e.* as we find it in our Creeds. Thus, "Paul an apostle—through Jesus Christ, and God the Father who raised Him from the dead . . . . grace be to you, and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ." It was recognised that before all worlds, and when time was not, the SON was begotten of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God; and thus the Christian writers scrupled not to designate the Father as the origin ἡ ἀρχή, the cause ἡ αἰτία, the root and fountain ἡ ῥίζα καὶ πηγή of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Thus, whilst they held most firmly the equality, or rather the unity, of substance, power, and eternity in the three Persons of the Trinity, they scrupled not to assert that this power, essence, and eternity was given by

[a] Bardesanes, however, did not separate between the supreme God and the Creator of the world. On this ground Dean Mansel held that he must be considered as only partially a Gnostic. (*Gnostic Heresies*, p. 140.)

[b] These words of Rufinus's translation seem to have come from Tertullian's *Apologia*, cap. xvii.

[c] The creed of Caesarea had τὸν τῶν ἁπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. I suppose that τῶν ἁπάντων was deemed to be too wide; that it might even be quoted as including the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Nicene creed read πάντων in lieu of τὸν τῶν απαντων.

the Father to the Son and Holy Spirit. So they interpreted the words, "As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself:" so they appealed to the words, "The living Father hath sent Me, and I live διὰ τὸν Πατέρα by the Father." Indeed some of the early writers understood thus the words of our Saviour, "My Father is greater than I"—greater, not in magnitude nor in time, but because the Son had His generation from the Father. Holding most firmly the unity of will, and the unity of essence, they felt no difficulty about expressions such as this, "The Son can do nothing of Himself." They adopted in its full meaning language such as this, "Whatsoever things the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son (ὁμοίως) in like fashion." [See HOMOUSION, TRINITY, TRITHEISTS, and the various heresies bearing on the subject.] [C. A. S.]

GODA, a deacon who attests the act of archbishop Wulfred dated at Canterbury, April 21, 811. (Kemble, *C. D.* 195.) [S.]

GODALSADUS, thirty-eighth bishop of Chartres, succeeding Flavinus and followed by Bernoïnus, perhaps towards the close of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1102.) [S. A. B.]

GODARDUS, bishop of Rouen. [GILDARDUS.]

GODEARDUS of Mainz. [GOTHARDUS.]

GODEBERTA, virgin, of Noyon; commemorated April 11. *Vita S. Godebertae Virg.* auctore, ut videtur, Ratbodo Episcopo, ex MS. Cathedralis Noviomensis, in three chapters, with introductory notes and a short appendix of his translation, is given by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 11 Apr. ii. 31–6), and her dedication occurs in Molanus (Usuard. Auct. 11 Apr. Antw. 1567), Usuardus (*Mart. Auct.* Apr. 11 and 13 ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 926, 931, 932), Wion (*Lignum Vitae*, 11 et 27 Apr. l. iii. 132, 148, Venet. 1595), and Menard (*Mart.* 11 et 27 Apr. pp. 31, 35, Par. 1629).

The Life, which is really part of a sermon, was probably preached on the saint's feast in the church of St. Godeberta, and is printed by Surius (*De Prob. Sanct. Hist.* 145–6, Cologne, 1618); the Bollandists say that a number of relics were preserved in her church, and especially a bell said to have been her own.

Her Life is of the usual type. She was born of noble and Christian parents at Amiens, and carefully educated. Refusing marriage, she was given by her parents to bishop Eligius at Noyon in the presence of king Clotaire, who presented her with his own palace and the chapel of St. George. There she lived and died, and her body was placed in her own church, which was afterwards dedicated to her memory. If she was contemporary with St. Eligius (bishop c. A.D. 640–659) this must have taken place in the time of the Frankish king Clotaire III. (A.D. 656–670), and the Bollandists say she flourished about A.D. 700. [J. G.]

GODEBERTUS of Chartres. [GAUSBERTUS.]

GODEBERTUS, king. [GODEPERTUS.]

GODEFRIDUS. [GUNTFRIDUS.]

GODEGISELUS, one of the four sons of Gundeuchus, the second king of the Burgundians who died about A.D. 470. If we may believe the unfriendly testimony of Gregory of Tours and other Catholic historians, two of his brothers, Chilperic and Godomar, fell victims to the third, Gundobald [GUNDOBALD]. However that may be, in 494 Godegiselus was reigning over a part of the Burgundian territory, with Geneva for his capital, while Gundobald governed the remaining, and apparently the larger portion, from Lyons (Ennodius, *Vita S. Epiphanii*, c. 12; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 375). When Clovis declared war against Gundobald and invaded Burgundy, in 500, Godegiselus fought on his side at Dijon against his brother. As the reward for his treachery to the Burgundian cause he was to be made sole king of the nation under the supremacy of Clovis. But Gundobald, though defeated in that battle, soon recovered his strength, and turned his arms against Godegiselus, who had entered Vienne in triumph, and was supported there by 5000 Franks, whom Clovis had left on his departure northward. Though, like his brother, an Arian, he seems to have made an attempt at this time to conciliate the good-will of the Catholics by founding a nunnery at Lyons. See a subsequent charter of the twenty-sixth year of Guntram, in the *Gallia Christiana* (iv. instr. i.), in which his name is written Gaudisellus, and cf. Binding, *Das Burgundisch-Romanische Königreich*, i. 160. Gundobald's forces, however, succeeded in taking the city, and Godegiselus, who fled for shelter to an Arian church, was killed together with the bishop, as was said, by his brother's hand. The authorities for his life, besides those alluded to above, are Marius Avent. *Chron.* in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxii. 795–6; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 28, 32, 33, iii. prologus; *Hist. Franc. Epitomata*, xvii. xxii. xxiii. xxiv.; and Hincmar, *Vita S. Remigii*, l. Patr. Lat. cxxv. 1166. Implicit trust, however, must not be placed in Gregory's details, cf. Richter, *Annalen*, pp. 37–8.

[S. A. B.]

GODELBERTUS, according to Trithemius, author of an elegant poem in heroics upon the histories and allegories of Scripture entitled *Allegoriae Scripturarum*, from the beginning of the world to the Incarnation. He flourished A.D. 500. But there is great doubt as to his nationality, time, and works. (Trithem. *de Script. Eccles.* ff. 34; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 13, Wks. v. 528, 529, and Ind. Chron. A.D. 500; Tanner, *Bibl.* 329; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 225; Balaeus, *Ill. Maj. Brit. Scrip.* f. 27.)

[J. G.]

GODEMAR (GODOMAR, French GONDEMAR), the younger son of Gundobald, and sixth and last king of the Burgundians. His elder brother, Sigismund, fell a victim to the hatred borne his race by Clotilda, who excited her son Chlodomer to invade Burgundy. Sigismund fell into his hands, and was soon afterwards murdered with his wife and children. Godemar escaped, and was crowned king of the whole nation. A second campaign resulted in the death of Chlodomer at the battle of Vésérance between Vienne and Bellay. Accounts vary as to which army won the day, but whatever the issue of that battle may have been, Godemar soon possessed himself of the kingdom, and established himself on the

Burgundian throne (A.D. 524). Nothing further is known of him till A.D. 532, in which year Clotaire and Childebert led an expedition against Burgundy. With the flight of Godemar the line of Burgundian kings came to a close. Two years later the kingdom was divided between Clotaire, Childebert, and Theudebert. Godemar's end is unknown. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iii. 5, 6, 11; Fredegar, *Hist. Franc. Epit.* xxxiv.–xxxvii., Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxi. 589; Marius Avent. *Chron.*, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxii. 796–7; Procopius, *de Bello Goth.* i. 12, 13; Agathias, *Hist.* i. 3; Richter, *Annalen*, pp. 47–8, 52.) [S. A. B.]

GODEPERTUS (GODEBERTUS, GONDEBERTUS), left in 661, on the death of his father king Aripert, to divide the Lombard kingdom with his brother, Perthari. He reigned at Milan, his brother at Pavia. A quarrel between them soon broke out, and Godepert sent Garipald, duke of Turin, to get help from Grimoald, the powerful duke of Benevento. Garipald intrigued with Grimoald, advised Godebert to kill Grimoald as a traitor at their first interview, told Grimoald to expect treachery, who, therefore, murdered Godepert with his own hand, c. 662. (Paulus Diaconus, iv. 51.) Godepert left a child, Raginpert, whose son, Aripert II., ultimately became king of the Lombards at the beginning of the 8th century. [A. H. D. A.]

GODESCALCUS (1), 34th archbishop of Sens, succeeding Wilharius and followed by St. Guntbertus (about A.D. 780). His place in the series and the fact that he was buried in the monastery of St. Pierre le Vif are all we know of him. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 14; Gams, *Series Episc.* 629.) [S. A. B.]

GODESCALCUS (2), deacon of Liége, who wrote the Life of St. Lambert, a former bishop of that see, at the request of his bishop, Agilfridus, the materials for which he derived in great measure from St. Theodoenus, one of St. Lambert's disciples (s. 4). He added a small treatise on his miracles, and another, of which a fragment only survives, on the translation of his remains. These were published first by Canisius, then by Chapeaville, and lastly by Mabillon. The date at which he wrote, as fixed by internal evidence, was probably A.D. 729 or 730. (Rivet, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, iv. 57; *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* iii. 59–74, Paris, 1733.) [S. A. B.]

GODESCALCUS (3), bishop of Osma from cir. 657 to cir. 678. Represents Egila at the eighth council of Toledo, and appears as bishop at the eleventh council, A.D. 675. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448, and iv. 145; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 290.) [M. A. W.]

GODESCALCUS (4), duke of Benevento, 739–742. He followed Gregory, nephew of Luitprand in the duchy, and when Luitprand appeared in 742 with his young nephew, Gisulf, son of a former duke, Godescalc prepared to fly to Constantinople, the natural refuge of all the enemies of the Lombards. He was however anticipated by the Beneventans and slain. (Paulus Diaconus, vi. 56–57, *Catalogus Regum Langob. et Ducum Ben.* in *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* 1878, p. 494.) in February 742 he gave judgment in favour of Desiderius, abbat of St. John, of Alife. His gifts to the monastery of S. Vincenzo, on the Volturno, are mentioned in 766. (Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* nos. 548, 857, iv. 85, v. 364.) [A. H. D. A.]

GODESCALCUS (5), nephew of Agilulf king of the Lombards (591–616). He was carried off from Parma with his wife by Callinicus, patrician and exarch, and taken prisoner to Constantinople. (Paulus Diaconus, iv. 20.) [A. H. D. A.]

GODESCALCUS, "dux Campaniae," receives a letter from Gregory the Great, asking his protection for a monastery. (*Epist.* lib. x. indict. iii. ep. 11.) [A. H. D. A.]

GODINUS, bishop of Lyons. [GODWINUS.]

GODISVINTHA, queen. [GOISVINTHA.]

GODLAN, Welsh bard. [GOLYDDAN.]

GODO (1), thirteenth bishop of Verdun, between Hermenfredus and St. Paulus. According to Flodoard, he was present at the council of Rheims, presided over by Sonnatius, about A.D. 625. (*Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 5. Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxv. 102; Mansi, x. 593; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 1169.) [S. A. B.]

GODO (2), ST., thirty-first bishop of Metz, between St. Goericus and St. Clodulfus. The name appears in a charter of king Sigebert II. for the construction of the monasterium Casagonguidinense, though his see is not mentioned (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 319). The catalogues are said to assign ten years and two months as the duration of his episcopate, but another account limits it to eight years. He died about the year 650, and was buried in the church of St. Symphorian. He is commemorated in his diocese May 8. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. ii. 306, Jun. ii. 128, 129; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 699.) [S. A. B.]

GODO (3), ST., founder and first abbat of the monastery of St. Peter at Oye (Augia), in later times called after him St. Godonis (St. Gaud), in the diocese of Troyes. A late and unsatisfactory life of him was published by the Bollandists from a MS. of Andrew du Chesne (*Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 444). A great part of it is occupied with the acts of St. Wandregisilus, and seems to have been compiled from the life of that saint written by a monk of Fontanelle (cf. the *Vita S. Wandregisili*, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 276). Godo was a native of the district of Verdun, and a nephew of St. Wandregisilus, who was a cousin of king Pippin. In company with his uncle, he resolved to quit the world, and the two retired to a monastery. The elder by example and precept, and the younger by zealous imitation vied in a life of devotion to God's service, and the Divine favour was attested by a miraculous voice from heaven. Before long, St. Wandregisilus, yearning for a lonelier habitation obtained from a prefect named Erchinoald the gift of a retired spot, on which they founded the famous monastery of Fontanelle, so called from its many streams. Close at hand they also built the four churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Laurence and St. Pancratius, and God was despatched to Rome to obtain relics of these martyrs. He arrived there while Vitalian wa

pope (656-671), from whom he obtained the desired relics and numerous sacred writings besides. St. Ouen (640-673) was induced to consecrate the churches and a company of three hundred monks collected in the monastery. But Godo's desire was for seclusion, and accordingly he left Fontanelle and his uncle, and came to Oye, then lonely and remote from the world. Having obtained a gift of land, he built there a church, as well as his skill would admit, and after a life of abstinence and devotion died on May 26. The church was afterwards destroyed by one Asthemius, or in the other life mentioned below, Astannus, a prince of the Gentiles, probably the Northmen, in the 9th century, but was restored by a countess named Eva or Emma. The Bollandists add a short account of his miracles from another source (p. 446). Another life is published by Martene and Durand (*Vet. Script. &c. Ampliss. Coll.* tom. vi. p. 794) from a MS. of Breyer, a canon of Troyes. It differs from that of the Bollandists in some few details, and in the addition of some miracles. [S. A. B.]

GODO (4), twenty-third bishop of Toul, between Garibaldus and St. Jacob. In his time the city of Toul was burnt, and with it the privileges of the city and the charters and muniments of the church, but the bishop obtained their renewal from king Pippin. In A.D. 753 he was present at the consecration of Magdalveus, bishop of Verdun, and his death is placed two years later. (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 966; *Vita S. Magdalvei*, viii., Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. i. 534.) [S. A. B.]

GODO (5), thirty-first bishop of Poitiers, succeeding Gausbertus and followed by Magnibertus. The signature of a bishop Godo or Audo, but without any see appended, is found to a charter of privileges in favour of the monks of Gorze (A.D. 757), who may perhaps, as Le Cointe suggests, be identical with him. (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 1155; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 757, n. xxvi. tom. v. p. 565; Gams, *Series Episc.* 601.) [S. A. B.]

GODOBERTUS (GAUBERT, RODOBERTUS), twenty-first bishop of Angers, succeeding Aglibertus or Niulphus and followed by Gariarius or, according to Gams's list, Agilbert (?). He is said to have been buried in the monastery of St. Serge, which recognised him as one of its patron saints. From his place in the list he may have lived cir. A.D. 700. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 551, 641; Gams, *Series Episc.* 488; Tresvaux, *Hist. de l'Eglise et du Diocèse d'Angers*, i. 73, 74.) [S. A. B.]

GODOLSATIUS (GODALSACIUS), a deposed bishop, with two others, Aldebertus a Gaul, and Clemens a Scot, mentioned in a letter of pope Zacharias to Boniface archbishop of Mentz, and described as "sacrilegi et contumaces exepiscopi" (Zach. Pap. ep. 9, in Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 939 b). Boniface is recommended to bring their case before a synod he is about to hold, and if the offenders then persist in asserting their innocence they are to be sent for trial to Rome. In the pope's tenth epistle Aldebertus and Clemens are mentioned without Godolsatius, their offence being that they gave themselves apostolic airs among the people, slighting synodal authority and the writings of the fathers. If these epistles are placed in chronological order, the inference would be that when the second was written, Godolsatius had submitted or was dead. Baronius (*A. E.* ann. 744 xviii.) places *Ep.* 9 under the year 744. Boniface held a council in 745, and Zacharias another at Rome in Oct. 745, in both which Adalbertus and Clemens were condemned as heretics, and Godolsatius omitted (Mansi, xii. 371-380). The same inference therefore would follow again. But Pagi and Jaffé (*Reg. Pont.* 187, *Monum. Mog.* 181), date *Epistle* 9 in 747, in which case Godolsatius must have joined the offending parties after their condemnation in 745 instead of before it. (See also Ceill. xii. 31.) [C. H.]

GODOMAR, king of the Burgundians. [GODEMAR.]

GODWINUS (GUDINUS, GODINUS, GADINUS), forty-second bishop of Lyons, between Lebuinus and Fulcoaldus. A few facts only of his life have come down to us. In 693 he consecrated Brihtwald archbishop of Canterbury (Bede, *H. E.* v. 8; *A. S. C.* ann. 693; Flor. Wig. *Chron.* ann. 693), for there can be little doubt that he is intended by "Godwino metropolitano episcopo Galliarum." In 695 he is said to have confirmed by his subscription the charter for the monastery of St. Columba, granted some years before by Emmo of Sens. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxviii. 1168.) He was probably the bishop of Lyons who in 701 entertained St. Bonitus, bishop of Clermont, on his way to Rome, and was reconciled by him with the duke of Burgundy, and who, upon the same bishop's return thence, kept him with him for four years, and on his death, buried him in the church of St. Peter. Six years later, he refused to give up his relics at the request of Nordobertus, the then bishop of Clermont. (*Vita S. Boniti*, ss. 20, 28, 31, Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. iii. pars i. pp. 95, 97, 98, Paris, 1668-1701.) The date of his death is not known. (*Gall. Christ.* iv. 50.) [S. A. B.]

GOERICUS ABBO, bishop of Metz between Arnulphus, to whom he was related, and Godo. He was sprung from a noble family in Aquitaine, and followed the profession of arms, when in the reign of Theodebert he was unexpectedly smitten with blindness. It is said that in a vision of the night he was bidden visit the church of St. Stephen of Metz, and he should recover his sight. He went, accompanied by his daughters Precia and Victorina, was received by Arnulphus, visited St. Stephen's, and was restored. In token of his gratitude he founded a church at Metz, afterwards known as St. Peter Major near the cathedral. In 626 he was chosen to succeed Arnulphus in the episcopate, and died in 642 on Sept. 19, on which day he was commemorated. (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 697.) This story is critically examined by Cleus (Boll. *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 42). [C. H.]

GOERICUS (GIRICUS, GERICUS, GUERICUS), twenty-eighth archbishop of Sens, following St. Wulframnus, who resigned the see. He is said to have been born of noble parents at Tonnerre. In A.D. 696 he subscribed the charter which Agirardus, or Ageradus, bishop of Chartres, gave to the monastery of St. Mary on the Loire (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1228; Mabillon, *de*

Re Dipl. 498). He was buried in the church of St. Pierre le Vif, and was succeeded by his nephew Ebbo. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 11.)
[S. A. B.]

GOFEN, Welsh saint. [COFEN, GOVEIN.]

GOGAUN (GORGAN) is cited by Giraldus Cambrensis (*Itin. Kambr.* ii. c. 1, wks. vi. 105) as one of the twenty-five bishops of St. David's from St. David to Sampson, both inclusive. He is also called Gorgan (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 155). [J. G.]

GOGERINUS, bishop of Beauvais, between Ribertus or Rigobertus and Anselinus or Anselmus I. His date may be about the middle of the 6th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 695; Gams, *Series Episc.* 511.) [S. A. B.]

GOIBALCH, GOIBALDUS, GOWIBOLT, bishop of Ratisbon. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 8 Jan. i. 546 a; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 623.) [GARIBALDUS (3).] [J. G.]

GOIBHNENN (GOBBAN), of Tigh-Scuithin, commemorated May 23. In the *Mart. Tallaght* the entry at May 23 is "Gobani Mairgi o Tigh Scuthin" (Kelly, *Cal. Ir. Saints*, xxv.), thus identifying his locality with Teach Scuithin on Slieve Mairgi, now Tascoffin in the Slievemargy range of hills in the north of Kilkenny. He is supposed to have been the Gobban who gave his church at Old Leighlin, co. Carlow, to St. Laserian, when that saint returned from Rome about A.D. 625. He then betook himself to deeper retirement, and may thus have sought the solitude he desired among the Johnswell hills. Some would regard him as one with Gobban Finn (Dec. 6) of Killmary, but they are probably distinct, though no definite conclusion can be arrived at [GOBBAN (2), (3)]. (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. c. 15, § 9; *Journ. Kilken. Arch. Soc.* iv. 253, 254.) [J. G.]

GOIDIL, abbat of Clonard. [GAEIDHEAL.]

GOIMDIBLA, abbat. [GAIMDIBHLA.]

GOISVINTHA (GUNTHSUENTHA), married first to Athanagild, king of the Visigoths (554–567), and secondly to his great successor, LEOVIGILD (569–586), the last Arian king of Gothic Spain. She was the mother of the notorious Brunichild (Greg. Tur. iv. 38), and of Gailesvintha (*q. v.*), the unfortunate first wife of Chilperic I. of Soissons. Gregory of Tours' mention of her marriage with Leovigild comes after that of the death of Liuva I. (573). It is clear, however, from the contemporary Spanish source, Joannes Biclarensis, that it took place in 569, immediately after Leovigild was made joint regent by his brother Liuva (J. Bicl. *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 376). From Gregory of Tours' account (*H. Fr.* v. 39), she was a passionate Arian, and took a large share in the persecution of the Catholics which broke out under Leovigild during and after the suppression of the Hermenigild rebellion, conduct for which he imagines her partial blindness to have been a punishment. She is best known, however, for the part she plays in the story of HERMENIGILD and INGUNTHIS. When Ingunthis, the young Catholic daughter of Sigibert I. and Brunichild, reached Spain in 579 as the bride of Hermenigild, Leovigild's eldest son by his first wife (see arts. LEOVIGILD and INGUNTHIS), she was received by her grandmother Goisvintha with great rejoicing, "who, however, did not suffer her to remain long in the Catholic religion, but began to persuade her with soft words to be rebaptized into the Arian heresy." On the persistent refusal of the girl of twelve (Brunichild and Sigibert were married in 566, *H. Fr.* iv. 28) to give up her Catholic profession, Goisvintha is reported by Gregory to have proceeded to the utmost length of personal violence: "Haec illa audiens, iracundiae furore succensa adprehensam per comam capitis puellam in terram conlidit et diu calcibus verberatam, ac sanguine cruentatam, jussit expoliari, et piscinae inmergi" (*H. Fr.* l. c.). The "piscinae inmergi" has been variously interpreted. Wachter (art. INGUNTHIS, Ersch und Gruber) supposes that the whole story arose from an attempt on the part of Goisvintha to impose forcible rebaptism on her grand-daughter. In any case, it must be taken as a popular exaggeration of the actual discords which may very well have arisen in the Gothic royal family, when it was discovered that the Catholic princess could not be induced to accept Arianism as Brunichild and Gailesvintha had accepted Catholicism, and that the marriage, instead of a source of strength to Leovigild's government, threatened to become—as through the conversion of Hermenigild it actually did become—a source of danger and weakness. (Görres, *Kritische Untersuchungen über den Aufstand und das Martyrium des Westgothischen Königsohnes Hermenigild*, *Zeitsch. für Hist. Theol.* 1873, i. 8, has analysed the probable sources and foundations of the report. Vid. Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v. 137, and Helfferich, A. *Entstehung und Geschichte des Westgothen Rechts*, p. 11.)

The only hint given us by the Spanish sources of this attitude of Goisvintha is contained in the ambiguous words in which Joannes Biclarensis describes the outbreak of Hermenigild's rebellion, "Nam eodem anno—Hermenigildus, *factione Gosvinthae Reginae* tyrannidem assumens," &c. *Factione Gosvinthae*, unless we suppose *Gosvinthae* an error for *Jugunthae*, as Florez does but apparently without MS. authority, can only mean here, "owing to the factious conduct of queen Goisvintha," and refer to her position of hostility towards the newly married pair. (On this use of *factio*, conf. collection of instances made by Görres, *l. c.* note 45; Dahn, v. 137 note, and art. *factio* in Ducange.) We know nothing of Goisvintha's farther share, if any, in the circumstances attending this memorable revolt (see art. HERMENIGILD). But that at Leovigild's death she was still a considerable power in the state is proved by Recared's conduct with regard to her at the beginning of his reign, "Recaredus rex foedus iniit (*i.e. enge politische Verbindung*, Dahn, v. 159) cum Goisvintha relicta patris sui, eamque ut matrem suscepit" (Greg. Tur. ix. 1). Her influence as the mother of Brunihild and grandmother of Childebert II. was especially important to the new king, who was anxious to make peace with the Franks, and it was by her advice that he sent legates both to Guntchramu and Childebert immediately after his accession (*l. c.*), as it was also, no doubt, by her advice that his betrothal with Chlodosvintha, Ingunthis' sister, was proposed as a lasting sig-

of amity and reconciliation. The alliance thus formed between step-mother and step-son was, however, soon dissolved. In 588 we find Goisvintha implicated in one of the various Arian conspiracies which marked the early years of Recared: "Uldila episcopus cum Gosvintha Regina insidiantes Reccaredo manifestantur, et Fidei Catholicae communionem quam sub specie Christiana quasi sumentes, projiciunt publicantur (*sic*). Quod malum in cognitionem hominum deductum Uldila exilio condemnatur, Goisvintha vero Catholicis semper infesta, vitae tunc terminum dedit." This doubtful passage was commonly taken by the older Spanish writers to mean that Uldila and Goisvintha, after a feigned conformity to Catholicism, had been detected in sacrilegious treatment of the Eucharist (Morales, *Cronica*, v. 10 (1791); Mariana, lib. v. 14). Dahn ridicules this interpretation (*l. c.* 164 note), and is probably right in explaining the passage in a more general sense. The "vitae tunc terminum dedit" almost certainly refers to a natural death (Joannes uses the same expression with regard to the death of Tiberius II. *l. c.* p. 382), but has sometimes been interpreted by suicide (Helfferich, *Entstehung und Geschichte des Westgothen Rechts*, p. 33). In any case, the conspiracy and death of the fanatical Arian queen, two years after that of her husband, the last and greatest of the Arian kings, and a year before the conversion council was to set the seal to the new order of things, to which she had been for a time forced to yield an unwilling submission, makes a striking close to the reign of Leovigild. On the Spanish imagination Goisvintha has left scarcely a less sombre impression than her daughter Brunichild upon that of France.

(Greg. of Tours and Joannes Biclarensis as quoted. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm. Hist.* vi. *De Gelesvintha*, apud Bouquet, ii. For general literature on the time, see references given under LEOVIGILD, and list prefixed to *Abth.* v. of Dahn's *Könige der Germanen*.) [M. A. W.]

GOLEU, daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog, and mother of St. Kededr, in Llaniestyn (or Llaneskin), is mentioned in the *Pedigrees of Welsh Saints* and in the *Account of Brychan of Brycheiniog*, but is identified with GOLEUDDYD. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 600, 604; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 148.) [J. G.]

GOLEUDDYD, daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog, was at Llanhesgin (Llaneskin, Llaniestyn, Llanysgin) in Gwent, in the 5th century, and may be the same as Goleu, Gwawr, Gwenddydd, and Nefydd. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 43; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 148, 149; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 608.) [J. G.]

GOLGUS, monk and disciple of St. Columba, is thought to have ruled a monastery among the Picts, A.D. 606, and to have written *Miracula Columbae Magistri*, lib. i. according to Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 31; Tanner, *Bibl.* 331). Camerarius (*de Scot. Fort.* 164, and *Kal.* July 17) calls him abbat. He is probably the Colga, Colgu, or Colcius, son of Cellach, mentioned by St. Adamnan in *Vita S. Columbae*. [COLGA (3).] [J. G.]

GOLINDUCH (Γολανδούχ, GOLANDUCH), martyr in Persia in the reign of the emperor Maurice; commemorated on July 12 (Bas. *Men.*), or July 13 (*Cal. Byzant.*). She was a wife of one of the chief magi, and in her sleep had revealed to her the happy condition of the just, from which she found herself excluded for not being a Christian, and the lost state of idolaters. She at once received baptism, on account of which her husband and the king had her tortured and put to death (Basil. *Menol.* iii. 164). Her story is narrated by Theophylactus Simocatta (*Hist.* v. 12), who says that she was born at Babylon, her father being a magus and a satrap, and that after her marriage she resided at Hierapolis (which must be the Syrian city, five days from Antioch towards Mesopotamia). The vision occurred to her in a trance, which suddenly fell upon her while at table with her husband. Evagrius (*H. E.* vi. 20) briefly notices the story, and states that the life of Golinduch was written by the elder Stephanus, bishop of Hierapolis. Nicephorus Callistus, who likewise relates the story (*H. E.* xviii. 25), gives her father's name Asmodoch, and her mother's Muzuch. [C. H.]

GOLVENEUS (GOLVENAEUS, GOLVENUS) is described by Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 317) as a Scotch hermit who left his own country and devoted himself to a life of contemplation in Armorica. On the death of St. Paul, bishop of Leon, he was appointed to the see about A.D. 600, and his feast was on June 23. He is said to have written *Rituale Ecclesiae*, lib. i. and *Laudes Multorum Sanctorum*, lib. i. (Tanner, *Bibl.* 332). But in the *Gallican Martyrology* his feast is July 1, and he is said to have died at Rennes, and been buried in the monastery of St. Melanius (Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* xiv. 3). Like other ancient saints, he is said to have been endowed with miraculous power, and a curious story is told of his having changed into gold some earth which a pious farmer had given him, and made from the gold a chalice, three bells, and three crosses (*Arch. Cambr.* 4 ser. ii. 272). In the *Menologium Scoticum*, Dempster commemorates "Golueneus Leonensis episcopus," with the significant addition, "nonnulli Scotum putant, sed ego delibero" (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 203, 204). In Bollandists' *Acta SS.* 1 Jul. i. 111–114, there is given *Vita S. Golveni episcopi Leonensis*, with a commentarius praevius relating to his country, acts, age, and cultus, and with annotations and list of miracles. [J. G.]

GOLYDDAN (GODLAN, GOLYDHAN), called bard of Cadwaladyr, and his date A.D. 560–630. The historical poem *Arymes Prydein Vawr* (*Myv. Arch.* i. 156; Skene, *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, i. 436, ii. 123) is usually attributed to him, yet without assured authority, and Turner (*Vind. Anc. Brit. Poems*, 269) refers it to the 8th century. It is the earliest Welsh composition which mentions miracles done by a saint. Another poem is given him by Dr. Owen Pughe (*Welsh Dict.*; Skene, *ib.* i. 490 sq. ii. 294 sq. 450), but on what authority does not appear. His death, according to the Welsh Triads, was caused by one of the "three atrocious axe-strokes of the island of Prydain." (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 68, 72; *Myv. Arch.* ii. 16, 22, 25; Stephen, *Lit. Kymry*, 207 sq.; Tanner, *Bibl.* 332.) [J. G.]

GOMA, bishop of Lisbon. His signature is

found among those of the *Decretum Gundemari* (A.D. 610?). [GUNTHIMAR.] (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 184. Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 324.) [POTAMIUS.] [M. A. W.]

GOMARELLUS. Among the subscriptions to the council of Egara, A.D. 614, is found the name of Fructuosus, a deacon who signed as the representative of a bishop Gomarellus. The subscriptions do not express the sees of the subscribers, and the see of Gomarellus is therefore uncertain. It is however conjectured that he was bishop of Lerida, as it is supposed that the deacon Fructuosus is the same person as the bishop of Lerida of that name, who subscribes the acts of the fourth council of Toledo in A.D. 633, and that he succeeded Gomarellus. (*Esp. Sagr.* xlvi. 104, Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 702.) [F. D.]

GOMBERTUS of Sens. [GUNTBERTUS.]

GOMIDAS, patriarch of Armenia (617–625), between John (called by Le Quien John the Orthodox, and by Saint-Martin John III.) and Christopher III. He was born at Aghtsits, in the canton of Arakadzodn, and was bishop of the satrapy of the Mamigonians before his call to the patriarchate (Saint-Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, i. 438). The Armenian historian, John the Mamigonian, states that for eight years he administered the monastery of St. John the Precursor, and was sent by the patriarch Abraham (594–600) to the Georgians or Iberians with the object of promoting a union with them (Langlois, *Historiens de l'Arm.* i. 361). He composed some beautiful hymns to St. Rhipsime, which Langlois says have been translated into Italian by Luigi Carrér, Venice, 1842 (Langlois, *Armenian Monast. of St. Lazaro*, p. 78). Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1386) writes the name Chomitas, and makes him succeed Abraham, but gives no dates. [ARMENIANS.] [C. H.]

GOMMARIUS. [GUMMARUS.]

GONDEBALD. [GUNDOBALD.]

GONDEBERTUS (GUNTBERTUS, GUMBERTUS), ST., and martyr in the latter half of the 7th century. The earliest account of him is from Flodoard, who wrote in the 10th century. He was a noble, reared at court, and brother of St. Nivardus, the twenty-fifth archbishop of Rheims, who lived in the reign of Childeric II. (660–673). He was married to St. Berta, as his second wife, who also suffered martyrdom, though upon another occasion. The most authentic testimony of him was a deed with his signature, still preserved in the archives at Rheims in Flodoard's time, which recited a dispute between Gondebert and Reolus (St. Rieul), the successor of Nivardus, as to some property left by the latter. The archbishop asserted that it had all been given to religious foundations, for the salvation of the donor's soul, while Gondebert claimed it by virtue of relationship. It was settled by arbitration, on the terms of Gondebert retaining the property beyond the Loire, which had belonged to his mother, Emma, and the church keeping the rest. It would seem, however, that he did not desire it for selfish uses, as we find him, with his wife, making gifts to the church of Timotheus and Apollinaris, the martyrs of Rheims, building, as was said, the religious house for nuns, dedicated to St. Peter, at one of the gates of the city, and founding with his own and others' contributions, the neighbouring monastery of Avennacum. Not content, however, with these good works, he left his wife, and went on a mission to the parts beside the sea (loca maritima), and there is said to have built a monastery, and to have had his head cut off by the barbarians. His widow, Berta, built a convent at Avennacum, a fitting spot being pointed out to her by an angel. But by an unfortunate oversight there was no supply of water within a distance of two miles, which rendered a fresh miracle necessary. At length she suffered martyrdom at the hands of the children of Gondebert's former wife. The crime was miraculously discovered and punished, and the penance imposed upon a niece of Gondebert, called Montia, who had been privy to it, was the task of transporting his body from the scene of his martyrdom to the grave of his widow. (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* i. 4; ii. 10; iii. 27; iv. 46, 47; Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxxv. 35, 111, 252, 320.) The Bollandists publish a life of Gondebert, which they describe as extracted "ex antiquis officii proprii lectionibus" (*Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 620), but except that it defines the object of his mission as the people living round the "orae Altissalii" (Oldenzel), Frisians, it adds nothing to Flodoard's account but verbiage. Gondebert's day of commemoration is April 29. [S. A. B.]

GONDEBERTUS, king of the Lombards. [GODEPERT.]

GONDEMAR, king of the Burgundians. [GODEMAR.]

GONDICAIRE, king of the Burgundians. [GUNDICARIUS.]

GONDIOC, king of the Burgundians. [GUNDEUCHUS.]

GONDOALDUS, eighteenth bishop of Meaux, following Baudowaldus and succeeded by St. Faro, or, according to one account by Waldebert (*Vita S. Faronis*, lx.; *Acta SS. Benedict*, ii. 616). It was he who at the instance of St. Eustace, the abbat of Luxeuil, conferred the veil upon St. Fara or Burgundofara, and established her in a convent (circ. A.D. 614). He was present at the council of Rheims (A.D. 625 or 630), and probably died shortly afterwards. (*Vita S. Eustasii*, 2; *Vita S. Faronis*, lviii.; *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* ii. 117, 615, Paris, 1668–1701; Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* x. 594, Florence, 1759–1798; *Gall. Christ.* viii. 1599.) [S. A. B.]

GONDOALDUS (GUNDOLDUS, SUNDERSHOLDUS), thirteenth bishop of Strasburg, succeeding Labyolus, and followed by Aldus, or according to Wimpheling, by Gando. (*Gall. Christ.* vi. 780; Wimph. *Cat. Episc. Argent.* 16.) He seems to belong to the second half of the 8th century. [S. A. B.]

GONDULFUS, third bishop of Laon, between Latro and Elinandus I. about the middle of the 6th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 510.) [S. A. B.]

GONDULPHUS, twenty-third bishop of Maastricht, succeeding St. Monulphus and fol-

lowed by Perpetuus (589–596), is said to have been of a noble family of the country afterwards known as Lorraine. He added several churches to the city. There is a fable that he attempted to rebuild the city of Tongres, but God remembered the wrongs of his servant, St. Servatius, and a multitude of wolves came and tore the workmen in his very sight, while lightning and earthquakes undid the work as soon as done. He was buried in the church of St. Servatius. (Aegidius in *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, ed. Chapeaville, tom. i. pp. 61–63, Liége, 1612; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. iv. 159; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 819.) [S. A. B.]

GONNARIUS, a Sardinian bishop, c. A.D. 740. (Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 833.) [R. S. G.]

GONOTIGERNUS, bishop. [HODIERNUS.]

GONSALDUS, bishop of Padua, c. 708. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, x. 477; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* v. 428.) [A. H. D. A.]

GONTAMUND, king of the Vandals. [GUNDAMUND.]

GONTRAN, king of Orleans and Burgundy. [GUNTRAMNUS (2).] [S. A. B.]

GONTRAN BOSON, duke of Austrasia. [GUNTRAMNUS BOSO.]

GOPNAT, virgin, commemorated Feb. 11. (*Kal. Drum.* in Bp. Forbes's *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 5.) [GOBNAIT.] [J. G.]

GORDAS, king of the Heruli. [GROD.]

GORDIANUS (1). The reigns of the three Roman emperors who bore this name have little or no bearing on the history of the Christian church, and it will not be necessary to discuss with any fulness the circumstances which led to their accession and their fall. The reigns of father, son, and grandson were all comprised within a brief period of six years (A.D. 238–244). The first of the three, M. Antonius Gordianus, had the imperial title thrust upon him at the age of eighty. He had inherited large wealth, he was a man of wide general culture, a statesman and a man of letters, who as quaestor and aedile had distinguished himself by munificent liberality. He attained the honours of the consulship first in A.D. 213, as the colleague of Caracalla, and afterwards of Alexander Severus. A few years later he was appointed proconsul of Africa, and gained the favour of the provincials by his generous and equitable administration. The popularity thus acquired was eventually his ruin. The brutal ferocity of Maximinus, who had been chosen emperor by the troops in Gaul, on the assassination of Alexander Severus in A.D. 235, was felt in Africa as throughout the empire. The people of Tisdrus, where Gordianus was residing with his son, rose against the extortionate rapacity of the emperor's procurator, and those who had been marked out as his victims conspired to assassinate him. When the deed was done, finding no hope of safety save in the protection of a new emperor, they rushed to the house of Gordianus, threw a purple robe over him and saluted him with the title of Augustus. They were backed by the whole population of the city, and Gordianus, yielding a reluctant assent, was escorted to Carthage, and there received the title of Africanus. Letters were despatched by him to the senate at Rome, submitting his election to their approval. Their assent was given readily. Gordianus and his son were proclaimed as Augusti, Maximinus was declared a public enemy, his statues were thrown down, and his name ordered to be erased from all public monuments. The hopes of a reign of equity and peace were soon dashed to the ground. Capellianus, the procurator of Numidia, refused to acknowledge the new emperors, and led his disciplined legions against the unwarlike crowd of their adherents at Carthage. The younger Gordianus perished in the field, his father, on hearing of his death, died by his own hands. The whole tragedy of their brief reign lies between January and April, of A.D. 238. The third emperor of the name, the son either of Gordianus II. or of a daughter of Gordianus I., was a boy of fifteen at the time of their death. The senate, on hearing of what had passed at Carthage, determined to persevere in their resistance to Maximinus, and appointed Decimus Coelius Balbinus, and Marcus Clodius Pupienus Maximus, both of whom had been consuls, as joint emperors. The people, however, clung to the Gordian family, and the boy, who was at Rome, was presented to them, and proclaimed as Caesar. After the defeat and death of Maximinus at Aquileia at the hands of Pupienus in May, the conqueror returned to Rome. The praetorians and the troops generally, however, submitted reluctantly to rulers who had been chosen by the senate. They attacked the palace and murdered the two emperors, and both troops and senate agreed in accepting the young Gordianus as Augustus.

The short reign, which so far opened brightly, was soon clouded by disaster. The power of Sapor was threatening the safety of the Roman provinces on the Gordian frontier, and the emperor, after marrying Sabrina Tranquillina, the daughter of Misitheus, went, accompanied by his father-in-law, as prefect of the praetorium, to command the troops in person. The temple of Janus was thrown open with the usual ceremonies, and Gordianus proceeded through Moesia and Thrace, and Asia Minor. Sapor was defeated in several engagements, and compelled to evacuate Mesopotamia. The death of Misitheus, however, deprived the emperor of his only trustworthy counsellor. Philip the Arabian, who succeeded him in the emperor's favour, fomented the jealousy and discontent of the troops by secret artifices. They broke out in open revolt. The last of the Gordian house was put to death, and Philip was proclaimed as emperor. The popularity of the murdered prince was shewn by the fact that the senate decreed divine honours to his memory, and that a tomb with a polyglot inscription, in Greek, Latin, Persian, and Egyptian, was erected over his grave at Circesium. (Capitol. *Gordiani;* Herodian. vii. viii.; Victorin. *de Caesar.* xxvi. xxvii.; *Epit.* xxvi. xxvii.; Eutrop. ix. 2; Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 5, Zosim. i. 14–16, iii. 14; Eckhel, vii. p. 293, Gibbon, c. vii.) [E. H. P.]

GORDIANUS, bishop of Jerusalem. [GORDIUS (1).]

GORDIANUS (2)—Sept. 13. Martyr under Licinius, A.D. 314. He was a Paphlagonian by

birth, and a personal attendant upon the emperor, by whom he was beloved. After Licinius became hostile to the church he was banished into Scythia, where he was put to death by burning. (Bas. *Menol.*) [G. T. S.]

GORDIANUS (3)—May 10. Martyr with Epimachus at Rome, on the Latin Way, in the time of Julian. He was a *vicarius*, or vice-prefect, to whose care an aged presbyter, Januarius, was entrusted, and by whom he was converted. Remaining steadfast in the faith, he was executed. His acts are given at length in *Mart.* Adon., but are very corrupt. For instance, they represent Julian as present at Rome when emperor and persecutor of the Christians, whereas he never was there after he had declared war against the church. (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Usuard., Wandalbert.; *Kal.* Allat.; *Kal.* Front.; *Sacramentar.* Greg. Mag.; Till. *Mém.* vii. 722; Ceillier, iii. 413.) [G. T. S.]

GORDIANUS (4), grandfather of Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe. He was a senator of Carthage, and on the invasion of the Vandals under Genseric, A.D. 428, fled into Italy with his family and there died. (*Vit. Fulgent.* cap. i. § 1, in Patr. Lat. lxv. 119.) [C. H.]

GORDIANUS (5), presbyter, father of pope Agapetus (Anastas. Bibliothec. *Vit. Rom. Pontif.* num. lix. p. 94, Patr. Lat. cxxviii. 551.) [C. H.]

GORDIANUS (6), a Roman disciple of St. Benedict, afterwards a companion of St. Placidus, living under his rule at Messana. In 539 Placidus was taken captive by Mammuca the general of Abdallah, king of the Saracens. Gordian ministered to him in prison, and buried him after his martyrdom. The next year Gordian escaped to Constantinople, where he long lived, and by order of the emperor Justinian composed a Greek account of the martyrdom of St. Placidus and his companions. He afterwards returned to Sicily and there died. There is extant under his name in Latin *Vita et Passio S. Placidi Martyris* (Mabill. *Acta SS. O.S.B.* i. 42; Surius, *de Prob. Hist. SS.* t. iv. 5 Oct. p. 65; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 114). Ceillier observes that this story is now universally rejected, and that the life of Placidus betrays itself as a fabrication of a later date by reckoning forty-nine popes after Vigilius, which makes the Pseudo-Gratian live in the pontificate of John VIII. (ob. 882). Cave accepts the genuineness of the work as a whole, regarding it as largely interpolated. (Ceill. xi. 349; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 523.) [C. H.]

GORDIANUS (7), father of pope Gregory the Great, was a noble Roman of senatorial rank, and descended from a pope Felix. (Joann. Diac. *in Vit. S. Gregorii*; Greg. *Dialog.* l. 4, c. 16.) John the Deacon says that Felix IV. (*Acc.* A.D. 523) was his ancestor; but this pope being described as a Samnite, whereas Gregory is always spoken of as of Roman descent, Felix III. (*Acc.* A.D. 467) is more probable. The wealth of Gordianus is evident from the large property accruing to Gregory on his father's death. [GREGORY.] He is described as a religious man, and thus contributing to the eminently religious training of his son, though not canonized after death, as were his wife Silvia, and his two sisters, Tarsilla and Aemiliana. John the deacon (*Vit. Gregor.* l. 4, c. 83) describes two pictures of him and his wife Silvia remaining to the writer's time (9th century) in the *Atrium* of St. Andrew's monastery, where they had been placed by St. Gregory himself, the founder of the monastery. Gordianus is represented as standing before a seated figure of St. Peter, with his right hand in that of the apostle, clothed in a chestnut-coloured *planeta* over a *dalmatic*, and with *caligae* on his feet. He is tall, has a long face, green eyes, a moderate beard, thick hair, and a grave countenance. The portrait of Silvia is still more minutely described. She is seated, has a round and fair face, wrinkled with age, but shewing the remains of great beauty, large blue eyes, comely lips, a cheerful countenance. She wears a white *velamen*, drawn from shoulder to shoulder, and beneath it a tunic of colour described as *pseudolacteus*, falling in folds to her feet. On her head is a matron's *mitra;* her left hand holds a psalter, her right is making the sign of the cross; a scroll, twisted over the shoulders from elbow to elbow, bears the inscription, "Gregorius Silviae matri fecit." Gordianus, in the description of his portrait, is designated "Regionarius," from which title, as well as from his dress, Baronius supposes him to have been one of the seven cardinal deacons of Rome, it having been not uncommon, he says, for married men, with the consent of their wives, to embrace clerical or monastic life. As to the dress, he adduces two of St. Gregory's epistles (*Ep.* 113, l. i. ind. 2, and *Ep.* 28, l. 7, ind. 1) to shew that the dalmatic and caligae were then part of the costume of Roman deacons. But the meaning of the title "regionarius" is uncertain. It occurs in St. Gregory's *Ep.* 5, l. 7, ind. 1, in *Ep.* 2 of pope Honorius I. (regionarius nostrae sedis); in Aimoinus, *de Gestis Francorum*, pt. 2, p. 247 (regionarius primae sedis); in *Vit. Ludovici Pii*, ann. 835 (regionarius Romanae urbis); and in Anastasius, *On Constantine* (Theophanes regionarius). In two of these instances, those from Honorius and Aimoinus, the persons so designated are expressly said to be subdeacons. It seems to have denoted an office connected with the city of Rome and the apostolic see, but certainly not one confined to deacons. Nor does the dress worn by Gordianus prove anything, since the articles are known to have been originally ordinary lay costume, the planeta, rather than the casula, having been worn by persons of rank. It is observable that St. Gregory too, in the portrait of him described by John the deacon, as preserved in the same monastery, wears precisely the same dress, even to the colour of the planeta, being distinguished from his father only by having the pallium over it, to mark his ecclesiastical rank. [J. B—y.]

GORDIANUS (8). There exists a letter purporting to be written by pope Deusdedit to a bishop of this name. The old reading of the address of this letter was "Gordiano, Hispalensi episcopo," which caused its authenticity to be doubted, as Deusdedit was pope from A.D. 615 to A.D. 618, and St. Isidore was bishop of Seville from A.D. 599 to A.D. 636. However, there is a various reading, "Hispaniarum ecclesiae coepiscopo," guided by which Migne

reads "Hispalensis ecclesiae coepiscopo," which removes this difficulty, but others remain. The letter purports to be an answer to an inquiry as to what should be done in the case of parents who had by accident held their children at the font at baptism and thereby contracted affinity to each other. Deusdedit declares that they must separate from one another, and at the end of a year may marry other persons. Cardinal Mai has published (*Spicilegium Romanum*, vi. 473) a fragment of a letter said to be addressed by Gordianus to Deusdedit. This fragment, with the exception of two lines, is word for word the same as part of the letter of Deusdedit. It may be further observed that the rule as to dissolution of marriage laid down in the letter of Deusdedit is quite contrary to the doctrine of the church, so that the authenticity of these letters, which are the only evidence of Gordianus's existence, cannot be considered wholly above suspicion. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxx. 361; Ceillier, *Histoire des Auteurs sacrés*, xi. 646.) [DEUSDEDIT (8).]

[F. D.]

GORDIANUS (9) (CORDIANUS)—Sept. 17. Martyr at Nividunum (Nyon) with Valerianus and Macrinus. (*Mart.* Ad., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

GORDIUS (1), the thirty-third bishop of Jerusalem at the close of the 2nd century; the successor of Germanio. During his episcopate Narcissus, the calumniated bishop of Jerusalem, whose innocence had been made clear, reappeared from the desert, to which he had retired, and resumed the government of this see, at the urgent request of all. (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 10; Niceph. Call. *H. E.* v. 10; Clinton, *F. R.* ii. 535, 556.) [E. V.]

GORDIUS (2) of Carthage. [DONATUS.]

GORDIUS (3)—Jan. 3. A military martyr under Licinius, A.D. 314. He was born at Caesarea in Cappadocia, and was a centurion when Licinius removed all Christians from posts of command in his army. (Neander, *H. E.* iii. 24, ed. Bohn.) He resigned his commission rather than offer incense, and fled into a desert, where his mind seems to have lost its balance, through desire of the martyr's crown. On a feast day in honour of Mars, he came into the circus of the city, where his wild shaggy figure attracted every eye, and, proclaiming his faith, he cried to them, "I am found of them who sought me not, I am made known to those who sought not after me." He was at once seized, tortured, and executed. (Bas. *Menol.*; Basil. Caesar. *Hom.* 18, in Migne, Patr. Graec. xxxi.; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*; Ceillier, iii. 78.) [G. T. S.]

GORFAN. [GWORFAN.]

GORFYW, Welsh saint. [GWRFYW.]

GORGAN, reputed bishop of St. David's in the 8th century (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 155). [GOGAUN.] [J. G.]

GORGONIA, the sister of Gregory Nazianzen, probably born before him, c. 326 (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* Greg. Naz. note iii.). She was married early to one whom her writer speaks of as worthy of such a wife, but we are ignorant of his name or profession. Baronius identifies him with Vitalianus, to whom Gregory addressed a poem, which does not present him in a favourable light (Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 51, p. 121). This conjecture is refuted by Tillemont (note xv.). According to Elias Cretensis (*notae*, p. 610), Gorgonia and her husband resided at Jerusalem, and had two sons, who became bishops. This is very doubtful. It is, however, certain that Gorgonia was the mother of three daughters, Alypiana, Eugenia, and (after her maternal grandmother) Nonna. Gorgonia was not baptized till a short time before her death, but previous to her last illness (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 11, p. 188) she had the happiness of seeing her husband and children and grandchildren also admitted to the church by the same sacrament (*ibid.* pp. 180, 188). Her daughter Alypiana was married to a distinguished military officer named Nicobulus, and became the mother of several children, in whom Gregory took great delight. [NICOBULUS.] Gorgonia died in middle life, not long after her brother Caesarius, previous to the year 372 (Greg. Naz. *Carm.* ii. pp. 33, 35), leaving her aged parents who, as well as the other members of her family, were present at her decease, inconsolable for their loss (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* p. 188; *Orat.* 19, p. 316). Her brother Gregory pronounced her funeral oration, in which he draws a very highly coloured portrait of her (*Orat.* 11). The Roman church has placed Gorgonia on the roll of saints, and commemorates her on Dec. 8.

[E. V.]

GORGONIUS (1)—Sept. 9. A chamberlain in the court of Diocletian, who was hanged at Nicomedia, with Dorotheus, at the beginning of the persecution, when all the imperial household were called upon to sacrifice in order to clear themselves from suspicion about the burning of the palace. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart* Adon., Usuard., Notker, Wandalbert.; Eusebii *E. H.* lib. viii. cap. 6; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 317; Till. *Mém.* v. 180.) Wright's *Syrian Martyrology* (*Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 425) gives a martyr of this name at Nicomedia under Mar. 11, and as Mar. 11, 303, was near the beginning of the persecution, the two martyrs may be identical. [G. T. S.]

GORGONIUS (2), martyr with Indes and Petrus in the reign of Maximinian; commemorated on Dec. 28. They were seized as they stood beyond the burning pile on which the alleged 20,000 martyrs were consumed, and were drowned in the sea with stones fastened round their necks (Basil. *Menol.* ii. 65.) [C. H.]

GORGONIUS of Cinna. [GREGORIUS (4).]

GORGONIUS (3), bishop of Apollonias (Lopadium), in Bithynia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 696; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 613.) [L. D.]

GORGONIUS (4), eleventh bishop of Nola. He succeeded St. Priscus c. A.D. 328, and in 360 was succeeded by Quodvultdeus. (Remondini, *Nolana Eccles. Storia*, i. 637.) [R. S. G.]

GORGONIUS (5), bishop of Liberalia in Numidia, deprived of his church by the Donatists, but present at Carth. Conf. 411, though not at its commencement. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* 133.)

[H. W. P.]

GORGONIUS (6), bishop of Germanicia in Comagene, a Confessor, who, according to some MSS. of Jerome's Chronicle, assisted Lucifer of Cagliari, together with Cymatius of Paltus, or perhaps of Gabala, in Syria Prima, in his ill-advised consecration of Paulinus to the bishopric of Antioch, A.D. 362. (Hieron. *Chron.* p. 256 in Patr. Lat. viii. 692.) [E. V.]

GORGONIUS (7), bishop of Vasada, in Lycaonia; his name is found subscribed to the document of the synod of Constantinople to the Satriarch John concerning the condemnation of peverus of Antioch, and his party, A.D. 518. (Mansi, viii. 1050; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1077.) [L. D.]

GORMAN, Celtic form of GERMANUS.

(1) Of Cill-Gorman, in the east of Leinster, commemorated Oct. 25 (*Mart. Doneg.*), and found among the Bollandists' praetermissi (*Acta SS.* 25 Oct. xi. 388). He was founder and abbat of Killgorman, bar. Gorey, co. Wexford, and *Kal. Drummond.* Oct. 25 (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 26), has the feast of "Sancti Gormani confessoris et peregrini et sanctissimi viri." [J. G.]

(2) Coarb of St. Mochta at Louth, and father of Torbach, coarb of St. Patrick [at Armagh] (*Four Mast.* A.D. 753). It is added in *Ann. Tig.* A.D. 758 that he abode for a year at the entrance to St. Fingen's well at Clonmacnoise, died in his pilgrimage, and was buried there (O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* ii. 254; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 736, c. 5; Petrie, *Round Towers of Ireland*, 270). [J. G.]

GORMGHAL appears to have been an intruding bishop or abbat at Armagh, as the *Four Mast.*, A.D. 794, say he succeeded Faindelach, and we know that at that time there was a struggle for the primacy, Dubhdalethe being the acknowledged successor (Stewart, *Armagh*, 94). The *Ann. Inisf.*, A.D. 793, call him "mac Dindathaig." [J. G.]

GORMLAITH, daughter of Flaithniath, abbess of Clonbroney, co. Longford, died A.D. 815 (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 810, i. 423). [J. G.]

GORNIAS, called also GORMAS and GUORNIAS, and said to have baptized St. Patrick. He was a priest and blind, but received his sight by ablution in the baptismal water. (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 11 c. 3, 16 n. 3, 21 c. 3, 65 c. 2, 118 c. 4; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, iii. 481.) [J. G.]

GORTHENI (Γορθηνοί), a sect mentioned by Hegesippus (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22); called Γορθηνωοί by Epiphanius (Ancorat, 12), and likewise Γοροθηνοί by Epiphanius (Panarion, i. 12), and Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 1). Epiphanius classes them among the Samaritans, and Theodoret derives them from Simon Magus. They were so called from their founder Gortheus. [T. W. D.]

GORTHEUS, heretic (Sophron. *Ep. Syn.* in Mansi, xi. 500 B). [GORTHENI.] [T. W. D.]

GORVYW, Welsh saint. [GWRFYW.]

GORWST, Welsh saint. [GRWST.]

GORWYST, reputed bishop of Menevia about the end of the 8th century (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 155). [J. G.]

GOSACHUS of Granard. [GUASACHT.]

GOSBERTUS, thirty-second bishop of Geneva, between Lutherius and Walternus, or Gualternus. From a letter of pope Stephen III. written, A.D. 770, to Charles and Carloman, it appears that a bishop Gauzibertus had headed an embassy to him from those princes. (Migne, Patr. Lat. xcviii. 249.) This Gauzibertus may be identical with Gosbertus of Geneva. He cannot at any rate be, as has been suggested, Gausbertus of Chartres, whose date is fixed by the charters he subscribed a century earlier [GAUSBERTUS]. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (xvi. 384) quote the *Index San-Petrinus* to the effect that his episcopate lasted sixteen years. [S. A. B.]

GOSCELINUS. [GAUZIOLENUS.]

GOSOLDUS of Padua. [GONSALDUS.]

GOSPELS APOCRYPHAL. Besides our four canonical Gospels a large number of other writings circulated in early times containing either complete narratives of our Lord's life on earth or particular sections of the history. The great majority of these literary products were either interpolated editions and re-castings of our canonical Gospels or additions and appendices to them. The former class subserved for the most part the party objects of various heretical sects which had separated from the Church, the latter were largely in use among Catholic Christians, though these also, in part at least, originated in heretical circles. Many of these writings reach as far back as the 2nd and 3rd century; and some of them, as for instance the Gospel of the Hebrews, are of no little importance for the investigation of the origines of our New Testament Canon. Alas! scarcely the tenth part of this once extensive literature has come down to us; we possess complete texts only of some Gospels of the Childhood, and of the so-called Acts of Pilate, and even these no longer in their original form.

The Catholic Church, while making most extensive use of the apocryphal Acts of Apostles, was much more reserved in relation to the apocryphal Gospels. Narratives of the deeds and sufferings of the apostles, after being purified so far as possible from heretical ingredients afforded welcome nourishment for pious curiosity; but apocryphal enlargements of the historical details contained in our gospels were long regarded with great distrust, and then adopted only so far as they referred to the *Protevangelium*, the histories of Joseph and Mary, our Lord's nativity, and the occurrences of His childhood. And in this case even narratives concerning the child Jesus, which early found acceptance in Gnostic circles, were, till after the 4th century, regarded with great suspicion by the church, and then found only a hesitating reception. More favourable judgments were passed, on the other hand, upon histories of the Passion, harmonized from our four gospels with various apocryphal additions, and narratives of miracles said to have been wrought after the resurrection. Of extra-canonical narratives concerning the time of our Lord's public ministry only fragments, more or

less numerous, have been preserved in patristic controversial writings or in occasional citations by the Fathers. These citations may here and there add to our knowledge of the words of Jesus, but by far the greater number of these extra-canonical utterances of the Lord are either later transformations of Sayings found in the canonical gospels or manifest inventions with a purpose which in almost all cases is not far to seek. Many a genuine Saying of our Lord, though once committed to writing, has been either entirely lost or no longer preserved in its original form. Yet may we safely assume that by far the greater part of genuine traditions which circulated among the oldest Christian communities have passed into our canonical gospels, though it may be, in many cases through a second or third hand. All reliable tradition must have ceased about the middle of the 2nd century. The earlier authorities employed by St. Luke had entirely disappeared (except so far as portions of them had been taken up into our synoptical gospels), or else had been disfigured beyond power of recognition by changes made to suit the taste of various heretical parties. While the text of our canonical gospels became gradually fixed, these extra-canonical narratives continued to be subject to perpetual changes and recastings, by which the traces existing in them of older traditions were gradually effaced. The little that has come down to our own times is found in large citations from Jewish-Christian and Catholic writers of the 2nd century, who besides our canonical gospels made use of other sources now lost.

The remains of extra-canonical narratives of the time of Christ's public ministry are yet scantier than those of extra-canonical utterances attributed to Him. Almost all the fragments that have come down to us are borrowed from the Gospel of the Hebrews; but this work had already undergone, as early as the close of the 2nd century, very considerable alterations. The specimens of it, given us in later times by Jerome and Epiphanius prove only that the older tradition was as ruthlessly tampered with by Jewish-Christian as by the various Gnostic sects. This notwithstanding, the loss of most of the gospels once used by heretical sects and parties is much to be regretted. The specimens given us by Catholic doctors do not enable us to form any complete notion of what these gospels really were, but rather lead us to suspect that the pious zeal and prejudice of our authorities induced them to select such passages only as would prove offensive to Catholic ears. When we find a Jerome thinking that the Gospel of the Nazarenes, written in the Hebrew language, was, in fact, the Hebrew original of our Gospel of St. Matthew, and are told of writings like the Gospel of St. Peter or the Diatessaron of Tatian being publicly read in Catholic communities of the 4th century without objection or offence, we can only conclude that some, at least, of such writings must have been, with whatever peculiarities of their own, nearly related to our canonical gospels. If we could but follow the gradual development and alteration of the Gospel of the Hebrews from the time of its first appearance to the end of the 4th century, we should probably obtain much surprising information as to the history and developments of the whole literature. Still greater, doubtless, would have been the gain for our knowledge of the history of the Church and sects of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, if some of these gospels had been preserved entire. Those for instance used by the Gnostics served, not only like the numerous apocryphal Acts of Apostles, to satisfy the claims of a pious curiosity but also and specially to recommend certain doctrines and customs, traditionally handed down in Gnostic schools. The main purpose of these works was to represent the opinions peculiar to the Gnostics as derived from the original teaching of Christ and His Apostles. But inasmuch as from the middle of the 2nd century and onwards the Gnostics certainly made use of our canonical gospels, we must assume that those of their own invention were in part at least imitations of the former. All the fragments which remain to us of such Gnostic fictions are indeed evidently based on the canonical narratives; but our knowledge of the different sections of Gnosticism is at the same time so imperfect that we cannot but deplore the loss of these writings.

The few remains of this once extensive literature, which are still preserved in a more or less Catholic form, relate as already observed almost exclusively to the earliest portions of our Lord's life. We still possess a series of so-called *Gospels of the Infancy* which on closer inspection may be traced back to three or four distinct Writings of the 2nd century.

The narratives concerning Mary and the child Jesus, ending with the slaughter of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt are contained in three works derived from kindred sources; those of our Lord's miracles from His fifth to His twelfth year, are preserved in a single Writing, of which however several recensions, differing considerably from one another, have come down to us. Besides these we possess various compilations containing narratives of the whole period of our Lord's childhood; among them one which fills up the interval between the flight into Egypt and the return to Galilee with an account of various Egyptian miracles; for this section an original authority, now lost, has been employed, while for all that precedes and all that follows it essentially the same sources appear to have been made use of as in the other Gospels of the Infancy. The Gospels of the Childhood still existing are as follows:

(1) The so-called *Protevangelium of James*, or according to its title in the manuscripts, *The History of James concerning the Birth of Mary* (ἡ ἱστορία Ἰακώβου περὶ τῆς γεννήσεως Μαρίας). It was first published in the Latin version of William Postellus by Theodore Bibliander (1552), then in Greek by Michael Neander (1564), and frequently since; and finally, after fresh collations of numerous MSS., by Thilo (*Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, tom. i., 1832, pp. 159–273) and Tischendorf (*Evangelia apocrypha*, 1851, pp. 1-49; 2nd ed. 1876, pp. 1–50). There is also a separate edition of this gospel by Suckow (Breslau, 1840), which is critically of small value. The text, as handed down in all MSS. hitherto discovered, presents but few discrepancies. The best MS. is the *Cod. Paris.* 2014, of the 10th century (A *ap.*

Thilo, C *ap.* Tischendorf), which Thilo followed in constructing his text. The fragment of a Syriac translation has been published with an English version by Prof. Wright (*Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament;* London, 1865, pp. 1–5). The Syriac MS., which in its present form begins with ch. 17, dates from the second half of the 6th century; the text, apart from a few abbreviations, agrees literally with that of the Greek original. The narrative contained in this *Protevangelium* extends from the birth of the Virgin Mary to the slaughter of the Innocents at Bethlehem and the martyrdom of Zacharias.

(2) *The Gospel of* (Pseudo) *Matthew concerning the Childhood of Mary and of Christ our Saviour* (*Liber de Infantia Mariae et Christi Salvatoris*). —This book exists in Latin only, and professes to be a translation made from the Hebrew by St. Jerome. In some MSS. James is named as the author. It is in fact derived from the same original source as the above-mentioned *Historia Jacobi*, going over the same ground but extending the account of our Lord's history to the flight into Egypt. The text was first edited by Thilo from a Paris MS. (*Cod. apocryph. N. T.* pp. 337–400), and more recently by Oscar Schade from a MS. at Stuttgart (*Liber de Infantia Mariae et Christi Salvatoris*, Halle, 1869); Tischendorf's edition (*Evang. apocr.* pp. 50–105, 2nd ed. pp. 51–112), which announces itself as the first complete one of the Pseudo-Matthew, is based on a text in which the apocryphal Gospel of Matthew is combined so as to form one whole with the hereafter to be mentioned Gospel of Thomas. A spurious correspondence between bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus on the one hand, and St. Jerome on the other, which is prefixed to the work, betrays the fact (against the will of the forger himself) that his alleged translation from a Hebrew original is nothing but a Catholic recast of an old Gnostic writing, which, in compliance with traditional custom, is ascribed to the "Manichaean" Leucius. This recast cannot be assigned an earlier date than the second half of the 5th century. It reappears in yet another form, in

(3) The *Evangelium de Nativitate Mariae*, first published among the works of St. Jerome, then reprinted by Fabricius, Jones, and Schmidt in their collections of New Testament Apocrypha, and finally by Thilo (*l. c.* pp. 317–336) and Tischendorf (*l. c.* pp. 106–114, 2nd ed. pp. 113–121). The narrative, from which has been carefully expunged everything that could give offence to the strictest Catholic orthodoxy, reaches only to the birth of Christ at Bethlehem. This recast, which must be considerably younger than its prototype — the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew—is found, however, in a MS. as early as the 10th century, in the Laurentian Library (cf. Schade, *l. c.* p. 3). To it belongs a second spurious epistle, attributed to St. Jerome, which, in the printed editions, follows the correspondence already referred to between that father and the bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus. The author of this second epistle makes express reference to the former correspondence, which, however, he misunderstands, and is misled thereby to suppose the writing which actually lies before him (our Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew) to have been written by the oft-mentioned heretical author "Seleucus" (Leucius). (Compare Tischendorf, *l. c. Prolegg.* p. xxxi. sq. 2nd ed. p. xxviii. sq.; Schade *l. c.*) This re-cast announces itself expressly as a paraphrase, which gives the sense but not the exact words of the original writer.

The first of these writings, the so-called *Protevangelium* is generally regarded as the oldest of the three. Hilgenfeld (*Evangelien Justins*, p. 153), whose proofs were adopted by Tischendorf (*Evang. apocr.* p. xxxviii. sq. 2nd ed. p. xxxvi. sq.; and the tract, *Wann wurden unsere Ev. verfasst?* 4th ed. p. 76 sq.), has collected a series of correspondences between the writings of Justin Martyr and the *Protevangelium*, and Tischendorf drew the conclusion that this apocryphal gospel must have existed in its present form even before the time of Justin, and consequently in the first half of the 2nd century.

Hilgenfeld, however, in reply called attention to the fact that the *Protevangelium* in its present form is not a homogeneous work, while Scholten has disputed the cogency of the proofs drawn from the alleged citations of the *Protevangelium* by Justin. (*Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des N. T.;* Bremen, 1867, p. 155 sqq.)

A closer inspection of the present text of our *Protevangelium* brings in fact to light numerous traces of the hand of an interpolator. These are most conspicuous in ch. 18. Whereas James of Jerusalem, *i.e.* the ἀδελφὸς κυρίου, names himself as the author of the whole work, we see St. Joseph suddenly coming forward in this chapter as the narrator, and that in a passage with an unmistakable Gnostic colouring. Joseph relates how at the birth of Christ all motion suddenly ceased in heaven and earth. To exclude the whole chapter as an interpolation (see Hofmann, *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, p. 110) is impossible, inasmuch as Joseph still continues the narration in the chapter following. We cannot therefore fail to recognize here an unsuccessful recast of some older document. Other observations lead to the same conclusion, *e.g.* the broken character of the narrative and frequent reference to things as previously related which are no longer found in the context, the abrupt conclusion of the whole, and the, at any rate, partially more original form of the narrations in the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew. To which we may add that various citations in the early Fathers appear to be made from an essentially different text from that which now lies before us in our *Protevangelium*. Origen, for instance, while citing the Book of James (*in Matt.* tom. x. 17), relates quite differently from our present text the history of the martyrdom of Zacharias between temple and altar (*in Matt.* tract 25). There is, indeed, no clear warrant for the existence of our present text of the *Protevangelium* before the time of Peter of Alexandria († 311). None of the points of contact which have been pointed out between our *Protevangelium* and the writings of Justin Martyr can be regarded as decisive for our present form of it. The narrative of our Lord's birth in a cave (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 78), for instance, rests on a local tradition (cf. Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 51), which is probably older than the *Protevangelium* in its earliest form. It is not only found in all Gospels of the Infancy, even those which borrowed nothing else from the *Protevangelium*, but is constantly referred to

by the Fathers, and does not pretend to be a correction, but only an addition to the narrative in St. Luke (ii. 7–12).

The combination, moreover, of the angel's words to Mary in St. Luke—καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν (i. 31)—with those in St. Matthew (i. 21)—αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν—which is found both in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 33) and the *Protevangelium*, is simply explained by the fact that St. Matthew himself has already so combined them.

The third and most probable "concordance" between Justin and the *Protevangelium* are the words καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ παρθένος (Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 101) compared with χαρὰν δὲ λαβοῦσα Μαρία (*Protev.* c. 12). But here the connexion of the words in Justin with the angelic salutation is more natural than that in the *Protevangelium* with the address of the priest to Mary in the Temple. Justin is therefore probably quoting the original document, certainly not our present text of the *Protevangelium*. The same original document is probably that referred to by Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* vii. 16, p. 889 Potter), Origen (*l. c.*), and Gregory of Nyssa (*Oratio in d. natal. Christi*, *Opp.* iii. 346, ed. Paris.). Traces of a Gnostic writing concerning the Nativity of Mary are found as late as the 5th century (Epiph. *Haer.* xxxvi. 12; August. *c. Faust.* xxiii. 9; Gelasii *Decretum*, vii. 9, 16). The Pseudo-Matthew has drawn directly from it. The narratives, for example, contained in the last chapters, which are wholly wanting in the *Protevangelium*, and more particularly the miracles wrought on the journey into Egypt have unquestionably a Gnostic character (cc. 18–24). This notwithstanding, it seems very unlikely that the Gnostic writing concerning the Nativity of Mary was made use of by Origen. The account of the martyrdom of Zacharias which Epiphanius (*l. c.*) read in the Gnostic book differs as much from that given by Origen as from that contained in the *Protevangelium*. It is quite possible that the account given by Epiphanius may be due to a later reviser of the Gnostic writing, but that found in Origen has no Gnostic features whatever, but is evidently derived from some Jewish-Christian source. To which must be added that while the Gnostic writing expressly named Joseph as its author, that used by Origen, like our *Protevangelium*, gave this position to St. James.

A closer inspection of the *Protevangelium* makes evident that its text must have undergone repeated revisions and recastings before it assumed its present form. Side by side with various traces of a Gnostic author (see especially ch. 18), there are also numerous features indicating a Jewish-Christian writer or at any rate betraying an intimate acquaintance with Jewish customs. Take, for example, the forty days fastings, the grief of parents who are denied the blessing of children and their suffering contempt on this account, the vow of Anna like her Old Testament namesake to devote her child when born to the Lord, the high priest's petalon, the 12 bells on his robe, the veil of the Temple woven by Jewish maidens, the water of cursing, the oracle of the staves, the registers of the twelve tribes, and the many Old Testament types. To explain this twofold character of the book by the hypothesis of a "Gnostic-Ebionite" author is, however, inadmissible, if only because so much is found, notwithstanding, which is in direct antagonism with Jewish thought and custom, *e.g.* the refusal of Joachim and his sacrifice, the bringing up of Mary in the Temple, the application of the water of cursing to Joseph, and the legendary ornamental development of the oracle of the staves. This curious admixture of intimate knowledge and gross ignorance of Jewish thought and custom compels us to assume and distinguish between an original Jewish-Christian writing and a Gnostic recast of it. The former is to a great extent preserved in the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, but still more fully and faithfully in the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew.

In both writings, moreover, we discern the employment and combination of various other original sources. This is evident, for instance, in the two accounts of Mary's Annunciation (*Protevang.* 11; Pseudo-Matth. 8). In the *Protevangelium* the angel appears to her at the well, in the Pseudo-Matthew in her chamber as she is working the veil of the Temple. The second account is probably the only one found in the older writing.

We may then distinguish the following *strata* in the histories of St. Mary and the child Jesus down to the flight into Egypt as preserved to us in these documents: (*a*) The Jewish-Christian work attributed to James, and already extant in the time of Justin Martyr. (*b*) A Gnostic recension of the same work which usually bears the name of Joseph, though occasionally also that of James, and is perhaps sometimes attributed to Leucius Charinus (cf. the interpolated correspondence between St. Jerome and the bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus prefixed to our Pseudo-Matthew). This work may date from about the middle of the 3rd century. (*c*) Various Catholic recensions produced by piecing together in different ways the two ancient texts. The oldest among these is our *Protevangelium*, which may have appeared in its present form as early as the latter part of the 3rd century; the Latin Pseudo-Matthaeus is a later work, but derived independently of the *Protevangelium* from the same sources; a still later recast of the Pseudo-Matthaeus is the Latin *Evangelium de Nativitate Mariae*, preserved among the works of St. Jerome.

The remaining Gospels of the Childhood which are still preserved are the Gospel of Thomas, the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, and the Arabic History of Joseph.

4. *The Gospel of St. Thomas, or the Acts of the Lord's Boyhood* (τὰ παιδικὰ τοῦ κυρίου). This was originally a Gnostic work, and seems to have been written about the second half of the 2nd century. It was made use of not only by Marcosians and Naassenes (comp. Pseudo-Origen, *Philosophum.* v. 7, p. 101, ed. Oxon., with Iren. *Haer.* i. 20), and in later times by Manicheans, but is frequently cited from Origen downwards (*Hom.* i. *in Luc.*), by fathers of the church. (Compare Thilo, *l. c.* p. lxxix. sqq. and Tischendorf, l. c. p. xxxviii. sqq. 2nd ed. p. xxxvi. sqq.). Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25) reckons it among spurious writings (νόθα). Cyril of Jerusalem and later writers assign its authorship to a Thomas, disciple of Mani. But the Israelite Thomas who

introduces himself in the beginning of the work as the author is evidently meant to be the apostle St. Thomas whose purpose is to announce "the child-deeds of the Lord" to the brethren among the Gentiles. The present text is a meagre abstract of the original from which the Catholic reviser has eliminated all the heretical portions. The narrative, which treats of the miracles performed by the child Jesus begins with His fifth year, and concludes with His appearance among the doctors in the temple when twelve years old. The Greek text has come down to us in two recensions, one of which (*a*) was published by Cotelier from a Paris fragment in his edition of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vi. 17), and after him by Fabricius; then in a more complete form from a Bonn MS. by Mingarelli (*Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli Scientifici e Filologici*, t. xii. Venet. 1764, p. 73–155); and, finally with the help of two other MSS. by Thilo (*l. c.* pp. 275–315), and Tischendorf (*l. c.* pp. 134–149, 2nd ed. pp. 140–157). The second yet more fragmentary recension (*b*) was published from a Sinaitic MS. by Tischendorf (*Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1846, *Anzeigeblatt*, p. 51, sqq., and *Evang. apocr.* pp. 150–155, ed. 2, pp. 158–163). Of Latin translations of this text, besides one not yet printed but known to exist in a Vienna palimpsest of the 5th century (Tischend. *Prolegg.* p. xlvi. 2nd ed. p. xliv. sqq.), two others made quite independently have been published; both by Tischendorf. The former of these in the Vatican MS. discovered by Tischendorf bears, like the Greek original, the name of *Thomas* (Tisch. *l. c.*, pp. 156–170, 2nd ed. pp. 164–180); the latter, printed also by Tischendorf from a Vatican MS. (Cod. A), is improperly assigned by him to the Pseudo-Matthaeus, and regarded as the second part of the History of the Infancy of Mary and the Saviour (*l. c.* pp. 87–105, 2nd ed. pp. 93–112). A mixed text formed from both these translations is found in a Paris MS. (Cod. 1652) of the 11th century (D *ap.* Tischend.) from which Thilo was the first to give some extracts (*l. c.* p. cviii. sqq.). This Paris MS. contains, in the first instance (like the Vatican Cod. A), the histories of the childhood as given by the Pseudo-Matthaeus (cc. 1–24), and then the histories contained in the Gospel of St. Thomas, partly from the text of Tischendorf's *Thomas Latinus* (cc. 25–40, 42, 48); partly from the second Latin translation of Cod. A misattributed by Tischendorf to the Pseudo-Matthaeus (cc. 43–47); and, finally, in part, (c. 41), from a third recension. The Laurentine or Ambrosian MS. moreover (Tischendorf's Cod. B), contains a mixed text of yet inferior value, exhibiting in those portions, which are peculiar to it, the character of a later recast. To all these helps and sources must now finally be added the Syriac translation published by Wright (*l. c.* with English version, pp. 6–11), and commencing with the second chapter of our Greek text. The text exhibited by this Syriac version occupies a mid-position between that of the Greek recension A and that of the two Latin versions. In both those versions the Gospel of Thomas is preceded by histories of our Lord's residence in Egypt and of miracles there performed. The text represented by what Tischendorf entitles *Evangelium Thomae Latinum* records the events of the period from the flight into Egypt to the return of the Holy Family to Nazareth, but merely in the form of a somewhat abrupt introduction which occupies the three first chapters; but that this did not originally form part of the *Evangelium Thomae* is evident from the opening words of the 4th chapter: "Gloriosum est enarrare Thomam Israelitam et Apostolum Domini et de operibus Jesu postquam egressus est de Aegypto in Nazareth. Intelligite omnes, fratres carissimi, quae fecit Dominus Jesus quando fuit in civitate Nazareth; quod in primo capitulo."

The narratives contained in the Gospel of St. Thomas are given in the different texts in curiously varied forms, some of them recurring even in the same MSS. in different recensions. The history of the master who has to teach the child Jesus the letters of the alphabet, may serve as an example (Comp. Iren. *Haer.* i. 20). The story is twice related in the Greek text A, and in similar forms to this also in the Latin versions; while it occurs no less than three times in a different form in the Latin Codex D. This notwithstanding, it is quite certain that the original wording of the narrative is nowhere faithfully retained. The passage for instance in which the child Jesus instructs His master as to the mysterious significance of the characters before Him, although we possess it in five different forms, is so thoroughly corrupt, that its restoration must be despaired of. A series of these miracle-narratives are in the various texts located now in Egypt and now in Galilee. Such is the case with the story of the priest's son who is punished for his insolence, and according to one class of narratives is the son of Hannas, and to another, the son of an idol-priest in Egypt. The scene, moreover, of the Galilean boy-deeds of Jesus is not unanimously laid by all the texts in Nazareth. Some make the Holy Family remove at once from Egypt to Capernaum, and another who has to tell of various places of residence now at Nazareth, now at Capernaum, and now at Bethlehem, distributes the miracle-narratives among them. The arrangement and selection of the various narratives differ widely in the several texts. One series of sections is only found in one or other of the Latin versions, and others only in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, of which we shall have to speak further on. Still less agreement will be found between the various documents as to single features of the narratives, the persons named, and the words attributed to them, &c. A great part of the miracles assigned to the child Jesus is borrowed from New Testament narratives, or formed after them, and so likewise many sayings attributed to Him remind us of well-known utterances in the synoptical gospels; *e.g.* the answer given by Jesus to His master:—"Thou knowest not the nature of A and wilt thou teach others B? Thou hypocrite! teach me first what A is, and then will we believe thee in respect to B." As to the child-deeds of Jesus only a small portion of them are miracles of healing, the greater number are strokes of magic or miraculous inflictions of cruel punishment. Jesus makes sparrows out of clay and lets them fly away alive, brings to life a dried fish, dyes cloths, stretches out a bedstead, passes through the Jordan, carries water home in his tunic; but with special frequency

He revenges Himself on those who mock or insult Him, smiting them with blindness or striking to the earth, causing them to wither or slaying them outright. The boy Jesus is almost everywhere a terror to those about Him. He is even occasionally banished with his parents from the house or city, or rebuked by Joseph for his wanton cruelty, whereupon He immediately repairs the mischief by a fresh miracle.

The great acceptance of the book in various Gnostic circles is explained by its original Docetism, all traces of which the Catholic editors or revisers of the present text were unable to eradicate. The numerous miracles related of our Lord have all one tendency—to assign to the child Jesus as He was divine, omnipotence and omniscience, and reducing all human development to mere appearance. The child Jesus knows Himself already to have been Lord before all time; whatsoever He commands is done; whatever He says is infinite wisdom, which the children of men cannot comprehend; the birth-time and duration of life of every one are known to Him; if He take a book in hand He need not read therein in order to know its contents, but speaks from the Spirit; before his present appearance in bodily form on earth He has seen Abraham and talked with him. His words and works have nothing in common with those of earth-born men; He is of other race and kind than they; having existed before the Law He is not under the Law; He has no earthly father, and when exalted will retain no further remembrance of any human origin. (Compare, in addition to the passages collected by Tischendorf (*Prolegg.* p. xlviii, sq. 2nd ed. p. xlvii. sq.) from the Greek text, more especially the stories about Jesus and His teacher in both the Latin versions, Thom. Lat. cc. 6, 13; Pseudo-Matth. cc. 31, 35, Cod. D, c. 46, and in the Syriac version, c. 6.) In contradiction to all this it was maintained by the doctors of the church that, during the thirty years which preceded His baptism by St. John, our Lord manifested His human nature only, and that it was not till after His baptism that He exhibited His Godhead by the evidence of miracles. They denied therefore most emphatically that Jesus as child wrought any miracles at all. (Compare the passages from "Melito," Chrysostom, Euthymius Zigadenus in Thilo, *loc. cit.* p. lxxxiv. sqq.) At the same time it appeared quite possible to enlist the miraculous stories of the childhood on the Catholic side. So other Fathers, like Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 20), were of a different opinion on this matter. The child Jesus, they maintained, must certainly have worked some miracles in order to rebuke the Gnostic error, which made the Christ to descend upon Him for the first time at His baptism. In this way is explained how, notwithstanding the opposition to which we have referred, these fables of the childhood should nevertheless find approval and acceptance among Catholic readers. The Gnostic book of St. Thomas was accordingly dressed up for the use and benefit of the Catholic people by careful excision of all manifestly heretical passages, and various extracts and abridgements were also put in circulation, in which the attractive miracle-legends were carefully preserved. Compared with the original compass of the work which, according to the stichometry of Nicephorus (see Credner, *Geschichte des Kanons*, p. 122 sq.), contained 1300 *stichoi*, the existing remains of the Gospel of St. Thomas must be regarded as mere fragments.

5. *The Arabic Gospel of the Childhood* (*Evangelium Infantiae Arabicum*) is a Catholic recension of all the stories of the childhood from the birth of Jesus till His twelfth year. It is a special favourite with the Nestorians of Syria. The Arabic text is a translation from the Syriac, and the existing MSS. of the Syriac text have not yet been edited. The book was first published in Arabic and Latin, with copious notes by Heinrich Sike (Utrecht, 1697). Sike's Latin version was reprinted by Fabricius (*Cod. apocr. N. T.* i. pp. 168–211), and after him by Jones and Schmidt. Thilo (*l. c.* pp. 63–158) republished the Arabic and Latin texts with corrections by Rödiger and Sike's notes; Tischendorf (*l. c.* pp. 171–202, 2nd ed. pp. 181–209) the Latin text only, with corrections here and there by Fleischer. The book announces itself as a composition derived from older sources (cc. 1, 25, 55) and is divided into two parts. The first part (c. 1–25) is a recension of the *Evangelium Infantiae* attributed to the high priest Joseph Caiaphas (!), which is probably the same as the Gnostic work made use of in the *Protevangelium*, and which bore the name of Joseph (not Caiaphas, of course, but the husband of Mary). The original work appears to have been nearly related, for the first three or four chapters, to the *Protevangelium* of St. James, and from thence to chapter twelve to the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. It contained also the miracles attributed to the child Jesus during the residence in Egypt. The second part (cc. 26–55) is derived from a recension of the Gospel of St. Thomas, which seems to have differed in various particulars from the other texts which we possess, and, in some places, to have approached more to the original (Gnostic) work. Some of these narratives are given here (as is the case with the Greek and Latin MSS.) in a double form (comp. c. 36 with cc. 46, 47, and cc. 41, 42 with c. 43). The process of Catholicizing has, on the other hand, introduced serious modifications of form and in the connexion of parts. The miraculous narratives are, according to resemblances in their contents, arranged in pairs; several particulars appear to have been derived from oral tradition (comp. c. 5), and the compiler seems to have taken a special delight in references to transactions and persons mentioned in the canonical gospels. (Comp. c. 5, the vessel of spikenard with which Jesus was anointed by the Mary who was a sinner; c. 24, the two thieves crucified with Jesus; c. 29, Mary, the wife of Clopas; c. 35, Judas Iscariot; c. 42, Simon the Canaanite.) Most of the narratives of the Egyptian miracles are preserved only in this Arabic *Evangelium Infantiae*. Some are also found in the Latin history of Mary and Jesus in the Pseudo-Matthew; some others, as introductory to the Gospel of St. Thomas, in the Latin texts; and others again in the Mahometan tradition (comp. Thilo, *l. c.* p. 141 sqq). The Arabic gospel bears in various places the appearance of being an abstract of a more copious narrative (*e.g.* cc. 30, 31, and Hofmann's remarks, *l. c.* pp. 195,

197). In contrast with those of the Gospel of St. Thomas, these Egyptian miracles are chiefly characterized as works of healing wrought by water in which the child Jesus had been washed, or by articles of His clothing, from which we may infer that they were not originally connected with the former, but derived from some independent source. This must also have originated in Gnostic circles, though it is to be remarked that the Arabic gospel lays special emphasis on the true humanity of Jesus (c. 30). Its date of composition is comparatively late, but probably earlier than the Mahometan times. The statement (c. 7) that Zarathustra had foretold the coming of the Messiah seems to imply the continued maintenance of the Persian religion and worship (comp. Schade, *l. c.* p. 5). The reckoning of dates by the era of Alexander (c. 2) held its ground among the Syrians till late in the middle age, and cannot, therefore, be used here in determining the age of this gospel.

6. *The Arabic History of Joseph the Carpenter* (*Historia Josephi fabri lignarii*) published in Arabic and Latin by George Wallin (Leipsic, 1722), and with Rödiger's corrections by Thilo (*l. c.* p. 1–61); in Latin by Fabricius (*Cod. pseudepigr. V. T.* ii. pp. 309–336) and Tischendorf (*l. c.* p. 115–133, 2nd ed. pp. 122–139). The book bears the character of a festal lection for St. Joseph's day (cf. cc. 26, 30 and Thilo, p. xx sq.) and is a recast made from older sources. It narrates the history of Joseph, who appears at once as a priest and a descendant from David, till his death, which is said to have taken place in his 111th year. The narrative is placed in our Lord's mouth, who is represented as having imparted it to His disciples on the Mount of Olives. At the opening and conclusion of the whole work the disciples appear as narrators. The section which treats of Joseph's betrothal with Mary, the birth of Jesus, and the pursuit of the child by Herod (cc. 3–8) is nearly related to the *Protevangelium*, but appears not to have been derived from it. That the Gospel of Thomas was also used is evident from c. 17 where there is an allusion to the narrative in *Ev. Thomae*, 4, 5 (cf. 16). The histories of Joseph are also preserved in the Coptic language, and in both dialects, Sahidic and Memphitic. The extracts and fragments communicated by Zoega and Dulaurier from the yet unprinted MSS. (*ap.* Thilo, p. xxii. sq. Tischendorf's notes under the text) prove that the Arabic text was a recension of the Coptic. The latter exhibits traces of a Gnostic origin. The use made of the Gospel of Thomas is here still more evident: Joseph remembers with sorrow that he had once pulled the child Jesus by the ear; the Arabic history holding this for unseemly softens it down into a seizing of his hand. Of special interest is the description in the Coptic text of the departure of Joseph's soul, of which the Arabic gives only a meagre abstract (cc. 21–23). The Coptic here describes the approach of death, Orcus, and the devil, with innumerable aeons, to take possession of the departing soul, the driving away of these fearful beings by Jesus, the descent at His intercession of Michael and Gabriel with the choir of archangels, who receive the parting soul and conduct it safely through the seven aeons of darkness. This narrative appears to have formed the living nucleus of the original fiction. Its Gnostic character cannot be doubted. Whether the narratives in the first chapters of our Arabic text, which conduct the history of Joseph down to his dying hour, existed in the original work, can only be determined after a complete publication of the Coptic manuscripts. According to Zoega's extracts, the Coptic text appears to begin at the fourteenth chapter, and exactly at this point the Arabic exhibits distinct traces of the manipulation of an older document. Although in preceding and following passages, Jesus is Himself introduced as the speaker, we read here suddenly: "et ita certe res Josephi justi disponere Christo placuit," and then follows the short chronological note of the circumstances of the lives of Joseph and Mary, found also in Zoega's first fragment, which partially repeats what has already been related in c. 2 sqq. The present text can hardly be older than the 6th century (cf. Thilo, p. xx sqq.); the original work goes possibly as far back as the 3rd century.

A quite peculiar position is assumed by

7. *The Departure of Mary* (κοίμησις τῆς Μαρίας, *Transitus Mariae*) a work attributed to the apostle St. John and handed down in various forms—Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic and Sahidic. The Greek text was first published by Tischendorf (*Apocalypses apocryphae*, pp. 95–112) from several manuscripts. Of the same work exist still in MS. two later recensions in Greek: one entitled Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς παναγίας θεοτόκου, by the patriarch Modestus of Jerusalem (beginning of 7th century; comp. Photius *Biblioth.* cod. 275); the other the Λόγος εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης of archbishop John of Thessalonica (end of 7th century, comp. Tischendorf, *l. c.* p. xxxviii. sq.). This work of the later John bears, like the former, in several MSS. the name of the apostle, but is rightly distinguished from it by the monk Epiphanius of Jerusalem, who lived in the 12th century (Epiphan. Monach. ed. Dressel, p. 14). The narratives contained in the Greek *Apocryphum* and dressed up in various ways form the groundwork of the festive homilies of St. John Damascene, Germanus Constantinopolitanus, Andreas Cretensis, and others (Thilo, *Prolegg. ad Acta Thomae*, p. xxiii). Latin texts were known as early as the 5th century. Pope Gelasius in his *Decretum de libris recipiendis*, reckons the "liber qui appellatur *Transitus Mariae* apocryphus" among those which are rejected by the church. One of the Latin recensions which still exist bears on its front the name of bishop Melito of Sardis, the same who is also named as the alleged author of the apocryphal *Acta Johannis*. The preface, which takes the form of a letter addressed by Melito to the church of Laodicea, defines the object of the work to be to counteract by an orthodox narrative derived by oral tradition from the apostle St. John the influence of an heretical book bearing the same title, whose author Leucius claims also to be a disciple of the apostles. The text was published in the *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima Lugdunensis* (ii. 2, pp. 212–216) and elsewhere, and finally by Tischendorf from a Venetian MS. (*l. c.* pp. 124–136, *Transitus Mariae* B) which however does not contain the epistle of the Pseudo-Melito

Another Latin recension widely differing from this was published also by Tischendorf (as *Transitus Mariae* A, pp. 113–123) from three MSS. The same object as that aimed at in the work of Pseudo-Melito is that also of the *Sermo de Assumptione B. V. M. ad Paulam et Eustochium*, attributed to St. Jerome (Hieron. *Opp.* ed. Martianay v. pp. 82–99). In Syriac professor Wright has published three different recensions of the *Transitus Mariae*. The oldest and simplest text (Syr. A) is preserved only in fragments (Wright's *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, London, 1865, pp. 18–24 of the English translation). A much more copious narrative in six books (Syr. B) published by professor Wright from two MSS. of the British Museum (*Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1865, January and April) has for its principal object to recommend the observance of the three oriental festivals of the Virgin and contains numerous additions (especially bk. I. and IV.–VI.). A fragment of the second book of this work was published by Cureton in his *Ancient Syriac Documents* (p. 110 of the English translation). Related to this second recension, but also older and more original is the text (Syr. C) of the fragments also published by professor Wright in his *Contributions* (pp. 24–41). To these three recensions must finally be added the also fragmentary *Obsequies of Mary* (Wright, *Contributions*, pp. 42–51). The Arabic text published by Maximilian Enger (*Joannis apostoli de Transitu Beatae Mariae Virginis liber*, 1854) is nearly related to Syr. B and C. A Sahidic version moreover exists of a text which appears to differ widely from that of the other recensions. Of this Zoega has given some particulars in the *Catal. Codd. Copt. Borgianorum*, p. 223, num. cxx. (comp. Tischendorf, *l. c.* p. xxxvii.). There exists finally in Ethiopic a *Visio Mariae Virginis* (Dillmann, *Catal.* p. 22) which is nearly related to the sixth book of the second Syriac recension. This vision narrates how Mary, under the guidance of her divine son, visits the habitations of the blessed and of the lost. The same subject is also dealt with in several Greek MSS. of an *Apocalypsis Mariae* (Tischendorf, *l.c.* p. xxvii. sq.). The original text of the *Transitus Mariae*, which seems to have been preserved (approximately) in the Greek text and those of the two Syriac recensions B and C, treated of the last events in the life of Mary—her last visit to the Holy Sepulchre, the Jewish plots against her, her prayers to be taken away from earth, her return to Bethlehem, the miraculous assemblage of the apostles in her chamber, her transport to Jerusalem and fresh miracles wrought there, the appearance of Christ at her dying bed, her death and burial. Her soul, according to the promise of her divine son, is received up into Heaven while her body is taken to Paradise. The miraculous resuscitation of the Virgin's body is found only in later texts, the assumption into heaven is related only in the Latin copies. A comparison of the various texts proves that the original narrative was now abbreviated and now enlarged in manifold ways with all manner of foreign additions and strange ornaments. Especially remarkable in this respect is the *Book of the Obsequies of Mary*. It tells, for instance, of a strife taking place among the apostles (when assembled in Mary's presence) concerning the true gospel and of its being decided by Christ Himself in favour of St. Paul. It relates also how after the transport of Mary into Paradise, not she but the apostles visited the lower world.

The Κοίμησις Μαρίας in all the various forms in which we now possess it, is, as the spurious epistle of Melito betrays, a Catholicizing recast of an heretical work. Whether the alleged disciple of the apostles, Leucius Charinus, did, as "Melito" reports, compose the original work in his own name, or whether from the first it was entitled after the apostle St. John, can no longer be ascertained, but the latter supposition is the more probable. This heretical *Apocryphum* is probably the same as that mentioned by Pseudo-Jerome, and in the *Decretum Gelasianum*. Various traces lead to the conjecture that it probably proceeded from the same Gnostic circles as the gospels of the infancy and the Gnostic *Acta apostolorum;* in some, even of our present texts, we find references to the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, the *Acta Matthaei*, the *Acta Thomae*, &c. The peculiar doctrines of the Gnostics have been carefully eliminated from the texts before us, but various narratives, such as the aerial journey of the apostles, the miraculous fire issuing from the deathbed of Mary in Jerusalem, &c., are in taste and conception decidedly Gnostic. The original work can hardly be older than the close of the 3rd century, and must probably be assigned to the 4th. The Catholic recast plainly belongs to a time when the worship of the Virgin is already flourishing, *i.e.* at the earliest the close of the 4th, and most probably the beginning of the 5th century. The various recensions of this Catholic recast were produced in the course of the 5th century—some of them somewhat later. The strongly interpolated Syriac recension B has come down to us in a MS. of the 6th century. The Latin recension, in like manner, which circulated under the name of the Pseudo-Melito, was made use of in the second half of the 6th century by Gregory of Tours.

A second main group of apocryphal writings is constituted by a variety of spurious narratives of *the passion and resurrection* of our Lord. These are one and all of Catholic origin, and written with an apologetic intention. Their composition for the most part seems to have been suggested by the Roman custom to draw up official reports of important trials and executions, the so called *Acta praesidialia*. The conjecture was a natural one that such acts must have been drawn up by Pontius Pilate himself, or under his authority, in reference to the trial and crucifixion of our Lord. So, already Justin Martyr ventures to appeal to the acts that appeared under Pontius Pilate (*τὰ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενόμενα ἄκτα*), and supposed to have been deposited by him in the imperial archives at Rome (*Apol.* i. 35, 48, cf. 38) as documents from which the emperors might inform themselves concerning Christ, and alleges various circumstances in the life and passion of our Lord, as recorded in the said *Acta*. As our own canonical gospels, especially those of St. Luke and St. John, record that Pontius Pilate was himself convinced of our Lord's innocence, and endeavoured to save Him, an opinion arose

very early, as we find from Tertullian (*Apol.* 21), that the procurator himself became a convert to Christianity. It was consequently assumed that his report to the emperor must have contained a witness, not only to the innocence of Jesus, but to His divine mission also, His miracles, and resurrection. From such conjectures to the actual composition of such documents by Christian authors was a mere step. The oldest of these which has come down to us appears to be the *Epistle of Pontius Pilate to the emperor Claudius*, incorporated in the apocryphal *Acts of St. Peter and St. Paul* (Greek text in Tischendorf, *Acta apost. apocr.* p. 16, sq.), and also found in a Latin version both in Pseudo-Marcellus (*i.e.* the Latin version of the so-called *Acta Marcelli*), and the spurious *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις* at the end of the fifth book of Pseudo-Hegesippus *de Excidio Hierosol.*, as well as in the so-called *Evangelium Nicodemi* (of which we shall have to speak hereafter), to which it is appended in several Latin MSS. (last reprint in Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocr.* p 392, sqq. 2nd ed. p. 413, sqq.) The mistaken address to the emperor Claudius is explained by reference to the primeval Ebionitic *Acts of Peter*, which formed the basis of the later *Acts of Peter and Paul*, and represented the prince of the apostles as having come to Rome under the emperor Claudius for the purpose of opposing the machinations of Simon Magus. The epistle can, however, hardly have been preserved in its original form, and in the oldest text from which the *Acts of Peter* drew, was probably addressed to the emperor Tiberius.

Of much more recent origin is the *Ἀναφορὰ Πιλάτου* which has come down to us in two redactions (both reprinted in Tischendorf, *Evangg. apocr.* p. 413 sqq., 2nd ed. p. 433 sqq.). This work presupposes the existence of the *Gesta Pilati*, of which we shall have to speak presently, and cannot have been composed before the second half of the 5th century. In the MSS. which we possess, it forms one whole with the *παράδοσις Πιλάτου*, which contains the oldest form of the Pilate-legend. It relates how Pilate was by the emperor summoned to Rome to answer for the part which he had taken in the crucifixion of our Lord, how he was thereupon tried and beheaded, but at the same time was received by Christ Himself among the blessed for the sake of his penitent and faithful confession (*ap.* Tischendorf, *l. c.* p. 426 sqq. 2nd ed. p. 449 sqq.). A forgery of later origin is the Latin *Epistola Pilati ad Tiberium* (Tischendorf *l. c.* p. 411 sq. 2nd ed. p. 433 sq.).

The most important and most widely disseminated writing of this class—the *Gesta* or *Acta Pilati*—is better known under a title which it probably first obtained in the course of the middle age, that of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Its correct designation is *Ὑπομνήματα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου*. It has come down to us in two Greek recensions (Gr. A and Gr. B, Tischendorf, *l. c.* pp. 203–311, 2nd ed. p. 210 sqq. and p. 287 sqq.), and also in Latin under the title of *Gesta Salvatoris;* and from c. 12 onwards, likewise in two recensions (Tischendorf, *l. c.* pp. 312–410, 2nd ed. p. 333 sq., p. 389 sq., p. 417 sqq.). Besides these there exists also a Coptic version published by Peyron. Peyron's Latin translation of the Coptic text is also reprinted entire by Tischendorf in his notes (2nd ed.) to the Greek text. The work is divided into two parts, of which the former narrates, with apologetic purpose, and on the basis of our four canonical gospels, but with numerous apocryphal additions, the history of our Lord's trial, condemnation, and crucifixion, while the latter seeks to establish the truth of His resurrection by the testimony of various eye-witnesses. In Tischendorf's opinion, wherein he has been followed by Rudolf Hofmann and others, these *Acts of Pilate* must have been already known to Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Eusebius. Further inquiry, however, leads to quite a different result. Even on the assumption that Justin Martyr did make use of a spurious document that announced itself as the official report of our Lord's trial, drawn up by or under the direction of Pilate, it certainly cannot have been identical with our *Acts of Pilate*, since the particulars which Justin is supposed to have derived therefrom are nowhere to be found in our *ὑπομνήματα*. Neither do Tertullian's statements (*Apol.* 21, cf. 5) as to the contents of the report made by Pilate to the emperor Tiberius contain anything which specially belongs to our *Acts of Pilate*, while referring to several particulars that were not to be found in them at all. Even Hilgenfeld's and Volkmar's opinion, that our Acts may be a recast of an older work which Justin and Tertullian made use of, is improbable. For it is incredible that the statements found in Justin and Tertullian, had they really been derived from the original groundwork of our present Acts, could have afterwards been so completely eliminated from them; and fully irreconcilable with the character and composition of the work before us is the further view maintained by both critics that all particulars derived from the Gospel of St. John which it now contains are insertions of a more recent interpolator. Finally, both Justin Martyr and Tertullian imply the existence of a document drawn up in the form of official *Acta praesidialia;* this is not applicable to our *Acts of Pilate*, which themselves indicate Nicodemus as their author. Supposing, then, these fathers really had the document they refer to in their hands, it must have borne a similar character to the already mentioned *Epistola Pilati ad Claudium*, though, doubtless, with a correct address indicating it as a report made to the emperor Tiberius. We know for certain that in Tertullian's time (and it is possible that also in Justin Martyr's) a document of this kind was really in circulation among the Christians. The church-historian (Eusebius), moreover (*H. E.* ii. 2), and a sermon attributed to Simon Cephas as preached in the city of Rome (*ap.* Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 35 sqq. of the English translation) mention indeed an official report as made by Pilate to Tiberius, but exhibit no acquaintance with our Acts. Eusebius seems rather to have derived his information from Tertullian, and the Syriac author his from the ancient *Acta Petri*. On the other hand Eusebius mentions (*H. E.* ix. 5 and 7; cf. I. 9 and 11) certain *Acts of Pilate* which he designates as pagan forgeries "full of every kind of blasphemy against Christ," composed in the time of the Galerian persecution and distributed by decree of the emperor Maximinus in every part of the empire, with orders that the children in the schools should be made to learn them by heart. These Acts were

therefore, composed between the years A.D. 307 and A.D. 313, and probably after the Toleration Act of Galerius (A.D. 311) which Maximinus had refused to accept. The first trace of any reference to our present Acts will be found in the *Panarion* of Epiphanius (A.D. 376) who states that the Quartodecimans appealed to a statement in the *Acts of Pilate* for the correctness of their determination of the day of the passion. The statement is actually found in our present Acts.

As to the composition of this work the first Greek recension (Gr. A.) comprises in our present MSS. sixteen chapters, of which cc. 1–11 treat of the passion, cc. 12–16 of the resurrection of Jesus. The book has two different introductions. The first designates Aeneas, a contemporary of the emperor Theodosius II. and of Valentinian III., as translator of the following treatise from the Hebrew. The second begins with fixing the date of our Lord's death, and adds the statement that Nicodemus had written an account in the Hebrew language of the events which followed the crucifixion and passion of our Lord. The second Greek recension (Gr. B), —under the title of Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ ἀναστάσεως—treats of the same subject; but adds eleven more chapters (cc. 17–27) at the end. These chapters contain an account of our Lord's descent into hell, which is only outwardly appended to the *Acts of Pilate*, and announces itself as the production of two sons of Simeon who had been raised from the dead at the resurrection of Christ. The title of this recension names "the Jew Aeneas" as its author (not translator), while, on the other hand, it asserts that it was translated by "the Roman τοπάρχος" Nicodemus from Hebrew into Latin. The first mentioned text (Gr. A) is undoubtedly the original one; and its date (that at least of the present redaction) is exactly fixed by the first Prologue as A.D. 425. He there mentioned Aeneas who designates himself προτίκτωρ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, could not indeed have translated the book from the Hebrew, as it certainly was originally written neither in Hebrew nor in Latin, but in Greek; but he probably found it stated that Nicodemus had written such a book in the Hebrew language. A comparison of the two Latin recensions of which the one follows the text of Gr. A as far as c. 16, the other to c. 11, leads to the result that the Appendix, cc. 17–27, was not first added in Gr. B, but is part of the work of Aeneas himself. It is indeed wanting in our existing MSS. of Gr. A, but so also in most of them is the Prologue of Aeneas. This Appendix, which is printed by Tischendorf as a separate tractate, under the title of *Descensus Christi ad Inferos*, has been handed down to us, not only in the second Greek recension (Gr. B.) but also in two independent Latin versions—one of which (Lat. A) presents a text nearly related to that of Gr. B, while the other (Lat. B) differs widely from it in the order of the narrative, mode of representation, and phraseology, and presents several peculiarities which recur in cc. 1–16 of Gr. A (compare for instance c. 17, 6, the name of the Mount Malech—14, 1; 15, 1; 16, 2—whereas Gr. B and Lat. A speak everywhere of the Mount of Olives).

The original Greek text of the *Acts of Pilate* did not yet contain the Appendix, but the *second* Introduction is to be assigned to it. It begins with the words:—Ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ or ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἡρῴδου βασιλέως τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐν ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ τῇ πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων, ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰκὰς πέμπτη Μαρτίου, ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Ῥούφου καὶ Ῥουβελλίωνος, ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς διακοσιοστῆς δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Καϊάφα. In the chronological notices here given, two different reckonings appear to have been followed. The fifteenth year of Tiberius and (if the reading be correct) the consulate of the two Gemini carry us back to the olden chronology which made A.D. 29 the year of the Crucifixion, while the other dates imply a reckoning which came not into vogue till after Eusebius, and assigned our Lord's death to the year A.D. 32. But we must probably read the eighteenth (instead of the fifteenth) year of Tiberius, and as to the consulate of the two Gemini, this was very variously dated by later authors (compare Epiphanius, *Haer.* li. 23; *Chron. Paschale*, pp. 389, 391, ed. Bonn; *Acta Barsimaei*, *ap.* Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 72 of the English translation). The Gentile *Acts of Pilate*, on the other hand, know nothing as yet of the Eusebian chronology. This suffices to prove that our Christian Acts must, even as to their oldest text, be more recent than the Gentile ones, and that the latter could not have been written, as Tischendorf assumes, in order to supersede the former, but that the opposite assumption is the only one possible. The original text of our Acts must therefore have, in any case, appeared after the publication of Eusebius's Church History (A.D. 326) and perhaps some decenniums later still, in the time of the emperor Julian (A.D. 361–363). With this agree a whole series of linguistic and other peculiarities which all indicate a time subsequent to that of Constantine the Great. (Compare Lipsius, *Die Pilatusacten*, Kiel, 1871.)

The second part of the *Acts of Pilate*, the *Descensus Christi ad Inferos*, added since the year A.D. 425, must have been originally an independent work, and was probably of Gnostic origin. According to the text of Lat. B, the two resuscitated mortals who relate the deeds of Christ in the lower world bear the names of Leucius and Karinus. Behind these names lies hidden that of Leucius Charinus, the well-known author of numerous Gnostic apocryphal writings. There are moreover several traces in the work itself of a Gnostic origin, which may, perhaps, be referred as far back as to the former half of the 3rd century; whereas the present text cannot certainly be older than the latter half of the 4th.

Among apocryphal gospels now lost or existing only in fragments, must be first considered those which once possessed more or less authority even in Catholic circles. These are four in number, the Gospel of the Hebrews, the Gospel of Peter, the Gospel of the Egyptians, and the Diatessaron of Tatian.

(1.) *The Gospel of the Hebrews* (Εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίους, *i.e.* the Gospel used by the Hebrews or Jewish Christians of Palestine and Syria, to whom the Aramaic was their mother-tongue) was reckoned by many, according to

Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25) among the Homologûmena of the New Testament, but was placed among the Antilegomena, by Eusebius himself and in the stichometry of Nicephorus. It owes the high honour in which it was once held to the fact that it was almost universally regarded in the first centuries as the Hebrew original of our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew (Hieronym. *in Matth.* xii. 13; *contra Pelagian.* iii. 1, cf. *Catal. vir. illustr.* 3). This opinion was transmitted by the Jewish Christians or Ebionites, among whom the gospel commonly went by the title of *The Gospel of St. Matthew*, to Catholic Christians, and was by these last in consequence interchangeably designated by both names. (Irenaeus, *Haer.* i. 26, 2; iii. 11, 7; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxviii. 5; xxx. 3, 13, 14; Philaster, *Haer.* 36; Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.* ii. 1; comp. Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 25, 27; Epiphan. *Haer.* xxix. 9; xxx. 6, etc.) Papias is an early witness for St. Matthew having written in Hebrew (*ap.* Euseb. iii. 39) and the same tradition is repeated by Irenaeus (*Haer.* iii. 1, 1); Pantaenus (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* v. 10); Origen (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25); Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 24, and elsewhere); Jerome (*in Matth. Praefat. et passim*); Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* xiv.). The existence of this Gospel of the Hebrews as a distinct work, differing from our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew, is first put on record by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* ii. 9; p. 453 Potter) and by Origen who makes several citations from it (*in Joann.* tom. ii. 6; *in Jerem.* xv. 4; *in Matth.* tom. xv. 14). Hegesippus is also reported to have borrowed some things from the Gospel of the Hebrews (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22). According to Origen (*Hom.* i. *in Luc.*) and Jerome (*in Matth. praef.*; *c. Pelag.* iii. 1) it also bore among the Ebionites the title of *Gospel according to the Apostles*. Jerome translated it into Greek and Latin from a copy found at Beroea (*Vir. illustr.* 2, 3; *ad Mich.* vii. 2; *in Matth.* xii. 13; *contra Pelagian.* iii. 1). The distinction which Hilgenfeld has proposed to make between a Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes and a Greek Gospel of the Ebionites (vid. *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem*, fasc. iv.) is inexact. Apart from its being an error to regard only the Essaean Jewish Christians as Ebionites, and to designate all the rest as Nazarenes, it is evident that Jerome knew nothing as yet of any such Greek Gospel, while, on the other hand, he makes the remark that the Hebrew or Aramaic text which he translated was in use both among Nazarenes and Ebionites (*in Matth.* xii. 13). And yet of this text Greek versions must have existed at a very early date; for not Epiphanius only but Eusebius also makes all his quotations from such a version. It is moreover highly probable that Jewish Christians themselves, if not resident in Palestine or Syria, read the gospel in Greek.

With regard to the form and structure of this *Gospel of the Hebrews* it is somewhat difficult to arrive at any judgment by means of the scattered fragments which alone have been preserved. One thing is certain, that at various times and in different circles it took very different shapes. According to Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxx. 13, 14) the gospel commenced thus:—Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἦλθεν τις Ἰωάννης ὀνόματι βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ. From this it is evident that in the text which Epiphanius quotes from, and which was in use among Gnosticizing Jewish Christians, the chapters relating to our Lord's genealogy, His birth, and childhood, must have been wanting. Other accounts inform us, however, that in the texts used by Cerinthus and Carpocrates, while all reference was still wanting to our Lord's supernatural birth, the genealogy (Matt. i. 1–17) was given, concluding (we may conjecture) with the words, Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν (comp. Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxviii. 5; xxx. 3, 14, with Hilgenfeld's remarks, *l. c.* p. 17). The history of our Lord's baptism in the Jordan was also differently related in different texts (Epiphan. *Haer.* xxx. 13; cf. Hieron. *c. Pelag.* iii. 2; *ad Jesai.* xi. 1). These discrepancies prove the existence in early times, not indeed of different works bearing the same title, but of different redactions of one and the same original work. The fragments preserved in the Greek by Epiphanius betray very clearly their dependence on our canonical gospels, though it is impossible, on the other hand, to prove that the Hebrew text was a translation back into Aramaic from the Greek. The Aramaic fragments also contain much that can be explained and understood only on the hypothesis that it is a recasting of the canonical text. It is moreover manifest that the recension used by those Jewish Christians who are called by Epiphanius "Ebionites" (and whom we may designate as "Gnostic," or, more properly, "Essaean" Judaizers) is the result of various alterations, all breathing more or less a sectarian Essaean spirit, *e.g.* the saying, "I am come to put an end to sacrifices, and if ye cease not to offer them wrath will not depart from you" (Epiphan. *Haer.* xxx. 16). And again: "Have I then desired to keep this passover with you by eating flesh?" (Epiphan. *Haer.* xxx. 22). The working of the same spirit is manifested in the substitution of "oil-cakes" (ἐγκρίδες) for the "locusts" (ἀκρίδες) of Matt. iii. 4. The narrative of our Lord's baptism (Epiphan. *Haer.* xxx. 13), with its *threefold* voice from heaven, is evidently a more recent combination of older texts, of which the first is found in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke; the second in the text of the Cambridge *Cod. Bezae* at St. Luke iii. 22; in Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryphon.* 88, 103), and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Paedag.* 1, 6, p. 113, Potter); the third in our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew. And this very narrative may suffice to prove that the so-called "Hebrew" text preserved by St. Jerome is by no means preferable to that of our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew, and even less original than the Greek text quoted by Epiphanius. Instead of the voice from heaven we have here an address made to Christ by the Holy Spirit, and in the place of the descent in dovelike form of the Holy Spirit upon Him a theological theory as to the Spirit's relation to the prophets and to Jesus. "It came to pass as the Lord ascended up out of the water, that the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit came down and rested upon Him, and said to Him: 'My son, in all the prophets I waited for Thee till Thou shouldst come, and I might rest upon Thee! For Thou art My rest, Thou art my first-born son, who reignest for evermore'" (Hieron. *ad Jesai.* xi. 1). With this

should be compared the quotation in Origen (*in Joann.* tom. ii. 6; *Hom. in Jerem.* xv. 4), which is repeated also by St. Jerome (*in Mich.* vii. 6; *in Jesai.* xl. 12): "Then laid hold of me my mother the Holy Spirit by one of my hairs and carried me up into the great mountain of Tabor." This passage also presupposes a theological theory as to the relation of the Holy Spirit (the Divine רוּחַ) to the Person of the Messiah. Yet more decidedly manifest is the reflex of a later time in the narrative of Jesus being driven by His mother, St. Mary, to baptism almost against His will. When His mother and brethren say to Him, "John the Baptist is baptizing for the forgiveness of sins," Christ says in reply, "What sin have I committed that I should go to be baptized of him,—unless it be that this very word is a sin of ignorance on my part?" This narrative discusses a problem as remote as possible from the simple sphere of thought in which the original gospel moves.

Other tokens may also be discovered that the Gospel of the Hebrews must have undergone numerous reconstructions of the original text. Such, for instance, must have been the case with the narrative concerning the vocation of the twelve apostles when Matthew is introduced, speaking in the first person, and Jesus Himself as addressing him (Epiphan. *Haer.* xxx. 13); so also with the appeal made to Jesus by the man with the withered hand: "I was a stonemason, and sought to maintain myself by the work of my own hands. I pray thee, Jesus, heal me that that I may not shamefully have to beg (Hieron. *ad Matt.* xii. 13). The like may be said of the reading at Matt. xxiii. 35 (*Zacharias filius Jojadae*), which is based upon an erroneous correction. To the same category belong such narratives as these:—That on the death of Jesus Christ the upper lintel of the Temple ("superliminare Templi infinitae magnitudinis") was broken in pieces (Hieron. *ad Matth.* xxvii. 51; *Epist.* 120 *ad Hedib.*), that the risen Jesus gave His linen grave-clothes to the servant of the high-priests, that James, the Lord's brother, bound himself by an oath at the last supper to eat not the smallest piece of bread henceforth till he had seen Jesus risen, and that the risen Lord had appeared to James the Just, His brother, and thus addressed him while offering him a portion of the broken bread: "My brother, eat thy bread, because the Son of Man is risen from among them that sleep" (Hieron. *Vir. illustr.* 2).

In all these cases, and the number might be increased by further instances, it is evident that an older narrative has received apocryphal additions.

But hereby it is by no means proved that the Gospel of the Hebrews has in no case preserved what was strictly speaking original. Apart from the numerous sayings which either literally, or almost literally, agree with those of our canonical St. Matthew (and the number of these was probably much greater than the fathers have reported), there are also various traces of very old traditions, among which must be reckoned that of the flame bursting forth over the Jordan at our Lord's baptism (Epiphan. *Haer.* xxx. 13; cf. Justin M. *c. Tryph.* 88; *Orac. Sibyll.* vii. 81 sqq.; *Praedic. Pauli ap.* Pseudo-Cyprian. *de Rebaptism.*); the words of the second voice from heaven (comp. Psalm ii. 7), and a whole series of fragments, for most of which we have ancient testimonies, and which exhibit a remarkable agreement with our Gospel of St. Luke. Such are the sayings about being reconciled with the adversary, and the seven-fold forgiveness of the erring brother (Carpocrates, *ap.* Irenaeum, i. 25, 4; Epiph. *Haer.* xxvii. 5; Hieron. *c. Pelag.* iii. 2; comp. Luke xii. 58; xvii. 3, 4); the history of the woman accused of many sins (Papias *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39; comp. Luke vii. 37 sq.); the discourse with the two rich men (Origen *in Matt.* tom. xv. 14), immediately followed by the saying about the children of Abraham dying of hunger (comp. Luke xviii. 22; x. 25 sqq.; xvi. 19 sqq.); the parable of the three servants who each receive a talent, and the description of the prodigal (τοῦ ἀσώτως ἐζηκότος), comp. Luke xix. 12 with Luke xv. 13, 30 (Euseb. *Theophan. in Nova Patr. Bibl.* tom. iv. Rom. 1847, p. 155), to which may be added the appearance of the risen Jesus to St. Peter, the invitation to touch and handle the Lord's body, the eating and drinking (comp. Luke xxiv. 34, 39 sq.; Ignat. *ad Smyrn.* 3). The appearance of our Lord to James is, apart from the mention of it by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 7), recorded nowhere else but in the Gospel of the Hebrews. In the case of several of our Lord's sayings, such as those of agreeing with the adversary, and of forgiveness, it seems natural to conjecture a combination of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and anyhow the concluding words of the second of these sayings—καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μετὰ τὸ χρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ εὑρίσκεται ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγος ἁμαρτίας—have the appearance of being a later addition. On the other hand, the parable of the three servants appears to point back to a source which may have preserved, at least in some respects, an older text than that of our synoptical gospels, and a like conjecture may perhaps be hazarded in reference to the history of the two rich men and some other sayings attributed to our Lord.

The various contradictory phenomena can only be explained by the supposition that our Gospel of the Hebrews in the form in which it was read by Epiphanius and Jerome, and even that in which Origen must have known it, was a re-cast of an older original that had passed through several hands. This original work was written in Hebrew, or, more correctly speaking, in Aramaic, and was nearly related on the one hand to the so-called λόγια τοῦ κυρίου, which formed the basis of St. Matthew's Gospel, and on the other, to the Ebionitic writing made use of by St. Luke, which itself was only a later redaction of the λόγια. The formation of this third recast of the same original work occupying a mid-position between the other two, must be sought, like that of the Ebionitic edition of the λόγια, which we suppose to have been used by St. Luke, in the Ebionite circles of Palestine. In the form assumed by this gospel in the time of Origen, it already bears the character of a partisan work subservient to the dogmatic interest of a sect already separated from the Catholic church. In the hands of the Christian Essenes it has undergone further alterations, some of which at least appear to indicate the existence of a Greek text at the time of their introduction.

Recent critics have been disposed to refer back to the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, a whole series of utterances attributed to our Lord, which either (like the oft-cited γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται) are not found in any one of our canonical gospels, or are perpetually and uniformly given by writers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries in a form different from that in which they are met with there. The former assumption is in many, if not in all, cases the most probable; to the latter may be opposed with equal right the possibility of different readings in the text of our gospels. Compare, for instance, the saying about swearing or oath-taking (Justin. *Apol.* i. 16; Clem. *Hom.* iii. 55; xix. 2; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 707; vi. 11, p. 872, Potter); the injunction to the rich youth (Justin M. *Dial. c. Tryph.* 101; Marcosii ap. Iren. *Haer.* i. 20, 2; Naasseni ap. Pseudorig. *Philos.* v. 7, p. 102, Miller; Valentin. ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 20, p. 488; and again in another form Clem. *Hom.* iii. 57; xviii. 1, 3); and, finally, the saying, *No man hath known the Father but the Son*, &c. (Just. *Apol.* i. 63; Marcosii ap. Iren. *Haer.* i. 20, 3; Clem. *Hom.* xvii. 4; xviii. 4, 11, 13, 20; Marcion, *in Dial. de recta Fide*, sect. 1, in *opp.* Origen, ed. Lomm. xvi. 283; Justin M. *Dial.* 100; Tertull. *adv. Marcion.* iv. 25, and elsewhere). That ecclesiastical writers down to the beginning of the 3rd century made use at times of uncanonical gospels is now generally acknowledged. Justin Martyr, for instance, and the Clementine homilies certainly made use of one or more such along with the gospels of our canon. But the attempt to prove that the two writers had one such extra-canonical authority common to them both, either in the *Gospel of the Hebrews* or in the *Gospel of St. Peter* (of which we shall speak presently) has altogether failed. It is only in the rarest cases that they literally agree in their deviations from the text of our gospels; they differ in their citations as much, for the most part, one from the other as they do from the text of the synoptical evangelists, even in such cases when one or the other repeatedly quotes the same passage, and each time in the same words. Only in very few cases is the derivation from the *Gospel of the Hebrews* probable, as in the saying concerning the new birth (Justin M. *Apol.* i. 61; Clem. *Homilies*, xi. 26; *Recogn.* vi. 9); in other cases where the text holds a mid-position between the Gospels of Matthew and Luke such derivation is at least *possible;* in most cases, however, it is quite enough to assume that the quotations were made from memory, and so account for the involuntary confusion of evangelistic texts.

(2) *The Gospel of Peter* (εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Πέτρον) is mentioned by Serapion, who was bishop of Antioch at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 12) and Origen (*in Matt.* tom. xvii. 10). The former relates that he had found this work in ecclesiastical use at Rhossus in Cilicia; that at first he had not made any objection to it, but had afterwards, on better acquaintance with its contents, forbidden its use; because, though for the most part orthodox, it yet favoured in some places the heretical views of the Docetae, whom he supposed to be in fact the followers of Marcion. This account makes it probable that this *Gospel of Peter* was a Gnostic recast of a canonical gospel. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25; comp. iii. 3) and after him Jerome (*Vir. Illust.* 1) and the *Decretum Gelasii* (c. 6) speak of it as an heretical work which no early teacher of the church had made use of. The statement of Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* ii. 2) that the Nazarenes had made use of this gospel rested probably on a misunderstanding. The passage moreover in Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 106), in which some have thought to find mention of the *Memorials of Peter*, is very doubtful. Justin does indeed very frequently speak of the ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων but nowhere else of the ἀπομνημονεύματα Πέτρου, and it is quite contrary to his practice to give any names to the evangelistic writings of which he makes use. In the passage in question the right reading is most probably not ἀπομνημονεύματα αὐτοῦ (*i.e.* of Peter mentioned just before) but ἀπομν. αὐτῶν (*i.e.* τῶν ἀποστόλων as elsewhere). Herewith fall to the ground all those hypotheses which make the *Gospel of Peter* into an original work made use of by Justin Martyr, nigh related to the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, and either the Jewish-Christian basis of our canonical St. Mark, or, at any rate, the gospel of the Gnosticizing Ebionites. Neither does Origen's statement that according to the *Gospel of Peter* the Lord's brethren were sons of Joseph by a former marriage well agree with the assumption of its Jewish-Christian character, inasmuch as that statement presupposes not only the Lord's supernatural birth (as actually received by some Ebionites in later times) but also the perpetual virginity of Mary. On this point the *Gospel of Peter* stood more probably in a near relation to the apocryphal gospels of the infancy.

(3) *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (Εὐαγγέλιον κατ' Αἰγυπτίους) was in special use in various heretical circles — *e.g.* among the Encratites (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 9, p. 540 sq. Potter, 13 p. 553), the Naassenes (Pseud.-Orig. *Philos.* v. 7, p. 98, Miller) and the Sabellians (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxii. 2); but was also used without scruple in Catholic circles as authority for sayings attributed to our Lord, as for instance in the so-called second epistle of the Roman bishop Clement. It was already used, as we learn from Clemens Alex., by the Gnostic Julius Cassianus, the head of the sect of so-called Encratites, and is cited not only in the extracts from the writings of Theodotus found among the works of Clemens (c. 67, p. 985, Potter) but also in the Acts of Thomas (Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, p. 282 of the English translation) and by Pseudo-Linus *de passione Petri et Pauli* (*Bibl. Patr. Max.* ii. p. 70 b). Origen (*Hom.* i. *in Luc.*) and Jerome (*in Matt.* praef.) mention it as an heretical writing. The fragments which have been preserved confirm this judgment. This gospel was a product of that pantheistic gnosis which we find among the Naassenes of the Philosophumena and some other kindred sects. According to this doctrine the soul is of pneumatic nature, but has sunk down into this lower world, the world of transient births, in which it undergoes the most manifold changes till finally redeemed and delivered by the gnosis. When a man has once obtained an insight into the unsubstantial

character of all the distinctions which prevail among, and separate one from another, the things of this visible world, when he has learned to know that which is divided as one, and things separated as bound together, then has he become partaker of that gnosis which entitles him to enter into the kingdom of God or the upper spiritual world. In this sense must be understood the answer which Jesus makes in this gospel to the question as to when His kingdom will come: "When out of two has been made One, and the Outward has become as the Inward and the Male with the Female neither Male nor Female" (Clemens, *ad Corinth.* ii. c. 12, comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III. 13, p. 553; Naasseni apud Pseud.-Orig. *Philos.* v. 7, p. 99, Miller; *Acta Thomae*, ap. Wright, *l. c.*). Similar to this is the saying preserved by Pseudo-Linus: "Unless ye make equal and alike the Right and the Left, the Left and the Right, Upper and Lower, Former and Hinder, ye cannot know the kingdom of God" (*l. c.* p. 70 b). Connected with this pantheistic mysticism is also that ascetic practice which this gospel recommends. If the distinctions of sex are one day to cease, and the true gnosis imparts an insight into the vanity of such distinctions, the Encratite prohibition of marriage follows as a natural practical consequence. And so Christ is made to declare that it is the object of His mission to destroy the works of the female (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 9, p. 540). The words appear to have been taken from the discourse of Jesus with Salome, of which several other fragments have also been preserved. Salome asks: "How long shall Death reign?" and receives the answer: "So long as ye women give birth." She replies: "Then have I done well that I bare not," and receives the further admonition: "Eat of every herb, but the bitter one eat not" (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 6, p. 532; iii. 9, p. 539, p. 541, exc. ex Script. Theod. 67). If death is to last as long as child-bearing, it follows that the satisfying of the sexual impulse must be what is meant by eating the bitter herb. Jesus therefore is made to reply to a further question of Salome's, the nature of which appears from the answer: "When ye tread under foot the covering of shame" (*ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε*), *i.e.* when all distinctions of sex are done away. Whereupon followed the words already quoted: "When out of Two is made One," &c. (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 13, p. 533).

There may be also other fragments of this *Gospel of the Egyptians* preserved in the second epistle of Clement and elsewhere. *E. g.* the saying: "Though ye be gathered in My Bosom, if ye keep not My commandments I will cast you away, and will say unto you, Depart from Me, I know not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity" (Clem. *Ep.* ii. c. 4), and the discourse with the disciples originally connected therewith (Clem. *Ep.* ii. c. 5), in which Jesus says, "Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves." Whereupon Peter answers Him: "But if the wolves should scatter the lambs?" "Jesus saith to Peter: 'The lambs after death need not fear the wolves'" (comp. Luke xiii. 27, x. 3, and also Isai. xl. 11). By the lambs are meant (according to the mind of the Gnostic author) the *Pneumatici*, by the wolves, most probably, the Archontes (Rulers) of this present world.

The date at which this gospel was written cannot be fixed much later than about the middle of the 2nd century; the locality, as the name expresses, was most probably Egypt.

(4) *The Gospel of Tatian*, commonly called the Diatessaron (*τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων*) is mentioned by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 29), Epiphanius (*Haer.* xlvi. 1), and Theodoret (*H. F.* i. 20). The first two had not the book itself in their hands. Eusebius concluded, from the title Diatessaron (which in his time meant a harmony or synopsis of our four canonical gospels), that Tatian's work must have been similar to a synoptical work of the Alexandrine Ammonius, Origen's teacher, which Eusebius had himself re-edited. Although he knew nothing further of the structure of this work, Eusebius remarks that it was still in his own time made use of by "some." All that Epiphanius has to tell us is that *τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον* was said to have been the work of Tatian, and that it was called by some the *Gospel of the Hebrews* (*καθ' Ἑβραίους*). The first and at the same time the only writer to whom we are indebted for more exact information, is Theodoret. He likewise names Tatian as the author of the Diatessaron, and adds that he had omitted the genealogies and everything having reference to the human descent of Jesus from the house of David. The book in Theodoret's time was not only in the hands of heretics, but of some Catholics also, who, the historian informs us, had failed to discern the sinister purpose with which it had been put together, and used it in all simplicity as an abstract. Theodoret found over two hundred copies in his own diocese, which he took away, supplying their place with the four canonical gospels. A further testimony to the reception of the work in some parts of the Syrian church may be found in a statement of the *Doctrina Addaei* (ed. Phillips, London, 1876, p. 34 of the English translation), according to which the Diatessaron was publicly read in the church of Edessa. But Tatian's name is not here mentioned, and it is quite possible that another synopsis of the four gospels may be thus referred to. If, finally, we could trust the statement of a Syrian writer of the latter half of the 12th century, Dionysius Bar-Salibi (Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* i. 57; ii. 159 sq.), we might add that Tatian's Diatessaron began with the first words of the prologue of St. John—"In the beginning was the Word"—Dionysius adds that St. Ephrem had illustrated this harmony of the four gospels by a commentary. But the learned Gregory Bar Hebraeus, bishop of Tagrit, relates precisely the same of the Diatessaron of Ammonius (Assemani *B. O.* i. 57 sq.), and Ebed Jesu († 1308) actually makes Ammonius and Tatian into one and the same person (Assemani iii. 12). On what work St. Ephrem wrote his commentary cannot be decided till the Armenian translation of it has been published. All that can be drawn with any certainty from the contradictory statements of these later Syrian writers is that they drew their conclusions from the simple fact of the title Diatessaron being applied to the work of which they were speaking.

A Harmony of the Gospels, which, after prefixing the prologue of St. Luke's Gospel, commences with "In the beginning was the Word,' is still preserved both in the Latin and the Frankish languages. The Latin text has been

several times reprinted, now under the name of Ammonius, now under that of Tatian; under the former name in the *Editio princeps* of Michael Memler, Mayence, 1524, under the latter, at first among the *Orthodoxographi* (Basil. 1569, tom. ii. pp. 659–661), and subsequently in the various *Bibliothecae Patrum*. The Frankish text, which dates from the 9th century, was published by Schmeller at Vienna in 1841. Victor of Capua (A.D. 546) supplied to this Gospel-Harmony the Ammonian sections as improved by Eusebius; the Latin text, which is that of the Vulgate, he found ready to his hand, but not assigned by name to any author. Victor hesitates whether to ascribe the work to Ammonius or to Tatian, but inclines towards the latter hypothesis, because, according to Eusebius (*Ep. ad Carpian.*), the synopsis of Ammonius followed exclusively the order of St. Matthew (comp. Victor's Preface ap. Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis*, Marburg, 1868, pp. 1–3). Of the genuineness of this Latin and German "Tatian" there can be no serious question; but the use of the names of Tatian and Ammonius in this connexion, is one among various proofs that those names have been applied to widely different gospel-harmonies.

The old dispute among critics whether Tatian really made use of our four canonical Gospels, and especially whether he used the Gospel of St. John, or whether, in the place at least of this last he used an uncanonical gospel, such as the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, is, in the absence of more exact information, difficult to decide. The possibility that the Gospel of St. John was one of the four worked up by Tatian into a new whole cannot be disputed, since he certainly made frequent use of it in his *Apology* (*Orat. ad Graec. c.* 13, 19, comp. 4, 5), written about A.D. 170. That Tatian made use of the *Gospel of the Hebrews* along with the four canonical gospels, and perhaps regarded it even as his chief authority, has been inferred first from the statement of Epiphanius that some actually regarded his work as identical with the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, and secondly from that of Victor, that it sometimes bore the title of *Diapente*. But the former statement may rest on some confusion; the latter is too feebly supported by other evidence. We fall back, therefore, on the meagre notices of Theodoret. These prove so much as this: that Tatian's work was sufficiently like our four gospels to be regarded and used by many Catholics without scruple as an abstract of them. Its heretical character must therefore have consisted not so much in foreign additions as in omissions with a special purpose. The omission of the genealogies, and of all notices relating to our Lord's human descent, are indications of *docetic* opinions, and Tatian's way of working up the gospel narratives so as to make them suit his special objects, reminds one of similar proceedings of Marcion, with whom he has otherwise much in common.

The last group of apocryphal gospels consists of those which were exclusively employed by heretics. Of most of these we know the names only. Of some, more or less important fragments have been preserved.

Some of these heretical gospels are identified with works that are otherwise known to us. Such, for instance, is the case with the gospels of Cerinthus and Carpocrates (Epiph. *Haer.* li. 7, comp. xxviii. 5, xxx. 14). Neither of these men wrote a gospel of his own, but both (as is evident from the account given us) used the *Gospel of the Hebrews* in that older form which contained the genealogy (St. Matt. i. 1–17), but not the history of our Lord's childhood (Matt. i. 18—ii. 23). Jerome accordingly reckons Cerinthus, and his successor Ebion, as well as Carpocrates, among those who have mutilated the holy gospels (*Adv. Lucifer. Opp.* iv. 2, p. 304, ed. Martianay). Of the *Gospel of Bartholomew*, which was also identified by some with that of the Hebrews, and the *Gospel of Basilides*, we shall speak further on.

Another section of these apocryphal gospels consisted (like the *Gospel of Peter* and the Diatessaron) of Gnostic corruptions of one or another of our canonical gospels. Among those of most interest and importance are—

(1) *The Gospel of Marcion.*—The text of this work has been preserved with tolerable completeness in the notices contained in the fourth book of Tertullian against *Marcion*—and in Epiphanius (*Haer.* xlii.), to which may be added some accounts in Irenaeus, and in the *Dial. de recta Fide*. The first attempt to restore this text was made by Hahn (Königsberg, 1823, comp. Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* pp. 401–486); but a sure and complete judgment on doubtful points respecting it has only been attained since special studies have led to a more correct appreciation of the purpose and objects of those champions of orthodoxy, and their peculiar methods of citation. The consequence is that few points in regard to Marcion's text are now considered obscure or disputable (comp. Volkmar. *Evangelium Marcions*, Leipsic, 1852, p. 150 sqq.). His gospel was in fact a Gnosticizing recast of that of St. Luke, which, without any direct interpolation of his peculiar views, excluded everything which, as inconsistent with them, appeared to Marcion to militate against the truth of the gospel. In particular every reference to our Lord's human origin, to the authority of the Mosaic Law, and of the prophets, or to the historical connexion of Christianity with the religion of the Old Testament was carefully eradicated. The whole of the early history was omitted, together with that of John the Baptist, and those of our Lord's baptism and temptation in the wilderness.

The gospel began with Luke iii. 1, followed immediately by iv. 31, thus: Ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, κατῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. Then followed Luke iv. 31–37, and *after* that the history of our Lord's appearance at Nazareth (Luke iv. 16 sqq.) with numerous omissions. Thus in verse 16 were omitted the words οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος, and again, ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι to ἀτενίζοντες αὐτόν in 20. In verse 21, he left out ὅτι σήμερον—τοῖς ὠσὶν ὑμῶν; in verse 22, καὶ ἔλεγον—Ἰωσήφ; in verse 23, ἐν τῇ πατρίδι σου; the whole of verse 24, and, perhaps, also verse 27. Among other omissions and alterations the following are noteworthy:—The omission of Luke viii. 19; xi. 29 (from εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ on to v. 32), again vv. 49–51, and xii. 6, 7; xiii. 1–10. The alteration of xiii. 28 (πάντας τοὺς δικαίους instead of Ἀβραὰμ—προφήτας), and the omission of vv. 29, 30. The following

passages were also struck out: xiii. 31–35, xv. 11–32, xvii. 10 (from λέγετε ὅτι δοῦλοι ἀχρεῖοι onwards); xviii. 31–34, xix. 29–48, xx. 9–18 and 19, ἔγνωσαν—εἶπεν, xxi. 18, 21, 22; xxii. 16–18, 28–30, 35–38, 49–51; xxiii. 34, 43; xxiv. 27, 32 (from ὡς διήνοιγεν on); 44 (from ὅτι δεῖ πληρωθῆναι on); 45, 46 (to γέγραπται καὶ οὕτως), 52, 53. Sometimes single words only are omitted, *e.g.* iv. 34, Ναζαρηνέ; x. 21, Πάτερ; xii. 8, 9, τῶν ἀγγέλων, 32, ὑμῶν, after ὁ πατήρ; xviii. 37, ὁ Ναζωραῖος; xix. 9, καθότι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ ἐστιν; xxiv. 19, τοῦ Ναζωραίου, and probably also xxiv. 47, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ, and 49, ὑμεῖς δὲ καθίσατε . . . ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν. Actual alterations of the text, and additions to it, are rare. Yet at x. 21, Marcion read ὅτι ἅτινα ἦν κρυπτά . . . ἀπεκάλυψας instead of ὅτι ἔκρυψας ταῦτα—καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας; xi. 42, κλῆσιν instead of κρίσιν· xvi. 12, ὑμέτερον for ἐμόν; xvi. 17, τῶν λόγων μου for τοῦ νόμου; xvii. 14, ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς λέγων δείξατε instead of ἰδὼν—ἐπιδείξατε. In xvii. 18, the words εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀλλογενὴς οὗτος were wanting, and others inserted in their place, viz. (for the second time?) Luke iv. 27, πολλοὶ λεπροὶ—ὁ Σῦρος. At xx. 35, Marcion read ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου; xxi. 32, ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ instead of ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη; xxiv. 25, ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν instead of ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται.

Nevertheless, by no means all Marcion's departures from our present text of St. Luke are to be laid to his account. Several of them he certainly found in the MS. which lay before him, and among them are some (not without support from other witnesses) where he has used an older and better text. Thus at viii. 21, was inserted τίς μου ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί; (comp. Mark x. 33, Matt. xii. 48): at x. 21, he read εὐχαριστῶ καὶ ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι; 22, οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, κ.τ.λ.; xi. 2, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα σου καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς; xii. 38, τῇ ἑσπερινῇ φυλακῇ; xvii. 2, εἰ μὴ ἐγεννήθη and ἡ μύλος ὀνικός, κ.τ.λ.; xviii. 19, μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν· εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς [θεὸς] ὁ πατήρ. At xxiii. 2 were omitted (as still in our good MSS.) καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας and καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα. Finally the variations at v. 14, ἵνα τοῦτο ᾖ μαρτύριον ὑμῖν, and vi. 17, ἐν αὐτοῖς are perfectly indifferent. With regard to some of Marcion's deviations we are not sufficiently informed, but apparent contradictions between Tertullian and Epiphanius disappear for the most part on a closer inquiry. The title of Marcion's gospel was simply εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ κυρίου. The date of composition is most probably assigned to the first period of Marcion's residence at Rome, *i.e.* about the year A.D. 145. We find, indeed, a statement in Pseudo-Tertullian (*adv. Omnes Haeres.* 16) that Cerdon, Marcion's teacher, had already made use of an abbreviated Gospel of St. Luke. But this statement appears to rest on a mistake. The view once maintained by Baur and Ritschl that Marcion's gospel was the older work, and our Gospel of St. Luke a Catholic recast of it, has been amply refuted by Volkmar and Hilgenfeld. The theory was abandoned for the main part by Baur himself, and completely given up by Ritschl.

Probably identical with Marcion's gospel is—(2) *The Gospel of Apelles.* Apelles was a disciple of Marcion. Origen's report of him (*Epist. ad Amicos in Alex. in Rufini Apolog. pro Orig.*), that he had subjected the Gospels and "the apostle" to a process of purification must probably be understood to mean that he made use of his teacher Marcion's canon (comp. also Epiph. *Haer.* xliv. 4). Epiphanius, however, relates further (*Haer.* xliv. 2), that Apelles had appealed to the saying, γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται, as being one to be found ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. But as this saying was not found in Marcion's gospel it would seem that Apelles could not have confined himself to that document.

St. Jerome, finally, attributes a similar mutilation of our canonical gospels to Saturninus and the Ophites (*adv. Lucifer.* l. c.), as well as to Basilides (*Comm. in Tit. praef.*). Of a Gospel composed by Saturninus nothing further is known. The Ophites, certainly along with the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, made use of several uncanonical gospels (Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxvii. 7; Pseudo-Tertull. *adv. Omnes Haer.* 6; Pseudo-Origen, *Philos.* v. 6), of which, however, we cannot tell whether or how far they are to be placed in the category of re-casts of our canonical gospels.

(3) *Of Basilides.*—Origen (*Hom.* i. *in Luc.*) Jerome (*praef. in Matth.*) and St. Ambrose (*praef. in Luc.*) report that he wrote a gospel which he presumed to entitle after his own name. In another place, where Origen is speaking of facts of the gospel history of which our canonical books make no mention, he warns against a too hasty rejection of such narratives, adding the remark that much indeed of this kind is to be found in the fictitious compositions of heretics, such as the "Hypythians" (Sethians) and Basilidians made use of (*in Matth. Comm.* series 28). If in this passage Origen was thinking of the *Gospel of Basilides*, we might infer from his words that it must have been an entirely different work from our canonical gospels. We know moreover that the Basilidians made use of other apocryphal writings, such as the "Traditions of Matthias." And we also learn from the testimony of Agrippa Castor (cf. Eus. *H. E.* iv. 7) and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* iv. 12, p. 599) that Basilides had composed a work in twenty-four books bearing the title ἐξηγητικὰ εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. A fragment from this work is still preserved in the *Acta disputationis Archelai et Manetis*, c. 55 (Galland, *Bibl. Patr.* iii. 569 sqq.). It is an exposition of the parable of Dives and Lazarus. Clemens Alex. has also preserved another fragment from the 23rd book, which speaks of suffering as a consequence of the inbred sinful corruption of every man, with special reference to a passage concerning martyrdom (Luke xxi. 12 sqq.?) In any case the work must have been an exposition of some gospel, by whose authority Basilides endeavoured to establish his Gnostic doctrine. And it is anyhow most unlikely that he would have written a commentary on a gospel of his own composition. Of our canonical gospels those of Matthew, Luke, and John were used in his school, and from the fragments just referred to we may reasonably conclude that it was the Gospel of St. Luke on which he wrote his commentary. It is indeed quite possible that, like Marcion, he may have subjected this

gospel to revision and alterations favourable to his special dogmatic purposes; but no certain conclusions can be arrived at on this point.

Numerous other apocryphal gospels in use among the Gnostics carried, like the *Gospel of Peter*, and the Childhood-Gospels of James, Matthew and Thomas, on their front the names of Apostolic men. To such belong—

(4) *The Gospel of Andrew* mentioned in some texts of the *Decretum Gelasii* (vi. 12). The "apocryphal writings bearing the name of Andrew," mentioned by pope Innocent I. (*Epist.* 6, *ad Exuper.*) and St. Augustine (*c. adversar. leg. et prophet.* 20), are probably the Gnostic περίοδοι Ἀνδρέου.

(5) *The Gospel of Barnabas* mentioned likewise in the *Decretum Gelasii* (vi. 10) and in the catalogue of Anastasius Sinaita (ap. Credner, *Geschichte des Kanons*, p. 241). A later legend relates that at the discovery of the relics of St. Barnabas in the island of Cyprus, a copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew, written with his own hand, was found lying on the saint's breast. (Tischend. *Acta Apost. Apocr. Prolegg.* xxx. and *Acta Barnabae*, c. 22, ap. Tischendorf, l. c. p. 72.) Further, we must distinguish between the old Gnostic *Gospel of St. Barnabas* and a Mahometan fiction bearing the same name, which is still preserved in an Italian translation of the 15th century (Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.* iii. pp. 373–394).

(6) *The Gospel of Bartholomew* (Hieron. *praef. in Matth.*; Gelasii *Decretum*, vi. 12). According to some accounts this Gospel would be identical with the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. And indeed we read in Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 10, cf. Hieron. *Vir. Illustr.* 36) that St. Bartholomew carried with him into India the Gospel of St. Matthew written in Hebrew characters, and that there it was afterwards found by Pantaenus, the teacher of Clemens Alexandrinus, on his missionary visit to that country. But Eusebius knows nothing of a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew bearing also the name of Bartholomew; and Jerome speaks (in terms like to those of the Gelasian Decree) of the *Gospel of Bartholomew* as of an independent work of heretical origin. They both (St. Jerome and Gelasius) make mention of it in the same series with a number of Gnostic productions.

(7) *The Gospel of Judas Iscariot* in use among the Cainites (Irenaeus, *Haer.* i. 31, 1; Epiphan. *Haer.* xxxviii. 1; Theodoret, *H. F.* i. 15). This work represented Judas's betrayal as a meritorious action, and the traitor himself as the perfect Gnostic who destroyed the dominion of the Demiurge by bringing about the crucifixion of our Lord.

(8) *The Gospel of Matthias* is mentioned by Origen (*Hom.* i. *in Luc.*), Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25), Jerome (*praef. in Matth.*), Ambrose (*in Luc. praef.*), Innocent I. (*Epist.* 6 *ad Exuper.*), the Decree of Gelasius (vi. 8), and the list in Anastasius Sinaita (Credner, p. 241).

The work was, we may conjecture, identical with the Παραδόσεις Ματθίου, which were in high esteem in Gnostic circles, and specially among the Basilidians, being regarded by these latter as the chief source of their doctrine (Clemens Alex. *Strom.* vii. 17, p. 900 Potter, Pseudo-Orig. *Philos.* vii. 20, p. 230, Miller). According to Pseudo-Origen the writing was composed in the form of apocryphal discourses, received by Matthias in secret instruction from our Lord. Some fragments of it have been preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus. The first runs thus:—"Behold with wonder the things present, for that is the first step towards a knowledge of the things beyond" (*Strom.* ii. 9, p. 452). A second: "The flesh must be contended with, and evil-entreated, and its unbridled lust must in no wise be yielded to, but the soul must be made to grow through faith and knowledge" (*Strom.* iii. 4, p. 523). A third saying: "When the neighbour of an elect person falls into sin then the elect one sins himself; for had he so lived as the word enjoins, his neighbour out of reverence for his manner of life would not have sinned" (*Strom.* vii. 13, p. 882). The work commended itself by its severe ascetic principles to the school of Basilides; and from some indications in the *Philosophumena*, it would seem also to have favoured some of their Gnostic speculations.

(9) *The Gospel of Philip* was, according to Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxvi. 13) in use among the members of a Gnostic sect allied to the Ophites, and alleged by them in justification of indulgence in unnatural lusts. The fragment, however, preserved, and quoted from it by the zealous opponent of heresy, contradicts his statement—"The Lord revealed to me what the soul ought to say when she mounts to heaven, and what answer she should give to each of the higher powers: 'I have known myself, and gathered myself together, and begotten no children for the Archon of this world, but have torn up his roots, and gathered the scattered members, and I know Thee, and who thou art! for I also am descended from the upper world.'" This gospel therefore inculcated, like the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, and the "traditions of Matthias," a severe asceticism. The prayers of the departing soul as she passes through the various heavens constitute indeed a favourite theme of various Gnostic writings. The *Gospel of Philip* was also in use among the Manichaeans (comp. Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr.* i. 139–142).

(10) *The Gospel of Thaddeus* is mentioned in some MSS. of the *Decretum Gelasianum* (comp. Credner, *Zur Geschichte des Kanons*, Halle, 1847, p. 215).

Most of these pseudo-apostolical gospels, like the apocryphal acts of Apostles, were attributed to the authorship of Leucius Charinus, whom Catholic tradition has stamped as typical representative of the whole class of pseudo-epigraphical writings. So when the *Decretum Gelasii*, after recounting a whole series of apocryphal gospels, concludes with these words: *Evangelia quae falsavit Lucianus apocrypha, Evangelia quae falsavit Isicius apocrypha* (Credner, *l. c.* p. 216 sqq.), we may conjecture that beneath the names Lucianus and Isicius (Ysicius, Eusicius, Lucius, Esitius, Hyrcius, Hesychius, Ysius, &c.) may lurk the otherwise oft corrupted name of *this* Leucius. Rudolf Hofmann conjectures indeed that these two names may indicate two men who in early times made themselves noteworthy by labours expended on our canonical gospels, viz. Lucian, the presbyter of Antioch, and the Egyptian bishop Hesychius. But in some texts of the *Decretum Gelasii* the added clause *quae falsavit Lucianus* is also found after the

enumeration of other Gnostic gospels, such as those of Thaddaeus, Barnabas, Thomas, Bartholomew, Andrew, Peter, Matthew (Credner, *l. c.*). The name of Leucius was also borne by the Gnostic original of the book (already mentioned), *De Infantia Mariae et Salvatoris* (comp. the epistle of Pseudo-Jerome to Chromatius and Heliodorus, ap. Tischend. *Evang. Apocr.* ed. ii. p. 52 sq., and the note by Grabe to Iren. *Haer.* i. 17).

Beside these pseudo-apostolical gospels a number of other gospels are mentioned as used in various Gnostic schools.

(11) The Simonians are reported by a confessedly somewhat recent witness (*Praef. Arab. in Concil. Nicaen. ap. Fabric.* i. p. 377) to have had a gospel of their own, which bore title—*Book of the Four Corners, and Hinges of the World*—and was accordingly divided into four parts. But this title reminds one too strongly of the doctrinal proof alleged by Irenaeus for the fourfold character of the church's gospel (Iren. *Haer.* iii. 11, 8) not to awaken a suspicion of some confusion of thought or memory in the witness. To the arch-heretic Simon himself is ascribed by the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vi. 16) the authorship of various apocryphal writings put forth in the names of Christ and His apostles. Of another work attributed to Simon, and entitled *The Great Announcement* (ἡ ἀπόφασις ἡ μεγάλη), numerous fragments have been preserved by Pseudo-Origen (*Philosoph.* vi. 11 sqq.), but this was not a gospel at all.

(12) An apocryphal gospel, in use among the Valentinians, is mentioned by Irenaeus (*Haer.* iii. 11, 9), and Pseudo-Tertullian (*Haer.* 12). According to Irenaeus, who probably knew it well, and declares it to be a pretty recent fiction, it bore the name of "The gospel of Truth" (*Evangelium veritatis*), and had nothing in common with our canonical gospels. It was probably rather a dogmatic exposition of the speculative tenets of Valentinus than an historical writing. But the Valentinians also used our canonical gospels, and in an unmutilated form (Iren. *l. c.*; Tertullian, *Praeser.* 38). The Valentinian Heracleon (cir. A.D. 195) wrote a commentary of his own on the Gospel of St. John, of which numerous fragments have been preserved.

(13–16) *The Gospel of Perfection* (εὐαγγέλιον τελειώσεως), *The Gospel of Eve*, and the *Great and Small Interrogations of Mary* (ἐρωτήσεις Μαρίας μεγάλαι and μικραί) are mentioned by Epiphanius as in use among the "Gnostics" or "Borborites" (*Haer.* xxvi. 2 sqq.), *i.e.* a section of the Ophites, along with other apocryphal writings which (like the Gospel of Philip) were current under apostolic names, and used by these Ophite Gnostics (Epiph. *Haer.* xxvi. 8). According to the Gospel of Eve she partook of the Tree of Knowledge in consequence of a revelation made to her by the Serpent. Epiphanius gives us the following fragment (*Haer.* xxvi. 3): "I stood on a high hill and saw a tall and a short man, and heard a voice as of thunder, and I drew near to hearken; and it spoke to me: 'I am thou, and thou art I, and where thou art there am I also; and in all things am I sown. And from whencesoever thou gatherest me, in gathering me thou gatherest thyself.'" This fragment is enough to shew that the work was no gospel, but a Gnostic doctrinal treatise, though presented, it may be, in an historical form. This work, like the *Gospel of Judas*, appears to have been a favourite among the Ophites of the Cainite branch. Its pantheistic mysticism is declared by the severe *Malleus Haereticorum* to have an obscene meaning, and such, according to his statement (Epiphan. *Haer.* xxvi. 8), seems really to have been the case with the other two works—*The Interrogations of Mary*.

(17 and 18) As Manichaean works are mentioned—*The Gospel of Life* and *The Gospel of Adda*, called also *The Bushel* (μόδιος). The former of these, which is mentioned by Timotheus Presbyter Constantinopolitanus (*De iis qui ad Eccl. accedunt*, ed. Meursius *Varia divina*, p. 117), by Photius (*Bibl.* cod. 85), and in the *Anathematismi Manichaeorum* (Cotelerius, *Patr. Apost.* i. p. 537), is said to have been written by the fabulous Scythianus, and to have described the Acts of Christ in an heretical spirit. To this same, beside the Gospel, are ascribed three other writings—the "Chapters" (or the "Vocation"), the "Mysteries," and the "Treasury of Life" (Epiph. *Haer.* lxvi. 2; Cyrill. *Hieron. Catech.* vi. 22, p. 100, ed. Paris, Petrus Siculus, *Hist. Manich.* ed. Gieseler, Göttingen, 1846, p. 15; Photius, *contra Manich.* i. 37 sq.; cf. Fabric. *Cod. Apocr.* i. p. 141).

The Bushel is said to be the production of a disciple of Manes named Adda (Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 85). Diodorus, who wrote twenty-five books against the Manichees, directed the first seven against the *Gospel of Life*, but herein, according to Photius, made a serious blunder, confounding the above-named gospel with that of Adda.

In some lists of Manichaean writings mention is made of a *Gospel of Philip* and of a *Gospel of Thomas*, of which Mani's disciple, bearing the same name, is said to have been the author. (Timotheus, presbyter, *l. c.*; Petrus Siculus, *l. c.* p. 22; Leontius, *de Sectis*, art. iii. p. 432; *Anathemat. Manich. l. c.* comp. Fabricius, i. p. 138, sq., 354 sq.) But by these Gospels are probably meant the Gnostic *Apocrypha*, of which we have already spoken, and which were also read by Manichaeans. [R. A. L.]

GOSSELINUS (Gausolinus, Ausolinus), several other forms of the name are given by Potthast. He was bishop of Metz about A.D. 460. His very existence was at first doubted by J. B. Sollerius, who, however, afterwards found mention of him in a MS. Martyrology of the church of St. Peter at Metz. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 31 Jul. vii. 304.) [R. T. S.]

GOSVINTHA, queen. [Goisvintha.]

GOSWINUS—May 22. A boy martyr at Rome in A.D. 176, supposed to have been of Teuton birth, led to Rome either through business or slavery. There is, however, in reality nothing known of him. (Ferrarii *Cat. SS.*; *Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. v. 130.) [G. T. S.]

GOTHARDUS (Godeardus, Bothardus, Budibardus), an early bishop of Mentz. He ruled for fifteen years, and was a successful missionary preacher. He built a church, afterwards dedicated to St. Nicomedes. By his place in the list his period would seem to belong to about A.D. 200. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 433.) [R. T. S.]

GOTHOBERTA, virgin, of Noyon. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 11 Apr. ii. 31 a.) [GODEBERTA.]
[J. G.]

GOTHS, CONVERSION OF THE. The early Christianity of the Goths is a matter on which no very full light can be thrown. 1. The first conversions appear to have been made through the prisoners whom the Goths carried off with them from their invasions of Asia Minor. Philostorgius, who is the authority for this, says (ii. 5) that among the prisoners made in the region of Cappadocia were some clerics and that not a few conversions were made. He also adds that the ancestors of Ulfilas were of the number of the captives. This is very improbable. There seems little doubt that the invasions referred to took place about the middle of the 3rd century, that they were made by the Goths who lay to the north of the Euxine, and that these early Catholic conversions were made not in the district north of the Danube, where Ulfilas afterwards laboured, but much more probably in the Crimean Chersonese. Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, bears testimony that Dionysius, who was bishop of Rome, 259-269, had sent persons with a view of redeeming the prisoners taken from the Cappadocians. There is also a letter from Basil to Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica, which confirms the belief that the Goths first received Christianity from Cappadocia, and makes it probable that a certain Eutyches was one of the prisoners who made converts among the Goths. (Ep. 70, § 164; Migne, xxxii. 435, 635.)

The account of Sozomen (ii. 6) is clearly inaccurate and gives no further certain information. At the council of Nice, more than half a century later, we have evidence of the orthodox Gothic Christians of the Crimea in the signature of a Gothic metropolitan—Provinciae Gothiae: Theophilus Gothiae Metropolis—or according to another list—De Gothis Theophilus Bosporitanus (Mansi, ii. 696, 702). Athanasius, writing before the council of Nice, speaks strongly of the influence of Christianity upon the barbarians, and it seems probable from an allusion to them in an earlier passage that he is certainly including the Goths (Athan. *de Incarn. Verb.* § 51, § 52; Migne, xxv. 187–190; Neander, *Church History*, Eng. transl. iii. 179). Further, Chrysostom in his fourteenth epistle speaks of an embassy which has come to him from the Goths to ask for a bishop in the place of Unilas, whom Chrysostom had himself consecrated (Migne, lii. 618). Procopius also, speaking of the Goths of the Crimean region, says that in the twenty-first year of Justinian's reign, they applied to the emperor for another bishop to replace their own, who had lately died (Procopius, *de Bell. Goth.* iv. 4, ed. Bonn. vol. ii. p. 475). It seems clear, therefore, on the whole that from the middle of the 3rd century there was a continuous tradition of orthodox Christianity among the Goths who bordered on the Euxine.

2. We turn now to the, historically, more important branch of the Goths who were settled further west. Before the time of Ulfilas we have no knowledge of any conversions to Christianity among the Goths to the north of the Danube. Ulfilas (born 311, died 381), on suffering severe persecution for his labours as a Christian missionary among his own people, was allowed by Constantius to enter the Roman dominions with his Arian converts, c. 348. These Goths — the "Gothi minores" —settled in the region of Moesia and Thrace. For the whole consideration of the life and writings of Ulfilas, his work among the Goths, and the nature of their Christianity see ULFILAS.

3. There are indications of other preaching and of other conversions to Christianity among the Goths north of the Danube about the time of Ulfilas. We learn from Epiphanius, writing about the year 375, that a persecution had, some years before he wrote, broken out against the followers of Audius, who, after his banishment for heresy to Scythia, had laboured among the Goths and converted many. [AUDIUS, ANTHROPOMORPHITAE.]

Epiphanius speaks of Silvanus, a bishop, who had been ordained by Audius, and of others also who were dead when he wrote (Migne, xlii. 371). Of Catholic Goths also, and their persecution, probably about the same period, there is some evidence to be found in the *Lives of the Saints* [see NICETAS, SABA]. The leader of the persecution in these cases, as in that of Ulfilas, was probably Athanarich.

4. Nearly thirty years after the Goths of Ulfilas had entered the Roman provinces, the great mass of the Visigoths (A.D. 376) moved across the Danube. Of the manner of their conversion to Arian Christianity we know absolutely nothing, nor of any certain link between them and Ulfilas. For the later history of the Christianity of the Goths, see SEVERINUS, OSTROGOTHS, VISIGOTHS.

(The best condensed accounts of this subject will be found in Pallmann, *Die Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, i. p. 62–85, and Bessell, art. GOTHEN, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encycl.* 75, pp. 140–145. For more detailed information, Bessell, *Ueber das Leben des Ulfilas und die Bekehrung der Gothen zum Christenthum*, Göttingen, 1860, pp. 96–119.) [A. H. D. A.]

GOTISPITAE [CUTZUPITAE (Vol. I. 733 *a*)].

GOTTESCHALK [GODESCALCUS].

GOTUMAR (GUTUMARUS), bishop of Tria Flavia (Santiago), from about 637 till after 646. He signed the sixth and seventh councils of Toledo under Kintila and Kindasvinth, A.D. 638, 646. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 413, 423; *Esp. Sagr.* xix. 57. [ORTIGIUS.] [M. A. W.]

GOVEIN (COFEN, COVEN, GAWEN, GOFEN, GOVEINWEN), wife of Tewdrig and mother of Meurig, kings of South Wales, an early Welsh saint [COFEN]. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, app. 14; *Camb. Quart. Mag.* v. 132; *Notes and Queries*, 1 ser. vi. 97, xii. 201.) [J. G.]

GOVOR, GOWER, Welsh saint, who founded Llanover in Monmouthshire. There are here nine springs close to each other called Fynnon Ovor. He was commemorated May 9. (R. Williams, *Enwogion Cymru*, 1852, p. 178; *Notes and Queries*, 2 ser. iii. 31, 77, 97; Williams, *Iolo MSS.* 549, 558.) [C. W. B.]

GOWIBALDUS, GOWIBOLT, bishop of Ratisbon. [GARIBALDUS (3).]

GRACCUS, a Roman patrician, who held the office of urban praetor towards the close of

the 4th century. During his term of office he destroyed the cave of Mithra and other objects connected with the strange Oriental superstitions which had been introduced into Rome. This may have been done by the magistrate as a mere matter of police; but he afterwards received baptism. He was a neighbour of Toxotius and Laeta (*qq. v.*), and it is in a letter to Laeta that his name is mentioned by St. Jerome. (*Ep.* cvii. 2, ed. Vall.) Prudentius (*Cont. Symm.* lib. i. l. 562) mentions the family of Gracchi as one zealous for the Christian religion.

[W. H. F.]

GRACE, χάρις, in the sense first given to that word in the New Testament, viz., the favour or free gift of the Holy Ghost purchased for man by Christ, and poured out on man under the Gospel; inspiring individual souls with power from above to the regeneration and sanctification of their hearts and lives; and imparting vital efficacy to the sacraments and general work of the church. Grace, therefore, must in this sense be considered under a twofold aspect: (1) grace to the individual—in later times called "gratia gratum faciens"—and (2) grace to the church in general, "gratia gratis data." But the commoner name for it under this latter aspect is charisma (Rom. i. 1; 1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6), or charismata (1 Cor. xii. 9 and 31), under which term it has been treated elsewhere (DICT. OF CHR. ANT. I. 349): but briefly, for all the controversies that have been raised about it on that head are purely modern.

It was the inward, invisible, superhuman, and life-giving action of the Holy Ghost upon the soul of man, which Pelagius denied, and St. Augustine brought out so triumphantly as to have procured for himself in after ages the honourable distinction of "doctor of grace." It was he, likewise, who first laid bare the correlative doctrine to it on the part of man, viz., that of original sin. His *opus classicum* on the subject is divided into two books; the title given to the first being *De Gratiâ Christi:* to the second, *De Peccato Originali.* It was written A.D. 418, after Pelagius had been condemned by pope Zosimus and a general council of the African church on May 1 of that year.

Pelagius had been brought to book at last, and all his subterfuges exposed. Denial of the grace of God, he had constantly said formed no part of his creed, yet now, in expounding what he held it to be, he struck at the roots of it in the same breath. "Nam gratiam Dei, et adjutorium quo adjuvamur ad non peccandum, aut in naturâ, et libero ponit arbitrio: aut in lege atque doctrinâ." (I. 3.) That is, he limited it to the natural gifts and powers with which every man is born, or the external help supplied to man in the books of the Old and New Testaments. The capabilities, therefore, with which every man finds himself endowed at his birth, constituted, according to Pelagius, all the inward assistance that men needed or received from God to enable them to do things acceptable to Him in this life, and be rewarded with heaven in the next. Neither their wills nor their actions wanted any renewing or strengthening from above to be what they ought. "Et ideo, non adjuvat (Deus) ut velimus, non adjuvat ut agamus: sed tantummodo adjuvat ut velle et agere valeamus" (*ib.* c. v.). From this point of view there was, of course, no taint of nature for baptism to wash away, no gift of the Holy Ghost imparted in the new birth at the font. Adam's sin, St. Augustine rejoined, was simply left out in this estimate. As he had urged in an earlier work: "Natura quippe hominis primitus inculpata, et sine ullo vitio creata est: natura vero ista hominis, quâ unusquisque ex Adam nascitur, jam medico indiget quia sana non est. . . . Ac per hoc natura poenalis ad vindictam justissimam pertinet. . . . Deus autem, qui dives est in misericordiâ, propter multam dilectionem, quâ dilexit nos, et cum essemus mortui delictis, convivificavit nos Christo, Cujus gratiâ sumus salvi facti. Haec autem Christi gratia, sine quâ nec infantes, nec aetate grandes salvi fieri possunt, non meritis redditur, sed gratis datur, propter quod et gratia nominatur. 'Justificati,' inquit, gratis per sanguinem Ejus." (*De Nat. et Grat.* c. Pel. c. iii.) When and in what way was this grace bestowed? First at the font, on the recipients of baptism, infants and adults alike, was the reply. "Unde ii qui non per illam liberantur, sive quia audire nondum potuerunt, sive quia obedire noluerunt: sive etiam, cum per aetatem audire non possent, lavacrum regenerationis quod accipere possent, per quod salvi fierent, non acceperunt, juste utique damnantur, quia sine peccato non sunt, vel quod originaliter traxerunt, vel quod malis moribus addiderunt. Omnes enim peccaverunt, sive in Adam, sive in se ipsis, et egent gloriâ Dei." (*Ib.*) But was it merely the remission of sins in baptism, or something else, first bestowed then, over and above, that was denied by Pelagius? This was the crucial point which he could never face, "Quomodo igitur credi potest Pelagium Dei gratiam, quae neque natura est cum libero arbitrio: neque legis scientia, neque peccatorum remissio: *sed quae in singulis nostris actibus est necessaria* veraciter fuisse confessum," asks his opponent, in spite of all his admissions? that inward grace, which, first received at the font, becomes the operating and co-operating principle of a new life in every heart, where it is allowed free course, and not obstructed by the action of a perverse will. Faith, hope, and charity rank amongst its earliest creations, and most prized and lasting achievements. Absolute freedom from sin is not out of the question with such aid: which, however, is never irresistible, and might be withdrawn at any moment, on any wilful reaction from it in its recipient. Such grace was wholly gratuitous on the part of God, and undeserved by any preceding merit whatsoever on the part of man. At one time St. Augustine confesses he thought himself man could merit it by his faith. Afterwards, he became scripturally convinced that faith both originated with, and was increased by grace. "Fides ergo, et inchoata, et perfecta, donum Dei est," is the mature conclusion of his latest work. (*De Praedest.* c. vii.) "Our wills and our acts are our own," he says, "but our good wills and our good acts are God's, wrought in us by Him with our concurrence." (*De Grat. Christi,* c. xxv.) In rewarding them, therefore, God does but literally crown his own gifts. (*Ep.* cxciv. 19: *ad Sixt. Presb.*) Or as he puts it elsewhere, "Intelligendum est igitur etiam hominis bona merita esse Dei munera, quibus cum vita aeterna redditur, quid nisi gratia pro gra

tiâ redditur" (*Enchirid.* c. vii.). Or as his faithful interpreter, Prosper, beautifully puts it, "Duce Deo, venitur ad Deum" (*de Vocat.* i. 24).

Besides art. CHARISMA in the *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, and vol. x. of the Ben. ed. of the works of St. Augustine generally, the following articles of this work must be consulted for special branches of the subject to avoid repetition:—Original Sin, Faith, Hope, Charity, Baptism, Eucharist, Ordination, or Holy Orders. Estius, in Sentent. ii. Dist. 26, is a storehouse of all the subtle points mooted or left in abeyance by St. Augustine, and discussed by others. For instance, whether grace is a habit, an act, a motion, or something intermediate; how it should be defined: whether it is distinct from, or the same with charity: whether it should be divided into created and increate, operating and co-operating, gratia gratis data, gratia gratum faciens, and so forth. But it was in the West almost wholly that they received any special treatment. Mareschall's *Concord. Pat.*, continued by Schramm, and Fessler's *Inst. Patrol.* give the views incidentally expressed of other Fathers. [E. S. Ff.]

GRACIANUS of Cagli. [GRATIANUS (3).]

GRACILIANUS, martyr with the virgin Felicissima in the city of Falaris, being stoned and afterwards decapitated; commemorated Aug. 12 (Usuard. *Mart.*). Baronius (*Rom. Mart.* Aug. 12) gives the name of the city Faleria in Tuscany. [C. H.]

GRADA, ST., the saint of a parish in the Lizard district in Cornwall. The parish feast is kept on the nearest Sunday to St. Luke's Day. [C. W. B.]

GRADESCUS, bishop of Sulmo (Sulmona), c. A.D. 701. He appears to have succeeded St. Pamphilus, who was elected c. A.D. 682. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. *252.) [R. S. G.]

GRADUS, bishop. [GRATUS (5).]

GRAECUS, bishop of Marseilles, succeeded Eustasius about 472. He is known to us only from Sidonius Apollinaris, who addresses him in laudatory terms (lib. vi. 3, vii. 2), but in vii. 7 complains bitterly that he had been instrumental in effecting a treaty, which was probably that between the emperor Nepos and Euric king of the Visigoths, the result of which was that while the Massilians were at peace the Arverni were surrendered to the Goths and suffered terrible extremities. Sidonius roundly informs Graecus that this act placed him last instead of first among the bishops of the province, whence the Sammarthani infer that he had sought, through the favour of Euric, to exercise the powers of metropolitan. He seems, however, afterwards to have been on good terms with Sidonius (*Ep.* vii. 11). (*Gall. Christ.* i. 635; Ceillier, *Aut. ecc.* x. 610.) [R. T. S.]

GRAETIS, king of the Heruli. [GREPES.]

GRAIFNIG, GRAIPHNIDH, abbat of Emlagh, near Kells, co. Meath, died A.D. 737 (*Four Mast.* A.D. 732; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 736). [J. G.]

GRAMMATICUS, addressed along with Glorius, Felix, and Eleusius, by Augustine, on the shamelessness with which the Donatists, though so often sentenced, persisted in their schism (August. ep. 43 al. 162. *Opp.* vol. 38, p. 422, ed. Caillau). [C. H.]

GRAMMATIUS (1), bishop of Salernum (Salerno), probably c. A.D. 400, though some authorities place him much later. He is said to have succeeded Bonosius. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 11 Oct. v. 671; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* vii. 487.) [R. S. G.]

GRAMMATIUS (2), ST., twenty-first bishop of Metz, between St. Phronimius and Agatimber. He is said to have died in the fifteenth year of his episcopate (A.D. 512), on April 25, on which day he is commemorated at Metz. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 369; *Gall. Chr.* xiii. 687.) [S. A. B.]

GRAMMATIUS (3), 4th bishop of Vindonissa (Windisch), from whence the see was soon afterwards transferred to Constance. He succeeded Bubulcus, and was followed by Maximus. He was present at three councils—that of Clermont in 535, the fourth of Orleans in 541, and the fifth in 549. (Mansi, viii. 863, ix. 120, 136; *Gall. Christ.* v. 892.) [S. A. B.]

GRANIANUS, SERENIUS or SERENNIUS, proconsul of Asia in the reign of Hadrian. He wrote to the emperor in the year 125 for instructions as to how Christians were to be dealt with, but the answer arrived to his successor Minutius Fundanus (Justin. Mart. *Apol.* i. 69; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 9). In his *Chronicle* (sub ann. 125) Eusebius calls him Serenus Granius, and states that he called Hadrian's attention to the gross iniquity of sacrificing the blood of innocent men to the clamours of the mob when they could be charged with no crime but that of belonging to a name and a sect. [FUNDANUS.] [C. H.]

GRANISTA, a Gothic comes, one of the heads of the first Arian conspiracy against Recared king of Spain, which broke out in 587, immediately after the preliminary council held at Toledo in that year had made it plain that the formal conversion of the nation to Catholicism was fast approaching. The results of the council had been made known in Gallia Narbonensis by envoys from Recared, and the inhabitants of the province were invited to join those of Spain proper in returning "ad unitatem et pacem Christianae ecclesiae" (conf. Greg. Tur. ix. 15; Joh. Bicl. *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 385). Immediately upon the announcement followed an Arian rising headed by the Arian bishop Athalocus and the comites Granista and Wildigern "inclyti licet opibus et nobiles genere, profani tamen mentibus et ignobiles moribus" (Paul. Emerit. *Vit. Patr. Emerit.* cap. 19, in Patr. Lat. lxxx. 158). The revolt was speedily put down. Our sources tell us nothing of the fate of his associates Granista and Wildigern, but in all probability they perished in the struggle. Their names do not appear among the viri illustres of the conversion council of 589, though it is of course possible that if still living and restored to favour they might have been included under the general description of "omnes seniores Gothorum," which follows the five individual signatures (C. Tol. iii. apud Tejada y Ramiro,

Colecc. de Can. &c. ii. p. 227). Granista and Wildigern are mentioned only in Paul. Emerit. *l. c.* [M. A. W.]

GRAPHAN, companion of Gobban, son of Nasc, and disciple of Carthach Mochuda (Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* ii. 358), but Colgan (*Acta SS.* 631) has Straphan, interpreted Stephanus. [J. G.]

GRAPTE, probably chief among the deaconesses of the Roman church in the early part of the 2nd century. HERMAS (*Vis.* ii. 4) mentions her in company with a Clement whose office it was to communicate on the part of the Church of Rome with foreign cities. In spite of difficulties raised by Harnack and others we have no hesitation in identifying this with CLEMENS ROMANUS, and inferring that Grapte must have been known as a real person contemporary with Clement, and that if not alive when the work of Hermas was published, she must have died so recently that hers was still a well-remembered name. The name Grapte is not common, but Harnack (*l. c.*) notes that it occurs in Josephus (*B. J.* IV. ix. 11) as the name of a lady of the royal family of Adiabene; and it is found four times in inscriptions, three in Asia Minor, Le Bas, 782, 962, 1567, and one in Italy, Mamercia Grapte, Gruter, 434. There is an odd coincidence between the relation to a Januarius indicated in the first and last of these.

Grapte is allegorically interpreted by Origen (*De Prin.* iv. 11; *Philocal.* i. 11). [G. S.]

GRASULFUS, duke of Friuli early in the 7th century. He succeeded to the duchy on the murder by the exarch Gregory of his nephews Taso and Cacco, the sons of Gisulf, the first duke (Paulus Diaconus, iv. 39). The duchy of Friuli was, after the duchies of Benevento and Spoleto, which were practically independent, the most important during early Lombard history. [A. H. D. A.]

GRATA (1)—June 2. [LYONS, MARTYRS OF.]

GRATA (2), companion of St. Ursula and martyr, A.D. 354; venerated Oct. 21 (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 316). [J. G.]

GRATA (3), second daughter of the emperor Valentinian I. and his empress Justina. She was the sister of Justa, Galla Placidia, and the emperor Valentinian II. She was unmarried. (Theoph. *Chronogr.* A.C. 360, p. 48 in Patr. Gr. cviii. 175 B; Du Cange, *Fam. August.* p. 46.) [C. H.]

GRATIANUS, first bishop of Tours. [GATIANUS.]

GRATIANUS (1) (GRATINIANUS), martyr of Perusia in Etruria. Commemorated on June 1. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 1 Jun. i. 23) have an article upon Gratinianus and Felinus. Usuardus (Jun. 1, *Auct.*) has a simple commemoration; the *Mart. Rom.* records their martyrdom under Decius with various tortures, and Baronius (*Annal.* a. 254 xxix.) includes them among the martyrs whose names he has found in the ecclesiastical tables. Yet their names are not now found in any extant ancient list, and appear to be not older in legend than the 15th century; to all appearance their legend is based upon that of St. Florentius and his companions. The acts given by the Bollandists contain a highly coloured tale of ignorant fanaticism and persecution, admiration at the Christians' constancy and consequent conversion, baptism by bishop Florentius, open profession, trial, torture, and death. [J. G.]

GRATIANUS (2) (GATIANUS), martyr at Amiens, not mentioned in Ado and Usuardus; but from a MS. martyrology preserved at Corbey he found a place in the *Auctaria* to Usuardus. The date of the martyrdom is fixed between 283 and 287. The legend runs that in his last moments he fixed in the ground a hazel twig which he carried, and which immediately put forth leaves and fruit; a miracle which the MS. declares to be repeated annually though the festival occurs so late in the season as the end of October (Boll. *AA. SS.* 23 Oct. x. 18). [R. T. S.]

GRATIANUS (3) (GRECIANUS), the first known bishop of Callium (Cagli), present at the council held at Rimini, A.D. 359, protesting strongly against the Arian bishops and their doctrines. He is supposed to have also attended the council of Seleucia in the same year. (Hilar. Pictav. *Fragm.* vii. al. viii. p. 685 in Patr. Lat. x. 697 c.; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 891; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iii. 236.) [R. S. G.]

GRATIANUS (4). Callidius Gratianus, the officer called Curator Reipublicae at Aptunga, at the time of the inquiry into the case of Felix bishop of Aptunga. [FELIX (26).] (Opt. i. 26.) [H. W. P.]

GRATIANUS (5) (FLAVIUS GRATIANUS AUGUSTUS), Christian emperor, eldest son of Valentinian I., born A.D. 359; named Augustus by his father, 367; succeeded to his father, Nov. 375; succeeded to his uncle Valens, 378; murdered, Aug. 25, 383.

1. *Authorities.* 2 *Life.* 3. *Character.* 4. *Ecclesiastical Policy.*

1. *Authorities.*—Of the secular writers who treat of this period, the principal is the contemporary Ammianus Marcellinus (*q. v.*), books 27–31. His work finishes with the death of Valens. Zosimus (book 4), who lived in the middle of the 5th century, is the next in importance. Two of the orations of the younger Symmachus refer to Gratian; one delivered on his appointment as Augustus, when he was eight years old, the other on his accession, after Valentinian's death and the execution of Maximinus (*Oratio pro patre*, p. 44, ed. Mai, 1815). Themistius, the rhetorician of Constantinople, pronounced a curious address on the same occasion in the senate at Rome, viz. *ἐρωτικὸς, ἢ περὶ κάλλους βασιλικοῦ* (*Orat.* 13). The works of his tutor Ausonius contain several references to his royal pupil; the most important for his reign is the *gratiarum actio pro consulatu*, an oration delivered at Treves in 379. Of the letters of Symmachus, one is addressed to Gratian (lib. x. ep. 2; cp. i. 13), thanking him for making him his mouthpiece in the senate soon after his accession; another, the well-known *relatio* to Valentinian II. and Theodosius (*ibid.* ep. 61), gives some account of the proceedings with regard to the altar of Victory. In reply to this we have two letters of St. Ambrose, Nos. 17, 18, and the poem of Prudentius; but these really belong to another reign. St. Ambrose is the most important of ecclesias-

tical writers for the life of Gratian, as he had great influence over him in his later years, and wrote his books *de Fide* and *de Spiritu Sancto* for his edification and at his request. A letter of the emperor's, written in 379, inviting St. Ambrose to assist him, is prefixed to the bishop's epistles, with his reply to it. For his death, we refer specially to *Enarr. in Psalm.* 61, and *de obitu Valentiniani*, ad finem.

The ordinary writers of church history and the law books must of course be consulted, especially the Theodosian code. Tillemont, here as elsewhere, is invaluable. The fifth and sixth volumes of De Broglie's *L'Église et l'Empire au quatrième siècle*, and H. Richter's *Weströmische Reich*, Berlin, 1865, contain the most satisfactory modern history of the period from different points of view. Richter brings out strongly the barbarian, especially the German element in the empire. His book is a remarkable one, but his conjectural conclusions are sometimes stated too much as ascertained facts; and the arrangement of the work is altogether not very lucid.

2. *Life.*—Gratian, son of Valentinian and his first wife Severa, was born at Sirmium, on April 18 (acc. to Idatius), or May 23 (acc. to *Chron. Pasch.*), in the year 359, while his father was still an ordinary officer in the army. He was no doubt named after his grandfather Gratianus Funarius (cp. Amm. xxx. 7, 2), a man of low origin. His mother Severa Marina was also of obscure birth, and apparently rather mean character. When Valentinian was unexpectedly chosen emperor by the soldiers on the death of Jovian, in Feb. 364, Gratian was not yet five years old, yet two years later he was named consul with Daglaiphus (Amm. xxvi. 9, 1). In the autumn of the next year, 367, Valentinian, who had been suffering from a serious illness, and had good reason to fear that in the case of his death his son would be passed over by the soldiers, determined to associate him with himself in the empire (Amm. xxvii. 6). On Aug. 24 he presented him to a great assembly of civil and military officials at Amiens, and declared him Augustus, a title which was immediately accepted by the bystanders. (Amm. xxvii. 6, 4, 16. De Broglie is inaccurate in saying that the title was not observed till the next day. Ammianus merely remarks that it was contrary to precedent that Valentinian named both his brother and his son Augusti. The day is given by Socr. *H. E.* 4, 11; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 301 D, &c.) This title came immediately into use in public documents. It may still be read, for example, in an inscription on the bridge of St. Bartholomew at Rome, connecting the island of the Tiber with the right bank of the stream, which records that the three Augusti ordered it to be erected and called by the name of Gratian—"pontem felicis nominis Gratiani in usum Senatus ac populi Rom[ani] constitui dedicarique iusserunt" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vi. 1175; Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscr. Lat.* 1091). Victor tells us that Valentinian, in naming his son Augustus, acted under the influence of his mother-in-law and his wife. If this was so, the latter soon lost her power, for within less than two years she was repudiated by her husband, ostensibly on account of an act of meanness and injustice (*Chron. Pasch.* pp. 302, 303; Clinton, *F. R.* 2, p. 111, note *e*; for further details see VALENTINIANUS I.). The case was apparently not unlike that of Constantius Chlorus and Helena, and the repudiation of Severa was followed by a match with Justina, the widow of Magnentius—a beautiful and well-connected Sicilian lady, whose former marriage probably made her popular with many of the troops (Zos. iv. 19, 43; Amm. xxviii. 2, 10).

Hence it was not surprising that, when Valentinian died suddenly of apoplexy at Bregenz, on Lake Constance, in Nov. 375, the infant child of his second marriage (Valentinian II.) was proclaimed Augustus by his principal officers, headed by Merobaudes (Amm. xxx. 10). This bold act was done in reliance upon the youth and good nature of Gratian, who was at Treves at the time, and who recognised his young brother almost immediately. Richter interprets it as a scheme of Merobaudes to keep the crown in the family of Valentinian, as many of the soldiers were anxious to make the heathen general Sebastianus emperor (pp. 283–286 and note). Justina fixed her court at Sirmium; and the Western empire was perhaps nominally divided between the two brothers, Gratian having Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and Valentinian Italy, Illyricum, and Africa (Zos. iv. 19). But this division must have been simply nominal, as Gratian constantly acted in the latter provinces (see Tillemont, *Emp.* v. p. 140, and cp. the laws quoted in § 4).

For the first years of his reign, till the death of Valens, Gratian resided chiefly at Treves, from whence most of his laws are dated. One of his first acts was to recall his mother, Severa; and by her advice he proceeded to punish some of the prominent instruments of the cruelties committed in the name of justice and discipline, which had disgraced his father's later years. He put to death the hated Maximinus, as well as his successors in power at Rome, Simplicius and Doryphorianus (Amm. xxviii. 1. 57); and he issued an edict which exempted senators from trial before inferior judges, and gave them assurance of being heard before a court composed of men of their own rank (Cod. Theod. ix. 1, 13). Tillemont concludes with great probability that this was the letter sent to Symmachus to read in the senate, of which he speaks in such grateful and flattering terms (*Epist.* x. 2, and i. 13; the latter is to Ausonius). Another and a more illustrious victim of the reaction was the Count Theodosius, who had suppressed the rebellion of Firmus in Africa with strenuous loyalty and great military skill, but with considerable harshness. He was executed at Carthage in A.D. 376, but whether the disgrace of this act should attach to Gratian or Valens is not quite certain. (Oros. vii. 33; cp. Socr. iv. 9, where the MSS. read, Θεοδοσίολος or Θεοδόσιος ἄλλος τις, ἀνὴρ γενναῖος ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τῆς Ἰσπανίας. Socrates connects his death with the supposed conspiracy against Valens, and the execution of many whose names begun with the syllables THEOD.; cf. Amm. xxix. 1, 32.) Richter ascribes his death to the fear and jealousy of Merobaudes, but this is a pure conjecture (pp. 401, 402). This removal of unpopular ministers was followed by a general relaxation of severity in all branches of the public service, especially in that of the fiscus. Themistius, speaking in the Roman senate in praise of the young emperor, whom he had just

visited, says: "Lamentations are banished from the courts, and the instruments of torture are left to rust. The baneful accountants and criminal exactors of old and forgotten arrears have so disappeared that their names are no more remembered, and fire has destroyed all that remained of them." (*Orat.* 13, p. 175 C, Paris, 1684. Cp. the similar passage in Ausonius *pro consulatu*, towards the end.) This burning of the official records of public liabilities in the market-place of each city was no doubt a great boon to the corporations, which had suffered much under Valentinian. But these popular concessions at starting did not ensure contentment on the part of the provinces or good government on that of the emperor.

Another act of Gratian's which it is natural to place at the beginning of his reign shewed his determination to break with paganism more effectually than his predecessors had done. This was his refusal of the robe of pontifex maximus, when it was brought to him according to custom by the pontifices; thinking (as the heathen historian tells us) that it was unlawful for a Christian (Zos. iv. 36). The title appears indeed to some extent on coins and inscriptions, but it is not easy to fix the date of those monuments. One which is most frequently quoted, *e.g.* by Clinton, *F. R.* 2, p. 122 = Orell. 1118, at Emerita, is condemned by Hübner on other grounds. (*Inscr. Hisp.* C. I. L. ii. 452*. The inscription on the bridge of St. Bartholomew is of course not in point.) More remarkable is the language of his tutor Ausonius, who, in his *gratiarum actio pro consulatu* addressed to Gratian in 379, seems to dwell upon this particular office with evident meaning and emphasis. In allusion to his different titles, he calls him, "Potestate imperator, virtute victor, Augustus sanctitate, *pontifex* religione, indulgentia pater," and suggests that the consular comitia be called *Pontificalia*, "Sic potius, sic vocentur, quae tu *Pontifex Maximus* Deo participatus habuisti" (cp. "operto conclavis tui non sanctior ara Vestalis, non *Pontificis* cubile castius, nec pulvinar Flaminis tam pudicum"). Beugnot argues that Ausonius could not have used this language after Gratian's refusal of the office (*Destruction du Paganisme en Occident*, i. p. 341, where he erroneously puts the consulship of Ausonius in A.D. 382), but this seems doubtful. He might well, in this way, insinuate his wish that the emperor should not altogether break with the old religion to which previous Christian sovereigns had so far accommodated themselves. Such a feeling seems suitable to the character of a man like Ausonius, who was a Christian by profession, but was attached to the old way of thinking by many ties of literary sympathy and personal friendship.

The Eastern empire in the meanwhile was in great danger in the hands of the incompetent Valens. A large mass of Goths obtained leave to cross the Danube, being pressed southwards by the Huns, who now appear almost for the first time in history. The crossing and settlement of the new-comers was grossly mismanaged by the officers of Valens; and from suppliants the Goths soon became dangerous enemies. Gratian sent a certain number of troops under Richomeres to aid his uncle, but the greater part of them deserted, it was said, on the advice of Merobaudes, who feared, not without reason, to leave Gaul undefended (Amm. xxxi. 7, 4). In 378 the Alamanni Lentienses passed the Rhine in great force and threatened the Western empire, but were heavily defeated by Gratian at Argentaria, near Colmar (*ibid.* xxxi. 10). This set him free to move towards the East; and he had reached Sirmium on his way thither when he heard of the great defeat suffered by his uncle, and of his ignoble death after the battle of Adrianople, Aug. 7 (Amm. xxxi. 11, 6; 12, 10).

The situation was extremely critical, especially for an emperor not yet twenty years of age. The barbarians were in motion on all the frontiers. The internal condition of the West was insecure, from the tacit antagonism between the two courts, and the East was now suddenly thrown upon his hands, as Valens had left no children. In this emergency Gratian shewed his judgment by sending for the younger Theodosius, about thirteen years older than himself, who after his father's execution was living in retirement upon his estates in Spain (Victor, *Epit.* 72, 74, &c.; cp. Themist. *Orat.* 14, p. 183 A). Theodosius was loyal and fearless like his father, and was at once entrusted with the command of the troops as magister militum. His successes over the barbarians (probably Sarmatians) encouraged Gratian to a more decided step, and he was appointed emperor of the East with general applause. (Theodoret, v. 5, 6, is the only writer who *describes* these successes of Theodosius before he became emperor, but they are evidently referred to by Themistius, *Or.* xiv. p. 182 C, and Pacatus, *Paneg. Theodosio*, 10, 2; see Richter, p. 691, note 26.)

Gratian returned from Sirmium to the West by way of Aquileia and Milan, at which places he passed some parts of the months of July and August 379. Before his expedition he had been brought into contact with St. Ambrose, and had received from him the two first books of his treatise *de Fide*, intended specially to preserve him against Arianism. This teaching had its due effect; and on his way back he addressed a letter to the bishop of Milan, which is given below (§ 4). St. Ambrose sent him two more books of his treatise, and probably had some other direct personal intercourse with him. Gratian then went on to his usual residence at Treves, and received in the autumn from his old tutor Ausonius a turgid panegyric consisting of congratulations on his victories and thanks for the consulship bestowed while he was at Sirmium. During the following years, however, the emperor resided much more frequently at Milan and in the neighbourhood, especially during the winter. He wished, no doubt, to be nearer the Eastern empire, and not less, perhaps, to enjoy the society of St. Ambrose, whose strength of character and experience as a civil officer (before he became bishop) fitted him particularly to be the director of an amiable and well-principled but somewhat indolent prince. The results which flowed from this intercourse in the confirmation of Gratian in the Catholic faith will be noticed below. There was, however, another side to this practical neglect of the Gallic provinces. The Western provincials—never very contented—felt, no doubt, rather keenly the absence of the imperial court. If Gratian had continued to reside at Treves, the rebellion of

Magnus Maximus would perhaps never have taken place, and certainly would not have grown to such formidable dimensions.

The influence of St. Ambrose is shewn by the ecclesiastical laws, of which we shall speak in § 4, and by an important blow struck at the old religion in its stronghold. This was the famous removal of the altar of Victory from the senate-house at Rome in the year 381 (S. Ambros. *Epist.* 17, 5; Symm. *Epist.* 61, ad init. et ad finem). The heathen senators, though the minority in number, were accustomed to offer incense on this altar, and to touch it in taking solemn oaths (Ambr. *Ep.* 17, 9). It had been removed or covered up during the visit of Constantius, but was again restored under Julian, and Valentinian's policy had been against interference with such matters (Symm. *l. c.*). Its removal now caused great distress to the heathen party, who met in the senate-house and despatched a petition to Gratian for its restoration. But the Christians, who had absented themselves from the curia on this occasion, met privately, and sent a counter-petition through pope Damasus to Ambrose, who of course presented it to the emperor. (S. Ambr. *Ep.* 17, 9: "Nam et ante biennium ferme cum hoc petere tentarent, misit ad me S. Damasus . . . libellum, quem Christiani Senatores dederunt, et quidem innumeri, postulantes nihil se tale mandasse, non congruere gentilium istiusmodi petitionibus," &c.) The weight of this document enabled the advisers of Gratian to prevent his giving the heathen party a hearing. (Symm. *l. c.*: "Divi principis denegata est ab improbis audientia"; and at the end, "Praestate etiam divo fratri vestro alieni consilii correctionem . . . Constat exclusam legationem ne ad eum iudicium publicum perveniret.") This blow was soon followed by another even more telling—the confiscation of the revenues of the temple of Victory, and the abolition of the privileges which belonged to the pontiffs and vestals, a measure which was extended to other heathen institutions. (S. Ambros. *Ep.* 17, 3–5, and 18, 11 foll.; *Cod. Theod.* xv. 10, 20, "omnia enim loca quae sacris error veterum deputavit, secundum divi Gratiani constituta nostrae rei iubemus sociari"—a law of Honorius in 415.)

These laws were followed by a famine in Italy and particularly in Rome, which the pagans naturally ascribed to sacrilege. (Symm. *Ep.* x. 61, "Secuta est fames publica et spem provinciarum omnium messis aegra decepit . . . Sacrilegio annus exaruit.") The very unpopular and harsh measure was adopted of expelling all foreigners from Rome. (Symm. *Ep.* ii. 7, "defectum timemus annonae pulsis omnibus quos exerto et pleno ubere Roma susceperat . . . Quanto nobis odio provinciarum constat illa securitas!") It has been conjectured that this is the famine of which St. Ambrose speaks, during which a (Christian) prefect of the city called together the nobility, and prevented the carrying out of the proposal to expel strangers by raising a public subscription. (Ambros. *de Officiis Ministrorum*, iii. 7. This is the opinion of De Broglie (vol. vi. p. 43), and is suggested by Tillemont, *Emp. Gratien*, art. 16, p. 173, "c'étoist peutestre dans celle de cette année.") But a careful comparison of the passages of Symmachus and St. Ambrose makes it probable that the action of the Christian prefect took place in a previous year, and that the order to expel strangers was actually carried out in 382. The city prefect in 382 was Anicius Auchenius Bassus (*Cod. Theod.* i. 6, 8). St. Ambrose in fact says that such a measure had recently been enforced at Rome. (*L. c.* § 49, "quanto hoc utilius quam illud quod proxime Roma factum est eiectos esse urbe amplissima," &c. This book was written probably about 390.)

A much more serious danger was the revolt of Magnus Maximus, a former comrade of Theodosius in Britain, who was probably jealous of his honours, and was now put forward as emperor by the soldiers [MAXIMUS]. This rising took place in the year 383 in Britain, whence the usurper passed over to the mouth of the Rhine, gathering large bodies of men as he went. Gratian set out to meet him, with his two generals Balio and Merobaudes, the latter a Frank by birth.

The two armies met near Paris, and Gratian was deserted by nearly all his troops (Zos. iv. 35; St. Ambros. *in Ps.* 61, 17). Only three hundred horse remained faithful. With these he fled at full speed, and succeeded in arriving at Lyons. The governor of the place, it would seem, received him with protestations of loyalty, and took a solemn oath on the Gospels not to hurt him. Gratian was deceived by his assurances, and took his place in his imperial robes at a feast, during or soon after which he was basely assassinated, on Aug. 25. The traitor even denied his body burial. (S. Ambros. *in Psalm.* 61, §§ 17, 23 foll. Marcellinus *sub anno*: "Gratianus imp. Maximi tyranni dolo apud Lugdunum occisus est viii kal. Sep." Zosimus, iv. 35, puts the place of his death at Singidunum, Belgrade, in Moesia, ἐν τῇ Σιγιδούνῳ; but he probably misread Λυγδούνῳ in one of his authorities: cp. Hieron. *Epist. ad Heliodorum de morte Nepotiani*, p. 24. Gratianus exercitu suo proditus et ab omnibus urbibus non receptus, ludibrio hosti fuit; cruentaeque manus vestigia parietes tui Lugduni testantur; see also Rufin. ii. 14.) Greek writers ascribe his death to the stratagem of Andragathius, the magister equitum of Maximus, whom he sent to pursue the emperor. Socrates relates that Andragathius concealed himself in a litter, in which he put it about that Gratian's newly married wife, Laeta, was being carried, and that the emperor, hurrying to open the litter, was thus surprised and slain (Socr. v. 11; cp. Zos. *l. c.*). S. Ambrose tells us that Gratian called upon him in his last moments—"Tu me inter tua pericula requirebas, tu in tuis extremis me appellabas, meum de te plus dolebas dolorem" (*de obitu Valentiniani*, 80).

His generals Balio and Merobaudes were pursued by the soldiers of Maximus, and perished miserably, perhaps by their own hands. (St. Ambr. *Ep.* 24, 11; Pacati, *Paneg. Theodosio*, 28, ed. Migne, *Patrol.* xiii. col. 503.)

Gratian thus perished miserably at the age of 24. He was twice married—first (at the age of 16) to Constantia, only and posthumous child of Constantius II., three years younger than himself, who died before him (Amm. Marc. xxi. 15, 6; xxix. 6, 7); secondly, to Laeta, shortly before his death (Soz. vii. 13; Zos. v. 39, says that she and her mother, Pissamene, were living in Rome in 403, during the siege by Alaric). He left no children

(Theodoret, v. 12), and any that he may have had by Constantia must have died in infancy. (S. Ambros. *de Fide*, i. 20, ad finem, "fidem etiam pignoribus suis praeferat." It is now agreed that the right reading in S. Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, v. 15, is "cum parvulum haberet fratrem," not "*et* fratrem.")

3. *Character.*—Gratian's character is known to us from a good many sources, which agree in their general result. (See Ammianus, xxxi. 10, with the following references.) He was in many respects the exact opposite of his father, Valentinian. He was amiable and modest, in fact too modest to be a good governor in these rough times ("plus verecundus quam reipublicae interat," Rufin. ii. 13). He was generous and kind-hearted, of an attractive disposition and beautiful person. (For the latter, see Themistius, περὶ κάλλους βασιλικοῦ; traces of his beauty are, however, hardly to be found on his coins.) His education had been carefully conducted, and his tutor Ausonius had taken pains to inspire him with tastes for rhetoric and versification. He was chaste and temperate, and careful in religious conduct, as well as zealous for the faith. (Ambros. *de Ob. Valent.* 74, "fuit . . . fidelis in Domino, pius atque mansuetus, puro corde. Fuit etiam castus corpore, qui praeter coniugium nescierit feminae alterius consuetudinem." His murderers calumniated him on this point, id. *in Psalm.* 61; so also the Arian Philostorgius, x. 5, compared him to Nero.) His great fault was a neglect of public business through an inordinate devotion to sport, especially to shooting wild beasts with bow and arrows in his parks and preserves (Amm. *l. c.*; Victor. *Epist.* 73). His skill in this exercise was comparable to that of Commodus; he once killed a lion with a single arrow (Aus. *Epig.* 6); and even St. Ambrose alludes to his prowess in the chase in the midst of his pathetic reminiscences, adopting the language of David's elegy over Jonathan—"Gratiani sagitta non est reversa retro" (*de Obitu Valent.* 73; cp. the old Latin of 2 Sam. i. 22).

The character given by Victor is worth quoting. "Fuit autem Gratianus litteris haud mediocriter institutus: carmen facere, ornate loqui, explicare controversias rhetorum more . . . . Parcus cibi somnique; et vini ac libidinis victor; cunctisque fuisset plenus bonis, si ad cognoscendam Reipublicae gerendae scientiam animum intendisset, a qua prope alienus, non modo voluntate sed etiam exercitio fuit." (*Epit.* 73.) This distaste for public business he seems to have carried even into military matters. He gained one great victory, but on other occasions he seemed rather to have shrunk from war. He is said to have alienated his army by the favours which he shewed to certain Alani, on whom he spent large sums, and in whose company he delighted so much as even to wear their dress, to the neglect of the Roman soldiery. (Victor, *l. c.*; Zos. iv. 35. For the Alani, see the description in Amm. xxxi. 2, 12 foll.)

4. *Ecclesiastical Policy.*—The ecclesiastical policy of Gratian was more important than his civil or military government. His reign, coinciding with that of Theodosius, saw orthodox Christianity for the first time dominant throughout the empire. Constantine had been too uninstructed to understand the full meaning of theological questions; and he was in his latter years under strong Arian influences. Under Constantius a form of semi-Arianism had been established with all the power of the state. Then came the reaction under Julian, which, though unsuccessful, had materially altered the relations of church and state. His orthodox successor Jovian had reigned but a few months, and Valentinian, though a Catholic, had aimed at a rather strict impartiality; while Valens was a thorough and a persecuting Arian. The reign of Gratian is therefore a noteworthy epoch in church history.

We have already mentioned the most important measures taken by Gratian with respect to the old religion—his refusal of the robe of pontifex maximus; his removal of the altar of Victory from the senate-house, and his confiscation of the temple revenues in Rome. We may here take occasion to refer to an act which was possibly connected with the first of these exhibitions of feeling on the part of the emperor, the destruction of the sanctuary of Mithra by Gracchus, who was prefect of the city in the second year of his reign (S. Hieronym. *Epist. ad Lactam*, 7, tom. i. p. 51 E, ed. Paris, 1643; Beugnot, *Destruction du Paganisme*, i. p. 366). Yet this worship, it is needless to say, went on, especially among certain families, for a considerable period longer.

The laws relating to the stage, particularly to actresses and dancers, are rather numerous, viz. seven in the years 376, 380, and 381 (*C. Theod.* xv. 7, 3–9). They shew a desire to reform the public spectacles, and grant Christian women the privilege of retiring from the stage. But they betray an evident caution in dealing with so popular an institution, and grate upon our more refined taste by taking for granted that the life of an actress must of necessity be vicious. A Christian woman of this kind, who has relapsed, is condemned to infamy without further reprieve in the following ghastly terms: "retracta in pulpitum, sine spe absolutionis ullius ibi eo usque permaneat, donec anus ridicula, senectute deformis, nec tunc quidem absolutione potiatur, cum aliud quam casta esse non possit" (*Cod. Theod.* xv. 7, 8, May 8, 381, from Aquileia).

We now pass to a series of measures more directly affecting the church, and some of them of very great importance.

It is to be regretted that Gratian's measures in behalf of the church were often tainted with injustice (as it appears to us) towards the sects. But it is probable that the laws were very imperfectly carried out (see Richter, p. 327). His first general law against heretical sects is dated from Treves, May 1, 376, and speaks of a previous law of the same kind (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 5, 4); the previous law may, however, be one of Valens (and Valentinian) and not, as Richter thinks, of Gratian.

In 377, shortly before the death of Valens, he condemned re-baptism, and ordered that the Donatist churches should be restored to the Catholics, and that their private meeting-houses should be confiscated ("Ad Flavianum Vicarium Africae," himself a Donatist, *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 6, 2. It is dated at Constantinople, but this can hardly be correct: see Tillemont, v. note 12, p. 714). The death of Valens was naturally the signal for the disciple of St. Ambrose to restore the Catholics of the East to their possessions. He recalled all those whom his uncle had banished, and further issued an edict of toleration for all Christian sects,

except the Eunomians (extreme Arians, see Soz. vi. 26), Photinians, and Manichaeans. (Soc. v. 2; Soz. vii. 1.) Theodoret, v. 2, appears to confuse this with the later edict of Gratian and Theodosius. The condemnation of the Manichaeans was extended on the strong representations of Idacius of Merida to the Priscillianists, an enthusiastic sect of Gnostics, who had made much progress in Spain (Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* ii. 47, 6). Some better terms were, however, afterwards procured from them through the interest of Macedonius, master of the offices, to whom they gave large bribes. This did not, however, amount to direct toleration (as Richter assumes, p. 524), but to the transference of their case to another court (Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 49). The date of this concession was probably quite late in the reign of Gratian.

On his return from Sirmium, Gratian wrote the following affectionate and interesting autograph (Ambr. *Ep.* 1, 3) letter to St. Ambrose, desiring him to come and meet him: "I desire much to enjoy the bodily presence of him whose recollection I carry with me, and with whom I am present in spirit. Therefore, hasten to me, religious priest of God, to teach me the doctrine of the true faith. Not that I am anxious for argument, or wish to know God in words rather than in spirit; but that my heart may be opened more fully to receive the abiding revelation of the divinity. For He will teach me, whom I do not deny, whom I confess to be my God and my Lord, not raising as an objection against His divinity that He took upon Himself a created nature like my own [non ei obiciens, quam in me video, creaturam]. I confess that I can add nothing to the glory of Christ; but I should wish to commend myself to the Father in glorifying the Son. I will not fear a grudging spirit on the part of God. I shall not suppose myself such an encomiast as to increase His divinity by my praises. In my weakness and frailty I utter what I can, not what is adequate to His divinity. I desire you to send me a copy of the same treatise, which you sent before [*de Fide* i. ii.], enlarging it by a faithful dissertation on the Holy Spirit: prove that He is God by arguments of scripture and reason. May the Deity keep you for many years, my father, and worshipper of the eternal God, Jesus Christ, whom we worship." (This letter is prefixed to St. Ambrose's Epistles.) St. Ambrose replies, excusing his non-attendance upon the emperor, praising the expressions of his faith, and sending two fresh books of his treatise. For the new book, *de Spiritu Sancto*, he asks time, knowing (as he says) what a critic will read them. The subject was, we may remark, being at this moment largely discussed in the Eastern church. [See COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, in *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* i. p. 437.]

It is assumed by De Broglie that the bishop and the emperor did not meet at this time, but St. Ambrose writes in the letter just quoted, § 7, "veniam plane et festinabo ut iubes," and two laws of Gratian's are dated from Milan in July and August 379 (*Cod. Just.* vi. 32, 4, July 29, and *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 5, 5, August 3, to Hesperius Pf. Praet. de haereticis). The second of these is important, and may shew the influence of St. Ambrose. It forbids the heresies against which former imperial edicts had been directed, and especially that of re-baptism (the Donatists), and revokes the recent tolerant edict of Sirmium ("antiquato rescripto, quod apud Sirmium nuper emersit, ea tantum super catholica observatione permaneant quae perennis recordationis pater noster et nos," &c.).

In a law dated July 5, at Aquileia, he had exempted the clergy in Italy, Illyricum, and Gaul, whose incomes were below a certain sum, from payment of the chrysargyrum (*Cod. Theod.* xiii. 1, 11); and it is quite possible that St. Ambrose may have met him there, and travelled with him to Milan.

About this time must be dated the occurrences mentioned by St. Ambrose in his book *De Spiritu Sancto*, i. §§ 19–21. The empress Justina, who was an Arian, had obtained from Gratian a basilica for the worship of her sect, to the great distress of the Catholics. He restored it however, apparently of his own motion, to their equal surprise and delight, perhaps in the year 380 (cp. Richter, note 30, p. 692; *De Spiritu Sancto*, § 20, neque enim aliud possumus dicere, nisi sancti Spiritus hanc priore gratiam, quod ignorantibus omnibus subito Basilicam reddidisti). St. Ambrose also obtained another victory over the Arians in 380 in his journey to Sirmium, where Justina apparently also went. In spite of her vehement opposition, he succeeded in consecrating an orthodox bishop to the metropolitan see of Illyria, and thus laid the foundation for the suppression of heresy in that quarter of the empire. (Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii*, 11.)

We cannot doubt then that Gratian agreed, not only in name but in feeling, with the important edict issued by his colleague Theodosius on Feb. 27, 380, from Thessalonica and addressed to the people of Constantinople. This remarkable document declared the desire of the emperors that all their subjects should profess the religion given by St. Peter to the Romans, and now held by the pontiff Damasus, and Peter, bishop of Alexandria—that is to say, should confess the one deity and equal majesty of the three persons of the Blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

This decree further declares that they alone who hold this faith are to be called *Catholics*, and their places of meeting *churches*; while the rest are branded as heretics, and are threatened with an indefinite punishment (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 1, 2; cp. the law of the next year, which mentions various Catholic bishops of the East, whose communion was to be the test of orthodoxy, including Nectarius of Constantinople—perhaps the reference to Damasus had given offence).

De Broglie says of these laws, "it was impossible to abjure more decidedly the pretension of dogmatizing from the elevation of the throne, which had been since Constantine the mania of all the emperors and the scourge of the empire" (vol. v. p. 365). But correct dogmatism is still dogmatism, and the definition of truth by good emperors kept up the delusion that the right of perpetual interference with religion was inherent in their office.

We have said that Gratian resided more frequently at Milan during his later years than he had previously done, especially during the winter months. From this place he issued two of the laws we have mentioned with respect to

the stage. In July 381, he ordered that criminals should be set at liberty at Easter, with the exception of greater offenders (*Cod. Theod.* ix. 38, 6). In May 383, at Padua, he issued a penal law against apostates, and those who try to make others apostatize from Christianity. Whoever turns to heathenism, Judaism, or Manichaeism, is to be deprived of the right of making a will. Those who have drawn them over are equally punished, and even heavier penalties may be inflicted by the judges.

In citing these laws, we have anticipated a little the course of events. In 381 Gratian summoned the council of Aquileia (which met on Sept. 5) to decide the cases of the Illyrian bishops Palladius and Secundianus, who were accused of Arianism. Their condemnation put an end to the official life of Arianism in that important district (S. Ambros. *Epist.* 9). The records of this council are preserved in the works of St. Ambrose, who took the chief part in it, though he did not technically preside. (They follow his eighth epistle in the Benedictine edition.) The same council took up the case of pope Damasus and besought the emperor to interfere against the partisans of the antipope Ursinus (S. Ambr. *Ep.* 11). The relations of Gratian with the see of Rome are somewhat obscure, but it is pretty clear that some extension of its privileges and pretensions dates from this reign. According to the documents first published by Sirmond, a synod held in Rome soon after Gratian's accession made large demands for ecclesiastical jurisdiction and particularly asked that the bishop of Rome should only be judged by a council of bishops or by the emperor in person. Gratian in his rescript to Aquilinus the vicar (of Rome?) grants and confirms several privileges, but says nothing of the latter request. Some doubt hangs over the whole of these documents. (See Godefroy, *Cod. Theod.* vol. vi. appendix, pp. 17, 18; Baronius, *Annals*, sub anno 381, §§ 1, 2; Tillemont, *Damase*, arts. 10 and 11; Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*, vol. i. pp. 239–242; Hefele, *Councils*, § 91, does not even hint at the existence of these documents.)

In consequence of the success of the council of Aquileia St. Ambrose was anxious to call together an oecumenical assembly at Rome to settle the dispute between Nectarius and Maximus, who both claimed the see of Constantinople, and pressed the emperor Theodosius on the point (*Epist.* 13 and 14). Theodosius, however, naturally viewed this interference with coldness (Theodoret, v. 8, 9). A council, nevertheless, met at Rome, but without doing much beyond condemning the Apollinarians.

On his return to Milan St. Ambrose took leave of the young emperor for the last time. Their intercourse had been always tender and affectionate, and was (as we have seen) the last thought of the emperor's before his death.

We may here mention an instance of St. Ambrose's conduct with respect to Gratian, which may have been at this or at any other period of their friendship (De Broglie, to make a point, puts it here, vol. vi. p. 45, but neither Paulinus, § 37, nor Sozomen, vii. 25, gives any hint of the date). A heathen of quality was condemned to death for abusing Gratian and calling him an unworthy son of Valentinian. As he was being led to execution, Ambrose hurried to the palace to intercede for him. One Macedonius, master of the offices, it would seem ordered the servants to refuse him admittance, as Gratian was engaged in his favourite sport. Ambrose went round to the park gates, and entered unperceived amongst the huntsmen, and never left Gratian till he had overcome his arguments and those of his courtiers and obtained remission of the sentence. "The time will come," he said to Macedonius, "when you will fly for asylum to the church, but the church doors will be shut against you." (Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambrosii*, 37.) The anecdote of the criminal is told by Sozomen, *l. c.*; the words to Macedonius are given by Paulinus. [J. W.]

GRATIANUS (6), made emperor by the soldiers in Britain in 407, as successor to Marcus. He retained power for four months, when he was put to death and succeeded by Constantine. (Soz. *H. E.* ix. 11; Zosim. vi. 2; Oros. vii. 4; Bede, i. 11; Olympiodorus, ad init.) [M. F. A.]

GRATIANUS (7), bishop of Meta in Numidia, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 404, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

GRATIANUS (8) (CRATINUS), bishop of Panormum (Palermo), c. 451. He was at the council of Chalcedon in that year. He is said to have been succeeded by Mamilianus. (Pirri, *Sicil. Sacr.* i. 15.) [R. S. G.]

GRATIANUS (9), bishop of Toulon, said to have been martyred by Euric king of the Visigoths about the year 472 (*Gall. Christ.* i. 741). [R. T. S.]

GRATIANUS (10), eighth bishop of Orleans in the latter part of 5th century (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1413). [R. T. S.]

GRATIANUS (11) I., second bishop of Dax, the first having been St. Vincent, though at what date is unknown. He was present at the council of Agde in A.D. 506. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* quote from an old breviary of the church of Dax to the effect that when peace was at length restored to the church, and unbelievers banished or converted, he turned his whole attention to the restoration of the church of St. Vincent, which had been defiled by the superstition of the heathen, and restored it to the services of the true God. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 1038; Mansi, viii. 337.) [S. A. B.]

GRATIANUS of Numentum. [GRATIOSUS (2).]

GRATIANUS (12), bishop of Novara, who signed the second epistle of pope Agatho in 680. (Mansi, xi. 307; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

GRATIANUS (13), bishop of Velitrae (Veletri), c. A.D. 761, subscribed a decree of Paul I. (Mansi, xii. 645; Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 1194; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* i. 460.) [R. S. G.]

GRATIDIANUS (marg. GRATIDIUS, GRATIANUS), bishop of Cerasus, in Pontus, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (Mansi, vi. 571 c). He signs the epistle of the Pontic bishops to the emperor Leo as Gratianus (Mansi, vii. 605; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 513). [C. H.]

GRATILIANUS—Aug. 12. Martyr in the Diocletian persecution with the virgin Felicissima at Falarium (Faleone), a city of Picenum, or according to Baronius at Falerium (Civita Castellana). Ferrarius (*Cat. SS.*) tells us that their bodies were preserved at Civita Castellana, and honoured there. Their acts are very corrupt and worthless in a historical point of view. (*Mart.* Usuard. ; *Acta SS.* Boll. Aug. ii. 728.) [G. T. S.]

GRATINIANUS (Boll. *Acta SS.* 1 Jun. i. 23 sq.), martyr. [GRATIANUS (1).] [J. G.]

GRATINUS, bishop of Egabro (Cabra), from A.D. 681 to 687, present at the thirteenth council of Toledo, A.D. 683. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 287 ; *Esp. Sagr.* xii. 30.) [SINAGIUS.] [M. A. W.]

GRATIOSUS (1), thought to have been bishop of Numana or Humana (Umana), present at the council held at Rome by Gregory the Great, A.D. 595. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 743 ; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* vii. 79, 191.) But Numentum is the reading of the see in Mansi, x. 488. *Vid.* following article. [R. S. G.]

GRATIOSUS (2) (GRATIANUS), bishop of Numentum (La Mentana). Gregory the Great writes to him to unite with his see that of St. Anthemius "in Curium Sabinorum territorio," on account of the desolation of the church and deficiency of inhabitants. (Lib. iii. indict. xi. *Ep.* 20.) He was present at the Roman synod of 595, which dealt with the service of the pope, the goods of the church, &c. Also at the synod of 601, which tended to free monasteries from episcopal control. These are separate synods, according to Hefele, § 288, § 299. According to Jaffé, from a consideration of the signatures, there was only one synod in 595. (Mansi, ix. 1228, x. 488 ; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, i. 587, 598.) [A. H. D. A.]

GRATIOSUS (3), according to the legendary history of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, was the fourth abbat of that house ; succeeding Rufinianus in 626 He was, according to the same story, a Roman by birth, elected according to the command of Augustine from among the monks of the monastery, the licence having been previously obtained from King Eadbald, and received the benediction from archbishop Justus. He is said to have received Paulinus on his return from Northumbria with many honours, and to have died in 638. Elmham gives his epitaph. (Elmham, ed. Hardwick, pp. 3, 4, 155, 173, 174 ; Thorn, *Chr.* ap. Twysden, cc. 1768, 1769 ; *Mon. Angl.* i. 120.) [S.]

GIRATOSUS (4), bishop of Naples, succeeded Caesarius either A.D. 638 or 641, held the see for seven years, and was succeeded by Eusebius either A.D. 646 or 649. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* vi. 84 ; Chioccarellus, *Antist. Neapol. Eccles.* p. 65.) [R. S. G.]

GRATIOSUS (5), bishop of Nepi. Present at the Lateran synod under Martin in 649, which condemned the Monothelite heresy. (Mansi, x. 867 ; Hefele, § 307.) [A. H. D. A.]

GRATIOSUS (6), bishop of Parma, signed the second epistle of pope Agatho which was sent in 680, after a synod in Rome, to the third council of Constantinople. (Mansi, xi. 315 ; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

GRATIOSUS (7) I., bishop of Sutrium. He subscribed the synodal letter addressed to the council of Constantinople, A.D. 680, from Rome by Agatho. (Mansi, xi. 314 ; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 1273 ; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Ital.* vi. 225.) [R. S. G.]

GRATIOSUS II. [GAUDIOSUS (13).]

GRATIOSUS (8), bishop of Novara, c. 730. A petition by one Rodoald (Dec. 730), living "in vico Gausingo," to Gratiosus, twenty-sixth bishop of Novara, for the consecration of an altar, is given in the *Historiae Patriae Monum.* Turin. (*Chartarum*, vol. i. 18, 19. See also Troya, *Cod. Dipl.* iii. p. 511.) [A. H. D. A.]

GRATIOSUS (9), bishop of Velletri, subscribed to a letter of pope Paul I. in June, 761, to the abbat John about the privileges of the monastery of St. Stephen and St. Sylvester in Rome. (Mansi, xi. 649 ; Jaffé, *Regesta Pont.* 195.) He was also present at the Roman synod under Zacharias in 745 for the condemnation of the heretics, Adalbert and Clement, at the request of Boniface. (Mansi, xii. 380 ; Hefele, § 367.) [A. H. D. A.]

GRATIOSUS (10), archbishop of Ravenna 785 or 786 to 788 or 789. Agnellus says that Charles the Great came to Ravenna in his time. If Charles came at all, it must have been on his return from Rome in 787, and this may account for his asking pope Hadrian for mosaics and marbles from the palace of Ravenna (*Codex Carolinus*, Jaffé, ep. 89, ann. 781–791). Gratiosus had been abbat of the monastery of St. Apollinaris and archdeacon. He was buried in the church of St. Apollinaris in Classis. (Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Rav.* 164–166 in *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* 1878, p. 383.) [A. H. D. A.]

GRATISMUS, bishop of Tridentum (Trent), c. A.D. 499 to 538. (Pincio, *Chron. di Trento*, p. 61.) [R. S. G.]

GRATISSIMUS, grand chamberlain under the emperor Leo I. He founded at Constantinople a church dedicated to St. Cyriacus, with a monastery attached to it, in which he himself became a monk (Theophan. *Chronogr.* sub ann. 462). He appears to have still retained his office of grand chamberlain (cf. Theod. Lect. *H. E.* lib. i. § 17, p. 567 in Migne, Patrol. Gr. lxxxvi. pt. i. 174). [M. F. A.]

GRATUS (1), bishop of Carthage, A.D. 343–353, in which see he succeeded Rufus, the successor of Caecilian. He was present at the council of Sardica, A.D. 347, and was spoken of by Hosius, the president, in a manner which his subsequent conduct at the council of Carthage, A.D. 348 or 349, shews to have had a meaning beyond that of mere compliment. Tillemont suggests that he took advantage of his journey to Sardica to persuade the emperor Constans to send Paul and Macarius into Africa (vol. i. 883). The council of Carthage was summoned by Gratus, as primate of Africa, and was held to discuss chiefly the questions of Donatism in general, "tradition," and rebaptism, and as president he conducted the business with great judgment and prudence. He is styled saint by Ferrandus, and his name appears to have been commemorated in the African kalendar on

May 5, but not expressly under the title of saint. (Bruns, *Conc.* i. 95, 111–117; Tillemont, 45, 51, vol. vi. pp. 110, 124–128, 714; Bingham, vol. i. p. 201; Morcelli, *Africa Christ.* ii. 242–256; Ribbek, *Don. und Aug.* p. 146.) [H. W. P.]

GRATUS (2), deacon of Forum Livii (Forlì), under its bishop, St. Mercurialis, who probably lived c. A.D. 359. He is said to have miraculously restored the sight of a certain Marcellus. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 20 Mar. iii. 85; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 614.) [R. S. G.]

GRATUS (3), bishop of Forum Popilii (Forlimpopoli). He is said to have succeeded the first bishop, St. Rufillus, c. A.D. 382. He was certainly living A.D. 409, about which time his church and people suffered greatly from the incursions of Alaric. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 642; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 440.) [R. S. G.]

GRATUS (4), a presbyter who represented Eustasius, bishop of Aosta, in the council held under Eusebius of Milan in A.D. 451 (Leo. Mag. ep. 98, p. 1083, in Patr. Lat. liv. 948 b). He was probably the successor of this Eustasius in the see of Aosta, and is also probably identical with the St. Gratus or St. Gradus, bishop of Aosta (q. v.). [C. G.]

GRATUS (5), ST. (GRADUS), bishop of Augusta Praetoria (Aosta), patron saint of the cathedral, where his relics are preserved, much venerated in that and neighbouring places. A decree of the bishop of Aosta in 1407 assigns special distinctions to the commemoration of his death on Sept. 7. For reputed miracles performed by his relics see Bolland *Acta SS.* Sept. 7, pp. 72 c, 73 B.C.

There exist *Acta* of this saint which make him contemporary with Charles the Great, but they are rejected on all hands as absolutely fabulous and unhistorical. Many authorities, however (recently Gams, *Series Episc.* p. 828), place him in the end of the 8th century. The Bollandists on the other hand (with Potthast and others) throw him back into the 5th century, and make him identical with Gratus presbyter (q. v.) whom they suppose to have succeeded Eustathius as bishop of Aosta. Some of the details in the fabulous *Acta* seem to tally with this view, as the mention of a council of Chalcedon, of a pope Leo (Leo III. the *Acta* say), and the finding of the head of John the Baptist (said to have occurred in 452). Moreover the *Acta* of SS. Mauritius and his comrades (the Thebaean Legion) record that a bishop Gratus of Aosta assisted at the translation of the relics of St. Innocent, one of that band, the discovery of which is put by the Bollandists at the end of the 8th century. (See Bolland. *Acta Sanct.* September, iii. pp. 73–6; *Gall. Chr.* xii. 806.) [C. G.]

GRATUS (6), a deacon of Provence, who composed a treatise (*Scripturula*) on the nature of Christ, in which the Nestorian heresy was apparent. He sent it to Faustus, abbat of Lérins, for his opinion, who, in the sixth of his letters addressed to Gratus, severely criticizes it, and its author (Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 853). The treatise itself has not come down to us, but the reply is mentioned by Gennadius, who speaks of Gratus as one who had separated from the Catholic faith and become a Nestorian. (*De Viris Illustr.* lxxxv. Migne, *ut supr.* lviii. 1109.) [S. A. B.]

GRATUS (7), bishop of Oleron, attended the synod of Agde, an. 506 (Mansi, viii. 337 b), and is perhaps the same with St. Gratus commemorated as a martyr in the diocese of Rodez. (*Gall. Christ.* i. 1263; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. 17 and Oct. 19.) [R. T. S.]

GRATUS (8), ST., thirteenth bishop of Châlon-sur-Saône, succeeding Gelionius or Gebderinus, and followed by Desideratus (Dido), was present at the council of Châlons, the date of which has been variously placed between 644 and 650. (Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* x. 1194, Flor. 1759–98.) This is really the only fact we know of him, as his life, written after the close of the 10th century, is plainly in great part, if not altogether, fabulous. It was published by Perry and Cusset, from an old *Legendarium* of the church of Châlons, and is to be found in Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iv. 286. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (iv. 871) made an attempt to separate the fact from the fable. It relates that upon the death of Gebderinus, Gratus, being a man of high rank, was unanimously elected to the see, and consecrated by the archbishop of Lyons and his suffragans. Like his predecessors, he was, according to this author, unable to live in the city from fear of the heathen, and had his abode at a place called Martyrmathon, now the suburb of St. Laurence, across the Saône, near which the church of St. Laurence had been lately constructed. But on the sabbath it was his wont to cross the stream and officiate in the great church of the city. On a certain Sunday it happened that he was much beset by worldly cares, and was crossing the bridge later than usual, and when in the middle of it he heard the words, "Ite, missa est" as it were spoken by an angel. Terrified at the omen, and imputing his delay to sin, he drew the ring from his finger, and throwing it into the river, vowed that until the waters gave it up again he could not be called a true shepherd of his flock. Returning to the church of St. Laurence, he built a cell by its walls in which he passed seven years in watching and supplication. A neighbouring hut was occupied by his mother Celsa. During all this time his prayers were so potent a safeguard of the city, that the Saône and its tributaries forbore to drown any one, none were devoured by wild beasts, and no criminal died without first repenting and receiving the viaticum. At the end of the seven years the ring was found in the belly of a fish by the clerk who tended him, and the people hearing of it assembled and dug out their bishop from his cell in spite of his reluctance. He did not, however, long survive his release, but died Oct. 8, on which day he is commemorated. He was buried in the church of St. Laurence, but at the close of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century, his remains were removed, with the consent of Hugo, the bishop, to a newly-built church at Paredum (Paray le Moineau) on May 13. Pope John VIII. canonized him. [S. A. B.]

GREALLAN. [GRELLAN.]

GREALLOG OEBLECH, Irish saint. [GRELLOG OEBLECH.]

GRECIANUS of Callium. [GRATIANUS (3).]

GRECIELIS (GRECIELUS), bishop of Llandaff, in the time of Meurig son of Ithael, king of Glamorgan, late in the seventh or early in the eighth century (*Lib. Landav.* 416–422, 626; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 156; Godwin, *de Praesul. Ang.* 601). [J. G.]

GREDFIW, Welsh saint. [RHEDIW.]

GREDIFAEL, GREDIFEL, GREDIVEL (CREDIFAEL, GREDEVEL), the founder of Penmynydd, in Anglesey. His festival is Nov. 13 (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 223). [C. W. B.]

GREGENTIUS, ST., bishop of Taphar in Arabia (of the Homeritae). He is chiefly known as the supposed author of (*a*) the *Leges Homeritarum* (see Patrol. Graeca, lxxxvi. 568), and (*b*) the *Disputatio cum Herbano Judaeo* (*ibid.* 621–784). According to the Greek menaea, Gregentius was born at Milan on December 19, in the second half of the 5th century (Galland. *Ref. in Vet. Patr. Bibl.* xi. 599); he lived for many years as an anchoret, and was finally sent by Proterius of Alexander as bishop of the Homeritae. This account, which would date the episcopate of Gregentius from the middle of the 5th century, cannot naturally claim any strong historical weight. Little more can be said for the tradition which ascribes the two works above mentioned to him. Ceillier pointed out several points of internal evidence which tell against their genuineness, and, above all, the fact that the death and burial of Gregentius are narrated in the dialogue (Ceill. xi. 279, and cf. Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. 784). It is clear that great part must have been added by a later hand, if we reject Ceillier's conclusion that the whole is the work of an anonymous writer. In the dialogue Gregentius finally convinces his opponent by a vision of Christ which appears in the heavens, the result being the conversion and baptism of five millions of Jews. The *Leges Homeritarum* deal mainly with crimes of violence and fornication, and are supposed to have been composed by Gregentius at the request of Abraham, king of the Homeritae. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 663.) [J. de S.]

GREGORIA (1), 7th century, lady of the bedchamber to some Augusta who, from a comparison of dates (vid. Du Cange, *Fam. Aug.* 88), must have been the empress Constantina, otherwise Constantia, wife of the emperor Maurice. She had enumerated all her sins with great assiduity to her confessor, but was afraid that God had not pardoned them. So she wrote to pope Gregory, saying that she would never cease to importune him till he had a revelation that her sins were forgiven. Gregory, whose letter is dated by Jaffé (*Reg. Pont.* 121) June 597, consoled her with the narrative of the woman who was a sinner, whom he seems to identify with Mary the sister of Martha, saying that believing her devotion to be not less than the love of that woman, he might fairly apply to her the same words, "Thy sins, which are many," &c. What she asked, however, he considered difficult and useless; on the one hand he was unworthy of a revelation, and on the other, she ought to lament her sins to the end of her life, rather than feel assured about them; security was the mother of carelessness. (Greg. Mag. *Epist.* vii. 25. Patrol. Lat. lxxvii. p. 877, § 868; Ceillier, xi. 508.) [W. M. S.]

GREGORIA (2), companion of St. Ursula, "Scota Scotae," martyred A.D. 354, and venerated Oct. 21. (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 316.) [J. G.]

GREGORIUS (1) I., bishop of Agrigentum. That there was a Gregory in this see earlier than the more celebrated writer is generally agreed, but his exact period is doubtful. One account places him in the time of Valerian and Gallienus, cir. 260, making him figure in the martyrdom of St. Agrippina at Rome and afterwards at Agrigentum in the course of her translation (Cajetan, *Vit. Sic. SS.* i. 87). Pirri adopts this view and places him as second bishop, between Libanius and Potamio (*Sic. Sac.* i. 692). Bolland in his notes upon Potamio discusses the question (*Acta SS.* 29 Jan. ii. 968). Another account makes him sent by Proterius bishop of Alexandria on a mission to Elesbaan king of Ethiopia, which would place him two centuries later. Perhaps this latter tradition is a confusion with that of Gregory II., who is known to have travelled in the East (see Patr. Gr. xcviii. 549, note 59). [C. H.]

GREGORIUS (2), early bishop of Calaris (Cagliari) in Sardinia, probably between A.D. 253 and 303. (Cossu, *Città di Cagliari*, p. 56; Martini, *Storia Eccles. di Sardegna*, iii. 316; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xiii. 48.) [R. S. G.]

GREGORIUS (3), surnamed THAUMATURGUS, bishop of Neocaesarea in Pontus, cir. 233–270. He was born about 210 at Neocaesarea on the Lycus, the modern Niksar. He was the son of heathen parents who were both wealthy and noble. His early name was Theodorus, for which some explanation may be found in the fact that his father was scrupulously devoted to the worship of the Pagan divinities. His son calls him δεισιδαίμων (Migne, ed. Patr. Gr. vol. x.; Greg. Thaum. *Orat. de Origene*, c. 5). Christianity had made little progress in the neighbourhood of Neocaesarea even in the year 240, for we have incidental evidence that at that date there were only seventeen Christians to be found in the whole region (Greg. Nyss. *Vita Thaum.* Migne, Patr. Gr. xlvi. 954). It was an unpromising field for the episcopal labours of the young missionary. Yet the extraordinary success of those labours, and the romantic details with which they were embellished by later hands secured for him the well-known title of *Thaumaturgus*. This repute cannot be set down as exclusively due to the credulousness of the age, for as Lardner (*Cred.* ii. 42, § 5) remarked, such writers as Basil, Jerome, and Theodoret, to say nothing of Gregory of Nyssa, distinguished this particular bishop from all others as "a man of apostolic signs and wonders" (cf. Dr. J. H. Newman, *Essays on Miracles*, p. 263). No light is thrown upon his thaumaturgic renown by his extant writings, which are conspicuous for their philosophic tone, humility, self-distrust, and practical sense. He must have been a man of singular force of character and weighty judgment, or he would not have been credited with so much spurious literature. Heretics endeavoured to foist the

sanction of his name upon their own speculations, thus indirectly revealing the confidence in which he was held by all parties.

Theodorus (Gregory) stated that when he was in his fourteenth year his father died, and that about that time he passed through a remarkable spiritual crisis. He attributed the change of sentiment which supervened to "the Divine Logos, the Angel of the counsel of God, and the common Saviour of all." He left it, however, as doubtful whether the change consisted of a bias mysteriously given to him towards Christianity, or whether it merely issued in the circumstances which brought him into the society of his friend and teacher Origen. It happened that his mother suggested the pursuit of the science and art of rhetoric, and he rapidly gave promise of oratorical success. He was advised with this end in view to make a special study of Roman law, and with this object to become an alumnus of a celebrated school of jurisprudence then flourishing at Berytus in Syria. At this juncture it appears that his sister needed an escort to Palestine to join her husband, who was occupying a high position under the Roman governor at Caesarea. The young Theodorus (Gregory) and his brother Athenodorus took advantage of this opportunity to travel. They passed numerous cities on their way from Pontus, amongst others, Berytus. "My guardian angel" (says he) "on our arrival at Caesarea handed us over to the care and tuition of Origen." For a while, like birds in a net, they struggled to escape from his influence, to return to their home, or to fulfil their intention of visiting the schools of Berytus; but the converse of this saintly man and illustrious scholar, who was then providentially resident at Caesarea, enthralled them. The personal spell of the teacher was cast over Theodorus and his brother. During five years, he says, that he was submitted to the potent sway of this master; and the mental processes by which he was led to Christ, throw considerable light on the mind of Origen and on the methods of Christian education pursued in the 3rd century. These details are preserved in a panegyric on Origen, which before leaving Caesarea the young student pronounced to a great assembly in the presence of his master. They differ in several particulars from the statements of Gregory of Nyssa (*Vita Thaum.* Greg. Nyss.; Migne, Patr. Gr. vol. xlvi. pp. 893–958). This father, in a florid narrative, represents Gregory as being a student of philosophy at Alexandria, and as being advised by Firmilianus, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who was then visiting Alexandria, to make the acquaintance of Origen. Gregory of Nyssa passes very lightly over his namesake's relations with Origen, and says nothing of his residence at Caesarea, but gives in considerable detail his life in Alexandria. Tillemont (*Mémoires*, iv. 320) admits that this is at variance with the express language of the "Panegyric," and suggests that Firmilianus may have visited Origen in Caesarea during his young friends' residence there, and may thus have introduced them to Origen. Baronius follows Gregory of Nyssa's lead (*Ann.* 233, viii.), and assumes that the instruction received by Theodorus (Gregory) from Origen took place in Alexandria, that he then returned to Neocaesarea, and that while there the remembrance of Origen and the advice of Firmilianus induced the young man to undertake a visit to Palestine in order to secure fresh direction from the great scholar (*Ann.* 233, xii.). All this is at variance with the express statements of the panegyric. This document has been preserved, and is an authentic and valuable memorial of the 3rd century.[a] According to Gregory's own statements (*Orat. de Orig.* c. vi.), Origen enticed his pupils first of all to the study of philosophy, which he recommended as a duty that we owe to the Lord of all, "since man alone of all creatures is deemed by his Creator as worthy to pursue it." "A thoughtful man, if pious, must philosophize," says he, so "at length, like some spark lighting on our soul, love was kindled and burst into flame within us, a love to the Holy Logos, the most lovely object of all, who attracts all to Himself by His unutterable beauty." "Only one object seemed worthy of pursuit, philosophy and the master of philosophy, this divine (θεῖος) man." His love to Origen was like the love of Jonathan to David, and without stint he poured forth at last in his presence his enthusiastic encomium. Gregory praises Origen for his Socratic discipline, and for the way in which this teacher probed his inmost soul with questions, and pruned away his native wildness, and repressed his exuberance. He was taught to interrogate his consciousness, and critically to investigate reasonings and the meanings of words. First of all, Origen accustomed the young men to the study of the dialectic method of inquiry, and then, in Aristotelian fashion, led them to contemplate the "magnitude, the wondrousness, the magnificent, and absolutely wise construction of the world." He seems to have followed (strangely enough) the order of the sciences in Comte's classification of the branches of human knowledge. Thus, he began with "the immutable foundation of all, geometry, and then" (says Gregory) "by astronomy he lifted us up to the things highest above us." He reduced things to their "pristine elements," "going over the nature of the whole and of each several section," "he filled our minds with a rational, instead of an irrational, wonder at the sacred oeconomy of the universe and the irreprovable constitution of all things." These words and much more that might be quoted from the "Panegyric" are a strange comment on the thaumaturgic actions which are freely attributed to Gregory. Morals followed physics, and emphasis is laid by Gregory on the practical experience by which Origen desired his pupils to verify all theories, "stimulating us by the deeds he did more than by the doctrines he taught." He urged upon them the study of Grecian philosophy for the direct culture of their moral nature. The end of the entire discipline was "nothing but this: By the pure mind make thyself like to God, that thou mayest draw near to Him and abide in Him." Origen advised Gregory to study all

[a] Pamphilus inserted the "Panegyric" in the Apology he prepared for Origen (Socrates, *H. E.* iv. 27). Some writers have conferred upon it extravagant praise, but it is undoubtedly one of the most elegant and interesting fragments of early Christian literature. It was published by Voss. 1604, and in the Paris ed. of Gregory's works, 1621. Haeschelius published it, in connexion with Origen's *Libri c. Celsum*, with Casaubon's notes. But the best edition of it is by Bengel. This has been carefully studied by Migne's editor. There is a translation of it by Salmond in the *Ante-Nicene Library*, vol. xx.

that was written by the philosophers and poets of old, with the exception of the Atheists, and gave reasons for a catholic and liberal eclecticism, and, with a modern spirit, disclaimed the force of prejudice and the misery of half-truths and of fixed ideas, and the advantage of "selecting all that was useful and true in all the various philosophers, and putting aside all that was false." Gregory then utters high praise of the way in which his master interpreted the clear and luminous oracles of God, and this remarkable sentence occurs (c. 15): "That leader of all (ἀρχηγὸς πάντων) who speaks in undertones (ὑπηχῶν) to God's dear prophets and suggests to them all their prophecy and their mystic and divine word, has so honoured this man Origen as a friend as to appoint him to be their interpreter." The idea seems to have been borne in upon Gregory that the gift of interpretation is as much a divine *charisma* as prophecy itself. So great were the joys thus placed within the reach of his pupil, that he adds with rapture, "He was truly a paradise to us, after the similitude of the paradise of God." He regrets his departure from Caesarea, as Adam might bewail his expulsion from Eden, having to eat of the soil and to contend with thorns and thistles, and to dwell in darkness, with weeping and mourning. He says, "I go away of my own will, and not by constraint, and by my own act I am dispossessed, when it is in my option to remain." This is clear enough, but Jerome (*de Viris illustribus*, c. 65) says that the two youths were sent off to their mother ("remittuntur ad matrem"), or as it may be taken, to their mother country.

The influence of Origen's teaching upon Gregory and Athenodorus is confirmed by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 30), who says that the great scholar "seeing them excessively rapt in the prosecution of the studies of the Greeks and Romans, infused into them the love of philosophy, and induced them to exchange their former zeal for the study of divine things. But after being with him five years, they made such improvement that both, though very young, were honoured with the episcopate in the churches of Pontus."

Gregory of Nyssa describes Gregory of Neocaesarea as spending much time in Alexandria, and says, that before his baptism, while resident there, he displayed a high tone of moral propriety; that he was able to resist the advances of an impure woman, and frustrate her accusations. She was paid the sum of money which she demanded as the price of her intimacy with Gregory, but no sooner had she received it, than she was seized with all the signs of a demoniacal possession, from which Gregory's intercession alone delivered her, thus demonstrating his innocence. Gregory makes no reference to this circumstance, which bears a suspicious resemblance to other like charges brought in Alexandria against distinguished bishops. A residence in Alexandria may have occurred in the course of the five years during which Gregory and his brother were under the direction of Origen. These five years were in all probability interrupted by the persecution under Maximinus Thrax, who reigned from July 235 to May 238. The peculiarity of this persecution was, that it was aimed at the great men and leaders of the Church. Origen may then have gone into retirement and left his pupils at liberty to travel into Egypt. If the baptism of Gregory was deferred until Origen was at liberty to return to Caesarea, that ceremony must have been delayed until the close of his intercourse with the great scholar, as it could not have occurred until the death of Maximin and the accession of Gordian in 238. Reckoning backwards the five years, Gregory did not reach Caesarea before 233, and probably later; and did not leave the "Paradise" until 238 at the earliest, when he pronounced his Panegyric. This document is of interest from the testimony it bears to the doctrine of the Trinity, and the light it throws upon the faith of Gregory. Bishop Bull, in his *Defence of the Nicene Creed*, has laid great emphasis upon the passage (*Orat. de Origine*, cap. iv.) in which the pupil of Origen offers his praise to the Father, and then to "the Champion and Saviour of our souls, His first-born Word, the Creator and Governor of all things, . . . being the truth, the wisdom, the power of the Father Himself of all things, and besides being both in Him and absolutely united to Him (ἀτεχνῶς ἡνώμενος), the most perfect and living and animate word of the primal mind." Bishop Bull is right in calling attention to the prae-Nicene character of these phrases, and yet to their substantial agreement with the deliverance of the Nicene fathers (*Def. Nic. Creed*, vol. i. p. 331). They should be taken into account in estimating the authenticity and significance of other documents.

Gregory had scarcely reached Neocaesarea when he received a letter from Origen (*Philocalia*, c. 13), revealing on the part of the teacher a most extraordinary regard for his pupil, whom he describes as "my most excellent lord and venerable son." Gregory is exhorted to study all philosophies, as a preparation for Christianity and to aid the interpretation of Holy Scripture. He is thus to spoil the Egyptians of their fine gold, in order to make vessels for the sanctuary, and not idols of his own. He is then urged with some passion to study the Scriptures, and to seek from God by prayer the light he needs. (Cf. *Ante-Nic. Library*, Origen's works, vol. i. 388–390, for a translation of this letter.)

Shortly after the return of Gregory to his native place, we are told by Eusebius that he became bishop of that city, and one of the most celebrated (διαβόητος) bishops of the age (Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 30, and vii. 14). The curious details of his ordination are referred to in Basil's *Menologium Graecorum* (17 Nov.), where it is stated that he was ordained by Phaedimus, bishop of Amasea, when the two were at a distance from each other. We are indebted to Gregory of Nyssa for the romance of this and many other events in his subsequent career. Indeed, we have no other guide than the narrative of that father for the subsequent details of his life. Some of his most extraordinary statements are in a measure vouched for by Basil the Great, the brother of Gregory of Nyssa, and by Rufinus in his expansion of the history of Eusebius. The great historian himself revealed either his ignorance of the supposed facts, or his own good sense, by taking no notice of the bizarre and incredible stories with which the career of Gregory is overlaid. As the later father tells the story, the young and saintly student, on reaching his home,

was entreated by the entire population to remain among them as their magistrate and legislator. Like Moses, he took counsel of God, and retired into the wilderness, but he excelled the man of God in this, that, unlike Moses, he married no wife, and had virtue only for his spouse. Then we are told that Phaedimus, bishop of Amasea, sought to lay episcopal hands upon Gregory, and to consecrate him by guile, but failed, and adopted the expedient of electing and ordaining him by prayer when he was distant from him a journey of three days. We are not told how Gregory became acquainted with this act, but we are assured that it induced Gregory to yield to the summons, and to submit afterwards to the customary rites. At this time, about 240, there were, as we have said, not more than seventeen Christians in the city and in its circumjacent territory. Gregory only demanded time for meditation on the truths of the Christian faith before accepting the solemn commission. This meditation issued in the supposed divine revelation to him of one of the most explicit formularies of the creed of the Church of the 3rd century. Gregory of Nyssa admits that the revelation was made to the young bishop in the dead of the night, "after he had been deeply considering the reason of the faith, and sifting disputations of all sorts." He saw a vision of St. John and of the mother of the Lord, and we are gravely told that the latter commanded the former to lay before Gregory the true faith. Apart from this romance, the formulary which is attributed to Gregory, is undoubtedly of high antiquity, and Lardner (*Credibility*, vol. ii. p. 29) does not argue with his wonted candour in his endeavour to fasten upon it signs of later origin. It is singularly free from the peculiar phrases which acquired technical significance in the 4th century, and yet it maintains a most uncompromising antagonism to Sabellian and Unitarian heresy. Moreover, Gregory of Nyssa asserts one fact of considerable importance, that when he uttered his encomium, the autograph MS. of this creed was in possession of the church at Neocaesarea. He adds that the church had been continually initiated (*μυσταγωγεῖται*) by means of this confession of Gregory's faith. Basil, moreover, confirmed this statement (*Ep.* 204, Bas. *Opp.* Paris ed. t. iii. p. 303), saying that in his tender age, when residing in Neocaesarea, he had been taught the words of Gregory by his sainted grandmother Macrina; and again (*de Spir. Sancto*, c. 29, *ib.* p. 62), he declared the tenacity with which the ways and words of Gregory had been preserved by that church, even to the mode of reciting the doxology. Moreover, Basil attributed to his influence the orthodoxy of a whole succession of bishops from Gregory to the Musonius of his own day (*Ep.* 204). In addressing the Neocaesareans (*Ep.* 207, *ib.* p. 311), he warns them against twisting the words of Gregory. The formulary must be distinguished from the *ἔκθεσις τῆς κατὰ μέρος πίστεως*, which is now found among the dubious writings of Gregory, but which no less a scholar than Labbe has confounded with it. Labbe says that Bellarmine and Petavius had doubted the authenticity of the *ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως*, but he is wrong, as their scepticism is entirely directed to the other later and very questionable production (see Bull, *ibid.*). It has been doubted by sundry critics, but the reasons are not convincing. Sandius says that Eusebius, Jerome, and Sophronius were silent about it. The silence, however, of Eusebius proves nothing; and the consequent silence of Jerome and Sophronius may be only regarded as one negative testimony, as Jerome followed Eusebius, and Sophronius was translator into Greek of sundry works of Jerome.[b] Rufinus, moreover, introduces it into his translation of Eusebius. This *ἔκθεσις* is given at length in the *Vita Thaum.* of Gregory of Nyssa. It is found in the Latin psalter (written in golden letters), which Charlemagne gave to pope Adrian I., and it is cited as Gregory's by the fathers of the second oecumenical council held at Constantinople, A.D. 553, by St. Germanus patriarch of Constantinople, and by numerous later writers (Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés, St. Grég. le Thaum.* vol. ii. pp. 441, 442). A very important sentence which has been variously attributed to the saint and his biographer, follows the formula as given in the life of the Thaumaturgus. Dr. Burton, the editor of Bull, referred it to Gregory of Nyssa. Modern editors call attention to the fact that Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* 10) refers to the closing sentences as the substance of the formula itself. It runs as follows: "There is therefore nothing created or servile in the Trinity; nor anything superinduced, as though previously non-existing and introduced afterwards. Never therefore was the Son wanting to the Father, nor the Spirit to the Son; but there is ever the same Trinity, unchangeable and unalterable." (cf. Migne, Patr. Gr. vol. x. p. 988.)

Great difference of opinion has prevailed among earlier and later scholars as to the genuineness of this document; thus Bingham, Bull, Cave, Tillemont (iv. 327), Ceillier, Hahn (cf. Dorner's *Person of Christ*, A. ii. 482), Mohler (*Athanas.* i. 105), have defended it, and Lardner, Whiston, Münscher, Gieseler, Herzog (*Abriss der Kirchengesch.* i. 122), contest it. Neander divided it into two parts, the one genuine revealing its Origenistic source, and the other of later growth. Dr. Caspari has, in an appendix to his great work, *Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, 1879, defended it with great erudition, and concludes that there is nothing in the formula incompatible with its being the production of a pupil of Origen. He shews, moreover, that it must have been produced between A.D. 260–265. Not-

[b] The Creed is as follows in Bull's translation:— "There is one God, Father of Him who is the living Word, subsisting Wisdom and Power and Eternal Impress (*χαρακτῆρος ἀϊδίου*), Perfect Begetter of the Perfect, Father of the only begotten Son. There is one Lord, Alone of the alone, God of God, Impress and Image of the Godhead, the operative Word; Wisdom comprehensive of the system of the universe, and Power productive of the whole creation; true Son of true Father, Invisible of Invisible, and Incorruptible of Incorruptible, and Immortal of Immortal, and Eternal of Eternal. And there is one Holy Ghost, who hath his being of God, who hath appeared (that is to mankind, *δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*, a clause which Greg. of Nyssa gives, but which is not found in some of the codices) through the Son, Image of the Son, Perfect of the Perfect; Life, the Cause of all them that live; Holy Fountain, Holiness, the Bestower of sanctification, in whom is manifested God the Father, who is over all and in all, and God the Son, who is through all. A perfect Trinity, not divided nor alien in glory and eternity and dominion."

withstanding the remarkable testimonies made by Basil to the orthodoxy of Gregory, and his reference to this creed, which his brother of Nyssa has preserved, an incautious remark by Basil in one of his letters (*Ep.* 75) to the Neocaesareans, seems to admit that some of Gregory's expressions had been twisted on the one hand into Sabellianism, and on the other into Arianism. Now Petavius altogether acquits Basil of bringing a charge of Sabellianism against Gregory, and we think Bull is perfectly correct in claiming for Gregory a complete exoneration from the existence of the slightest imputation to that effect in the words of Basil. Basil is not so successful in vindicating Gregory from the incautious use of phrases which Arians might boastfully claim. But Lardner (*ibid.*) goes too far when he speaks of Basil as vilifying Gregory. Moreover, if the ἔκθεσις πίστεως is genuine, we have a high testimony to the orthodoxy of Gregory. It is easy to cull from the most Athanasian writers terms used of the humanity of Christ, and to represent them as applied by a particular author to the divinity of the Word. This is Basil's excuse for Gregory. The doubtful phrases are said to have occurred in his discussions with Aelian, a heathen, and may be accounted for, because the bishop was not then weighing his words dogmatically, but speaking in the heat of another controversy. It is, however, remarkable, that no extant document, genuine or doubtful, contains the inculpated phrases. They are not found in the πίστις κατὰ μέρος, which moreover is charged with unmistakable indications of its later date, and contains expressions which reveal the activity of the Nestorian and Apollinarian controversies. Another work, written we may suppose near the commencement of his episcopate, was the *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes.* This running commentary on the old book is mentioned with approval by Rufinus (vii. 25), and Jerome (*de Viris illus.* c. 65, and *Comm. in Eccl.* c. 4), and may still be read with advantage for its sound ethical wisdom. It has been attributed by some to Gregory of Nazianzus, but the style is less ornate and more abrupt than the discourses of that father, while numerous turns of expression to be found in the Panegyric on Origen are to be met with in this singularly modest and sensible commentary. It is now without reserve inserted among the genuine remains of Gregory.

There can be little doubt that the missionary labour of Gregory was great and successful, and that his personal influence was extraordinary. The thaumaturgic dress in which that influence is arrayed a century later need not blind us to the force of character of which it is the symptom. A few of the marvellous occurrences detailed with ornate and extravagant eulogy by Gregory of Nyssa, are referred to by Basil, his brother and his contemporary, and they doubtless furnished Rufinus with the details which he introduced. Thus Basil tells us (*de Spiritu Sancto*, c. 29, Paris ed. p. 62: "that Gregory was a great and conspicuous lamp, illuminating the Church of God, and that he possessed, from the co-operation of the Spirit, a formidable power against the demons; that he turned the course of rivers by giving them orders in the name of Christ; that he dried up a lake, which was the cause of strife to two brothers; and that his predictions of the future made him the equal of the other prophets . . . that by friends and enemies of the truth he was regarded, in virtue of his signs and prodigies, as another Moses." But Gregory of Nyssa expands into voluminous legend the record of these deeds. It is to be noticed that, with the exception of the river Lycus, to which express reference is made, the panegyric of Gregory of Nyssa contains no verifying element. He does not favour his hearers with names, dates, or places for these astounding portents. They were, as Dr. Newman observes, wrought at such times and seasons as to lead to numerous conversions. They were described as well known facts in a hortatory address and in ecclesiastical style. But they contrast very forcibly with the philosophical bias of Gregory's mind, and they are not mentioned or referred to until a hundred years after their occurrence. Some of the more remarkable are as follows:—The bishop was driven by stress of weather into a heathen temple, and by spending the night in prayer he exorcised the place, so that the priests on the following morning were unable to obtain their customary responses. This so enraged them that Gregory was threatened by them with numerous calamities, unless he freed them from their spell. The bishop is then said to have written on a parchment, "Gregory to Satan, enter." Whereupon the evil powers were once more at liberty to do the will of the hierophants. If some fact is covered by the story, it would simply answer to the spiritualistic illusions and fraud with which we are now familiar, and the unwillingness of "spirits" to make their manifestations in presence of hostile witnesses. Two things should be noticed; the narrative implies Gregory's belief in the heathen divinities as powers to be propitiated, as living entities, and it reveals considerable weakness of mind in setting free for work a spirit whom he hailed as Satan, after having for a time at least bound him in a spell. The "miracle" is said to have led to numerous conversions, and to have been followed by further manifestations, such as his power in moving stones at his bidding. This story is still further exaggerated by transmission, until the stone becomes a mountain in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great. The idolatrous priest became Gregory's deacon and, according to Rufinus, his successor. The astonishment of the people was augmented by the bishop's indifference to their applause. A great outburst of healing powers is said to have led to the conversion of multitudes, and to the consequent erection of a Christian church. This, during the reign of Philip, would not be remarkable, but according to Tillemont (*Mém.* vol. iv. 330), it was the first church of which we have express mention. It does not follow that it was the first ναός erected, although few definite references can be found of earlier date to a similar proceeding. The destruction of the church at Nicomedia, referred to by Lactantius (*de Morte Persecutorum*, c. 12), shews that at the commencement of the 4th century, some of the Christian churches must have been of considerable magnitude and importance (cf. art. CHURCH, *Dict. Christ. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 336). Gregory of Nyssa declares that this church was standing in his day, ὁ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος δεικνύμενος, hence it must have been spared in the persecutions under Dio-

cletian. It is also added that when every house in the city was damaged by earthquake, this building was uninjured. A similar preservation was accorded to it in the year 499 or 503, when a second earthquake produced wide-spread ruin. There is a passage in the bishop of Nyssa's glowing rhetoric which reflects so favourably on Gregory's missionary and pastoral zeal, that I venture to introduce it. "Early in the morning crowds gathered at his doors, men, women and children, with aged persons and those who suffered from the bodily affliction of demons, or any other chastisement. In their midst he himself, in exact accordance with the need of each of those who had assembled, preached, questioned, admonished, instructed, and healed. It was by means of this that he attracted the masses of men to the preaching of the gospel, namely that sight corresponded with hearing, and it was through both that the tokens of divine power shone forth upon him; for their hearing was overpowered by his discourse, and their sight by his miracles of healing the sick. The mourner was comforted, the young man was taught sobriety, and to the old, appropriate counsel was administered. Slaves were admonished to be dutiful to their masters; those who exercised authority to be kind to their inferiors. The poor were taught that virtue is the only wealth, and the rich that they were but stewards of property, and not its owners."

The celebrated story of the drying up of a lake is thus amplified by Gregory of Nyssa:— "Two young brothers who shared between them their patrimony each laid claim to the possession of a lake. Instead of dividing the property between them they referred the dispute to Gregory, who exhorted them to be reconciled to one another. The young men were, however, exasperated and kindled into passion as their hopes of gain grew stronger." Then this led at length to the resolve upon a murderous struggle for the right of possession, "when the man of God, remaining on the banks of the lake and continuing throughout the night in watchfulness, performed a miraculous feat upon the water like that of Moses . . . for, by the power of prayer, he completely transformed the whole of it into dry land . . . so that no drop of moisture was lingering even in the hollows! and having in this manner, by the power of God, decided the controversy, he returned home, while the quarrel between the young men was settled by the fiat of deeds." (Migne's ed. Greg. Nyss. Patr. Gr. xlvi. pp. 921 and 926.)

Basil also refers to another story which his brother presents in discursive fashion, how Gregory altered the course of the Armenian Lycus by planting his staff in the bed of the torrent, which said staff became a tree, and effected a purpose of great beneficence to the neighbourhood. This "miracle" is claimed by Dr. Newman as possessing some of the characteristics of a true miracle, inasmuch as the name of the river, the site of the portent, and the memorial of its occurrence were all appealed to. (*Essays on Miracles*, p. 267.)

One of the most interesting facts introduced by his panegyrist has reference to Gregory's selection of an obscure person, Alexander the charcoal burner, for the office of bishop over the neighbouring city of Comana. He was preferred to men of eloquence and station by reason of his humble self-consecration to God, and he was ordained with customary solemnities. This Alexander justified the choice thus made by reason of his excellent discourse, his holy living, and a martyr's death. He is honoured in the Roman calendar on August 11.[c]

Gregory is also credited with miracles of destruction. A Jew once asked alms to bury his dead comrade, who lay on the ground feigning lifelessness. Gregory is said to have thrown his cloak over the prostrate man as his dole. When the saint had departed, the Jew, intending to make off with his prize, attempted to rouse his companion with cries and kicks, but he was found to be really dead. Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 27) cites a similar miracle as wrought by Epiphanius, and in doing so refers to this ghastly narrative. The great missionary success of Gregory and the rapid growth of the Church must have preceded the outbreak of persecution under Decius, in the years 250 and 251. The edict of Decius was ferocious, and where it was in the hands of sympathetic governors, it was cruelly carried out. [DECIUS.] Gregory of Nyssa gives a withering account of the persecution and its effects. Our Gregory advised those who could do so to save themselves and their faith by flight and concealment. His enemies pursued him into his retreat, but his thaumaturgic force was now used by him to assist his retirement, and they found in place of Gregory and his deacon two trees. This "prodigy" differs so profoundly (as do others we have mentioned) from miracles narrated in the New Testament, both in character and motive, that they form an instructive hint as to the ethnic and imaginative source of the whole cycle.

In 257 he returned to Neocaesarea, and when, in 258, peace was restored to the Church, Gregory ordered annual feasts in commemoration of the martyrs who had been faithful unto death. He is credited by his biographer with the doubtful wisdom of hoping to secure the allegiance of those who had been in the habit of worshipping idols, by arranging ceremonials in honour of the martyrs resembling that to which they had been accustomed. This time-serving is an unfavourable indication of character, and does something to explain the melancholy defection from moral uprightness and honour of many of his supposed converts. The conversion of the heathen is said to have been greatly quickened by the occurrence of a fearful plague which was partly, at least, due to Gregory's miraculous potency; the story as given by his panegyrist is sufficiently tragic, and though the narrative closes the panegyric, yet the event is said to have occurred early in his ministerial career. It is as follows:—

"I shall revert to and narrate the event that took place in the early part of his priestly career, which my discourse has omitted while it has hurried on to deal with the rest of his miraculous deeds. There was a public festival in the city, celebrated with certain ancestral rites, in honour of one of the local divinities.

[c] Gregory of Nyssa speaks of him as the first bishop of Comana. This is doubtful, as Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 16) speaks of one Zoticus of Comana as concerned in the Montanistic controversy.

To this nearly the whole tribe flocked, while all the country kept festival as well as the city. The theatre was crowded with the concourse, and the mass of people streaming in everywhere surged over the seats. All were eagerly straining their gaze for every sight and sound, and the building was filled with uproar. The performers were unable to exhibit their marvels, while the confusion among the crowded sightseers not only interfered with the enjoyment of the music, but did not give the conjurors a chance of exhibiting their feats. Then from every one in the mob broke forth a cry calling upon the god in whose honour they celebrated the festival, and imploring that he would create ample room for them. And as every man shouted this with his neighbour the cry was borne aloft, and the exclamations which conveyed this prayer to the divinity seemed to come from the whole city as from a single throat. And the prayer was—you could hear its very words—'Zeus, make room for us!' And when the great Gregory heard the shout of those who cried out to the name of the god from whom they desired a wide space to be created in the city, he sent to them one of those who stood by him and said, 'There shall be granted you larger room than you pray for or have ever known.' "And when these words, like some grim utterance, were conveyed away to the crowd, a pestilence succeeded to that sacred public festival. At once lamentation was mingled with the dances, so that they found their mirth changed to sufferings and calamity. Instead of the music of the pipes, and the clashing of the cymbals, wailing dirges pervaded the city. When the disease had once attacked the population it passed through them faster than they anticipated, devouring their homes like fire. The temples were filled with those who were struck down by the plague, and had fled thither in hope of being healed. The springs, watercourses, and wells, were choked up with the bodies of men consumed with thirst in the agony of the disease." The disease, which produced a multitude of other calamities, yielded to the prayers of Gregory. This led to numerous conversions. The ravages of pestilence were not, however, confined to Pontus. Similar disasters affected Upper Egypt, as may be gathered from the letters of Dionysius of Alexandria. (Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 17; cf. Baron. *Ann.* 256. xi.)

We are not surprised to hear that at the death of Gregory of Neocaesarea, the number of heathen who now remained in his diocese had dwindled to seventeen, a number which exactly corresponded with the number of Christians to be found there, when Phaedimus consecrated him to the episcopal office. (*Vit. Thaum. l.c.* p. 954.) But the Christianity of the Neocaesareans must have been in many cases of a very imperfect kind, if we may judge from one of the most authentic documents which is referred to his pen, and entitled *Epistola Canonica S. Gregorii . . . de iis qui in barbarorum incursione idolothyta comederant, et alia quaedam peccata commiserant.* Jerome and other writers speak of the "letters" of Gregory, and by the council *in Trullo*, A.D. 680, the document in question is cited by the above name. Theodore Balsamon has appended scholia to each of the eleven canons into which it was divided. Numerous authorities, Dodwell (*Dissertationes in Cyprianum*), Ceillier (*l. c.* p. 444), question the genuineness of the last, the eleventh, of these canons, but the conviction widely prevails that the previous ten are genuine. They refer to the circumstances which followed the ravages of the Goths and Boradi, who ravaged Pontus and Asia Minor generally during the reign of Gallienus, and who committed gross indecorum, and carried away Christian captives. Nicephorus (viii. c. 33; cf. Baron. *Ann.* 263, xxiii.) enlarges on the diffusion of the gospel consequent upon this raid, and the holy conduct and discourse of the captives; be that as it may, the disorder which prevailed tempted numerous Christians in Pontus to flagrant acts of impiety and disloyalty. They took possession of the goods of those who had been dragged into bondage, and for selfish purposes actually restored to their captors those who had escaped their hands. Others identified themselves with the barbarians, making common cause with them, actually helping the heathen in their uttermost cruelty towards their brethren.

These facts are gathered from the "canons" in which Gregory denounced strenuously the commission of such crimes, and assigned to them their ecclesiastical penalty. The bishop shews his common sense and Christian charity in not lingering over the mere ceremonial uncleanness that might follow from enforced consumption of meat that had been offered to idols, and by exonerating from blame or any ecclesiastical anathema women who had, against their will, lost their chastity. He lays, however, great emphasis on the vices and greed of those who had violated Christian morality for the sake of gain and personal advantage. Different degrees of penalty and exclusion from church privilege were assigned, and those were argued on ground of Scripture alone. The epistle containing these canons was addressed to an anonymous bishop of Pontus, who had asked his advice on the subject, about the year 258. It must have been written, therefore, towards the end of his episcopate. It reveals the imperfect character of the wholesale conversions that had followed his remarkable ministry. The eleventh canon is not found in the edition of Zonaras, though Balsamon has commented upon it. The canon contains reference to four classes of penitents, with a technical detail, which, in the opinion of Catholic theologians, belongs to a later date.

Other works have been attributed to Gregory, but they have failed to make good their claim. Such, *e.g.*, as ἔκθεσις τῆς κατὰ μέρος πίστεως, which Vossius published in Latin in 1662, among the works of Gregory, and which Cardinal Mai (*Scrip. Vet.* vii. p. 170) has presented in Greek from the *Codex Vaticanus*. It is given by Migne (*l. c.* pp. 1103–1123). The best interpretation of the title is, "a creed not of all the dogmas of the Church, but only of some, in opposition to the heretics who deny them" (*Ante-Nicene Library*, vol. xx. p. 81). It differs from the former confession in its obvious and technical repudiation of Arianism, and its distinct references to the later Nestorian, and Eutychian heresies. Dr. Caspari (*lib. cit.* pp. 65–146) has called for the first time attention to verbally accurate quotations from this document found in Theodoret's *Eranistes* [Ἐρανιστὴς ἤτοι Πολύμορφος, three dialogues between Eranistes

and Orthodoxus, entitled severally ἄτρεπτος, ἀσύγχυτος, and ἀπαθής (Theod. *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 70, pp. 170–174 ed. Schulz)], and in his *Demonstrationes per Syllogismos*. These quotations, however, were referred by Theodoret not to Gregory but to a "little book concerning the faith," περὶ πίστεως λογίδιον, directly attributed by him to *Apollinaris* the younger. Various corroborations of these quotations arise. Thus the emperor Marcian (450–457) accuses the Eutychians and late Apollinarists of circulating the words of their founder under the pseudonym of the Fathers of the Church. Evagrius (*H. E.* iii. 31) mentions the same fact, distinctly specifying the names of Gregory of Neocaesarea, Athanasius, and Julius of Rome, as being thus made use of. Caspari quotes several other testimonies to similar effect; and proves that the κατὰ μέρος πίστις must have been written about the end of the fourth century, before the greatest Monophysite and Nestorian conflicts arose, when the strain of theological interest centred still around the doctrine of the Trinity. The recovery of the document as a genuine exhibition of the thought of Apollinaris deserves attention. Caspari discusses the reason of Apollinaris in writing his "confession," the proofs of its unity, the grounds of its false attribution to Gregory. Other treatises and fragments given in the editions of his works, and also translated in the *Ante-Nicene Library*, are as follows:— *Capitula duodecim de Fide*, with interpretation, attributed by Gretser to Gregory, ed. Ratisbon, 1741. *Ad Tatianum Disputatio de Animâ*, which must have been written by a mediaeval philosopher at a time when the philosophy of Aristotle was beginning to exert a new influence (Ceillier). Four *Homiliae*, preserved by Vossius, on "the Annunciation to the Holy Virgin Mary," and on "Christ's Baptism," are totally unlike the genuine writing of Gregory, they are surcharged with the peculiar reverence paid to the Mother of our Lord after the controversy between Nestorius and Cyril, and they adopt the test-words of orthodoxy current in the Arian disputes. Two brief fragments remain to be added, one a comment on Matt. vi. 22–23, from a Catena, *Cod. MS.* and published by Galland, *Vet. Patr. Bibl.* xiv. 119, and a discourse, *in Omnes Sanctos*, preserved with a long *Epistola praevia* by Mingarelli.

The bishop of Neocaesarea was present at the first council held at Antioch in A.D. 264 to consider the improprieties and errors of Paul of Samosata. His brother Athenodorus is also spoken of as accompanying him, and they are named among the most eminent members of the council. (Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 28.) In consequence of the dissimulation of Paul, no sentence of deprivation was then passed. At the close of 269 a second council was held on the subject at Antioch, at which a Theodorus was present. If this name is used for Gregory, he may not have died before 270. There is nothing known positively about the date of his departure, but his panegyrist tells us that his closing words expressed his regret that seventeen heathen should still be remaining in his diocese, a deep anxiety for their conversion, and a solemn injunction that no land should be purchased as his place of sepulture. He wished to carry the law of poverty out to the extreme letter. He was, however, buried in the church which he had built in Neocaesarea. He was commemorated on Nov. 17 (*Cal. Ethiop.*) and Nov. 23 (*Cal. Arm.*).

Editions of his Works.—The most noted have been those of Gerard Vossius, 1640, in 4to, and in 1622, in folio. They had been published in *Bibl. Patr. Cologne*, in 1618. The Panegyric on Origen by Sirmond 1605, 4to. De la Rue included it in his edition of *Origenis Opera*, vol. iv. The various fragments attributed to Gregory are all published by Migne. (Patr. Gr. vol. x.)

[H. R. R.]

GREGORIUS (4) (Gorgonius), bishop of Cinna, in the province of Galatia Prima. His signature appears in the Acts of the council of Neocaesarea, A.D. 314 (Labbe and Cossart, i. 1488), and in those of the council of Nicaea, A.D. 325. (Labbe and Cossart, ii. 51; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 484.) [T. W. D.]

GREGORIUS (5), bishop of Portus Augusti and member of the council of Arles, A.D. 314. (Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* iv. 95; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 201, ed. Oberthür; Tillemont, 20, vol. vi. p. 47; Mansi, ii. 477; Ugh. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 111; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, i. 496.)

[H. W. P.]

GREGORIUS (6), bishop of Berytus. He was the successor of Eusebius of Nicomedia in that see, and is named by Arius in his letter to this prelate among the bishops who had been condemned by Alexander of Alexandria (Theod. *H. E.* i. 5). He attended the council of Nicaea in 325 (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 51). [E. V.]

GREGORIUS (7), ST., The Illuminator (Gregor Lusavoritch), "the sun of Armenia," the apostle and first patriarch of Armenia, cir. 302–331.

Of the life and times of the founder and patron saint of the Armenian church the best if not the only authorities are Agathangelos, who was secretary to Tiridates king of Armenia the persecutor and afterwards the convert of Gregory, and Simeon Metaphrastes. A French translation of the former was printed in the first volume of the *Historiens de l'Arménie*, 1867, by Victor Langlois, who has shewn that the work in its present form is a second and later edition of the original history of the reign of Tiridates and of the preaching of St. Gregory. This is evident not only from the incredibility of some of the events recorded, but also from the mention of people, such as the emperor Marcian, who lived after the time of Agathangelos. This improved edition is nevertheless of very early date, as it alone was known to Moses of Khorene, the Herodotus of Armenia, who flourished in the 5th century. The life of St. Gregory by Metaphrastes (Migne, Patrol. Graec. cxv. 941–996) is evidently drawn from Agathangelos. The silence of all Greek writers about Gregory is remarkable, though perhaps it can be accounted for by the position of Armenia in a far-off corner of the civilized world. Sozomen (*H. E.* ii. c. 8) incidentally mentions the conversion of Tiridates, ascribing it to a miraculous occurrence, but he says nothing concerning the human agent. The Rev. S. C. Malan has presented the subject to English readers by publishing, along with two other monographs of interest on

Armenia and Armenian Christianity, a translation of the life and times of St. Gregory the Illuminator from the Armenian work of the Vartabed Matthew, which is the main source of the following sketch of the saint's life.

Gregory was born in or about 257 in the city of Valarshabad, the capital of the province of Ararat in Armenia. His father Anak, or Anag, was a Parthian Arsacid, of the province of Balkh, who, cir. 258, at the instigation of the Sassanid Ardashir (as Agathangelos and Moses of Khorene say, but it must have been his son Sapor I. as stated in *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog.* art. TIRIDATES III.) murdered Chosroes I. of Armenia. The dying king commanded the whole family of Anak to be slain, but an infant was saved, and being carried to the Cappadocian Caesarea was there brought up in the Christian faith, and received at baptism the name of Gregorius. Gregory, after a training in the fear of God, was married by his foster-mother to Mary, a lady of high rank, rich, modest, and pious, who bore him two sons, Vertanes and Aristages (or Rostaces), the latter of whom succeeded him as patriarch of Armenia. After three years Gregory and Mary separated by consent that they might give themselves more fully to the service of God.

Meanwhile Tiridates III., cir. 284, or a little later, had recovered the kingdom of his father Chosroes, by the help of the emperor Diocletian, whose favour he had gained, and whose hatred of Christianity he had imbibed. Gregory attached himself to him as a servant, and soon so endeared himself that he was raised to the rank of a noble. In the first year of his reign Tiridates went to the town of Erez (Erzenga) in Higher Armenia, to make offerings to Anahid the patron-goddess of Armenia; but Gregory refused to take any part in this idolatry, endeavoured to turn the king from his idols and spoke to him of Christ as the judge of quick and dead. The king was enraged, and determined to compel Gregory to join in the idol feast. Then followed what are known as "the twelve tortures of St. Gregory," which, in the exaggerated accounts handed down to us, are equally remarkable for refinement of cruelty on the one hand, and for unsurpassed fortitude, humility, and patience on the other. After two years Tiridates, who, it is said, had previously been ignorant of Gregory's parentage, ordered the saint to be thrown into a muddy pit infested with creeping creatures, into which malefactors were wont to be hurled, in the city of Ardashat, and there he lived for fourteen years, being fed by a Christian woman named Anna. In the story of St. Gregory there are a few traces like this of Christianity having existed in Armenia at a period earlier than his episcopate.

It is related that a community of religious women having in or about the year A.D. 300 fled from the neighbourhood of Rome in order to save one of their number, Rhipsime, from the designs of Diocletian, took refuge within the domains of Tiridates, and built a convent outside the city of Valarshabad. Tiridates being struck by the ravishing beauty of Rhipsime, had her brought to the palace. She managed to escape, but was overtaken and murdered, along with three-and-thirty of her companions. St. Gaiane, the head of the community, suffered the same fate. By the judgment of God Tiridates, as the story goes, was transformed into the appearance of a wild boar, and his people were plagued. At length it was revealed to the king's sister that as a condition of relief Gregory must be fetched from the pit. This was done, and afterwards the king and his subjects recovered. Gregory then preached publicly for sixty days to instruct the people, and to prepare them for holy baptism. After sixty-five days he narrated to them "his great vision" of the descent of One from heaven, grave and majestic, whose presence was of Light, and of three pedestals surmounted by three crosses of light. Whereupon at his order the people built three churches, one at the place where Rhipsime was murdered, the others where Gaiane and the sisters fell, and he called the place Etchmiadzin (the descent of the Only Begotten). The churches have given to the spot the Turkish name of Ütch-Kilise (Three Churches). Some time about 302 Gregory was consecrated bishop for Armenia by Leontius the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia [ARMENIANS]. His cathedral was in the city of Valarshabad on the spot which he had named Etchmiadzin. He destroyed the idol temples, conquering the devils who inhabited them, *i.e.* the priests and supporters of the old religion, and baptized the king and his court in the river Euphrates. This national conversion occurred several years before Constantine had established the Church in the Roman empire, and Armenia was thus the first kingdom in which Christianity was adopted as the religion of the state. Gregory practised himself and urged on others the reading of the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testaments. He also wrote letters to St. James of Nisibis, requesting him to compose homilies on faith, love, and other virtues. After filling the country with churches and ministers, schools and convents, Gregory in 331 retired to lead a solitary life among the caves of Manyea in the province of Taran, having previously consecrated his son Arisdages bishop in his stead. Gregory died in the wilderness, A.D. 332, and the shepherds, finding his dead body without knowing whose it was, erected over it a cairn of stones. In 325 Gregory is said to have been summoned to the council of Nicaea, but being himself unable to go sent his son, who brought back the decrees for the Armenian church. The venerable patriarch at Valarshabad greatly rejoiced on reading them, and exclaimed, "Now let us praise Him who was before the worlds, worshipping the most Holy Trinity and the Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, world without end, Amen," which words are added to the Nicene Creed when said in the Armenian church (Malan, p. 327, note). He is also said to have visited Constantine along with his sovereign (Niceph. Callist. *H. E.* viii. 35 in Migne, P. G. cxlvi. 609; Baron. 311, xxii.-vii.), a tradition which is magnified in the popular version to a splendid journey to Rome, and reception by Constantine and pope Silvester (Moses of Khorene, cap. 89 in Langlois, *H. de l'Arménie*, ii. 128). In the last paragraph of the work of Agathangelos the writer asserts that he was an eye-witness of the things that he narrates, but if it is admitted that the existing work is a later recension, this sentence must have

been taken directly from the original. The Bollandists have printed Agathangelos, and other lives of Gregory. (*Acta SS.* viii. Sept. pp. 295–413; Basil. *Men.* Sept. 30, in Migne, Patr. Graec. cxvii.; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1355, 1371.) In honour of her founder the Armenian church afterwards bore the name of Armeno-Gregorian. Saint-Martin gives 276 for the date of his consecration (*Mém. sur l'Arménie*, i. 436), and Langlois the same (*Historiens*, ii. 387). Saint-Martin also places the death of Chosroes by Anak in 198 (*Mém.* i. 412), a date which must be far wrong. His festivals are—in the Ethiopian Calendar Sept. 16; in the Byzantine, Sept. 30; in the Armeno-Gregorian, Mar. 23, June 8, June 22.

[L. D.]

GREGORIUS (8), THE CAPPADOCIAN, appointed by Arianizing bishops at Antioch in the beginning of 340 (not, apparently, of 339, as the *Festal Index* says), to supersede Athanasius in the see of Alexandria, on the ground that Athanasius had uncanonically resumed his see without any sentence of a council cancelling the sentence pronounced by the council of Tyre in 335. The appointment of Gregory is wrongly assigned by Socrates (ii. 20) to the Dedication Council, which did not meet until 341. He had been a student in the schools of Alexandria, and had there received kindness from Athanasius (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi. 15). He was now to be installed by military power, under orders from the emperor Constantius. The announcement being made by his countryman the prefect Philagrius, the Alexandrian church people protested to the other magistrates and to all their fellow citizens: Philagrius replied by encouraging a pagan rabble, in combination with Jews and with countrymen carrying clubs, to attack the church of St. Quirinus, and to perpetrate various profane outrages, four days before Gregory's arrival, which took place on March 23 (cf. *Fest. Ind.*), Athanasius having retired to a place of concealment. Socrates wrongly connects with Gregory's intrusion the night attack described in Athanas. *de Fugâ* 24, which took place after the appointment of George, in 356. That Gregory was an Arian might be inferred from the circumstances of his appointment; and although it could not be said of him, as of Pistus, who had at first been thought of for the post, that he had been deposed for overt Arianism, yet, as Athanasius says in an encyclical letter written at this time, his sympathy with the heresy was proved by the fact that only its supporters had demanded him, and that he employed as secretary one Ammon, who had been long before excommunicated by bishop Alexander for his impiety (*Encycl.* c. 7). Athanasius tells us that on Good Friday, Gregory having entered a church, the people shewed their abhorrence, whereupon he caused Philagrius publicly to scourge thirty-four virgins and married women, and men of rank, and to imprison them. Others were imprisoned on Easter-day itself; Gregory employed Philagrius to use violence to captains of vessels, by way of compelling them to convey his letters of communion: he accused Catholics before the governor for praying apart in their houses, and hindered them from being visited by their clergy. After Athanasius fled to Rome, Gregory became still more bitter: he persecuted the rightful bishop's aunt, and when she died he tried to deprive her of burial; he seized the doles of widows; he caused the duke Balacius to spit upon a letter of remonstrance written to him by "Father Antony" (Athan. *Hist. Ari.* 13). We hear of him as "oppressing the city," in 341 (*Fest. Ind.*). Auxentius, afterwards Arian bishop of Milan, was ordained priest by him (Hilar. *in Aux.* 8). The council of Sardica, at the end of A.D. 343, pronounced him never to have been, in the church's eyes, a bishop (*Hist. Ari.* 17). He died, not by murder, as Theodoret says, ii. 4, through a confusion with George, but after a long illness (*Fest. Ind.*), about ten months after the exposure of the Arian plot against bishop Euphrates, *i.e.* about February, A.D. 345. This date, gathered from Athanasius, *Hist. Ari.* 21, is preferable to that of the *Index*, Epiphi 2 = June 26, 346. [W. B.]

GREGORIUS (9) II., fourth patriarch of greater Armenia, grandson of Gregory the Illuminator, succeeding Verthanes and occupying the see for eleven years, c. A.D. 347–58. According to another account he was the fifth patriarch, having succeeded his brother Hesychius or Josec. He is said to have carried the gospel to the Albanenses, a tribe on the Caspian sea, amongst whom he suffered martyrdom. (Galanus, *Hist. Armena*, cap. 5; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1374.)

[L. D.]

GREGORIUS (10), bishop of Caesena c. A.D. 361. He is said to have been a native of Ticinum (Pavia). He died as a martyr A.D. 361; probably in the persecution of Julian. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 453; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* ii. 526.)

[R. S. G.]

GREGORIUS (11), bishop, an uncle of Basil on the father's side. He exercised a paternal care over Basil on the death of Basil's father, and Basil speaks of him with much affection. Gregory was present with other bishops of Cappadocia at Basil's consecration. About A.D. 371 an unhappy difference arose between Basil and his uncle, the circumstances of which, and Gregory Nyssen's awkward and disingenuous attempts to heal the breach, are narrated elsewhere. [BASILIUS OF CAESAREA, Vol. I. p. 288.] (Basil. epp. 58, 59, 60, in Patr. Gr. xxxii. 408–410.) [E. V.]

GREGORIUS (12) BAETICUS, ST., bishop of Eliberi, Elvira or Granada cir. 357–384. He is first mentioned as resisting the famous Hosius of Cordova, when under the persecution of Constantius Hosius gave way so far as to admit Arian bishops to communion with him. This must have been in or before A.D. 357, the year of Hosius's death.

At the council of Ariminum Gregorius was one of the few bishops who adhered to the creed of Nicaea, and refused to hold communion with the Arians Valens, Ursacius, and their followers. The authority for these statements is a letter to Gregorius from Eusebius of Vercellae, from his exile in the Thebaid (printed among the works of St. Hilary of Poitiers, ii. 700, in Migne, Patr. Lat. x. 713). Eusebius there acknowledges letters he had received from Gregorius, giving an account of his conduct, and commends him highly for having acted as became a bishop. He exhorts him to chide those who had fallen away, and

to rebuke the unfaithful, without fearing the secular power, and asks him to write and tell him what success he had met with in his efforts to reform the bad, and what brethren he had either found faithful, or had brought back to the right faith by his own exertions. For the fabulous story contained in the *Libellus Precum*, mentioned below, c. 9 and 10, of the return of Hosius to Spain, his efforts to compel Gregorius to join him in his apostasy, and his miraculous death, see HOSIUS.

Gams, however (*Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 256-259, 279–282), takes a totally different view of the character and conduct of Gregorius. He maintains that Gregorius was one of the bishops who fell into heresy at Ariminum, and supports his opinion by the following reasons: (i) The letter of Eusebius cannot be considered a witness in favour of Gregorius, as the only evidence he had before him when he wrote it was derived from Gregorius's own letter of self-commendation. (ii) According to all other authorities not one of the bishops adhered to the orthodox belief. At any rate, had Gregorius stood firm, he could not have escaped banishment, a punishment which the *Libellus Precum*, c. 10, states expressly that he never suffered. Gams further identifies him with the Gregorius who was one of the deputation headed by Restitutus of Carthage, who were sent by the council to Constantius, and who assented to and subscribed an Arian formula of belief at Nice, in Thrace, Oct. 10, A.D. 359, and held communion with the Arian's leaders, Valens, Ursacius, and others (St. Hilary of Poitiers, *Ex Opere Historico Fragmentum* 8, in Migne, Patr. Lat. x. 702). His grounds for this supposition are the rarity of the name Gregorius in the West till the 4th and 5th centuries, only one bishop of the name, Gregorius of Portus, who subscribed the canons of the council of Arles, A.D. 314, being found in western church history before Gregorius Baeticus, and the fact that Gregorius must have been a young man in A.D. 359, which agrees with the description given by Sulpicius Severus (*Hist. Sac.* ii. 45, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xx. 152) of the deputies as "homines adolescentes."

Gregorius is generally supposed to have been one of the leaders of the schism originated by Lucifer of Cagliari. This theory is supported by the terms of praise applied to him by the Luciferians Faustinus and Marcellus in their *Libellus Precum ad Imperatores* (c. 9, 10, 20, 25, 27, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xiii. 89, 90, 97, 100, 102), and also by the way St. Jerome in his Chronicle under the date of 374 = A.D. 370, (in Migne, Patr. Lat. xxvii. 695) couples him with Lucifer of Cagliari, saying that the latter with Gregorius, a Spanish, and Philo, a Libyan, bishop, "nunquam se Arianae miscuit pravitati." Florez however (*Esp. Sagr.* xii. 121) maintains at great length that no certain proof of this theory exists. In support of his view he argues that the addition to St. Jerome's statement in the Chronicle of Prosper (732, in Migne, Patr. Lat. li. 582) "Sed dum vigorem justitiae erga correctionem eorum qui cesserant non relaxat, ipse a suorum communicatione descivit," shews that though Gregorius and Philo shared Lucifer's resistance to Arianism, they did not follow him in his schism. He then impeaches the credit of Faustinus and Marcellus, by pointing out that they give a wholly fabulous account of the miraculous death of Hosius, and that their statement that Gregorius was the only orthodox bishop whom Constantius left unmolested in his diocese is also untrue, and urges the probability of the Luciferians claiming such a distinguished bishop as a member of their sect, a claim to which his having, like Lucifer himself, been one of the few bishops who had never yielded to Arianism, gave some plausibility. Florez supports his view by the antiquity of the cultus of Gregorius as a saint, for which he cites Usuard, *Martyrology*, Ap. 24 (in Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 967), and argues that he could not have been venerated as such had he been a schismatic. Gams on the other hand (*Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 310–314) maintains that even before the death of Lucifer, Gregorius was the recognized head of the sect. On the authority of the *Libellus Precum*, c. 25, he considers that Gregorius, after Lucifer's return from exile in A.D. 362, visited him in Sardinia. He further identifies with Gregorius the bishop mentioned in c. 63, as having been at Rome under the assumed name of Taorgius, and as having consecrated one Ephesius as bishop of the Luciferians there, an event the date of which he places between A.D. 366 and A.D. 371.

As for the sanctity of Gregorius, Gams points out that he does not appear in any calendar before Usuard, and that at any rate God and the church are alone infallible, an attribute to which Martyrologies can have no claim.

The author of the treatise *De Trinitate*, which was formerly ascribed to Gregorius, was undoubtedly a Luciferian, but it is now universally believed to have been written by the above-mentioned Faustinus. From the *Libellus Precum* already referred to, and the Rescript of Theodosius in reply addressed to Cynegius, Gregorius appears to have been alive in A.D. 384. In none of the above passages is the see of Gregorius mentioned, as he is called only episcopus Hispaniarum or Hispaniensis, but the name of his see is supplied by St. Jerome, *de Vir. Illust.* c. 105 (S. Hieron. *Op.* ii. 937, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xxiii. 703), who says "Gregorius Baeticus, Eliberi Episcopus, usque ad extremam senectutem diversos mediocri sermone tractatus composuit, et de Fide elegantem librum, qui hodieque superesse dicitur." The last clause is generally considered to refer to Gregorius himself, and not to his book, and some MSS. omit the "qui," which would make this interpretation certain. In that case Gregorius would have been alive in A.D. 392, the date of St. Jerome's treatise. Opinions have been much divided as to the book *De Fide*. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Ap. iii. 270) say "etiamnum latet." It was formerly supposed to be the *De Trinitate* already mentioned. Ceillier (*Auteurs sacrés*, iv. 348) and others consider it to be a treatise variously ascribed to St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Ambrose, or Vigilius of Thapsus, which however is attributed to St. Phoebadius, bishop of Agen (*Histoire Littéraire de la France*, i. pt. ii. 273–276), and is printed among his works by Migne (Patr. Lat. xx. 31). Finally Gams, p. 314, thinks that the above-mentioned treatise, *De Trinitate*, though really written by Faustinus, is the work to which St. Jerome alludes. He considers that St Jerome was misled by Gregorius claiming the book as his

own, which, according to his notions, he had some right to do. The ideal of the early church, which Gregorius wished to restore, included the community of property, a system which of course extended to mental property, such as writings. He therefore, as head of the church, might assert a claim to the work composed by one of his followers.

It will be seen by the above account that the materials for a life of Gregorius are scanty, that the *Libellus Precum*, the work which mentions him most frequently, is of very doubtful authority, and that widely different estimates have been formed of him. This article has endeavoured to set out, as fairly as possible, the conclusions on both sides, with a sketch of the arguments by which they are supported. It should be remembered that Gams, from the favourable view he takes of Hosius, whom he does not consider to have fallen into heresy, is unfavourably predisposed to Gregorius, whom he regards as the author of what are, in his opinion, calumnies against Hosius. Had Gregorius really yielded at Nice or Ariminum, it seems improbable that the opponents of the Luciferians should never have used so telling a retort against them, if he was the head of their sect. The two charges of Arianism and Luciferianism appear to be mutually destructive. It may be further observed that it seems unlikely that so eminent a leader of the orthodox party as Eusebius, when he wrote to Gregorius, had no other information of the events that had happened at Sirmium and Ariminum, except that supplied by Gregorius's letter, or that the latter would have ventured to give an account of his behaviour, which was diametrically opposed to the truth, to a person who either knew already or soon would be informed of what had really occurred. Gregorius is commemorated on April 24. [F. D.]

GREGORIUS (13) I., bishop of Nazianzus in Cappadocia, father of Gregorius Nazianzenus [GREGORIUS (14)]; originally a member of the sect of the Hypsistarii [HYPSISTARII], who were numerous in Cappadocia, he was converted to the Catholic faith, married a lady of the name of Nonna, and was soon afterwards chosen and consecrated bishop of Nazianzus, c. A.D. 329. He was a pillar of the orthodox party, though he was weak enough to sign the creed of Ariminum in deference to the emperor Constantius, A.D. 360. He took part in the ordination of Basil to the see of Caesarea [BASIL, Vol. I. 287]; he opposed the attempts of the emperor Valens, A.D. 371, to overthrow the Catholic faith, yet he, as well as Basil, was spared the banishment that was inflicted on many of the bishops (Socr. iv. xi.). After an episcopate of forty-five years, he died A.D. 374. His son frequently mentions his good father, both in his sermons and his verses, and pronounced a funeral oration over him. (Gregorii Nazian. *Oratio* xviii. in Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxv. 330; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 411.) [L. D.]

GREGORIUS (14) NAZIANZENUS, bishop (370–390) of Sasima and of Constantinople. He has been fortunate in his biographers. He left them abundant materials in his works, especially in a large collection of letters, and an autobiographical poem extending to nearly two thousand lines. His life accordingly occupies a large space in all the chief histories of the church, and we have in addition the important monographs of the presbyter Gregory (10th century; vid. Greg. Naz. *Opp.* ed. Billii, t. i. Gr. and Lat.; Surius, *de Prob. Hist. SS.* Mai. p. 121, Lat.); of Baronius, with notes by Pebroch, in the *Acta SS.* 9 Mai. ii. 373; of Clemencet prefixed to the Benedictine edition of the works; of Hermant (Paris, 1679); and in our own day those of Ullmann, and the Abbé Benoît. The aim of this article is to select from this fulness of materials, and in particular from those which have come to us from St. Gregory himself, the facts which are of chief importance, and to present to the reader (*a*) an outline of the events of his life; (*b*) an account of his writings; (*c*) an estimate of his position as (i.) a writer, and (ii.) a theologian.

(*a*) St. Gregory takes his distinctive title from Nazianzus, a small town in the south-west of Cappadocia, which is not known to the early geographers, and owes its chief importance to its connexion with our author. The Romans gave to it, or a place in the immediate neighbourhood, the name of Diocaesareia; but in the 4th century this name seems to have fallen into disuse, while Nazianzus was of importance as a bishopric. Close to Nazianzus, in a district known as the Tiberine (*Ep.* ii. *Opera*, ii. 2; S. Basil, *Ep.* iv.), was a village called Arianzus, where the father of Gregory possessed an estate, and where the son was born.

Both the parents of Gregory are known to us. His father bore the same name [GREGORIUS (13)], and belonged in early life to the sect of the HYPSISTARIANS (*Orat.* xviii. 5; *Opera*, i. 333). The mother's name was Nonna, a child of Christian parents (Philtatius and Gorgonia), and herself praised by her son as a model of Christian virtues. To her life and her prayers he attributes the conversion of his father. A sister and brother are also known to us—Gorgonia, probably older than Gregory, and the subject of one of the most touching of his funeral orations (*Orat.* viii.; *Opera*, i. 217–232); and Caesarius, who rose to eminence at the court of Constantinople, and was in like manner the subject of an eulogy at his death (*Orat.* vii., *Opera*, i. 195–216).

The date of Gregory's birth is uncertain, as it depends chiefly on two vague references in his writings, which have been made to give more than one interpretation. He tells us, when speaking of Basil's quitting Athens—

> καὶ γὰρ πολὺς τέτριπτο τοῖς λόγοις χρόνος.
> Ἤδη τριακοστὸν μοὶ σχεδὸν τοῦτ' ἦν ἔτος.
> *Carm.* xi. *de Vitâ Suâ*, 238, 9. *Opera*, ii. p. 687.

Gregory the priest, followed by Papebroch (*Acta Sanct.* ut sup. p. 380 A) and others, understand these words to refer to a period of thirty years spent in study; but this meaning could only have been extracted from the Greek, or held in opposition to the whole evidence furnished by the life of Gregory and his friend, in order to support the statement, already put forth by Suidas (Γρηγόριος, tom. i. p. 497), that Gregory died at the age of ninety or more in the thirteenth year of Theodosius, *i.e.* about 392, and that his birth is therefore to be placed in the opening years of the 4th century. Taking the words in their almost certain meaning they fix

the departure of Basil from Athens in about the thirtieth year of Gregory's life. Now we know that Basil left Athens [BASILIUS, p. 283] about the year 355; we know also that Julian, who was with Gregory at Athens, was there in 355; and we get 325 as a proximate date of Gregory's birth. He was a beardless youth when he went to Athens (Ἄχνους παρειά, *Poem.* xi. 112, *Opera*, ii. 680), and this would give a time, probable in itself, of some ten or twelve years spent there.

In another passage he speaks of his father as trying to persuade him to become his coadjutor at Nazianzus, and saying,—

> οὔπω τοσοῦτον ἐκμεμέτρηκας βίον
> ὅσος διῆλθε θυσιῶν ἐμοὶ χρόνος.
> *Carm.* xi. *de Vitâ Suâ*, l. 512, 13, *Opera*, ii. 700.

The simple meaning of these words seems to be that the period of the son's whole life was less than that which the father had lived as priest and bishop, but not much less; and the resort to any other meaning seems due only to the difficulty which some writers have felt in admitting that Gregory, and, if Gregory, Caesarius, for he was the younger of the brothers, was born after the father's ordination. Papebroch (*Acta Sanct.* ut sup. p. 370 B) would read ἐτησιῶν (trade-winds) for θυσιῶν, with the sense, "Your life is not as long as mine," or, according to his later suggestion, as if feeling that this correction would not hold, ὃς ἰὼν, meaning, "Your life is not half as long as mine." Of both emendations it can only be said that they are absolutely without MS. authority, and that a theory which rests upon such support is practically groundless. Stilting (*Dissert. de Tempore Natali S. Greg. Naz.* p. vi. in *Acta SS.* Boll. Sep. iii.), seeing that θυσιῶν, the reading of all the MSS., could not be displaced, found an escape in the insertion of a stop at the close of the first line —"You have not yet measured to the full such a life. The time of sacrifice is wholly passed for me;" or, as others would render it, "Have you not yet measured such a life? What a long time it is that I have been offering sacrifices!" But to all such renderings there is the fatal objection that a polished Grecian such as Gregory would not have used τοσοῦτον and ὅσος in immediate proximity except as correlatives. Clemencet suggests that "victimas eas intellexeris quas quilibet Christianus ex corde puro offert," and is content to say, with Prudentius Maran (*Vit. Basil.* p. 38, col. 2), "Satius est cum Tillemontio fateri legem ecclesiasticam de continentia episcoporum nondum in omnibus omnino ecclesiis viguissé quam apertissimum locum ejusmodi conjecturis attentare," though he significantly adds, "Recte, si prius demonstrari posset legem illam in Cappadocia non viguisse, quod quidem probare non facile fuerit" (*Vit. S. Greg.*, *Opera*, i. pp. lxxxi. lxxxii.; cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. ix. p. 695). But we do not seem necessarily driven either to an alteration of the text or to the conviction that Gregory was born during the episcopate of his father. The words would be literally fulfilled if he was born at any time after the father's ordination to the priesthood, and there seems good reason to believe that a considerable period intervened between the ordination and the consecration. Gregory himself tells us (*Orat.* xviii. 15; *Opera*, tom. i. p. 340) that some short time passed between the baptism and ordination (οὐ κατὰ τὴν νῦν εὐκολίαν καὶ ἀταξίαν, ἀλλὰ μικρόν τι διαλιπὼν), and a few lines later that he succeeded as bishop to a neglected church long deprived of episcopal care (οὐ πόῤῥωθεν μὲν ἐπισκοπῆ ποιμανθεῖσαν, *Orat.* xviii. 16; *Opera*, ii. 340). He succeeded the bishop who had baptized him, and it seems to follow from a comparison of these passages that the ordination preceded the consecration by an interval of two or three years (cf. Ceillier, *Aut. sacr.* tom. v. p. 179, and Benoît, *Saint Grégoire*, p. 769). And, however difficult it may be found to establish the fact, questioned by Clemencet, that bishops were permitted to live with wives to whom they had been married before consecration, there can be no doubt that priests in parallel cases continued to live in matrimony, as they are permitted to do by the Roman church in some oriental countries to this day (cf. Darras, *Hist. de l'Église*, ix. 251; Benoît, *ut supra.*) The reason for the date assigned by Suidas and his followers being thus removed, we are left to the conclusion, which follows reasonably from Gregory's own words, that he was born in one of the years of the quinquennium, 325–9. The question is discussed with considerable fulness by most of the biographers. It is not important enough to demand more space and more minute settlement here.

Nonna regarded the man-child given to her as an answer to prayer, and in fulfilment of a vow dedicated him to the Lord, but not in baptism, as we shall see. From the first dawn of reason she taught him to read the Scriptures, and led him to regard himself as an Isaac offered in sacrifice to God, who had given him to another Abraham and Sarah. He, as another Isaac, dedicated himself. He rejoices to tell of the examples set before him at home and of the bent given to his studies by companionship with good men. In the lad we find the germ of the man—

> πρόσω δ' ἔβαινον, συντρέχοντος καὶ λόγου
> βίβλων τ' ἔχαιρον ταῖς Θεοῦ συνήγοροις.
> *Carm. de Vitâ Suâ*, 98, 99, *Opera*, ii. 680.

He is impressed while yet a boy with the importance of the outer form of thought as well as of its inner content, and is determined that style shall not be desecrated by being simply the handmaid of error. He and his brother Caesarius were sent to school at Caesarea, the capital of the province, and famous for its illustrious teachers (οὐχ ἧττον λόγων Μητρόπολιν, ἢ τῶν πόλεων ὧν ὑπέρκειται, *Or.* xliii. 13, *Opera*, i. 780). Some of the earlier authorities have supposed the Palestinian Caesarea to be intended, but Nicetas understands it of the Cappadocian, and the question may be regarded as settled by the Benedictine editors of Basil [BASILIUS, p. 283, col. 1]. The tutor to whose care the brothers were committed was Carterius, the same, it may be, who was afterwards at the head of the monasteries of Antioch and the instructor of Chrysostom (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, ix. 370). To his dearly loved tutor Gregory has devoted four epitaphs (*Ep.* cxv.–cxviii. *Opera*, ii. 1155). It was Carterius who had guided the reins in youth, who had linked him to the spiritual life, who had formed him by the excellence of his own life, and he prays Carterius to remember him still. Happy does he esteem the land of

the Xoles because they have such a protector in heaven.

At Caesarea probably was commenced the friendship with Basil [BASILIUS, p. 283, col. 2], which, tried by many a shock, survived them all; and was the chief influence which moulded the life of both friends, and certainly chief among the influences which has moulded the theology of the Christian church. Basil went from Caesarea to Constantinople; Gregory and his brother went to Caesarea in Palestine to pursue the study of oratory (*Orat.* vii. 6, *Opera*, ii. 201). Another reason may well have guided their choice. While they were lads at home the church of the Holy Sepulchre had been consecrated in Jerusalem, and the Asiatic bishops, their own father perhaps among them, had been present in large numbers (Benoît, *Grég. de Naz.* p. 33). Pilgrimages were already frequent, and a fresh impulse to them had been given by the supposed discovery of the true cross. Maximus was now bishop of Jerusalem, and Cyril, who was to succeed him, must have been already a man of mark. At Caesarea the brothers separated; Caesarius departing to Alexandria, and Gregory remaining to study rhetoric in the school made famous by Origen and Pamphilus and Eusebius. At this time Thespesius was the master of greatest renown, and Euzoius was a fellow pupil with Gregory (*Hieron. de Eccles. Script.* cap. 113). The latter has celebrated the fame of his teacher in an epitaph which makes Attica ask "Who now possesses the glory of my art?" (*Ep.* iv. *Opera*, ii. 1109). From Palestine Gregory went to Alexandria, which he speaks of as *παντοίας παιδεύσεως, καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν οὖσαν τε καὶ δοκοῦσαν ἐργαστήριον* (*Orat.* vii. 6, *Opera*, i. 200). Here Didymus now filled the chair of Pantaenus and Clement and Origen, and counted among his pupils the first young thinkers of the Roman empire; and here Athanasius filled the episcopal throne. Gregory does not tell us that he met either the great teacher or the great bishop, and it is probable indeed that the latter was an exile at the time. He did not remain long in Alexandria, for already he was within reach of Athens, the centre of the young student's hopes. His eagerness was not checked by the storm of season—it was about November, the worst month of the year—and a ship of Aegina, among the crew of which there happened to be some of his friends, offered him the wished-for passage (*Orat.* xviii. 31, *Opera*, i. 351). When off Cyprus a fierce storm struck the ship. The thunder, lightning, darkness (*τὰ παντ' ἦν νὺξ μία*), creaking of the yards, shaking of the masts, cries of the crew, appeals for help to Christ, even by those who before had not known Him (*ὁ γὰρ φόβος δίδαγμα καιριώτερον*), all added to the terror of the scene. Worst of all the ship was left without fresh water. To die of thirst or hunger seemed the fate before them when the fury of the storm should abate; but a Phoenician vessel came to their rescue and supplied their need. Still the danger was not passed; the storm continued for twenty-two days, during which they saw no chance of deliverance. Gregory's chief fear was not death, but death without having been baptized. In prayer he dedicated himself again to God (*γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δῶρον*), and sought for help. The prayer was answered, and the whole crew so affected that they received spiritual as well as temporal salvation. Passing by Rhodes they came to Aegina, and thence he went to Athens —*Ἔπειτ' Ἀθῆναι καὶ λόγοι* (*Carm.* xi. *de Vitâ suâ*, 130–212, *Opera*, ii. 682, 5; *Carm. de Rebus suis*, 310–340, *Opera*, ii. 647 et seqq.). Gregory has given another account of this storm in the funeral oration for his father (*Orat.* xviii. 31, *Opera*, i. 351, 352), when he refers to the danger as having given him to God—*καθυποσχόμενοι εἰ σωθείημεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ δεδωκότες ὡς ἀπεσώθημεν.* The natural meaning of these words, read by the side of those expressing his fear of dying unbaptized, seems to be that he and those with him then received the rite of baptism. So they have been understood by Baronius (*Vit.* § 17 in *Acta SS.* ut sup. 378 C), who is followed doubtfully by Clemencet (*Opera*, i. lxxxviii.), and certainly by Benoît (*S. Grégoire*, p. 48). The priest Gregory states that the baptism did not take place until his return to Nazianzus (*Opera*, i. 133), and this is the view taken by Tillemont (*Mémoires*, ix. 334) and Hermant (*Grégoire*, i. 76). We have no data for determining more certainly whether the outward rite took place at this time or not; but that Gregory regarded it as the crisis of his being, and anew dedicated the spared life to the God who had spared it, is beyond doubt.

Among the Athenian sophists of the day, none were more famous than Himerius and Proaeresius, at whose feet Gregory continued the study of oratory. To the latter, who was a Christian, Gregory devoted an epitaph (*Epit.* v. *Opera*, ii. 1109), which bids youth flee from Athens, since great men were there no more; and Rome honoured him with a statue bearing the words "Regina Roma Regi eloquentiae" (*Eunapius de Vit. Philosoph. et sophist.*); while Julian, also his pupil, would have exempted him alone from the proscription of Christian teachers, but that he refused to be exempted.

At Athens two arms of a river which had been divided again flowed together. Gregory and Basil met (*Orat.* xliii. 15; *Opera*, i. 781). The one had gone from Caesarea to Palestine and Alexandria; the other to Constantinople; and now they were together again. What that meeting was to Gregory he himself has told us. Athens, with the party factions among the students of different nationalities, and the touting for fresh pupils on the part of every teacher's class, had proved little in accord with his gentler spirit. He had gone there to seek eloquence, and now found Basil; like Saul, who sought his father's asses and found a kingdom (*Orat.* xliii. 14; *Opera*, i. 780). He was able to render Basil various little friendly offices, which saved the freshman no small inconvenience. It was through his means that Basil was exempted from the rough practical joking which all who joined the Athenian classes had to pass through. [BASILIUS, p. 283, col. 2.] The Armenians, jealous of the new-comer, whose fame had preceded him, and with some of the old feeling of antagonism against Cappadocia, tried to entrap him in sophistical debates. When they were being defeated Gregory, feeling that the honour of Athens was at stake, came to the rescue, but soon saw the real object they had in view, and left them to join his friend (*Orat.* xliii. 16, 17; *ibid.* 782, 783). These

things are trifles, but they had important effects. The two friends, rendered obnoxious to their companions, were bound the more closely to each other. Their fellow-students, for various reasons, bore various names and surnames. They were, and desired to be called, Christians; they had all things in common, and became as one mind possessing two bodies (*Orat.* xliii. 20, 21; *ibid.* 785, 786; *Carm.* xi. 221–235; *Opera*, ii. 687). Among other students who were at the university with Gregory, was Julian the Apostate. Gregory claims that he had even then discerned the character of the man, that he had read it in his very looks; and that their fellow-students would remember how he used to warn them that Rome was cherishing a serpent (*οἷον κακὸν ἡ Ῥωμαίων τρέφει*, *Orat.* v. 24, *Opera*, i. 162).

Gregory must have spent a long time at Athens, not less probably than ten years. He went there, as we have seen, a beardless youth; he left about his thirtieth year. No decade of life is so important in the formation of character. The receptive faculties are still fresh; the active powers are strong with their first energy. To the effect upon Gregory of those years at Athens the matter and the form of his work alike bear witness. But they drew to a close. Basil had already left, and Gregory would have gone at the same time, but the earnest entreaties of strangers as well as friends, superiors as well as equals, prevailed upon him; for only the strength of an oak could have resisted their pleadings and tears (*Carm.* xi. 245–262, *Opera*, ii. 687–688). They apparently wished to retain him at Athens as a teacher of rhetoric (*Ὡς δὴ λόγων δώσοντές ἐκ ψήφου κράτος*, *ibid.* 256), or, as Clemencet interprets the words (note *in loco*), were willing to give him the first place among the teachers. It does not seem necessary to understand more than that the students gave him the first rank among themselves.

Leaving Athens then, probably about the beginning of the year 356, Gregory went first to Constantinople, wishing to see the new Rome before his return to Asia. The fact is important, as bearing upon his later decision to enter upon his great work there. Here he unexpectedly met his brother Caesarius, who was journeying to Nazianzus from Alexandria, and determined to continue his journey in spite of the attempt to detain at court the young physician whose fame had preceded him (*Orat.* vii. 5–9, *Opera*, i. 200–203). The mother had longed to see both her sons return together, and Gregory has left a touching account of their meeting.

The time had now come for entering upon the duties of life. Nazianzus must have expected much from the foremost of Athenian students, and in the ordinary course a career of distinction and preferment would have been open to Gregory as an advocate, or a teacher of rhetoric. He did not refuse to give his friends some specimens of his oratorical power. He danced a little and then quitted the stage (*Carm.* xi.; *De Vitâ suâ*, 265–275; *Opera*, ii. 689). It is at this point that some of the biographers, as we have seen above, fix his baptism. Gregory himself tells us that he now laid down the plan of his life. Every power he possessed—even that of eloquence itself—was to be devoted to God; but the way thus chosen seemed divided into two, and he knew not which to take. Friends could not help him, for they, too, were divided. Elias, the sons of Jonadab, the Baptist, were types of the life that attracted him; but, on the other hand was the study of the Scriptures, for which the desert offered no opportunities; and the advanced age of his parents presented claims which seemed to be imperative duties (*ibid.* 300–337). He resolved to seek the good and avoid the evil of both the practical and the contemplative life. The true monastic life is one of habits, not one of physical conditions (*τρόπων γὰρ εἶναι τὴν μονήν, οὐ σωμάτων*, *ibid.* 329). He resolved to live the strict life of an ascetic, and yet receive the blessings of society and perform its duties (*Carm.* i. *de Rebus suis*, l. 65 sq.; *Opera*, ii. 635). Not even the pleasure of music did he allow himself (*οὐ μούσης ἀταλοῖς ἐνὶ κρούμασι θυμὸν ἰάνθην*, *ibid.* l. 69). He found, however, that the details of domestic duties were little in accord with the cast of his mind. "Many cares fretted him by night and by day. To govern servants was a very network of evil (*οἷον ὀλέθρου δίκτυον!*). Not gentle to bad masters, and not obedient to good ones, they excited the anger of both much more than they supposed. Then to look after property, hear the harsh demand of the tax-collectors, go to law-courts, where the richer man gains the day even if he is wrong,—a man can no more do all this without being the worse for it, than he can go too close to a house on fire without being singed by the flame or blackened by the smoke" (*ibid.* 140–164).

In the midst of these trifling irritations, which went far to mar the life he had marked out for himself, Gregory heard from his old friend Basil, who had followed the example of his own sister and mother, and after visiting Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia to compare the rival systems, had resolved to found a coenobitic system in Pontus [BASILIUS, p. 284, col. 2]. While students at Athens the friends had formed some such plan of common life as this, and Basil now asked Gregory to join him. He answered that he had not kept the promise to live together and lead an ascetic life (*συνέσεσθαί σοι καὶ συμφιλοσοφήσειν*), because the higher claim of filial duties overrode it, but proposed to Basil that he should join them at the Tiberine, where the ascetic life in common could be followed, and the duties of home performed (*Ep.* 1, *Opera*, ii. 1). Basil did visit Arianzus, but remained only a short time. From Caesareia he again wrote to Gregory. The letter is lost, but we have the reply, fencing a playful raillery on Arianzus in the same style (*Ep.* ii., *Opera*, ii. 3). More letters of a like nature were exchanged (*Ep.* iv.–v., *Opera*, ii. 3–5), and after one from Basil describing the beauties of the place, and another describing the nature of the life and work, Gregory set out for Pontus. He was no drone in the busy hive. First in intellectual study and spiritual service, he was no less so in self-denial and in manual labour (*Ep.* vi., *Opera*, ii. 6). One substantial result of their joint labours is preserved to us in the *Philocalia*, a series of extracts from the exegetical works of Origen. Gregory himself speaks of this work, which he sent as a present to his friend Theodosius of Tyana (*Ep.* cxv., *Opera*, ii. 103). We know from Gregory's own words also that he took part in composing the

famous "Rules" of Basil [BASILIUS, p. 285, col. 1]. It is not clear how long he remained in Pontus. Clemencet thinks it was two or three years, and the supposition agrees with the general course of events, and with Gregory's regret that he had but tasted enough of the life there to excite his longing for more (*Orat.* ii. 6, *Opera*, i. 14). The silence of Gregory with regard to his return may be due to another cause. Constantius had required the bishops throughout the empire to accept the creed of Rimini (A.D. 359–60), and the bishop of Nazianzus, though hitherto faithful to the Nicene doctrine, did so. The monks of his diocese were devoted to Athanasius, and there followed a division in the church, which Gregory alone could heal. To his father he was acceptable as a known theologian, and the father's sin had indeed been one of ignorance rather than one of wilful heresy. To the monks he was acceptable as almost one of themselves. He induced the bishop to make a public confession of orthodoxy, and delivered a sermon on the occasion (*Orat.* vi., *Opera*, i. 179 seq.). If this division at Nazianzus occurred in A.D. 360, we have the reason of Gregory's return. (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, ix. 345; Schroekh, *Kirch. Gesch.* xiii. 287; Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz.* s. 41.) If with Clemencet and others (*Opera*, i. pp. xciv. seq.) it is assigned to the year 363–4, under Julian or Jovian, rather than under Constantius, we must suppose that the return was due to the claim of filial duties which was again felt binding. In any case he came to Nazianzus, and received letters from Basil asking him to return to Pontus. Again there was an interchange of playful letters, followed by more serious ones. Gregory in reality depended on communion with Basil more than upon the air he breathed (*Ep.* vi. *ad fin. Opera*, ii. p. 6). His desire to return was soon to be fulfilled. The aged bishop felt the need of support and help, and no one could so fitly give it as his own son. He resolved therefore to overrule the scruples which made Gregory shrink from the responsibilities of the priesthood. We know that the ordination occurred on one of the high festivals, and it was probably at Christmas, A.D. 361 (Nicetas, ii. 1021; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, ix. 352). Nicetas assumes that the congregation was aware of the bishop's intention, and that they compelled Gregory to accept ordination. Such forced ordinations were not unknown (Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* iv. 2–5, and ix. 7, 1). Basil was in the same way made priest. But Gregory speaks of it in the calm of later years as tyranny, for he can give to it no other name—

> οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἤλγησα τῇ τυραννίδι
> οὕτω γὰρ ἄλλως τοῦτο καλεῖν ἰσχύω
> καί μοι τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα συγγινωσκέτω
> οὕτως ἔχοντι.
> (*Carm.* xi. *de Vitâ suâ*, 345–348; *Opera*, ii.

The father had known fully the wishes of the son, and the latter felt he could not bear the tyranny; but, as an ox goaded by some savage sting, fled from home and relatives, and went once more to Pontus to receive consolation from his friend (*ibid.* 350–356). But here once more the voice of duty is heard. It is no longer only the voice of a father speaking to his son, it is also that of a bishop speaking to a priest. Ordained at Christmas, he preached in the church at Nazianzus on Easter-day of the following year. The sermon was but a short address, in which he presses the duty of mutual forgiveness as becoming the holy season. "The act was one of tyranny—he cannot forget that; but it was tyranny honourably exercised and honourably borne. There was a time for holding back as Moses and Jeremiah did; there was a time for coming forward as Aaron and Isaiah did. The bishop built the magnificent temple in which they worshipped, and, like Abraham, offered his son to God. Let them all devote themselves to God that day" (*Orat.* i., *Opera*, i. 3–6). Gregory had expected that a crowded church would have welcomed his return and have applauded his first sermon; but though it was the festival of Easter, the church was almost deserted. At the time he bore this without complaint; but during the same festival he did not hesitate to express his disappointment and surprise. "Their conduct was like that of the guests invited to the marriage-supper (Matt. xxii. 2; Luke xiv. 16), and indeed worse, for they were neither strangers nor invited guests, but they had invited him to that church and feast, and were not present to welcome their guest" (*Orat.* iii., *Opera*, i. 68–72). Gregory could not be ignorant of the cause of this estrangement. His flight from the work of the priesthood demanded an explanation before the church of Nazianzus, and before the wide circle of his friends. In proportion to the hopes of earlier years must have been their disappointment now. The question was of too great importance to be considered settled by the short sermon which he had preached at Easter; on all sides a full answer was expected, and Gregory determined to give an answer worthy of the question and of himself. It is contained in the second oration (*Opera*, i. ii. 65). In no part of his writings do we find proof of greater study. From its length and form we may feel sure that the biographers are right in thinking that in its present shape it was never intended for, and never delivered from, the pulpit. It is practically a treatise on the pastoral office, and forms the foundation of Chrysostom's *de Sacerdotio* and of the *Cura Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great, while writers in all ages have directly or indirectly drawn largely from it. Benoît notes that Bossuet is much indebted to it for his celebrated panegyric on St. Paul (*Grég. de Naz.* p. 138). It is formally divided into two parts, the earlier of which treats of the reasons for his flight, and the latter gives those which led him to return. "He fled because (1) he was wholly unprepared for the ordination, and it came like a sudden thunder-clap, which deprives men of their reason, upon a man who had always been of a retiring nature (*Orat.* ii. 6); (2) he had always been attracted by the monastic life, and in time of greatest danger had devoted himself to it (*ib.*); (3) he was ashamed of the life and character of the mass of the clergy. There were some men who had called themselves to the holy office—Is Saul also among the prophets? (*ib.* 8); (4) he did not at that time, he did not now—and this reason weighed with him most of all—think himself fit to rule the flock of Christ and govern the minds of men" (*ib.* 9). From this fourth and chief reason he is led on to consider the duties and difficulties of the true pastor, and discusses them in forty

sections of the discourse (10–49, pp. 17–58). "It is difficult to obey, much more difficult to rule, especially in the kingdom of God. The pastor's blemish is quickly, his virtue but slowly, communicated to his flock. It is too little that a shepherd should be free from positive sin; he ought to excel in virtue. It is a fault in the man who leads, if he is not a leader. To drive the flock is tyrannical, and that which is exacted by force is never lasting. Man is the most various and complex of beings; to govern him is the art of arts, and science of sciences. The medicine of souls is more subtle than that of bodies. The soul is joined to the body, (1) that, by wrestling with lower elements, it may gain the inheritance of glory, as gold is purified by fire; (2) that it may ennoble the body, and assimilate it to its own nature; that what God is to the soul, this the soul may become to the body. A physician takes note of localities, climates, age of his patient, and such like things. The spiritual physician must note all individual characteristics, that the body may become subject to the soul. The chief difficulties are that men are opposed to the healing of the soul, and seek to hide and excuse their sins, and turn a deaf ear to and hate their physician. Further, in spiritual diseases the diagnosis is more difficult, as none of the symptoms are patent. In spiritual and temporal alike, unpleasant medicines are often profitable. The end aimed at is to give wings to the soul, and wean it from the world. The law tended to this, but Christ is the end of the law. For this reason God was joined to man by an intervening soul, and Christ took upon Him the whole nature, that He might heal the whole nature. The whole Incarnation is the medicine of the soul, and priests are the ministers of this medicine. Physicians never spare themselves, and they seek to prolong even useless lives. Pastors have a difficult task on account of the carelessness of those who need healing, and their varied states, habits, and positions; for men differ more in character than they do in form. Minds, then, like bodies, require individual treatment; some precept, some example; some the rein, some the spur; some to be encouraged by praise, some checked by blame; some we must watch carefully even in trifles, some we must seem never to observe lest we drive them to despair. The same persons, again, require various medicines at various times; and these can only be known as the moment for their use occurs. The mind cannot frame them, nor discourse tell them. To the medical mind they will be plain. Great danger occurs from want of moral worth or skill in the pastor. His first duty is to preach the Word, and this is so difficult that to fulfil it ideally would require universal knowledge. Then, theological knowledge is absolutely necessary, especially of the doctrine of the Trinity, lest he fall into the Atheism of Sabellius, or the Judaism of Arius, or the Polytheism too common among the orthodox. It is necessary to hold to the truth that there is one God, and to confess that there are three persons, and attributes proper to each; but for this there is need of the Spirit's help. Much more is it difficult to expound it to a popular audience, both from the preacher's imperfection and the people's want of preparation. Zeal which is not according to knowledge leads men away from the truth. Then, there is the desire of vainglory, with inexperience, and her constant attendant, rashness, inconstancy, based on ignorance of the Scripture; and a subjective eclecticism which ends in an uncertain creed, and leads men to doubt of truth, as if a blind or deaf man were to place the evil not in himself but in the light of the sun or the voice of his friend. It is more easy to instruct minds wholly ignorant than those which have received teaching which is false; but the work of weeding, as well as that of sowing, must be done. The work of a spiritual ruler is like that of a man trying to manage a herd of beasts, old and young, wild and tame. He must, therefore, be single in will to rule the whole body, manifold to govern each member of it. Then some must be fed with milk; some with more solid food. For all this who is sufficient? There are spiritual hucksters who adulterate the word of truth; but it is better to be led than to lead others, and to learn than attempt to teach what one does not know. Men are foolish if they do not know their own ignorance; rash, if they know it, and yet lightly undertake this work. The Jews did not allow young men to read all parts of the Scriptures; but in the church there is no such bound placed between teaching and learning. A mere boy, who does not know the very names of the sacred writings, if he can babble a few pious words, and these caught by hearing, not by reading, becomes a teacher. Men spend more time and pains in learning to dance or play the flute, than teachers of things divine and human spend in studying them. The love of vainglory is at the root of this evil. The true ideal is to be found in the lives of disciples like Peter or Paul, who became all things to all men that they might gain some. The false teachers incur great danger, and the pastor's sin causes the public woe. The prophets dwelt on the fearful position of the shepherds who feed themselves; the apostles and Christ Himself taught what the true shepherds should be; and His condemnation of Scribes and Pharisees includes all false teachers. Day and night did these thoughts possess Gregory. He was aware of the objections of priests that the candle should be placed on the candlestick, and the talent not hidden; but no time of preparation for the priesthood can be too long, and haste is full of danger. He dreaded both its duties and its dignity. The priest is to the soul as the friend at the marriage, but he himself was rather in danger of being cast out as not having on a wedding garment. He was not fitted to rule the flock in the evil days in which his lot was cast, for the confusion in the church could only be compared to the din of a battle by night or an engagement at sea; and as it was with the people so it was with the priests. He feared no external warfare, not even the wild beast then devouring the church—that devil's complement (*τοῦ πονηροῦ τὸ πλήρωμα*, § 87, *Opera*, i. 53 D)—Julian. The internal warfare he did fear, and fled before it. God's grace alone could give strength to overcome in it; and a man could not mediate between God and men—and this was the priest's work—whose own soul was not cleansed. He had learnt from the examples of Moses and of Nadab and Abihu how fearful a thing it was to draw near to God. Christ was the divine sacrifice and high-priest. The human priest ought, therefore, to be wholly consecrated

as a temple of the living God. He who has not learned to speak the hidden wisdom of God, and to bear the cross of Christ, should not enter upon the priesthood. For himself he would prefer a private life. A great man ought to undertake great things; a small man small things. Only that man can build the tower who has wherewith to build it." Such are the reasons which Gregory gives for his flight. He adds those which led to his return. "(1) The longing which he had for them and which he saw that they had for him; (2) the white hairs and feeble limbs of his holy parents—the father who was to him as an angel, and the mother to whom he owed also his spiritual birth. There is a time for yielding as for everything else; (3) the example of the prophet Jonah—and this weighed most with him, for every letter of Scripture is inspired for our use—who deserved pardon, but he himself would not if he still refused. The denunciations of disobedience in Holy Scripture are no less severe than those against the unworthy pastor. On either side is danger. The middle is the only safe course—not to seek the priesthood, nor yet to refuse it. There is a merit in obedience; but for disobedience there is hardly any remedy. Some holy men are more, others less, forward to undertake rule. Neither are to be blamed." The discourse ends with Gregory's own submission, with a prayer for his father's blessing, and an invocation of blessing upon the bishop and his church.

Such is in outline the famous "Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ Ἀπολογητικός." A full summary of it shews at once what was the discourse, and what the man who penned it. Did it alone remain to us, Gregory must still have been thought of as one of the four pillars of the Greek church, and we should still read the chief traits of his personal character. This sermon was written in A.D. 362. Julian the Apostate had entered Constantinople on Dec. 11, A.D. 361. His history is told elsewhere. [JULIANUS.] It concerns us here only as it crosses the life of Gregory. The first reference to it is in a letter to his brother Caesarius, who had been persuaded by Julian to remain at court, written early in A.D. 362. Gregory was at the time with Basil, who had indignantly rejected like advances, and he blushes that the son of a bishop should accept them. It made their father weary of life, and the fact had to be hidden from their mother (*Ep.* vii., *Opera*, ii. 7). What the effect of this letter was upon Caesarius we may judge from his declaration before Julian: "In a word, I am a Christian, and I mean to be one," and from the exclamation of the emperor: "O happy father of such unhappy children!" (*Orat.* vii. 13, *Opera*, i. 206; cf. De Broglie, *Constance*, ii. 207). Gregory esteemed the victory of Caesarius as a more precious gift than the half of the empire (*Orat.* vii. 14, *ad init.*). Yet that letter was meant for no eye but the brother's. The agony of that Christian family at Nazianzus tells what influences moulded Gregory's character; his expression of it tells what was the character which was moulded. But Julian had bitter revenge in store. He, the old fellow-student of Basil and Gregory, and pupil of Proaeresius, ordered that no Christian should teach profane literature. For Gregory this had the effect that he composed many of the poems which we now possess, and which were meant probably as reading-books for Christian schools. It helped to cause another effect. Towards the end of the year 363 or the beginning of 364, he wrote the two Invectives against Julian (*κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ βασιλέως Στηλιτευτικὸς πρῶτος*, *Orat.* iv., *Opera*, i. 78–147 . . . *δεύτερος*, *Orat.* v.; *ibid.* 147–175). The emperor had fallen, pierced by an arrow, in the previous June. The orator intended by these philippics to hold him up to heaven and earth as the sum of all that was vile. In the first sentence he is called "the dragon, the apostate, the Assyrian, the common enemy, the great mind" (Is. x. 12, LXX); and this sentence is the keynote of the whole. Words which may well seem to us more than sufficient to picture in darkest colours any character, seem to the orator wholly inadequate to represent that of Julian. He longs for "the eloquence of Herodotus or Thucydides that he may hand down his iniquity to all future time" (*Orat.* iv. 92, *Opera*, i. 126 A). The discourses, which are regarded as two by the editors, form clearly but two parts of one whole. In the earlier the object is to sketch the life and character of Julian; in the later his death is set forth as an example of God's judgment upon sinners. By writers who regard Gregory as a saint, every sentence of these orations is justified, though they have considerable difficulty in extracting from some of them the odour of sanctity. Looked at dispassionately, they remind one rather of Demosthenes or Cicero than of a Christian bishop; and as we listen to the impetuous torrent of words which only stop in their course to call down fire from heaven, other words are suggested which still seem to say, "Ye know not what spirit ye are of." As orations they are worthy to stand by the side of any of either ancient or modern times, but even when we remember that they were never intended for the pulpit, we feel that they have little right to stand by the side of the orations of Gregory the Divine. The worshippers of the saint find the invective against Julian much more easy to explain than the panegyric of the Arian Constantius, which these discourses contain. He is "the most divine and Christ-loving of emperors, and his great soul is summoned from heaven. The sin of his life was the inhuman humanity (*τὸ τάχος τῆς ἀπανθρώπου φιλανθρωπίας*) which spared Julian" (*Orat.* iv. 34 seq., *Opera*, i. 93 seq.). Gregory, indeed, speaks elsewhere of three things of which Constantius repented when dying: (1) the murder of his relations; (2) that he had named Julian Caesar; (3) that he had given himself to the dogma of the newer creed (*Orat.* xxi. 26; *Opera*, i. 403 a). And yet he is conscious that the emperor gave his support to impiety, and framed laws against the orthodox doctrine (*Orat.* xxv. 9, *Opera*, i. 461 a); nor could he have been unconscious that it was at the hands of Euzoius that baptism was administered to the penitent. When the force of every explanation is admitted, the fact remains that the character of Constantius is an oratorical pendant to that of Julian; and that the one is simply a whitened background, on which the blackened blackness of the other may be seen.

While Gregory was thus employed at Nazianzus, Basil returned from Pontus to Caesareia, where Eusebius had been made bishop, and was

ordained against his will. He informed his friend of this, and Gregory replied in a letter which is important as marking his thoughts about the position in which both he and Basil had been placed. "Now the thing is done it is necessary to fulfil one's duty—such at least is the way in which I look at it—especially in the present distress, when many tongues of heretics are raised against us, and not to disappoint the hopes of those who have put their faith in us and in our past life" (*Ep.* viii., *Opera*, ii. 8). A difference arose ere long between Eusebius and Basil. The grounds of it are not known to us, and Gregory thought it better that they should not be (*Orat.* xliii. 28, *Opera*, i. 792); and the difference itself claims notice at this place only because it introduces Gregory in the character of peacemaker. The warm friend of Basil, he was no less an admirer of the bishop, and an advocate for the rights of authority. Invited by the bishop to fill the place made vacant by the retirement of Basil to Pontus, he does not hesitate to assert that the treatment of Basil was unjust, and to demand reconciliation with his friend as the price of his own influence (*Epp.* xvi.–xx., *Opera*, ii. 16). An indignant reply from Eusebius served only to call forth stronger letters from the same standpoint (*Epp.* xvii. and xviii., *Opera*, ii. 17, 18), and these are followed by an equally plain letter to Basil, telling him that Eusebius was disposed to be reconciled to him, and urging him to be first in the victory of submission (*Ep.* xix. *ibid.*). The result was that Basil returned to Caesarea, and gave his powerful aid to the bishop in the dangers which were threatening the church, or rather became bishop in reality, while Eusebius was still so in name,—"the keeper of the lion, the leader of the leader" (*Orat.* xliii. 33, *Opera*, i. 796). When peace was thus established Gregory returned again to Nazianzus. Here new troubles awaited him. Caesarius had been chosen by Valens to be treasurer of Bithynia, and once more his brother was distressed at seeing him among the servants of an adversary of the true faith. On Oct. 11, 368, the city of Nicaea was almost destroyed by an earthquake, and Gregory made this the ground of an earnest appeal to Caesarius to abandon his office (*Ep.* xx., *Opera*, ii. p. 19). He was on the point of yielding when he was cut off by sudden death. The funeral oration which was delivered by Gregory is placed by Jerome first in the list of the orator's celebrated works (*Catal. Scrip. Eccles.* 117). It narrates, in the language of fraternal love, the deeds of a noble life, and seeks in that of Christian submission to console his parents and his friends (*Orat.* vii., *Opera*, 198, et seq.). Sixteen epitaphs also remain to shew how often a brother's love mourned its loss (*Epit.* vi.–xxi., *Opera*, ii. 1111–1115). The death of Caesarius brought other troubles to Gregory, arising from the administration of his estate which had been left to the poor. Against extortioners who tried to seize it he appealed to his friend Sophronius, prefect of Constantinople (*Ep.* xxix., *Opera*, ii. 24); and his troubles gave occasion also to the kind offices of Basil. He himself tells us plaintively how he would gladly have fled these business worries, but that he felt it his duty to share the burden of them with his father (*Carm.* xi. 375–380, *Opera*, ii. 695). About the same time another shadow of darkness was cast upon the house at Nazianzus by the death of Gorgonia, and once again the orator delivered a funeral discourse of most touching gracefulness (*Orat.* viii., *Opera*, i. 218 et seq.).

These sorrows weighed heavily on the spirit of Gregory, and side by side with the public discourses in which he sought to console others, we have the private poems which shew how hard he found it to console himself. "Already his whitening hairs shew his grief, and his stiffening limbs are inclining to the evening of a sad day" (*Carm. de Rebus suis*, i. 177–306, *Opera*, ii. 641 et seqq.). In A.D. 370 Eusebius died in the arms of Basil, who at once invited Gregory to Caesarea on the plea that he was himself *in extremis*. The latter regarded the plea as a pretext, and in the tone of mingled affection and reproach declined to go until after the election of the archbishop (*Ep.* xl. *Opera*, ii. 34). The invitation to the bishop of Nazianzus to be present at the election was answered, as all the editors with almost certainty judge, by the hands of the son. He dwells upon the importance of the position and the special qualifications for it possessed by Basil, and promises his assistance if they propose to elect him (*Ep.* xli., *Opera*, ii. 35). He wrote also to Eusebius of Samosata by the hands of the deacon Eustathius, urging him to go to Caesarea and promote Basil's election (*Ep.* xlii., *Opera*, ii. 37). Eusebius yielded to this request, but the vote of the aged bishop of Nazianzus was also needed. An illness from which he was suffering disappeared as soon as he started. The son thought it prudent to remain at home, but sent by his father's hands a letter to Eusebius, expressing his esteem and excusing his absence, and referring to the miracle of his father's restored health (*Ep.* xliv., *Opera*, ii. 39). He did not go even after the election, but contented himself at first with writing letters which witness alike to his wisdom and his affection (*Epp.* xlv. and xlvi., *Opera*, ii. 40, 41). When the storm had subsided he went in person, but declined the position of first among the presbyters, or probably that of coadjutor bishop (τήνδε τῆς καθέδρας τιμήν, *Orat.* xliii. 39, *Opera*, i. 801), which Basil offered him. Yet the position which he formally declined was in reality accepted. In the opposition caused by the malcontent bishops who were defeated in the election, and in the persecution organized by the prefect Modestius at the command of Valens, Gregory was foremost as a personal friend and as a defender of the faith (Socrat. iv. 11).

In the year 370 Valens made a civil division of Cappadocia into two provinces, and in 372 Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, claimed equal rights with the bishop of Caesareia, *i.e.* the rights of metropolitan of Cappadocia Secunda, of which Tyana was the capital. Basil resisted this claim, which was the more galling to him, as he himself had been the main cause that Tyana was chosen as the capital instead of Podandus. In this difficulty Gregory, who had returned to Nazianzus, again offered, in a letter full of affectionate admiration (*Ep.* xlvii., *Opera*, ii. 40), to visit and support his friend, and went to Caesareia. After his arrival they proceeded together to the foot of Mount Taurus in Cappadocia Secunda, where was a chapel dedicated to St. Orestes, and where the people of those parts were accustomed to pay

their tithes in kind. On their return they found the mountain-passes at Sasima guarded by followers of Anthimus. A struggle took place, and Gregory implies that he was personally injured in it (*Carm.* xi. 453, *Opera*, ii. 699). He seems soon afterwards to have returned to Nazianzus, whither he was followed by Basil, who had resolved (by way of securing his own rights) to make Sasima a bishopric, and Gregory the first bishop. In this plan he was aided by the elder Gregory, and the son yielded against his own will (*Orat.* ix., *Opera*, i. 234–8). At the last moment he sought refuge in flight, but was pursued by Basil, and at length consecrated (*Orat.* x., *Opera*, i. 239–41). But still he put off the duties of his see, until Basil sent Gregory of Nyssa to urge that he should enter upon them. He now attempted to do so, but Anthimus was again prepared to resist by an armed force, and Gregory finally abandoned duties which he had never willingly accepted. Basil wrote to him a letter of reproach, and he replied in the same tone. "He would not fight with the warlike Anthimus, for he was himself little experienced in war, and liable to be wounded, and one, moreover, who preferred repose. Why should he fight for sucking-pigs and chickens, which after all were not his own, as if it were a question of souls and of canons? And why should he rob the metropolis of the illustrious Sasima" (*Ep.* xlviii., *Opera*, ii. 44). The "illustrious Sasima" must be described in the words of the poem, *De Vitâ suâ*; "On a much frequented road of Cappadocia, at a point where it is divided into three, is a halting-place, where is neither water nor grass, nor any mark of civilisation. It is a frightful and detestable little village. Everywhere you meet nothing but dust, noises, waggons, howls, groans, petty officials, instruments of torture, chains. The whole population consists of foreigners and travellers. Such was my church of Sasima" (*Carm.* xi. 439–446, *Opera*, ii. 696). Other letters were exchanged, but Gregory was convinced that the bishopric of Sasima was not the work to which he was called, and nothing could change his determination. Under the pressure of his father's wish and words he was at length prevailed upon to leave the mountains, whither he had fled for refuge, and to become coadjutor at Nazianzus. But this step did not deliver him from the quarrel between Basil and Anthimus, for Nazianzus was in the new province of Cappadocia Secunda, and the bishop of Tyana soon found it convenient to visit the Gregories, and seek to gain them to his cause. They were firm in their attachment to Basil, but Anthimus then asked the son to interfere between Basil and himself, and to seek a conference. The option of having one at all, the time and place if one was resolved upon, all was left to Basil's will, and yet he felt injured, and expressed his dissatisfaction at Gregory's conduct. The latter felt and said, in plain terms, "that his friend was puffed up by his new dignity, and unmindful of what was due to others. He had himself offended Anthimus by his firm Basilism (*βασιλισμὸν*). Was it just that Basil should be offended for the same reason?" (*Ep.* l., *Opera*, ii. 44). He soon gave further proof of affection in the active part which he took in the election of Eulalius as bishop of Doaris, and in a remonstrance on the subject of Basil's teaching, which he felt was due from his friendship. He had heard men cavil at Basil's orthodoxy, and assert that he did not hold the Divinity of the Third Person in the Trinity; and humbly asked him, for the sake of silencing his detractors—he himself had heard so often that there could not be room for doubt—to express in definite words what he held as the true doctrine (*Ep.* lviii., *Opera*, ii. 50). Basil's reply shewed that he did not accept the friendly letter in the spirit which dictated it. Gregory saw from the reply that it had given pain, in spite of his care. Yet he submits, and is willing to place himself entirely in Basil's hands (*Ep.* lix., *Opera*, ii. 53).

The year 373 was an "annus mirabilis" for Nazianzus, which called forth two remarkable discourses from Gregory. An epidemic among their cattle, a season of drought, and a destructive tempest in harvest reduced the people to absolute poverty. They rushed in their need to the church, and compelled Gregory to address them. The discourse seemed to have been an impromptu. The preacher "regrets that he is the constrained speaker rather than his father—that the stream is made to flow while the fountain is dry—and then urges that divine punishments are all in mercy, and that human sins are the ordinary causes of public woes;" then plainly puts before his hearers special sins which belonged to their own city, and invites them to penitence and change of life (*Orat.* xvi., *Opera*, i. 299). The inability of the inhabitants to pay the ordinary imperial taxes led to an insurrection in Nazianzus. At the approach of the prefect with a body of troops they took refuge in the church, and he himself consented to listen to the pleading of Gregory in their behalf. While the Invective against Julian reminds us of the Philippics or the *De Coronâ*, we have here an oration which has justly been placed, without injury in the comparison, by the side of the *Pro Ligario* or *Pro Marcello*, or Chrysostom's plea for Eutropius or Flavian (Benoît, p. 355). The first part points the afflicted people to the true source of comfort; the second is addressed to princes and magistrates. "The prefect was subject to the authority of the teacher, which was higher than his own. Did he wield the sword? it was for Christ. Was he God's image? so were the poor suffering people. The most divine thing was to do good; let him not lose the opportunity. Did he see the white hair of the aged bishop, and think of his long unblemished priesthood, whom, it may be, the very angels found worthy of homage (*λατρείας*), and did not that move him?" "I adjure you by the name of Christ, by Christ's emptying Himself for us, by the sufferings of Him who cannot suffer, by His cross, by the nails which have delivered me from sin, by His death and burial, resurrection and ascension; and lastly, by this common table where we sit together, and by these symbols of my salvation, which I consecrate with the same mouth that addresses to you this prayer—in the name, I say, of this sacred mystery which lifts us up to heaven!" He concluded by praying "that the prefect may find for himself such a judge as he should be for them, and that all meet with merciful judgment here and hereafter" (*Orat.* xvii., *Opera*, i. 317 et seq.). At the commencement of the year 374 the elder Gregory died, and the son delivered a discourse, at which his mother Nonna, and his friend Basil were present, and which was the

eulogy at once of both his parents and of his friend (*Orat.* xviii., *Opera*, i. 327). Nonna survived her husband for a few months only, and died as she knelt beside the Holy Table. No less than thirty-five epitaphs were devoted by Gregory to her memory (*Epit.* lxv.–c., *Opera*, ii. 1133–49). The brother and sister were already dead. The father and mother, though spared for a hundred years, were now dead. Gregory was left alone. His first care was to devote the whole of the large fortune which had come to him to the poor, keeping for himself only a small plot of land at Arianzus; and then to invite the bishops to elect a successor to the see. The fear that the church would be rent by heresy at length induced him to exercise the office temporarily. About the middle of the year 374 Eusebius of Samosata was banished to Thrace, and we learn from a letter from Gregory that he longed to see the exiled bishop on his way, but was prevented by illness, which confined him to his house (*Ep.* lxiv., *Opera*, ii. 58). During the same illness he wrote similar letters of affectionate consolation to the proconsul Eutropius, who had incurred the displeasure of the emperor (*Epp.* lxx. lxxi., *Opera*, ii. 62–3). The illness did not last long, and after a visit to Tyana, whence he wrote to Julian, the newly-appointed collector of tribute, to ask that the clergy may be exempted (*Ep.* lxvii., *Opera*, ii. 60), we find him again preaching at Nazianzus in the presence of Julian. The sermon is entitled *εἰς τοὺς λόγους, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξισωτὴν Ἰουλιανόν* (*Orat.* xix., *Opera*, i. 364 et seq.). For two reasons he had resolved not to preach at Nazianzus again—(1) That he may cause them to elect a successor to his father in the episcopacy; and (2) That by his silence he may check the mania for theological discussion, which was spreading through the Eastern church, and which was leading everybody to teach the things of the Spirit without the Spirit (*διδάσκειν τε καὶ λαλεῖν τὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος χωρὶς Πνεύματος*, *ibid.* 364 C). They demanded discourses from him as a tribute which he was not willing to pay, but now Julian, who had sought his counsels, joined in the demand, and made compliance a condition of exemptions being granted to the clergy. The demand could no longer be resisted, and it was met by a supreme effort of eloquence, which dwelt on "the vanity of all things earthly, and exhorted each man to devote to God whatever he possessed—wealth, poverty, the will to do good, the active or the contemplative life, discourse or silence, virginity, temperance, prayer, hymns, care for the poor. God accepts the least offering as the greatest, and it is the duty of each to offer what he has, for the disposition gives value to the offering." He concludes by "presenting to Julian the poor, the priests, the monks, and exhorts him and the people to mutual forbearance." For the last time he appeared before them as temporary holder of the see.

Two years had passed since the bishop's death, and in vain had Gregory pressed the election of a successor. His love of retirement was now, as all through life, a powerful influence, and it was strengthened by the difficulty of his position as practically occupying—though he had determined not to occupy—an important see, after he had refused to be bishop of Sasima. Towards the end of the year 375 he disappeared suddenly, and found refuge at Seleucia in Isauria, at a monastery devoted to the virgin Thecla (*Carm.* xi. 549, *Opera*, ii. 701). Here he passed three years of which we have no record. What they would be the earlier life tells us; what they were the later work at Constantinople declares. They were as the intervals of calm in every great life, when principles are formed and resolutions taken which become the hidden spring of noble deeds.

In the beginning of the year 379 Basil died, and we find Gregory writing to comfort his brother Gregory of Nyssa. He could neither visit Basil in illness, nor be present at his funeral, for he was himself dangerously ill at the time (*Ep.* lxxvi., *Opera*, ii. 65), but his love found expression in twelve epitaphs. These are printed by the Benedictine editors under one number (*Epit.* cxix., *Opera*, ii. 1155–9), but the points of division are clear, and the last lines are:—

Γρηγόριος, βασίλειε, τεῇ κονίῃ ἀνέθηκα
τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων τήνδε δυωδεκάδα.

A letter from Gregory to Eudocius the rhetorician, written soon afterwards, speaks of "the loss of all who were nearest to him, and of Basil, his spiritual brother, and of death as the only deliverance from the ills which weighed upon him" (*Ep.* lxxx., *Opera*, ii. 72).

But the time was at hand which was to witness the chief work of his life. At the date of the Nicaean council Alexander was bishop of Constantinople, and signed the decrees which condemned Arius. He was succeeded by Paul, who, in devotion to the true faith, was the rival of Athanasius himself, and suffered martyrdom in A.D. 351. For thirty years after the death of Paul, Constantinople was the battle-ground of a constant war with heresy. The followers of Manes and Novatus, Photinus and Marcellus, Sabellius and Apollinaris, were to be found there in large numbers; and the adherents of the Nicene faith, few in number, humiliated, crushed, having neither church nor pastor, were obliged to conceal themselves in the remote quarters of the city (Benoît, *Grég. de Naz.* p. 397). In this distress they applied to Gregory to help them, and many bishops urged their plea. For a long time he was unwilling to leave his retirement, but then came to him the old feeling that there was a time to yield and a time to resist, and the conviction that he dared not refuse this summons. The date of his arrival at Constantinople cannot be fixed with certainty, but it was probably before Easter, A.D. 379 (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, ix. 799). A prayer, which took the form of a poem, indicates the spirit with which he entered upon his new work (*Carm.* iii.; *Opera* ii. 667). In another poem he has left us his estimate of what that work in the new Rome was. "It had passed through the death of infidelity; there was left but one last breath of life. He had come to this city to defend the faith. What they needed was solid teaching to deliver them from the spider-webs of subtleties in which they had been taken" (*Carm.* xi. 562–611, *Opera*, ii. 705, 6). In a private house, where he himself was lodged by relations, his work was begun. He speaks of this as "the new Shiloh, where the ark was fixed after its forty years of wandering in the desert (*Orat.* xlii. 26, *Opera*, i. 766), as the holy mountain where the ark of Noah rested"

(*Carm.* xi. 1080–2, *Opera*, ii. 731). It was to him "an Anastasia, the scene of the resurrection of the faith" (*Orat.* xlii. 26, *Carm.* xi. 1079, *ib.*), for the house was too small for the multitudes that flocked to it, and a church was built in its place. Gregory's fame, as a theologian, rests chiefly on the discourses delivered at the Anastasia. It will be convenient to examine them later, and to note them here only in relation with the incidents of his life. His first work was to gather the scattered members of the flock and instruct them in the practical duties of Christianity, and the danger of empty theological discussions, and the pre-requisite for any true knowledge of God (*Carm.* xi. 1210–31, *Opera*, ii. 737–9). Again and again in the early discourses does he dwell on the truth that it is only through personal holiness that a man can grasp any idea of the Holy One (*Orat.* xx. and *Orat.* xxii., *Opera*, i. 376–384, and 597–603). While doing this work, Gregory exposed himself to the attacks of all parties. His origin, person, clothing, were made objects of ridicule. They would have welcomed a polished orator with external graces; but his manner of life had made him prematurely old, and his gifts to the poor had made him in appearance and reality a poor man. From words they passed to deeds. One night, a mob, led on by monks, broke into the place of meeting and profaned the altar and sacred elements. Gregory himself escaped, but was taken before the judges as a homicide; "but He who knew how to save from the lions was present to deliver him" (*Carm.* xi. 665–78, *Opera*, ii. 709). "He cared not that they attacked him—the stones were his delight; he cared only for the flock who were thus injured" (*ib.* 725, et seq.). His chief sorrow was to come not from any outward opposition but from a division in the flock itself. This division started from the schism of Antioch, which had spread through the whole church; but the immediate question was one of competition for the bishopric. Gregory had kept aloof from this quarrel, but some among his followers, led by one of his priests, took an active part in it, and endeavoured to draw from him a decision for one or other of the rivals. Some seem to have taken the part of Paulinus, some that of Meletius. Gregory, therefore, taking occasion from the greeting, "Peace be with you," and "Peace be with thy spirit," preached a sermon on Peace (*Orat.* xxii., *Opera*, i. 414–425), dwelling "on its blessings, and the inconsistency of their faith, servants of the God of peace as they claimed to be, and their practice. Their duty was to remain united when the faith was not in question; to weaken the present struggle by keeping out of it, and thus to do the rivals a greater service than by fighting for them" (*ib.* 14, p. 423). Soon afterwards the news of the establishment of peace reached Constantinople, and was followed by peace in the little church of the Anastasia. Gregory, though ill, preached almost certainly on this occasion another sermon on peace (*Orat.* xxiii., *Opera*, i. 425–34), thankfully celebrating its return, and urging those present who were divided from them by heresy "to be at peace with them by acceptance of the true faith. It was the work of the sacred Trinity to give the faithful "peace among themselves. The sacred Trinity would heal also this wider breach." At the close of this sermon he promises to deal more fully with the questions at issue between the followers of the Nicene faith and their opponents. This he did in the five theological discourses which soon followed (*Orat.* xxvii.–xxxi., *Opera*, i. 487–577; *vide infra*, c. ii.). Other important discourses belong to the same period, of which the most remarkable are a second on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, preached at Whitsuntide A.D. 381 (?) (*Orat.* xli., *Opera*, ii. 731–44), and one on Moderation in Discussions—a frequent subject with Gregory—in which heresy is traced to its absence, and on the fact that it is not given to every man or every time to reason about God (*Orat.* xxxii., *Opera*, ii. 579–601). About the same period, too, he delivered three (?) discourses of another kind, which gave signal opportunity for oratorical power, and have become models for the great preachers who have chosen as their themes the lives of saints. The subjects of Gregory's panegyrics were Cyprian, whose name was held in deserved honour in Constantinople (*Orat.* xxiv., *Opera*, i. 437–50); Athanasius, whose memory was specially dear to Gregory as the champion of Nicene orthodoxy, and who had died but a few years before (A.D. 373) (*Orat.* xxi., *Opera*, i. 386–411); and the Maccabees (?) whose heroism might well have been specially intended for an example in the present struggle (*Orat.* xv., *Opera*, i. 287–298). Of the date of the last of these Clemencet says, "Quo anno quove in loco habita sit haec oratio certo definire non possumus" (*ib.* 286). He himself inclines to the period spent at Caesareia, but there seems no good reason for departing from the older opinion of Nicetas, which is here followed. The first of these discourses was hurriedly composed, as Gregory was in the country on the festival of St. Cyprian, and it had escaped his memory. The others, especially that on Athanasius, are considered by all judges, from the time of Jerome downwards, as among the orator's noblest works (*Script. Eccles.* 117).

Jerome himself became about this time a disciple of Gregory; and the pupil loved to tell how much he had learned from the teacher. He says of him "Eo magistro glorior et exsulto;" "Gregorius, vir eloquentissimus, praeceptor meus a quo Scripturas explanante didici" (*ibid.*); "Ante annos circiter triginta cum essem Constantinopoli, et apud virum eloquentissimum Gregorium Nazianzenum, tunc ejus urbis episcopum sanctum, Scripturarum studiis erudirer" (*Comm. in Isaiam*, vi.). He has preserved for us Gregory's opinion of the way in which his congregation were led by mere words, and the way in which the teacher himself could playfully avoid a difficulty. Jerome asked him the meaning of the term "ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ," in St. Luke vi. 1. He replied, "I will tell you from the pulpit, and all the people will applaud. And in spite of yourself you will have learnt that of which you are now ignorant; for if you alone do not applaud, they will look upon you as a dunce" (Hieron. *Ep. ad Nepot.* xxxiv.).

There was another stranger who came to Constantinople, and professed himself a disciple of the now famous theologian. In the works of Gregory he is known to us as Hero, either because he bore two names, or, as Jerome, who had every opportunity of knowing, tells us, because Gregory did not wish the panegyric

which he pronounced upon him to be handed down in connexion with the name Maximus. "Quasi non licuerit eundem et laudare et vituperare pro tempore" (*De Vir. Illust.* 117). The biography of this man will be given in its proper place [MAXIMUS]. Here we have to deal only with his connexion with Gregory, which began not long after the latter arrived at Constantinople. He represented himself as descended from a line of martyrs, and as one who had suffered much through his adherence to the Nicene faith. He was an ardent admirer of Gregory's sermons (*καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν πρόθυμος αἰνέτης λόγων*, *Carm.* xi. 814, *Opera*, ii. 716). "No one was to him as Maximus, to whom he gave lodging and food and made him the sharer of his counsels" (*ibid.* 808–812). The man who admired Gregory's sermons so much heard one in which his own panegyric was pronounced (*Orat.* xxv., *In Laudem Heronis Philosophi*, *Opera*, i. 454); and the orator regarded it as a mark of a philosophic spirit that he could do so. Meanwhile the professed disciple was planning the overthrow of his teacher, and hoped even to establish himself in the episcopal chair. He had two confederates, Gregory tells us. One was an angel who had become a Belial. The other is not known by name, but is described as barbarian in mind more even than by birth, and first among the presbyters (*Carm.* xi. 810–827). He had a still more important ally in Peter, bishop of Alexandria, who had recognised Gregory as practically bishop of the orthodox party in Constantinople (*ibid.* 858–931), but—whether from jealousy at the influence he had gained, or from difference of opinion in the Meletian schism, or that he too had been deceived by the craft of Maximus as Gregory had been—now joined in the plot against him. Seven sailors, whose names Gregory has recorded (*ibid.* 834), were engaged as spies and sent from Egypt to Constantinople. A party of Alexandrian clergy soon followed. At this time a priest from Thasco had come to Constantinople with a large sum of money to buy Proconesian marble for a church. He, too, was beguiled by the specious hope held out to him. Maximus and his party thus gained the power of purchasing the services of a mob, which was as forward to attack Gregory as it had been to praise him. It was night, and the bishop was ill in bed, when Maximus with his followers went to the church to be consecrated by five suffragans who had been sent from Alexandria for the purpose. Day began to dawn while they were still preparing for the consecration. They had but half-finished the tonsure of the cynic philosopher, who wore the flowing hair common to his sect, when a mob, excited by the sudden news, rushed in upon them and drove them from the church. They retired to a flute-player's shop to complete their work, and Maximus, compelled to flee from Constantinople, went to Thessalonica with the hope of gaining over Theodosius himself. Repulsed by the emperor, who declared that he could recognise in Constantinople no other bishop than Gregory, he returned to Alexandria and demanded from Peter that he would find him another bishopric or relinquish his own. He was silenced by the prefect, who banished him from Alexandria. Gregory devotes more than 200 lines of the poem *De Vitâ suâ* (*Carm.* xi. 807–1029, *Opera*, ii. 117–29) to this painful story, and his words of condemnation are bitter in proportion as the words of his panegyric were strong.

We must probably assign to a date later than the treachery of Maximus, Gregory's sermon on the arrival of the Egyptians (*Orat.* xxxiv., *Opera*, i. 619–627). It opens by a reference to the conquest of envy by a higher zeal; and then the preacher goes on to speak of his desire to "blot out the old calumny by new kindness" (*ibid.* § 6, p. 621). It is quite in keeping with the orator's character to find him welcoming these Egyptian sailors to his church, and regarding them as "one with himself since they are worshippers of the same Trinity," and even uttering words of highest praise for Peter, their bishop (*ibid.* § 3, p. 620).

In immediate connexion with the story of Maximus, Gregory tells us that he one day uttered the words, "My beloved children, keep intact this Trinity which I, your most happy father, have delivered to you, and preserve some memorial of my labours." One of the hearers saw the meaning, and "the whole congregation was in a turmoil as that of a hive of bees at the presence of smoke." People of all ages and conditions and ranks vied with each other in cries of affection for him and hatred for his foes (*Carm.* xi. 1057–1113, *Opera*, ii. 729–731). We have no oration in which these farewell words occur, but they are probably to be regarded as part of one, and to be placed in time soon after Gregory's recovery from the illness during which the plot of Maximus was carried out. His own words shew how bitterly he felt that treachery; and bitterly did he feel also that his position was weakened by it. In spite of the cries of men, women, and children until nightfall, and the resolve that they would be buried in the temple rather than leave it until he had promised to remain with them, his determination was unchanged until one voice cried, "If you go you will banish the doctrine of the Trinity as well as yourself" (*ibid.* 1100). At this cry he yielded, and promised to remain until the arrival of some bishops who were expected at the council. Both parties left the church in hope—they, that their point had been carried; he, that his departure would not be long postponed. He did not, however, remain in the city. His health was shattered, and he retired for a while to the country to recruit it. On his return he commenced his first sermon with the words, "I kept longing for you, my children, and was persuaded that you in like manner kept longing for me" (*Orat.* xxvi., *Opera*, i. 471–485). This relation between the shepherd and the sheep is seen throughout the discourse, which is the loving outpouring and anxious questioning of the heart which knew their need, and knew that there were dangers without and within the flock. Near the end of the discourse (§ 15, p. 483) he refers to the bishopric of Constantinople, declaring that "no man of sense had ever longed much for it. For his own part he could wish that there was no primacy or precedence, and that one should be distinguished by virtue only."

On Nov. 24, A.D. 380, Theodosius made his formal entry into Constantinople. One of his first cares was to restore to the orthodox the

churches of which they had been deprived by the Arians. Demophilus and Lucius were both banished (Socrat. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 7); Gregory was summoned to the imperial presence. He could hardly believe that the words

> Δίδωσι, φησὶ, τὸν νεὼν
> θεὸς δι' ἡμῶν σοί τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πόνοις·
> *Carm.* xi. 1311, 2, *Opera*, ii. 742.

would ever be fulfilled, but early on the morning of Nov. 26, in the presence of an immense crowd, Theodosius and Gregory entered the church of the Holy Apostles. A thick fog enveloped the church, but at the first accents of the chants it was illumined by the rays of the sun, which fell upon the vestments of the priests and the swords of the soldiers, and brought to Gregory's mind the glory of the Tabernacle of old. At the same time there arose a cry like thunder demanding that he should be bishop. "Silence, silence," he cried: "This is the time to give thanks to God. It will be time enough, hereafter, to settle other things." The service was continued and was ended without further interruption. Only one sword was drawn and that was put back unstained into its sheath (*ibid.* 1325–90). In no part of Gregory's life is the true excellence of his character more clearly seen than in this; to his spirit of moderation and forgiveness is it to be attributed that this great religious revolution was effected without shedding one drop of blood. He has himself recorded an incident which exemplifies the spirit in which he returned the enmity of his foes. While he was ill in bed an assassin who had attempted his life, entered his room, and stung by conscience, fell weeping and speechless at his feet. When Gregory learned the fact he said to him, "May God preserve you! It is nothing wonderful that I whom He hath saved should be merciful to you. Your bold deed has made you mine. Take care to walk, henceforth, worthy of God and of me." Gregory adds that the news of this deed spread through the city, which was softened towards him by it as iron is by fire (*ibid.* 1445–74).

On a day not long after the entry into the metropolitical church—perhaps the very next day—the enthusiasm of the multitude again broke forth, and they attempted to place Gregory by force in the episcopal chair. At the same time there were traces of jealousy, and false motives were freely attributed to him. Always sensitive, he delivered in the presence of Theodosius a sermon "concerning himself, and to those who said that he wished to be bishop of Constantinople, and concerning the favours which the people had shewn towards him" (*Orat.* xxxvi., *Opera*, i. 633–43). It is a forcible "Apologia pro Vitâ suâ." "He would have been ashamed to seek that bishopric, bowed down as he was by old age and physical weakness. They said that he had sought another's bride (Constantinople): he had really refused his own (Sasima)" (*ibid.* vi. pp. 638–9). But the preacher was in the presence of the emperor and the court; questions greater than any personal to himself arose to his mind, and the discourse became an eloquent appeal to princes, sages, philosophers, professors, philologists, orators, to weigh their responsibilities and fulfil their duties.

Another discourse, preached in the presence of Theodosius, is of special interest, as being the only one of Gregory's extant discourses, which is a homily in the narrower sense of being a definite exposition and application of a passage of Scripture (*Orat.* xxxvii., *Opera*, i. 644–60). The text chosen was Matt. xix. 1–12. The preacher begins by shewing that "the reason why Christ moved from place to place was that He might heal the more persons. For the salvation of the world He had moved from heaven to earth. This was the cause of His voluntary humiliation, which men who understood it not had dwelt upon as contradicting His divinity, though divine names and attributes are applied to Him. Christ answered some questions (Matt. xix. 3, 4): others He did not answer (Luke xx. 2, 4). The preacher would follow Christ's example" (*ibid.* v. 648, 9). "Christ answered fully their question about divorce. The preacher applying the teaching of Christ protests against the injustice of the Roman law, which distinguished between the adultery of the woman and that of the man. Men made it, and therefore it was directed against women (*ibid.* vi. 649). Marriage for the first time is lawful, the second time an indulgence; more than the second, sinful; but virginity is a higher state (*ibid.* v. iii.–x. 650–2). Husbands, wives, virgins, eunuchs, priests, laymen, all have their duties." He exhorts them to fulfil these, and, as in almost every discourse, passes on to the duty of believing in the doctrine of the Trinity.

Three other important discourses of Gregory, which belong also to the ministry at Constantinople, must not be wholly passed over, though they can only be mentioned here. (1) On the Nativity [Dec. 25, 380?] (*Orat.* xxxviii., *Opera* i. 661–75): (2) on the Epiphany [Jan. 6. 381?] (*Orat.* xxxiv., *ibid.* 676–691): (3) on Holy Baptism (*Orat.* xl.; *ibid.* 691–729).

Theodosius had long intended to summon a general council, and soon after his entry into Constantinople he carried out his purpose. In May, A.D. 381, the synod of the 150 bishops who formed the second Oecumenical council was held in the capital of the East. Socrates tells us plainly that the object of the council was to confirm the Nicene faith, and to appoint a bishop for Constantinople (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 8; cf. Sozom. vii. 7; Theodor. v. 7; Mansi, *Collect. Concil.* iii. 523). No Western bishop is mentioned as having been present, and the attempt to shew that Damasus of Rome was either consulted or represented is futile; but thirty-six bishops who were followers of Macedonius were present, and every effort was made to induce them to accept the Nicene faith. Meletius, the venerable bishop of Antioch, "honey-named and honey-natured," (*Carm.* xi. 1521, *Opera*, ii. 754,) was at first president. The principal question was the consecration of Maximus, which was at once pronounced void. Then followed, naturally, the question who should occupy the vacant see. The wish of Theodosius that Gregory should be chosen was well known; and the only bishop who opposed it was Gregory himself. He was by force placed in the episcopal chair. But he had this hope—alas! a vain one—that, "as position gives influence, he should be able, like a choragus who leads two choirs, to produce harmony between opposing parties" (*Carm.* xi. 1525–45, *ibid.* ii. 755). The joy at the election of Gregory was soon followed by sorrow at the

death of Meletius. The new archbishop, naturally, succeeded him as president of the council, but who should succeed him as bishop of Antioch? It is said that the two bishops, Meletius and Paulinus, had agreed that the survivor should be the sole bishop, and that to this agreement the chief clergy and laity of both parties were sworn. Meletius himself expressed an earnest wish for it from his death-bed; but a strong party, both within and without the council, was soon organized against it. Gregory has given us in the poem *De Vitâ suâ*, a résumé of his own speech on the question (*Carm.* xi. 1591–1679, *Opera*, ii. 759–63). "It was no light matter; the universe which had received the blood of God Incarnate was troubled by it. Were the struggle between two angels rather than two men, they could not be worthy of it. But now God had given the means of peace; let them confirm Paulinus in the episcopal office, and when the two should pass away let them elect a new bishop. Let them yield a little, that they may reap a great conquest. For himself he sought their permission to resign the office which they had conferred upon him, and he would gladly retire to some desert far away from evil men. He cared not to live among men whom he could not convince, and whose opinions reason forbade him to accept." He could scarcely have expected that this address would be received with favour, for the Meletian party was overpoweringly strong in the synod, and Paulinus had not been invited; but he was not prepared for the storm which followed. "There arose a cry like that of a number of jackdaws, and the younger members attacked him like a swarm of wasps" (*ibid.* 1680–90). Elsewhere he compares them to "cranes and geese," and speaks of it as "a disgrace to sit among such hucksters of the faith" (*Carm.* xii. 154, *Opera*, ii. 787). He left the synod never to return to it. For a while illness was opportunely (καλῶς) the reason of his absence (*ibid.* 1745), but the council proceeded to name Flavian as successor of Meletius; and Gregory, finding that his opinion had little weight, withdrew altogether and left the official residence, which was close to the church of the Holy Apostles (*Carm.* xi. 1778, *Opera*, ii. 769). This step led to earnest entreaties from the people that he would not desert his flock: "Who would nourish his children in the faith if he left them? Let him honour those labours which had ruined his health, and let that church be the place of departure at the end of life" (*ibid.* 1785–95). Moved for a while by these prayers he yet persisted in his determination, which was strengthened by the arrival of bishops from Egypt and Macedonia. The East and the West were now opposed to each other, and "prepared for the battle like wild boars, sharpening their terrible tusks" (*ibid.* 1804). The new members of the synod did not object to Gregory personally; but among the questions brought to the front by anger, rather than by reason, was that of his election, which afforded an obvious means of attack, and which was probably in itself obnoxious as an act of Meletius. It was clearly opposed, they urged, to the fifteenth canon of the Nicene council, which forbad any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, to pass from one city to another. By that canon he ought to be sent back to Sasima. Gregory's party, on the other hand, urged that he was released from that obligation by the same

authority which imposed it, when another general council elected him bishop of Constantinople; but it could not be expected that this plea would be accepted by bishops who were not a party to that act, nor is Gregory himself justified in speaking of the Nicene canons as obsolete:

> Νόμους στρέφοντες τοὺς πάλαι τεθνηκότας
> Ὧν πλεῖστον ἦμεν καὶ σαφῶς ἐλεύθεροι.
> *Ibid.* 1810, 11.

While they were thus discussing his election, his continued illness confirmed the conviction that it was his duty to resign his office. He appeared before the council, and exhorted them to think of higher things and mutual harmony. "He would be another Jonah to pacify the angry waves. Gladly would he find retirement and rest. He owed but one debt, the debt of death, and that was in God's hands. He had but one anxiety, and that was for his beloved doctrine of the Trinity (*ib.* 1828–55). He left the synod glad at the thought of rest from his labours; sorrowful as one who is robbed of his children." The synod received his resignation with satisfaction, for it removed a chief ground of dissension, and from many it removed, probably, a ground of jealousy (*ib.* 1869; *Carm.* xii. 145–8, *Opera*, ii. 787). Gregory went from the assembly to the emperor, "to demand from him no gifts; he left such demands to others; no—he was weary of the hatred even of his friends because he had sought God only, and all he asked was that the man who had conquered barbarians would seek a new triumph in putting an end to their strife, and would allow him to retire from an office to which, in spite of himself, he had been chosen" (*ibid.* 1881–1901). Theodosius could not refuse that which he unwillingly granted. Gregory's only remaining care was to reconcile those who had been opposed to him, and to bid farewell to his friends. He did this privately, but he felt also that there must be a public statement of his position and a public farewell to the council and his church. This he delivered towards the end of June, A.D. 381 (*Orat.* xlii., *Opera*, i. 748–68). The oration is entitled, Συντακτήριος εἰς τὴν τῶν ρν' Ἐπισκόπων παρουσίαν, and was pronounced before the synod, in the presence of a congregation which filled every corner of the church, and among whom no eye was dry. "Was there needed proof of his right to the bishopric? He would render his accounts. Let his work answer. He found them a rude flock, without a pastor, scattered, persecuted, robbed. Let them look round and see the wreath which had been woven —priests, deacons, readers, holy men and women. That wreath he had helped to weave. Was it a great thing to have established sound doctrine in a city which was the centre of the world? In that, too, he had done his part. Had he ever sought to promote his own interests? He could appeal like another Samuel. No; he had lived for God and the church, and kept the vows of his priesthood. All this he had done through the Holy Trinity and by the help of the Spirit. He would present to the synod his church as the most precious offering. The reward he asked was that they would appoint some one with pure hands and prudent tongue to watch over it; and that to the white hairs and worn-out frame of an old man, who could hardly then preach to

them, they would allow the longed-for rest. Let them learn to prove these his last words—bishops to see the evil of the contentions which were among them; people to disregard externals, and love priests rather than orators, men who cared for their souls rather than rich men." The preacher then pronounces his lengthened farewell "to the beloved Anastasia, to the large temple, to the churches throughout the city, to the apostles who inhabited the temple, to the episcopal throne, to the clergy of all degrees, to all who helped at the holy table, to the choruses of Nazaraeans, to the virgins, wives, widows, orphans, poor; to the hospitable houses, to the crowds of hearers; to prince and palace and their inhabitants; to the Christ-loving city, to Eastern and Western lands; above all, to angels, protectors of the church and of himself; to the Holy Trinity, his only thought and treasure." With this pathetic climax, unsurpassed elsewhere even by Gregory himself, he concluded his last discourse in Constantinople. He left the city probably in the same month of June, A.D. 381, and retired to Nazianzus. Here he received a letter from Philagrius, an old friend of Caesarius and himself, animadverting upon his retirement. His answer breathes the same spirit which we find in the poem *De Vitâ suâ*, and in the farewell sermon. "He was tired of fighting against envy and against venerable bishops, who destroyed the peace and put their personal squabbles before questions of faith" (*Ep.* lxxxvii., *Opera*, ii. 76). Among other letters belonging to this period, two addressed to Nectarius, who was chosen to succeed Gregory at Constantinople, deserve special note, as shewing that he cherished for him and the church nothing but the most entire good-will (*Epp.* lxxxviii. and xci., *Opera*, ii. 77, 8).

Gregory's difficulties were not yet at an end. On his return to Nazianzus he found the church there in confusion, chiefly through the teaching of the Apollinarians (*Carm.* xxxi., *Opera*, ii. 870–7). Heresy was powerful in places where, hitherto, it had never entered. He tried to find a bishop who would stem the evil, but was thwarted in his plan by the presbyters, and by the desertion of seven bishops who had promised to support him. His candidate had been hitherto engaged in secular affairs, but he still thought him the most promising. He seems after this to have succeeded in naming another bishop, and then to have retired to Arianzus. But a short time passed before he was again urged to take the governance of the church at Nazianzus and check the Apollinarianism which was rapidly spreading, and, in spite of his own strong disinclination, he agreed to do so. He states in a letter to his friend Bosporius, bishop of Colonia in Cappadocia Secunda, that he was willing only on account of the imminent increase of adversaries (*Ep.* cxxxviii., *Opera*, ii. 115). During this second administration of the diocese, Gregory was the means of delivering Nazianzus from impending danger. The prefect Olympius threatened to destroy the city in consequence of a seditious attack; and it was saved only by a pacific letter from the bishop, admitting that the offence was indeed grave, but that it was committed not by the city, but by the rashness of a few young men (*Ep.* cxli., *Opera*, ii. 118–20) Other letters of the same kind shew that Gregory was as the father of the city, watching over all its interests with loving care.

But Gregory felt that his constant illness unfitted him for his duties, and we even find him writing to the archbishop of Tyana, and in the most earnest tone beseeching him to take steps to appoint another bishop. "If this letter did not effect its purpose, he would publicly proclaim the bishopric vacant rather than that the church should longer suffer from his own infirmity" (*Ep.* clii., *Opera*, ii. 128). To such an appeal there could be but one answer, but the old opposition recurred when Gregory wished to vote in the election of his successor. It was again urged that if he were bishop of Nazianzus there could be no election; if he were not, he could have no claim to vote. They formally asserted their position, but then elected Eulalius, Gregory's colleague and relation, and the man of his choice. His satisfaction is expressed in a letter to Gregory of Nyssa, in which he also justifies his position on the ground that he was himself consecrated to Sasima and not to Nazianzus (*Ep.* clxxxii., *Opera*, ii. 149).

Eulalius entered upon his duties at Sasima about the end of the year 383. Gregory at once withdrew to Arianzus, and spent in retirement the six remaining years of life. To this period belong certainly a large number of poems and letters; and, probably two discourses, one on the Festival of St. Mamas, which was kept with special honour in the neighbourhood of Nazianzus on the first Sunday after Easter (καινὴ κυριακή), and one on the Holy Passover (*Orat.* xliv. and xlv., *Opera*, i. 834–868).

The place of Gregory's retirement was at first the little plot of ground at Arianzus, which he had reserved to himself when all his other property was given to the poor. Here there was a shady walk with a fountain, which was his favourite resort (*Carm.* xliv. 1–24, *Opera*, ii. 915–17). But even this peaceful spot was to be denied him, and he was to be "driven forth without city, throne, or children, but always full of cares for them, as a wanderer upon the earth" (*Carm.* xliii. 1–12, *Opera*, 913–15). He found another temporary resting-place at a tomb consecrated to martyrs at a place called Carbala, of which nothing is known, and which the Bollandists indeed suppose (Mai. ii. 424 F) to be another name for the little plot at Arianzus. But he was driven thence by a relative named Valentinian, who settled near him with the female members of his family, as from another paradise by another Eve. Οἰκαρχίαις δὴ γυναικῶν οὕτως ὑποχωρήσομεν, ὥσπερ ἐχιδναίοις ἐπιδρομαῖς (*Ep.* cciii., *Opera*, ii. 169).

The poems and letters of this period speak of constant illness and suffering, from which he had but short intervals of relief after his retirement from Constantinople. A frame, never strong, had given way under the severe asceticism of the earlier, and was wholly unequal to bear the burden laid upon it by that of the later, life. "I suffer," he says in one of the letters, "and am content, not because I suffer, but because I am for others an example of patience. If I have no means to overcome any pain, I gain from it at least the power to bear it, and to be thankful as well in sorrowful circumstances as in joyous; for I am convinced that, although it seems to us the contrary, there is in the eyes of the Sovereign

Reason nothing opposed to reason, in all which happens to us" (*Ep.* xxxvi., *Opera*, ii. 32). These physical sufferings he could bear, but it was added to the bitterness of his lot to suffer intense spiritual agony, which at times took from him all hope either in this world or the next. In the thick of the spiritual combat did this, as other great souls, learn the lessons it was to teach to the world. At length the end came, but it found him, swan-like, continuing his song unto death. Jerome tells us in the *de Script. Eccles.* "Decessit ante hoc ferme triennium sub Theodosio Imperatore." The date of that work is the fourteenth year of the same emperor. Gregory's death, therefore, is to be assigned to about the eleventh year of Theodosius, *i.e.* A.D. 389 or 390.

(*b*) *The Writings of Gregory.*—The extant works are contained in two folio volumes of the Benedictine edition. Vol. i. consists of forty-five sermons, of which such an account as is possible within our present limits is given elsewhere in this article. The contents of vol. ii. are more varied. It includes 243 letters, addressed to various persons, and on various subjects—theological, pastoral, political, domestic; the will of Gregory, taken from the archives of the church of Nazianzus, and signed and attested in legal form; the poems arranged in two books, of which a summary account must be given here. The first book (i.) is divided into two sections—(1) dogmatic and (2) moral. The poems of the second book (ii.) are historical, relating (1) to Gregory himself, or (2) to others, this last section including epitaphs and epigrams.

i. (1) The dogmatic poems are thirty-eight in number. Nos. 1–9 form one whole of 688 hexameter verses, with the addition of the sixth, which consists of 116 Iambic verses, and is placed here with questionable editorship, because it treats of the same subject as the fifth (Providence). The poem is a brief exposition of the chief theological doctrines.

No. 10 (74 Iambics) is on the Incarnation, against Apollinaris.

No. 11 (16 hexameters and pentameters), is also on the Incarnation.

Nos. 12–29 are Mnemonic verses on the facts of Holy Scripture, apparently meant for school use. The subjects are the books of Scripture, the sons of Jacob, the plagues of Egypt, the ten commandments, the miracles of Elijah and Elisha, with an epigram on a temple of Elijah, the double genealogy of Christ, the twelve apostles, the miracles and parables of Christ according to each evangelist, the parables of Christ according to all the evangelists, the stilling of the tempest.

Nos. 29–38 are prayers or hymns addressed to God.

(2) The moral poems are forty in number.

No. 1 (732 hexameters) is a eulogy of virginity.

Nos. 2–7, in various metres, deal with kindred subjects, exhortations and counsels to virgins and monks, and the superiority of the single life.

Nos. 8–11 are on the secular and religious life, and exhortations to virtue.

Nos. 12 and 13 on the fragility of human nature.

No. 14 is a meditation on human nature in 132 hexameters and pentameters. It ranks with No. 1 among the most beautiful of Gregory's poems.

The remainder of the poems in this section are on such subjects as the baseness of the outer man; the blessedness of the Christian life; the sin of frequent oaths and of anger; the loss of dear friends; the misery of false friends. Four of them are satires against a bad-mannered nobleman (26 and 27); misers (28); feminine luxury (29).

ii. (1) There are ninety-nine poems relating to his own life. One of them (No. xi. *De Vitâ suâ*) is an autobiography extending to 1949 lines, which we have frequently referred to, and another (No. 12, *De seipso et de episcopis*) is an appendix to it of 836 lines more. There are 19 elegies, 15 meditations, 25 prayers, 3 satires, a defence of the author's poetry, a defence of the religious life. The others are shorter pieces.

(2) Of the historical poems which relate to others 7 (? 8) are epistles addressed (1) to Hellenius on behalf of the monks; (2) to the prefect Julian, asking for exemption for the poor; (3) to Vitalianus on behalf of his son, from whom he had been estranged; (4) to Nicobulus, pleading in the name of his son for means to enter a certain famous school; (5) to Nicobulus, the son, a reply in the name of the father; (6) to Olympias, a famous deaconess of the church of Constantinople excusing himself from her wedding, to which he had been invited, and giving her counsels for the married life; (7) to Nemesius, an eminent public man, shewing him the errors of paganism, and urging him to accept Christianity. These poetic epistles are of considerable length, and are a witness to the varied interests and practical wisdom of the writer. (? 8 to Seleucus, *vide infra.*) There are 129 epitaphs, some of which have been noted above; and ninety-four epigrams, most of which are short poems, with little in them of the modern epigram, though some shew (*e.g.* 10–14, Εἰς Ἀγαπητούς), that the pen of Gregory could, when occasion required, be pointed with adamant. No less than 63 (31–94), belonging probably to the writer's youth, are upon the spoilers of tombs. This résumé will give some idea of the extent and subject-matter of Gregory's poems; though if the statement of Jerome and Suidas, that he wrote 30,000 verses, is to be understood literally, more than a third of them are now unknown.

In addition to these writings, which may be taken as undoubted, the Benedictine editors have printed six pieces which are of questionable authority. Four of these, (1) an interpretation of Ezekiel i. 5 et seq., (2) a paraphrase of Ecclesiastes, and (3 and 4) two short tractates *De Fide Orthodoxâ*, are printed as an appendix to vol. i. (1) is judged by Tillemont to be unworthy of Gregory (*Mémoires*, ix. 464), and ought rather to be called "Breves et indigestae annotationes in Ezechielem et alia quaedam Scripturae loca." This view is taken by the Colbertine Scholion and adopted by Billius. The piece is absent moreover from some of the best (*e.g.* the two Coislin) codices; (2) is by almost common consent to be ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 25; Hieron. *Script. Eccles.* p. 121; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, ix. 464; Billius *in loco*). Clemencet, the editor of the first Benedictine volume, relegates them to an appendix, because

he found them in common editions, but did not judge them to belong to Gregory (*Opera*, i. 869 and 873). The two tractates exist only in Latin, though it has been held that they shew traces of a Greek original. Their ascription to Gregory is due to very doubtful inference from a passage in Augustine (*Ep.* cxlviii.). Tillemont (*Mémoires*, ix. 558, 727) follows Quenellius in ascribing them to Gregory Eliberitanus. Clemencet follows the author of the *Gallia Litteraria* in believing them to be the work of one Phaebadius. In any case they claim mention here only to be excluded from the works of Gregory, and the reader may be referred for further discussion of their authorship to Clemencet and Tillemont, *ut supra*. The other two pieces are printed in the Benedictine vol. ii.; (1) a poetical epistle to Seleucus (No. viii. *Opera*, ii. 1089). Some of the older editors, especially Combefisius, contend that it differs from the genuine writings of Gregory in the list of the canonical books, and, with the support of several MSS. ascribe it to Amphilochius. But the style is clearly that of Gregory, and the only difference in the canon is the addition of Esther and the Apocalypse, which are not named by Gregory elsewhere. Billius, Caillau, and most modern editors, have claimed therefore with great probability, on internal grounds as well as with the support of the chief codices, that there is no sufficient reason for excluding an epistle which is entirely in the style of Gregory from the list of his works; (2) The *Christus Patiens*, a tragedy extending to 2601 lines, in which the personae are Christus, Theotokos, Joseph, Theologus, Magdalene, Nicodemus, Nuntius, Pilatus, Congregatio Pontificum, Chorus Virginum, Semichorus, Adolescentulus, Custodia, is, on the other hand, relegated to an appendix as not the work of Gregory, in accord with the opinion of all the best authorities; though M. Villemain (*Tableau*, &c. p. 135) has assumed its genuineness without note or question. Reference may be made to Caillau's *Monitum in loco*, Tillemont (*Mémoires*, iii. 559), Dom Ceillier, *Hist. des Aut.* &c. vii. 196. Caillau is himself inclined to attribute it to a Gregory who became bishop of Antioch A.D. 572.

Of the MSS. in which the works of Gregory have been preserved and the printed editions, a full account is ready to hand in the prefaces of Clemencet (*Opera*, i. pp. 1–16) and Caillau (*Opera*, ii. pp. 1–6); and in Fabricius, *Biblioth. Graeca Eccl.* ed. Harl. viii. 398, et seqq. The earliest of the Greek editions is the *Gregorii Nazianzeni Orationes Lectissimae XVI. Graecè ex editione M. Musuri;* Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, 1516, in 8vo. The earliest of the Latin is *Gregorii Nazianzeni carmina, ad bene beateque vivendum utilissima, Latinè ex editione Aldi Manutii Romani et Petri Candidi Monachi;* Venetiis, Aldus Manutius, in 4to, 1504. In 1569 there appeared at Paris *Prima operum Gregorii adornata a Jacobo Billio Prunaeo S. Michaelis in Eremo Abbate editio sive interpretatio.* It was accompanied by a new translation and by the commentaries of Nicetas, &c. In the same or the following year it appeared at Cologne, and has often been reprinted. Soon afterwards Leuvenklaius published an edition "Basiliae anno 1571 ex Officina Hervagiana," which bore on its first page the words "Nec deinceps aliam expectari locupletiorem posse de praemio lector intelliget"; and added the commentaries of Elias of Crete. Another edition of Billius was published at Paris in 1583 by Genebrardus, who included the new matter from the work of Leuvenklaius, and made several other additions. The work now formed two volumes. In 1609, and again in 1630, appeared the famous Graeco-Latin edition of Paris, containing the Greek of Gregory and the Latin interpretation of Billius. It was honoured by a magnificent laudation from Morellus, which was ridiculed by Montacutius, who thus described the work of the editors: "Habebant fortasse, habere sane poterant Regios, Regineos, Petavii libros, Sirleti, &c. sed ut ille Epicteti lucernam ad ostentationem, non ad usum; quippe qui deformarunt magis Gregorium quam fuerat in editione prima." Clemencet gives his own opinion thus: "Inde Gregorius sub falsi Billii nominis umbra neglectus incultusque jacet quia summâ curâ collatus cum MSS. et emendatus a Billio temere praedicatur." In 1778 the first volume of the Benedictine edition, with the title *Sancti Patris nostri Gregorii Theologi vulgo Nazianzeni Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, Opera omnia quae extant vel ejus nomine circumferuntur, ad MSS. codices Gallicanos, Vaticanos, Germanicos, Anglicos, nec non ad antiquiores editiones castigata; multis auctis*, &c. &c. was published at Paris. It had been announced as early as 1708. Undertaken first by De Friche, then by Louvard and Maran, it was finally edited by Clemencet, with the assistance of Patert, Brion, D'Olive and others. In the preparation of the second volume he had the help of de Cosniac; and de Verneuil succeeded to the labour after Clemencet's death. But the storm of the French Revolution drove the monks of St. Maur from their home, and the second volume was not published until 1842, when it was edited by Caillau.

(*c*) i. In forming an estimate of Gregory's literary position we have to consider (1) his poems, (2) his letters, and (3) his orations. Of each kind of writing we have seen that there are abundant materials from which to form a judgment. (1) Two modern criticisms of the poems from very different standpoints may help us to arrive at the true mean. To Dr. Ullmann (*Gregorius*, s. 200–2) they are "inferior to the letters, the product of old age, whereas the true vein of poetry must have shewn itself in earlier life; cramped by their subject-matters, which did not admit of originality; prosaic thoughts wrapped in poetic forms; involved and diffusive." The critic thinks that even the better poems are open to these remarks, but he admits that some of the short pieces are poetry of a high order, and that the didactic aim of Gregory is to be taken into account. "Still they could never be more than a poor substitute for the older poetry of Greece." To Villemain, who in poetic genius and critical faculty stands as much above Ullmann as in theological knowledge and historical accuracy he must be placed below him, the poems are the finest parts of all Gregory's works. "The greater part of his poems are religious meditations, which, in spite of the differences of genius and of times, have more than one link with the reveries of the poetic imagination in our days of sceptical satiety and social progress. There is one, espe-

cially, the severe charm of which seems to have anticipated the finest inspirations of our melancholy age, while it preserves the impress of a faith still fresh and honest, even in its trouble" (*Tableau de l'Eloquence chrétienne au Quatrième Siècle*, p. 133). He then translates the greater part of the poem "De humanâ naturâ" (No. xiv., *Opera*, ii. 469–77), and adds, "There is undoubtedly a singular charm in this mixture of abstract thoughts and emotions, in this contrast of the beauties of nature with the restlessness of a heart tormented with the enigma of existence, and seeking to rest in faith. It is not the poetry of Homer; it is another poetry which has its truth, its novelty, and thence its grandeur. I much prefer it to the artificial imitations in which Christian literature sought to seize and to impose upon religious subjects the forms of the older idiom of the Muses" (*ibid.* p. 135). Again, he says, in words which exactly characterize the genius of Gregory's poetry: "It was in the new form of a contemplative poetry, in this sadness of man regarding himself, in this mystic melancholy so little known to the ancient poets, that the Christian imagination was especially to enter the arena against them without disadvantage. There, this poetry which modern satiety seeks for, this poetry of reflection and reverie, which enters into the human heart, and describes its inmost thoughts and vague desires, sprang up of itself" (*ibid.* p. 136). And at the end of a paragraph, when he is referring to Gregory, though he speaks of "the writings of the bishop of Caesarea," M. Villemain adds, "His funeral eulogies are hymns; his invectives against Julian have something of the malediction of the prophets. He has been called the 'Theologian of the East.' He ought to have been called rather "the Poet of Eastern Christendom" (*ibid.*).

In both these critiques there is an element of truth, but neither in the pages of Dr. Ullmann nor in those of M. Villemain do we find the Gregory who is portrayed to us in his own works. Dr. Ullmann knows, but does not always bear in mind, Gregory's own statement of the aim of his poetry. It must be admitted that "as soon as he falls, in the course of his longer didactic poems, into dogmatic polemics and subtleties, or a discursive moralising strain, all claims to poetry naturally disappear," but Gregory had a higher mission than that of a poet, and he is himself fully conscious that he is sacrificing form to substance, and beauty to necessity (*Carm.* xxxix. εἰς τὰ Ἔμμετρα). Nor does the critic remember how large a part of Gregory's poems are neither dogmatic nor discursive. The criticism, indeed, could hardly have been written had the second volume of the Benedictine edition been already published. M. Villemain, on the other hand, has seen with his usual keenness of perception, and expressed with his usual felicity of language, the characteristic beauties of these poems; but when in his admiration of the poet he exalts him above the theologian, he fails to recognise the true value of the orations, and Gregory's first claim to greatness. To the critic, who is himself a theologian, Gregory appears as a theologian rather than a poet; to the critic, who is himself a poet, Gregory appears as a poet rather than a theologian; to the careful reader of his own works he appears as both, but as one who regarded the teaching of dogmatic truth, and the combating of error, as the work of life to which all besides was made to give way.

(2) Gregory's extant letters, though upon very various subjects, and written in many cases under the pressure of immediate necessity, are almost invariably finished compositions. In one of them we have his own views as to what a letter should be. "A medium must be preserved between ambiguous brevity and wearisome prolixity. The oratorical style is to be avoided, the familiar style cultivated. The best letter is that which in few words conveys a sense to the unlearned, and yet utters a fuller meaning to him who is instructed. Another requisite in a good letter is that it should be graceful. It ought to contain nothing without meaning, and nothing without finish. Illustrations and proverbs are suitable to the epistolary style, and it is made pleasant by plays on words. But here, too, there must be moderation. Such things are to style what the purple colour is to raiment, and are to be used with careful hand. So with figures of speech. A few are to be admitted, but the careful balancing of antitheses and like phrases is to be left to the Sophists, or used playfully rather than in earnest. A good letter is more beautiful than others, just as the eagle of the old story was more beautiful than all other birds, because no one remarked its beauty. The thing to be aimed at in a letter is the beauty which comes from being natural, and which needs no adornment." Gregory modestly concludes by excusing himself from the rules of good letter-writing, because he was oppressed by weightier cares (*Ep.* li., *Opera*, ii. 46). The next letter (*ibid.* p. 48) accompanied a collection of epistles sent to Nicobulus as specimens for use, not for show, for to ask the writer for letters, seeing that he had long ago given up the culture of literature, was like gathering flowers from an autumnal field; and the next to this (*ibid.* p. 48) places the letters of Basil before his own. He is led to do so no less by truth than by friendship, though an impartial judgment may think that he was influenced by friendship rather than by truth.

(3) A higher place has been claimed in this article for Gregory's orations than for his poems; and examples have been given which may be considered sufficient to justify the claim. The Roman Breviary (Die ix. Maii) speaks of him as having surpassed all other sacred orators in solidity, and a consensus of opinions from the 4th century to our own day may be quoted as supporting this view. He is now held to be greater than Basil, or again to have eclipsed Chrysostom himself, or again to have combined "the invincible logic of Bourdaloue; the unction, colour, and harmony of Massillon; the flexibility, poetic grace, and vivacity of Fénelon; the force, grandeur, and sublimity of Bossuet . . . . The Eagle of Meaux has been especially inspired by him in his funeral orations; the Swan of Cambrai has followed him in his treatise on 'The Existence of God'" (Benoît, *Grégoire de Nazianze*, p. 721). It will be here enough to refer to such opinions as are found in the preface to the Benedictine edition, or in any of the lives; for the present purpose they are important as placing Gregory in a position which, after making full allowance for the besetting weakness of editors and biographers, must be admitted to be in the very

first rank of Christian orators. He was indeed an orator by training and profession. For this he studied at Caesareia, Alexandria, and Athens, and was the acknowledged chief in the schools of the rhetoricians. He not unfrequently refers to the power of his own eloquence, and in a famous passage of the first invective against Julian, who had boasted "ours is eloquence and the arts of Greece and the culture of the gods; yours is ignorance and boorishness" (Ammian. Marcell. xxv. 4), he thus speaks of it, "I give up all besides; riches, nobility, glory, power, and all such earthly things. But I cling to eloquence alone; and I do not regret the labours by land and by sea which I have undertaken to acquire it" (*Orat.* iv. 100, *Opera*, i. 132). The oratory of the Christian pulpit was the creation of Gregory and Basil. It was based on the ancient models, and was akin, therefore, to the speeches of Demosthenes and Cicero, rather than to the modern sermon. The extant orations of Gregory are, moreover, but a few out of the many which he must have written, and are practically a volume of sermons for special occasions. Some of them were not delivered from the pulpit at all. Others were delivered to a multitude moved to tears as they thought of the death of some friend, or excited by the discussion of some burning question, and ready at any moment to burst forth in cries of sympathy, or hisses of dissent, or deafening cheers of approval. It has not unfrequently been a charge against the sermons of Gregory that they are not an exposition of Scripture. As compared with the Homilies of Chrysostom, for example, they certainly (with one exception, *Orat.* xxxvii., *Opera*, i. 644–60) are not; the nature of the case made it impossible that they should be. But the answer to the charge, in the sense in which it is often made, is found in the discourses themselves. The margin of every page abounds with references to Scripture, and no reader can fail to see with Bossuet that "Gregory's whole discourse is nothing but a judicious weaving of Scripture, and that he manifests everywhere a profound acquaintance with it" (*Défense de la Tradition*, &c. iv. 2; Benoît, *Grégoire*, &c. 723).

ii. Great as was the position of Gregory as a writer, it is as a theologian that he has left his chief mark upon history. He alone beyond the apostolic circle has been thought worthy to bear the name "Theologus" which had been appropriated to St. John. In the story of his life, frequent allusion has been made to his teaching, and further reference may be made to the elaborate analysis of Ullmann (*Gregorius*, &c. ss. 209–352), who, following Clemencet (*Opera*, i. xlix–lxxviii.), has arranged under their separate headings his views on the articles of faith. Within our present limits the chief of them only can be referred to as they are contained in the five famous theological discourses delivered at Constantinople (*Orat.* xxvii.–xxxi., *Opera*, i. 487–579).

(1) The first is entitled Κατὰ Εὐνομιάνων προδιάλεξις. It opens by shewing "the evil of the desire for fine words," and comparing his "adversaries who left the practice of piety for the discussion of theological questions to mountebanks who seek the applause of crowds. To discourse about God is a task of the greatest difficulty, not fitted for all times or all persons, nor to be undertaken in the presence of all persons. The heretics, having no strength in their own teaching, find it in the weakness of ours, as flies gather round wounds. We ought not to make our accusers our judges, nor in the presence of the foe draw the sword to our own destruction. The teacher of theology ought first to practise virtue. There is abundant scope for work to refute the older teaching of the pagan philosophers, or to discuss simpler questions of science and theology; but as to the nature of God our words should be few, for we can know but little in this life."

(2) Περὶ θεολογίας. Gregory reasserts here his favourite position, that "it is the pure mind only that can know God. Moses ascends the mountain; Aaron is near; the elders are at a distance; the people are far away below; the beast on the mountain, incapable of thought and knowledge of God, is stoned. Heretics are like beasts on the mountain. The theologian beholds part of God, but the divine nature he can neither express in words nor comprehend in thought. The higher intelligence of angels even cannot know Him as He is. That there is a creating and preserving cause, we can know, as the sound of an instrument bears witness to its maker and player; that God is, we know, but what He is, and of what nature He is, and where He is, and where He was before the foundation of the world, we cannot know. The Infinite cannot be defined. We can only predicate negative attributes, for the nature of the divine essence is beyond all human conception. There may be various reasons why God cannot be known by man. Three are suggested: (*a*) we shall hereafter prize this knowledge the more; (*b*) we should have been in danger, had we the faculty of knowing Him, of falling by pride, as Lucifer did; (*c*) that they may have a rich reward, who have purged themselves from sin here, and have patiently waited for the fulfilment of their hope. The cause of our present inability is the union of the soul with the body, which prevents it from rising wholly above sensible objects. The mind is soon wearied in the attempt to form ideas of God. In infinite condescension to our weakness, God is called in Holy Scripture by names drawn from sensible objects. The mind either forms from these ideas the many gods of idolatry, or uses them as stepping-stones to a knowledge of the true God. The mystery of the divine essence is natural, and is analogous to other mysteries which surround us. Man—the juncture of soul and body, the functions and powers of the mind and various organs of the body, the continuity of species and variety of individuals; the wonderful variety and powers of animals, fishes, birds, insects; the many kinds, utility, and beauty of plants, fruits, flowers; the phenomena of earth and sea and sky; the nature of angelic beings; all these are equally beyond human reason."

(3) Περὶ Υἱοῦ. The two previous discourses were introductory. He now passes to the next subject. "The three earliest opinions concerning God were anarchia, polyarchia, and monarchia. The two former could not stand, as leading to confusion rather than the order of the universe. We hold that there is a monarchia, but that God is not limited to one person. If unity is divided, it becomes plurality. But if there is equal dignity of nature, and agreement of will, and identity of movement, and convergence to unity

of those things which are of unity (and this cannot be the case in created things), there may be distinction in number without by any means involving distinction in essence and nature. Unity, therefore (*μονὰς*), from the beginning going forth to duality (*εἰς δυάδα*), constituted a Trinity (*μέχρι τριάδος*). Human words fail to express the generation and procession, and it is better to keep to scriptural terms; but the writer has in his thoughts an overflowing of goodness, and the Platonic simile of an overflowing cup applied to first and second causes. The generation and procession are eternal, and all questions as to time are inapplicable." Gregory then proceeds to state and answer the common objections of his adversaries.

"The Son and the Spirit can be co-eternal with the Father, and yet be born of and proceed from Him. Eternity does not imply self-originality, but an originality to which it may be referred: just as light proceeds from the sun, but is not later than the sun."

"This generation is free from all passion because it is incorporeal."

"The Father is properly Father because He is not also Son; the Son is properly Son because He is not also Father. Man is both father and son, and is properly neither."

"The Scriptures use the past tense in speaking of the generation of the Son, but every student of Scripture knows that the tenses of verbs are interchanged (*e.g.* Ps. ii. 1 and xxv. 6)."

"To ask whether the Father begat the Son voluntarily or involuntarily, is as absurd as it would be to ask whether He is God voluntarily or involuntarily."

"The generation of the Son is indeed incomprehensible; but that of every human being is also incomprehensible and yet true."

"The question whether the Son existed before He was begotten is absurd, when eternal generation is thought of. The Arian dilemma is met by another. Is time in time or not?"

"Begotten and not-begotten are not the same thing. Are the Father and the Son, then, the same thing?" "The Father and the Son are the same in their essence and nature. These properties do not belong to the divine essence any more than immortality, innocence, immutability. Otherwise there would be several divine essences. That is the divine essence which belongs to God alone, but we cannot know that essence, as has been already shewn."

"If the Son is of the same essence as the Father, and the Father is unbegotten (they say), the Son must be unbegotten." "But God and 'unbegotten' are not the same thing."

"Or, again, to say 'If God made not an end of begetting, the generation is imperfect; and if there is an end, there must have been a beginning,' is to argue from corporeal to spiritual things. What would they say of the angelic or human spirits which have come into existence but will not cease to be."

"The Son is not, as they say, called God equivocally, as a painting is called an animal, but is really and properly God."

After dealing with other paralogisms, Gregory passes on to an examination of the passages in Scripture in which the divinity of the Son is expressed, and of the passages which speak of the humanity, and are quoted as opposed to the divinity by the Eunomians. "The Son was equal to the Father, and what He was He remained at the Incarnation; what He was not He assumed. God became man that we might become gods."

The oration ends with an apology for dealing with such subtleties, which weaken the force of the truth; and a prayer that his adversaries may have faith, by which alone spiritual truth can be discerned.

(4) *Περὶ Υἱοῦ.* In this discourse the subject of the third is continued. Gregory has already answered the objection, that some passages of Scripture speak of the Son as human. He here enters upon an exhaustive examination, under ten objections, of the scriptural language applied to our Lord, and then passes to an exposition of the names which are (*a*) common to the Deity, (*b*) peculiar to the Son, (*c*) peculiar to the Son as man.

(5) *Περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου πνεύματος.* Gregory commences this oration on the Holy Spirit by referring to the special difficulties arising from (*a*) the fact that many who admitted the divinity of the Son regarded the divinity of the Holy Ghost as a new doctrine not found in Holy Scripture; (*b*) that those defeated by his previous arguments had become the more determined to hold their ground here; (*c*) that he was himself worn out by the earlier discourses, and that his adversaries were wearied with them. He then expresses, in the strongest terms, his own belief in the divinity of the Third Person in the Trinity no less than in that of the Father and the Son. "The Holy Spirit is holiness. Had the Spirit been wanting to the divine Trinity, the Father and the Son would have been imperfect."

Historically, it is true that the Sadducees did not believe in the Holy Spirit; neither did they in angels or a resurrection, but it is difficult to see how they avoided the express witness of the Old Testament. The most eminent of the pagan philosophers had a glimpse of the truth, for they spoke of the "Mind of the Universe," the "Mind without," &c.

"Our argument is neither with those who deny that there is a Spirit nor yet with pagans, but with professing Christians who accept the Scriptures. Now the Spirit is either a substance or an attribute — not the latter, for he is said to 'separate' (Acts xiii. 2), and to 'be grieved' (Eph. iv. 30). If a substance, he is either God or a creature; but not a creature, for how could we believe upon, or be brought to perfection by, a creature?"

"But (it is objected) the Spirit must be unbegotten or begotten. If unbegotten, then are there two without beginning; if begotten, then of the Father or of the Son?" "True, it is impossible for the human mind to understand procession as distinct from generation. Let the objector explain how the Father is unbegotten or the Son begotten before he presses the difficulty that the Spirit proceedeth. The word of the Gospel is clear (John xv. 26): 'We who cannot comprehend those things which lie at our feet, and cannot count the sand of the sea, or the drops of rain, or the days of an aeon, how can we penetrate the profound depths of Divinity, and explain a nature thus obscure and beyond all power of speech?'"

"The Spirit is not called Son, not because anything is wanting in him which is present in the

Son, for nothing can be wanting to God, but on account of the difference of their manifestation and mutual relation. In the same way the Father is not called Son."

"The Spirit is of the same substance with the Father and the Son (*ὁμοούσιον*). Again, we have a mystery beyond human thought, but in the varieties of the generation of animals there are faint shadows which may help us. Adam was a creature of God, Eve a segment of the creature, Seth the offspring of both. Was the same thing creature and segment and offspring? And yet no similitude can fully represent the truth."

"If they ask who of ancient or modern times worshipped the Spirit, the answer is found in the words of Scripture (John iv. 24; Rom. viii. 26; 1 Cor. xiv. 15). It is true that St. John says of the Son, 'by Him were all things made *that were made*,' but this does not include the Spirit, for the evangelist does not say 'all things' simply."

"Their chief objection is that to acknowledge the divinity of the Spirit is Tritheism. Are they themselves then, seeing that they do acknowledge the divinity of the Son, Ditheists (*Διθεῖται*)? Do they assert that things which have the same substance are numbered together (*ξυναριθμεῖται τὰ ὁμοούσια*), and that things which differ in substance are numbered separately? This is to forget that number refers to quantity, not to quality; to the quantity of the things contained under it, not to their nature. Three things may be called 'one, one, one,' though they are of the same substance; or 'three' though they are of different substances."

"Do they ask why Holy Scripture is not more express in its statements about the divinity of the Spirit? Let them observe the method of Scripture. Some things are spoken of which are not, *e.g.* as when God is said to sleep or to wake or be angry. Some things are not spoken of which are. Where do they derive the terms *τὸ ἀγέννητον*, or *τὸ ἄναρχον*, or *τὸ ἀθάνατον*? Some things are not, and are not spoken of; as an evil God, or a square circle. Some things are, and are spoken of; as God, man, angel, judgment. It is absurd then to render the question one of words. The Scripture does not in so many words assert the divinity of the Holy Spirit, but it does in fact. Besides, why do the Arians make this an objection when the most express terms did not convince them of the divinity of the Son? God blesses men with, not against, their own will. Further, the revelation of Father (Old Testament), Son (New Testament), and Spirit (after the Ascension) is progressive. The human mind could not have grasped the full truth at once; it was to be expected therefore that the divinity of the Spirit, who was given after the ascension of the Son, should not be taught during the earlier manifestation. There are, moreover, in Holy Scripture a number of texts which do teach it." These Gregory quotes and explains, and then passes on to sum up in a restatement of the doctrine of the Trinity.

"There are some faint resemblances which may in some degree help to give an idea of Trinity in Unity. The fountain, the stream, the river; the sun, the ray, the light; the ray falling upon the water and reflected by it. But there is a danger that these images should mislead rather than lead; and the only safe position is that of humble faith."

It has been said with truth that these discourses of Gregory would lose their chief charm in translation. No conception of their subtlety of thought or beauty of expression, can be given in an outline, where a few words often represent several pages. Critics have rivalled each other in the praises they have heaped upon them, but no praise is so high as that of the many theologians who have found in them their own best thoughts. A critic who cannot be accused of partiality towards Gregory has given in a few words perhaps the truest estimate of them. "A substance of thought, the concentration of all that is spread through the writings of Hilary, Basil, and Athanasius; a flow of softened eloquence which does not halt or lose itself for a moment; an argument nervous without dryness on the one hand, and without useless ornament on the other, give these five discourses a place to themselves among the monuments of this fine genius, who was not always in the same degree free from grandiloquence and affectation. In a few pages and in a few hours Gregory has summed up and closed the controversy of a whole century." (De Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire*, v. 385; Benoît, *Grégoire*. &c. 435, 436).

Books.—Little is needed for the study of Gregory's life and works beyond the admirable Benedictine edition referred to above, and the Lives by Ullmann (*Gregorius von Nazianz der Theologe*, 2. Aufl., Gotha, 1867; first part of earlier edition translated by Cox, Oxford, 1855) and Benoît (*Saint Grégoire de Nazianze*, Paris, 1876). A well-known comparison of Gregory and Basil will be found in Dr. Newman's *Church of the Fathers*, pp. 116–45, 551. See also a recent important work discussing some of the disputed questions in the life of Gregory by the Abbé Louis Montaut, *Revue Critique de quelques questions historiques se rapportant à St. Grégoire de Nazianze et à son siècle.* [H. W. W.]

GREGORIUS (15) NYSSENUS, bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia (372–395), brother of Basil the Great, and a leading theologian of the Eastern church in the second half of the 4th century. He and his brother and their common friend Gregory Nazianzen were the chief champions of the orthodox Nicene faith in the struggle against Arianism and Apollinarianism, and by their discreet zeal, guided by independency of spirit and moderation of temper, contributed chiefly to its victory in the East. He was one of the ten children, five of each sex, of Basil, an advocate and rhetorician of eminence, and his wife Emmelia, of whom Basil bishop of Caesareia was the eldest, and Gregory Nyssen the third or fourth (Greg. Nyss. *de Vit. S. Macr.*, *Opp.* ed. Morel. tom. ii. pp. 182–186). [BASILIUS OF CAESAREIA.] It is evident from the relations between them and the language which he adopts in speaking of him, as a son to a father, that Gregory was several years younger than Basil. As the latter was born in A.D. 329 or 330, we may place Gregory's birth about A.D. 335 or 336. His birthplace was probably Caesareia. We are destitute of all information as to the place of his education and his teachers. It is certain, however that he did not share in his eldest brother's advantages in receiving a university training,

and we may reasonably conclude that he was brought up in the schools of his native city. That no very special pains had been devoted to his literary and intellectual instruction, we may gather from the words of his sister Macidora to him on her deathbed, in which she ascribed the high position he had gained among the bishops of his time to the prayers of his parents, since "he had little or no assistance towards it from home" (*De Vit. S. Macr. Opp.* tom. iii. 192). A feeble constitution, subject to frequent illnesses, and a natural shyness disposed the young Gregory to a literary retirement in preference to the active walks of life. His intellectual powers were considerable, and had been improved by diligent private study; but he shrank from a public career, and appears after his father's death to have lived upon his share of the paternal estate, without adopting any profession. That his religious instincts did not develop early appears from his account of his reluctant attendance at the religious ceremonial held by his mother Emmelia in honour of the "Forty Martyrs." A day having been fixed for the translation of the relics of these sainted soldiers to a chapel erected for their reception, Emmelia summoned her son to Annesi to take part in the festival. The occasion was one in which a young layman like Gregory had but little sympathy, and he was immersed in occupations which he was unwilling to leave. He records the annoyance he felt at his mother's having chosen a time for her function so inconvenient to him, and for compelling him to be present even before the ceremonies began. The service in honour of the martyrs was held in his mother's garden, and lasted all through the night. But it had few attractions for the young student, who, wearied with his journey, threw himself down in an arbour and fell asleep. His mind, however, was not altogether at ease, and as he slept he seemed to be seeking to enter the garden, the approach to which was barred by the martyrs, who beat him with their rods, and would have excluded him altogether but for the intercession of one of their band. On awaking from his dream, full of remorse for the dishonour he had done to these holy men, he hastened to the urn which enshrined their ashes and bedewed it with bitter tears, beseeching God to be propitious to him, and the sainted soldiers to forgive the slight he had shewn them (*Orat. in XL. Martyr., Opp.* tom. ii. p. 212). It is evident that this terrifying vision had a very powerful effect on the young Gregory's mind, and under its influence he undertook the office of a "lector," in pursuance of which, as his friend, Gregory Nazianzen, reminds him, he read the Bible lections in the congregation (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 43, tom. i. p. 804). He would seem, however, to have soon tired of his new vocation, which he deserted for that of a professor of rhetoric. This backsliding, caused great pain to Gregory's friends, and gave occasion to the enemies of religion to suspect the young reader's motives and bring unfounded accusations against him. Gregory Nazianzen, whose affection for him was warm and sincere, addressed to him a very strong remonstrance, expressing the grief felt by himself and others at his gradual and stealthy falling away from his first love; his discarding the Holy Scriptures, so full of the streams of grace, for the brackish and arid channels of secular learning, and seeking for "inglorious glory." He reproaches his friend for the "demoniacal ambition" which led him to covet the name of rhetorician rather than that of Christian, as well as for bringing discredit on his Christian profession by the public exhibition of himself in oratorical contests. He earnestly entreats him to return to a better mind, to make his apology to God, to the altar, and to the faithful, engaging to pray for his restoration to the God that quickens the dead (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 43 [37], tom. i. p. 804). The date of this temporary desertion cannot be ascertained, but since during the short reign of Julian it was forbidden to Christians to act as public instructors we must place it either before 361 or after 363. At or about the same time we may place Gregory's marriage. His wife was named Theosebeia, and from the description given of her by Gregory Nazianzen in the letter written to console his friend on her death, we may gather that her character answered to her name, and that in piety and devotion to good works she was worthy to be "the spouse of a priest," *ἱερέως σύζυγον*. Gregory Nazianzen calls her "his Theosebeia," counting spiritual relationship stronger than that of nature. We do not know when her death occurred, but it was after Gregory had become a bishop, and, according to Tillemont, subsequently to the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. Expressions in Gregory Nazianzen's letter would lead us to believe that both himself and his friend were somewhat advanced in life at that time; and from Theosebeia being styled Gregory Nyssen's "sister" we may gather that they had ceased to cohabit, probably on his becoming a bishop. We do not hear of their having any offspring. (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 95, tom. i. p. 846; Niceph. *H. E.* xi. 19.)

Gregory did not long exercise his profession of a teacher of rhetoric. The urgent remonstrances of his friend Gregory Nazianzen would have an earnest supporter in his elder sister, the holy recluse Macrina, who would not fail to use the same powerful arguments with him which had proved effectual in inducing Basil to give up all prospect of worldly fame for the service of Christ. It is probable also that the profession he had undertaken may have proved increasingly distasteful to one of Gregory's sensitive and retiring disposition, and that the small results of his exertions to inspire a literary taste among the youth (who, as he complains in letters to his brother Basil's tutor Libanius, written while practising his profession as a rhetorician (Greg. Nyss. *Epist.* 13, 14), were much more ready to enter the army than to follow rhetorical studies), may have discouraged him from bestowing any further labour on so unproductive a soil. After some struggles he finally resolved to quit the world and its pursuits, and retired to a monastery in Pontus, which we cannot hesitate to identify with that on the river Iris presided over by his brother Basil, and in close vicinity to Annesi, where was the female convent of which his sister Macrina was the superior. In this congenial retreat he passed several years, devoting himself to the study of the Scriptures and the works of Christian commentators. Among these it is certain that Origen had a high place, the influence of his writings being evident in his

own theological works. During his residence in Pontus, c. A.D. 371, he composed his work, *De Virginitate*, in which, while extolling the state of virginity as the highest perfection of Christian life, he laments most poignantly the fatal error by which, as by a wall or a gulph, he had separated himself from it, and rendered it impossible that he should ever attain that angelic virtue which he regarded as the only road to moral perfection (*De Virg.* lib. iii. tom. iii. pp. 116, sq.). Towards the close of his residence in Pontus, A.D. 371, circumstances occurred displaying Gregory's goodness of heart together with his simplicity and complete want of judgment in a striking manner. From some unexplained cause an estrangement had arisen between Basil and his aged uncle, the bishop Gregory, whom the family deservedly regarded as their second father. The younger Gregory took on himself the office of mediator. Straight paths having failed to conduct to the desired end, he adopted crooked ones, and forged letters to his brother in their uncle's name desiring reconciliation. The result was such as might have been expected. The letters were indignantly repudiated by the justly offended bishop; strong language was used on both sides, and reconciliation became increasingly hopeless. On the discovery of the deceit, Basil addressed a letter to his brother, which is a model of dignified rebuke. He first ridicules him with his simplicity, unworthy even of one of the lower animals, still more of a Christian, reproaches him for endeavouring to serve the cause of truth by deception, and upbraids him with his unbrotherly conduct in adding affliction to one already pressed out of measure (Basil. *Ep.* 58, [44]). From this calm retirement in A.D. 372 (the same year which saw the consecration of his friend Gregory Nazianzen to the see of Sasima, as well as that of one of the most widely venerated of the Western prelates, St. Martin of Tours) Gregory was reluctantly forced by his brother Basil to undertake the cares and labours of the episcopate. His unwillingness to exchange his life of studious leisure and religious contemplation for the harassing duties of a bishop was so great that, as we learn from a letter of Basil's, force had to be used to compel him to allow the ordaining hands to be laid upon him (Basil, *Ep.* 225 [385]). The see selected for him by his brother was Nyssa, an obscure town of Cappadocia Prima, about ten miles from the capital, Caesareia. So inconspicuous was the place that their common friend, Eusebius of Samosata, wrote to Basil to remonstrate on his burying so distinguished a man in a see so unworthy of him. Basil replied that he had not done this through any want of appreciation of his brother's merits, which made him worthy to govern the whole church gathered into one, but from a desire that the see should be made famous by its bishop, not the bishop by his see (*ibid.* 98 [259]). Basil's words contained an unconscious prophecy. Nyssa, which would otherwise have been utterly unknown, has gained universal celebrity from its bishop. It was not long after Gregory Nyssen's ordination that his namesake of Nazianzus was also made to experience the irresistible power of Basil's will in his consecration to the bishopric of Sasima. The ceremony took place at Nazianzus. The future bishop was eagerly expecting the support of his friend Gregory Nyssen's presence on the occasion. He did not, however, arrive till several days after the ceremony. It was a martyr's festival, and the new bishop was to preach. He devoted the exordium of his sermon to a studied eulogy on the two brothers, Gregory and Basil, whom he compared to Moses and Aaron, mingling, however, with his encomiums covert reproaches, of the one for his absence at his ordination, of the other for forcing him into the episcopate against his will (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 6, pp. 136 sqq.).

Basil had speedily fresh cause to complain of his brother's well-intentioned but blundering endeavours to befriend him. We are left in the dark as to the nature of the circumstances to which he refers in a letter to Eusebius of Samosata (Basil, *Ep.* 100 [256]), but the mention of synods collected by Gregory at Ancyra, and the plots against him caused by his simplicity, render it probable that a mistaken confidence in his powers of dealing with men had caused him to promote the gathering of episcopal synods in the hope of rendering his brother effectual assistance, while he was really becoming a tool in the hands of clever and unscrupulous men of the world for his injury. So mistaken an estimate did Gregory entertain of his own powers that about this same time Basil had again to interpose his authority to prevent his being sent as the colleague of Dorotheus, the presbyter of Antioch, on his mission to Italy to solicit the intervention of Damasus and the Western bishops in the troubles of the East caused by the Meletian schism. In a letter to Dorotheus, Basil expresses his conviction of his excellent brother's complete unfitness for so delicate a negotiation, both on account of his thorough inexperience in ecclesiastical matters, and because his simple-hearted goodness would be despised by a haughty character like Damasus, preferring flattery to truth (*ibid.* 215 [250]).

Gregory's episcopate fell in troublous times for the orthodox. Valens, a zealous Arian, was on the throne, and lost no opportunity of forwarding his own tenets, and vexing those who professed opposite views. The miserable Demosthenes had been recently appointed vicar of Pontus, with the understanding that he was to do all in his power to crush the adherents of the Nicene faith. A keen recollection of his disgraceful discomfiture when, in his earlier character as clerk of the imperial kitchen, he had rashly entered into a theological controversy with Basil, would make him look on Gregory with no friendly eyes. [DEMOSTHENES.] After various petty acts of persecution, in which the semi-Arian prelates joined with high satisfaction, as a means of retaliating on Basil, a synod was summoned at Ancyra, at the close of A.D. 375, for the double purpose of examining some alleged canonical irregularities in Gregory's ordination to the episcopate, and of investigating a frivolous charge brought against him by a certain Philocharis, of having made away with some of the church funds left by his predecessor. A band of soldiers was sent to arrest Gregory and conduct him to the place of hearing. A chill on his journey brought on a pleuritic seizure, and aggravated a painful malady to which he was subject. His sufferings were so severe that he

entreated his conductors to allow him to halt for medical treatment. But they were deaf to his entreaties, and mercilessly hurried him on. In some unexplained way, however, he managed to elude their vigilance and escaped to some place of concealment where his maladies could be cared for. Basil proved equal to the occasion. He collected a synod of orthodox Cappadocian bishops, in whose name he addressed a dignified but courteous letter to Demosthenes, apologizing for his brother's non-appearance at Ancyra, and stating that the charge of embezzlement could be shewn to be false by the books of the treasurers of the church; while, if any canonical defect in his ordination could be proved, the ordainers, not the ordained, were those who should be called to account, an account which they were ready to render (*ibid.* 225 [385]). Basil wrote at the same time in his brother's behalf of a man of distinction named Aburgius, begging him to use his influence to save him from the misery of being dragged into court, and being implicated in judicial business from which his peaceful disposition shrank (*ibid.* 33 [358]). The non-appearance of Gregory having rendered the synod of Ancyra fruitless, a second was summoned by Demosthenes A.D. 376, through the active instrumentality of Eustathius of Sebaste, for his own episcopal city of Nyssa. Still Gregory refused to appear. He was pronounced contumacious and deposed by the assembled bishops, of whom Anysius and Ecdicius of Parnasse were the leaders, and a successor was consecrated, spoken of with scorn by Basil as a miserable slave who could be bought for a few oboli (*ibid.* 237 [264], 239 [10]). Gregory's deposition was followed by his banishment by the emperor Valens (Greg. Nyss. *de Vit. Macr.* tom. ii. p. 192). These accumulated troubles proved utterly crushing to Gregory's gentle spirit. In his letters written at this period he bewails the cruel necessity which had compelled him to desert his spiritual children whom with so much pain he had brought forth, and driven him from his home and all that was dearest to him, his brethren, his kinsmen, his friends, to dwell among malicious enemies who scrutinized every look and gesture, nay his very dress, and made them the ground of accusation. He dwells with tender recollection on the home of which he had been deprived,—his fireside, his table, his pantry, his bed, his bench, his sackcloth,—and contrasts it with the stifling hole in which he was forced to dwell, of which the only furniture was straitness, darkness, and cold. His only consolation is in the assurance that his brethren would remember him in their prayers. (Greg. Nyss. *Epist.* 18, 22.) His letters to his friend Gregory Nazianzen have unfortunately perished, but the deep despondency in which he was sunk is shewn by the replies. After his expulsion from his see his namesake wrote that, though prevented from gratifying his desire of accompanying him in his banishment, he went with him in spirit, and that he trusted in God that before very long the storm would blow over, and that he would get the better of all his enemies, as a recompense for his strict orthodoxy (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 142, tom. i. p. 866). Driven from place to place, to avoid the evil designs of his enemies, he had compared himself to a stick carried aimlessly hither and thither on the surface of a stream; his friend replies that his movements were rather like those of the sun, which brings life to all things, or of the planets, whose apparent irregularities are subject to a fixed law (*ibid.* 34 [32], p. 798). Out of heart at the apparent triumph of Arianism, Gregory bids him be of good cheer, for the enemies of the truth were like serpents, creeping from their holes in the sunshine of imperial favour, who, however alarming their hissing, would be driven back into the earth by time and truth. All would come right if they left all to God (*ibid.* 35 [33], p. 799). This trust in God proved well-founded. On the death of Valens, in 378, the youthful Gratian recalled all the banished bishops, and, to the joy of the faithful, Gregory was restored to his see of Nyssa. In one of his letters, not improbably written to his brother Basil, he describes with graphic power the circumstances of his return. The latter half of his journey, which lay through a chain of villages along the riverside, was a triumphal progress. The inhabitants poured out to meet him, and escorted him along the road with acclamations and tears of joy. A heavy storm of rain a little before he got to Nyssa driving the inhabitants indoors caused him to enter the city unobserved; but no sooner were his chariot-wheels heard on the pavement than so large a crowd collected that his further progress was impeded, and he was prevented alighting, and was near fainting. When he got near the church a river of fire seemed to be pouring into it, from the number of lighted tapers borne before him by the holy virgins who had come forth to welcome back their beloved bishop (Greg. Nyssen. *Epist.* 3, Zacagni; No. 6, Migne). The happiness of his return was, however, short-lived. Private sorrow soon succeeded to public distress. The first day of the following year, Jan. 1, A.D. 379, saw the death of Basil, whom he loved as a brother and revered as a spiritual father. If not present at his death, he certainly attended his funeral, on which occasion he delivered his funeral oration, to which we are indebted for many particulars of that father's life. In common with Gregory's compositions generally, it offends by the extravagance of its language and turgid oratory (Greg. Nyss. *in Laud. Patr. Bas.* tom. iii. pp. 479 sq.). Gregory Nazianzen, who was prevented from being present at his friend's obsequies by disabling illness, wrote a consolatory letter, praising Gregory very highly, and saying that the chief comfort he now had was to see all Basil's virtues reflected in him, as in a mirror (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 37 [35], p. 799). One sorrow trod close on the heels of another in Gregory's life. The confusion in the churches after the long Arian supremacy entailed severe labours and anxieties upon him, and he was sent hither and thither for the defence of the truth, and the reformation of the erring (*De Vit. Macr.* tom. ii. p. 192). He had scarcely recovered from the blow of Basil's loss before he had to mourn that of his sister Macrina, to whose wise instructions and holy example both he and Basil owed so much. In September of this year, A.D. 379, he had taken part in the council held at Antioch for the double purpose of healing the Antiochene schism (which it failed to effect) and of taking measures for securing victory to the church

over the Arianism which had been lately dominant (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 910; Baluz. *Nov. Concil. Coll.* p. 78). On his way back to his diocese, Gregory visited the monastery at Annesi, over which his sister Macrina presided. He found her suffering from a mortal illness from which she expired the evening of the next day. A full account of Macrina's last hours, together with a detailed biography of her from her birth, and even before it, is given by him in a letter to the monk Olympius (*de Vit. S. Macrinae Virg.* tom. ii. pp. 177 sq.). In his treatise *de Anima et Resurrectione* (entitled, in honour of his sister, τὰ Μακρίνια) we have another account of her deathbed, in which he puts long speeches into her mouth, as part of a dialogue held with him on the proofs of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, the object of which was the mitigation of his grief for Basil's death (tom. iii. pp. 181 sq.). [MACRINA THE YOUNGER.] After celebrating his sister's funeral, Gregory continued his journey to his diocese, where, he complains to a brother bishop named John, who had been with him at Antioch (his letter to whom is our chief authority for this part of Gregory's history [*Epist.* xix.]), an unbroken series of calamities awaited him. The Galatians had been sowing their united heresies among his churches. The people at Ibora on the borders of Pontus having lost their bishop by death availed themselves of Gregory's presence to superintend the election and take the votes, to elect him to the vacant see. This, in some unexplained way, became the cause of troubles calling for the intervention of the military, with the count at their head, "setting the troops of the commanding officer in motion against him." When these difficulties had been settled, he was compelled to set out on a long and toilsome journey, in fulfilment of a commission he had received from the council of Antioch, "to visit and reform the church of Arabia" (tom. iii. p. 653), by which, as we learn from the same letter, that of Babylon is intended. He found the state of the Babylonian church even worse than had been represented. The people had grown hardened in heresy, and were as brutish and barbarous in their lives as in their tongue. They gloried in the heinousness of their evil deeds, and set such store by low cunning and violence that Sisyphus and Sciron would be far greater in their eyes than Archimedes. Lying was more natural to them than to speak the truth. We have no definite information as to the results of this mission; but from the despairing tone in which he speaks of it it is evident that he met with but little success. At the termination of this visitation he availed himself of his proximity to the Holy Land to visit the spots consecrated by the life and death of Christ. The journey was made easier by the facilities afforded by the emperor, who at the outset had put one of the public chariots at his disposal, which he records served him and his retinue "both for a monastery and a church"; fasting, psalmody, and the hours of prayer being kept up with the utmost regularity all through the journey (tom. iii. p. 658). He accomplished his object as far as seeing the sacred spots went. He visited Bethlehem, Golgotha, the Mount of Olives, and the Anastasis. But the result of this pilgrimage was simple disappointment. His faith received no confirmation, and his religious sense was scandalized by the gross immorality he found prevailing in the Holy City itself, which he describes as a sink of all iniquity. The church of Jerusalem was in an almost equally unsatisfactory state. Cyril, after his repeated depositions by Arian influence, had finally returned, but had failed to heal the dissensions of the Christians, or bring them back to unity of faith. Gregory's efforts were equally ineffectual, and he returned to Cappadocia depressed and saddened with the spectacle. He poured forth the feelings of his heart in two letters, one to three ladies resident at Jerusalem, Eustathia, Ambrosia, and Basilissa (tom. iii. pp. 659 sq.), the other the celebrated one "*de Euntibus Hierosolyma*," in which he declares his conviction not of the uselessness only but of the evil of pilgrimages. "He urges the dangers and suspicions to which pious recluses, especially women, would be subject, with male attendants, either strangers or friends, on a lonely road; the dissolute words and sights which may be unavoidable in the inns; the dangers of robbery and violence in the Holy Land itself, of the moral state of which he draws a fearful picture. He asserts the religious superiority of Cappadocia, which had more churches than any part of the world, and enquires in plain terms whether a man will believe the virgin birth of Christ the more by seeing Bethlehem, or His resurrection by visiting His tomb, or His ascension by standing on the Mount of Olives." (Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, bk. iii. chap. 11, vol. iii. p. 192, note.) His language is so unmeasured that it has led some Roman Catholic writers, especially Bellarmin (*de Cultu Sanctorum*, lib. iii. c. 8) and Gretser, to call in question its authenticity. It is, however, fully supported by Baronius and Tillemont, and there is no sufficient reason for questioning its genuineness. The next time we hear of Gregory is at the second general council, that of Constantinople, A.D. 381 (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 955), accompanied by his deacon, Evagrius, in which he held a principal place as one of the recognised theological leaders of the age, τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ κοινὸν ἔρεισμα, as his friend Gregory Nazianzen had at an earlier period termed him. That he was the author of the clauses then added to the Nicene symbol is an unverified assertion of Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* xii. 13). It is probable that it was on this occasion that he read to his friend Gregory Nazianzen and to Jerome his work against Eunomius, or at least the more important parts of it (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. 128). Gregory Nazianzen having been reluctantly compelled to ascend the episcopal throne of Constantinople, Gregory Nyssa delivered an inaugural oration which has perished, and soon after a funeral oration on the venerable Meletius of Antioch, which has been preserved (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 26; *Oratio in funere Magni Meletii*, tom. iii. pp. 587 sq.). Before the close of the council the emperor Theodosius issued a decree from Heraclea, July 30, A.D. 381, containing the names of the bishops who were to be regarded as centres of orthodox communion in their respective districts. Among these Gregory Nyssen appears, together with his metropolitan Helladius of Caesareia and Otreius of Melitene, for the diocese of Pontus (*Cod. Theodos.* l. iii. "de Fide

Catholica," t. vi. p. 9; Socr. *H. E.* v. 8). Gregory however was not made for the delicate and difficult business of restoring the unity of the faith. He was more a student than a man of action. The simplicity of his character caused him to be easily imposed upon. Open to flattery, he became the dupe of designing men, and it is not difficult to believe that the mistakes made by him in the execution of his commission were not few or small. His colleague Helladius was in every way his inferior, and if Gregory took as little pains to conceal his sense of this in his personal intercourse as in his correspondence with Flavian, we cannot be surprised at the metropolitan's dignity being severely wounded. Helladius revenged himself on Gregory for his ill-disguised contempt by gross rudeness. Gregory when returning from Sebaste, where he had been celebrating the first anniversary of his brother Peter's death, having turned out of his way to pay his respects to his metropolitan, and to inquire after his health, of which he had heard unfavourable accounts, was kept standing a long time at the door under the midday sun, and when at last admitted to Helladius's presence, his complimentary speeches were received with chilling silence. After waiting some time in vain for any reply, Gregory addressed a mild remonstrance at such a cold reception, on which Helladius broke forth into cutting reproaches for his conduct towards him, and rudely drove him from his presence without asking him to partake of the slightest refreshment. He returned whence he came hungry and weary, and wet to the skin, and at once sat down to pour forth his chagrin in a letter to Flavian, a bishop whom he had already addressed on the same subject, detailing the circumstances of Helladius's insulting behaviour, and calling upon him to assist him in reducing his pride, and teaching him that he was in no degree superior to his brethren in the episcopate, to whom the emperor and the council had given an equal authority (*Epist. ad Flavian.* tom. iii. pp. 645 sq.). There is no proof that Gregory was present at the synod held at Constantinople in A.D. 382, but it is certain from internal evidence that he was there the next year, A.D. 383, when he delivered his discourse on the Godhead of the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity (*de Abraham*, tom. iii. pp. 464 sq.; cf. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* ix. p. 586, "S. Grég. de Nysse," art. x.). He was again at Constantinople in A.D. 385, on which occasion he pronounced the funeral oration over the little princess Pulcheria, who had died at the age of six years, at Constantinople, and shortly afterwards over her mother, the empress Flaccilla, who had speedily followed her to the grave at a place called Scotumin, in Thrace, whither she had gone to drink the waters. Both orations are extant (tom. iii. pp. 514 sq., 527 sq.). During these visits to Constantinople, Gregory obtained the friendship of Olympias, the celebrated deaconess and correspondent of Chrysostom, at whose instance he undertook an exposition of the Canticles, a portion of which, containing fifteen homilies, he completed and sent her (*in Cant. Cantic.* tom. i. pp. 468 sq.). The last recorded event in Gregory's life is his presence at the synod held at Constantinople, A.D. 394, at the time of the consecration of the church of Rufinus, under the presidency of Nectarius, to decide between the rival claims of the bishops Bagadius and Agapius to the see of Bostra, in Arabia; a question really appertaining to the jurisdiction of the see of Antioch (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 1151). It was on this occasion that at the request of Nectarius Gregory delivered the homily bearing the erroneous title, "*de Ordinatione*," which is evidently a production of his old age (tom. ii. pp. 40 sq.). His architectural taste, which is evident in other parts of his works, especially in the minute description of a domed martyrium he was building, in his letter to Amphilochius (*Epist.* 25), appears in this homily. He employs the contrast between the gilded vault of the church, and the blue circles introduced to throw up its brilliancy, to illustrate the contrast between his sermon and the magnificent discourses which had preceded it. It is probable that he did not long survive this synod. The date of his death is uncertain, but it must be placed before the close of the century, perhaps in A.D. 395.

Writings.—Gregory Nyssen was a very copious writer, and the greater part of his recorded works have been preserved to us. His writings may be divided into five classes: I. *Exegetical;* II. *Dogmatical;* III. *Ascetic;* IV. *Funeral Orations and Panegyrical Discourses;* V. *Letters.*

I. *Exegetical.*—Gregory did not accomplish much for the exegesis of Holy Scripture, and what he has left is of no high value, his system of interpretation being almost entirely allegorical. To this class belong his works on the *Creation*, written chiefly to supplement and defend the great work of his brother Basil on the *Hexaemeron*. These are (1) Ἀπολογητικὸς περὶ τῆς ἑξαημέρου, dedicated to his youngest brother Peter, bishop of Sebaste. It takes its title *Apologeticus* from its containing a defence of the actions of Moses, and also of some points in Basil's work which had been called in question. (2) Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου, a treatise on the creation of man, written as a supplement to Basil's treatise (vol. i. p. 45; Socr. *H. E.* iv. 26), the fundamental idea of which is the unity of the human race—that humanity before God is to be considered as one man; also dedicated to his brother Peter. It is called by Suidas τεῦχος θαυμάσιον. (3) Two homilies on the same subject (Gen. i. 26). These are frequently appended to Basil's *Hexaemeron*, and are erroneously assigned to him by Combefis and others. There is also a discourse (tom. ii. pp. 22–34) on the meaning of the image and likeness of God in which man was created. (4) A treatise on the *Life of Moses* as exhibiting a pattern of a perfect Christian life; dedicated to Caesarius. (5) Two books on the *Superscriptions of the Psalms*. In this work he fruitlessly endeavours to shew that the five books of the Psalter are intended to lead men upward, as by five steps, to moral perfection. The first book, in nine chapters, investigates the object of each of the five divisions of the Psalter. The second book is in sixteen chapters. The first six deal with the titles in detail, expounding them allegorically, without any critical insight into their real meaning; chapter 7 explains the word *Alleluia;* chapters 8 and 9 relate to the psalms that are destitute of superscriptions, giving esoteric reasons for their absence where wanting both in

the Hebrew and the LXX, and ascribing their absence in the Hebrew text, when present in the LXX, to the blindness and impiety of the Jews. In chapter 10, he attempts an explanation of the *diapsalma*, and in the remaining chapters he carries out in detail his principle of the progressive teaching of the psalms, whose order he regards as due to the Holy Spirit, very briefly in the first eleven, and more fully in Ps. xl.–lviii. An explanation of the sixth Psalm concludes this work. (6) Eight homilies expository of *Ecclesiastes*, ending with ch. vii. 13, "less forced, more useful, and more natural" (Dupin). (7) Fifteen homilies on the *Canticles*, ending with ch. vi. 9; dedicated to Olympias. (8) Five homilies on the *Lord's Prayer*, "lectu dignissimae" (Fabric.). (9) Eight homilies on the *Beatitudes*. (10) A discourse on 1 Cor. xv. 28, in which he combats the Arian perversion of the passage as to the subjection of the Son. (11) A short treatise on the witch of Endor, Ἐγγαστρίμυθος, to prove that the apparition was a demon in the shape of Samuel; addressed to a bishop named Theodosius.

II. *Dogmatical.*—Far more valuable than Gregory's attempts at exegesis are his dogmatical works. These are deservedly regarded as among the most important patristic contributions towards a true view of the mystery of the Trinity, hardly, if at all, inferior to the writings of his greater brother, Basil. (1) The chief of these, both in size and importance, is his great work *against Eunomius*, written subsequently to the death of Basil, to refute the apology put forth by Eunomius, in reply to Basil's attack upon his teaching, and to vindicate his brother from the calumnious charges brought against him by his adversary. We learn from the dedicatory epistle to his youngest brother, Peter, bishop of Sebaste, and his reply, that the work was written at his request, after his return from Armenia. It is in twelve books, of which the last is the longest, being more than a quarter of the whole. (2) Almost equally important with this are the replies to Apollinaris, especially the *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarem*. These treatises are not only valuable as giving the most weighty answer on the orthodox side to the erroneous views of these heretical leaders, but, from the large number of extracts from their writings contained in them, they are really the chief sources of our acquaintance with the real character of their doctrines. The same subjects are treated with great accuracy of thought and spiritual insight in (3) *Sermo Catecheticus Magnus*, a work divided into forty chapters, containing a systematized course of theological teaching for the use of catechists, proving, for the benefit of those who did not accept the authority of Holy Scripture, the harmony of the chief doctrines of the faith with the instincts of the human heart. This work contains passages asserting the annihilation of evil, the restitution of all things, and the final restoration of evil men and evil spirits to the blessedness of union with God, so that He may be "all in all," embracing all things endued with sense and reason—doctrines derived by him from Origen. To save the credit of a doctor of the church of acknowledged orthodoxy, it has been asserted from the time of Germanus of Constantinople that these passages were foisted in by heretical writers (Phot. *Cod.* 233, pp. 904 sqq.). But there is no foundation for this hypothesis, and we may safely say that "the wish is father to the thought," and that the final restitution of all things was distinctly held and taught by him in his writings. The concluding section of the work, which speaks of the errors of Severus, a century posterior to Gregory, is evidently an addition of some blundering copyist. Other dogmatic treatises from Gregory's pen which deserve mention are, that addressed to Simplicius, a military tribune, on *Faith in the Trinity;* another dedicated to Ablabius *against Tritheism;* one to his brother, Peter of Sebaste, on the difference between "essence," οὐσία, and "person," ὑπόστασις; and the *Sermones adversus Arium et Sabellium;* and *de Spiritu Sancto adversus Macedonium*, first printed by Maii in his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* (tom. viii.), and in the *Nov. Patr. Bibl.* (tom. iv.). Weighty as Gregory's utterances are on the doctrine of the Trinity and the union of the two natures in Christ, it must be acknowledged that in his desire to exalt the divine nature he came dangerously near the doctrines afterwards developed by Eutyches, and the Monothelites, if he did not actually enunciate them. While he rightly held that the infinite Logos was not imprisoned in Christ's human soul and body, any more than the light of a torch is confined to the wick—so that while the flame is indissolubly limited to the ὑποκείμενον or substratum of the torch, the light is not therefore imprisoned in it (*Cat. Magn.* c. 10)—he cannot be said to have assigned the proper independence to the action of this human soul and will. When he discusses the question how far Christ can be said to have had a free human will, he assigns the passivity alone to the human will, the active agency being simply and solely divine. He views Christ's will as merely something τρεπτόν, possessing mutability, passibility, and a passive capability of development, without any power of self-determination (cf. Dorner, *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, div. ii. vol. i. pp. 36, 175, Engl. transl.). Hooker quotes some words of his as to the entire extinction of all distinction between the two natures of Christ, as a drop of vinegar is lost in the ocean (*Eccl. Polit.* tom. ii. 697), which he deems so plain and direct from Eutyches that he "stands in doubt they are not his whose name they carry" (*Eccl. Pol.* bk. v. ch. iii. § 2; cf. Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 115, Clark's transl.).

III. The class of his *Ascetical Writings* is small. To it belong his early work *de Virginitate;* his *Canonical Epistles* to Letoius, bishop of Melitene, classifying sins, and the penances due to each; the *Hypotyposis*, a summary of the ascetical life; the two works on *the Meaning of the Name of Christian*, addressed to Harmonius; and a *Refutation*, addressed to Olympius; &c.

IV. The chief of Gregory's funeral orations are those already mentioned on his brother Basil and Meletius. To these may be added those on the empress Flaccilla and the young princess Pulcheria. We have also three panegyrical discourses on the *Forty Martyrs*, one also on *St. Stephen*, on the martyr *Theodorus*, on *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and on *St. Ephrem*. To this class, though couched in the form of a letter, belongs his life of his sister *St. Macrina*. His homilies include discourses against *Usurers*, *Fornicators*, those *who postpone Baptism*, those

who harshly *condemn others for sin*, on *Charity to the Poor, avoiding fornication*, and the like; together with sermons preached on the chief festivals, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day, &c.

V. *Epistles.*—The number of Gregory's letters preserved to us is not great. The chief are that to *Flavian*, complaining of his contumelious treatment by Helladius, and the two on *Pilgrimages to Jerusalem*. Fourteen letters were published by Zacagni (a librarian of the Vatican, died 1712) in his *Collect. Mon. Vet. Eccl. Graec. et Lat.* pp. 354–400 (quarto, Rom. 1698), to which seven were added by J. B. Caraccioli from a Medicean MS. (Florence, 1781). The whole were transferred to Galland's *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* vol. vi. pp. 604, sqq. and Migne's *Patrologie* (vol. xlvi. pp. 999 sqq.).

Editions—Latin Translations.—Omitting the editions of separate treatises, the earliest publication of Gregory's collected works was in a Latin translation issued from the press at Cologne in 1537. This was followed by one from the Basil Press, 1562, L. Sifanius being chiefly responsible for the version. It appeared again at Basil with additions in 1571, and at Paris in 1573 under the editorship of Possevin. All these editions were greatly surpassed in elegance and accuracy by that of Paris 1603, under the superintendence of Front du Duc.

Greek and Latin.—The first edition of the Greek text with a Latin translation appeared from Morel's press at Paris in 1615 in two volumes folio, also edited by du Duc. To this an appendix was added in 1618 from materials supplied by Gretser. It issued again from the same press, but with a great falling off both in elegance and accuracy, in 1638, in three volumes folio. Other complete reprints, including his epistles and other *additamenta*, are those by Galland (*Bibl. Vet. Patr.* tom. vi.) and Migne (*Patrologie*, tom. xliv.–xlvi.). A good critical edition of the works of Gregory Nyssen is, however, much wanted. It is matter for surprise and regret that no duly qualified scholar has undertaken a task in which, to quote the *Bibliotheca Graeca* of Fabricius (ed. Harles, vol. ix.), "amplissimus patet campus in quo vires ingenii, eruditionis, et diligentiae, cum laude pariter ac utilitate, possit exercere." Two praiseworthy efforts have been commenced to supply this deficiency in the proposed editions of the Rev. G. H. Forbes, Burntisland, 8vo, 1855, and of Fr. Oehler, Halis, 8vo, 1865 (in which last it is to be regretted that sufficient care has not been exercised in the use of the MSS.); neither of which has, we believe, gone beyond the first volume. Oehler has also edited a selection from the works of Gregory Nyssen, accompanied by a good German translation (*Bibliothek der Kirchen-Väter*, Band 1–4, Leipzig, 1858–9). The later editions of Galland and Migne include some very important additions to the original Morellian edition, first given to the world by Zacagni (*Collect. Monum. Vet. Eccl. Graec.* Romae, 1698, 4to, tom. i.), and J. B. Caraccioli (Flor. 1731). Some valuable fragments from other sources are also published by Galland and by Mai (*Nov. Collect. Vett. Script.* vol. iii.). The familiar letters published by Zacagni and Caraccioli are very helpful towards forming an estimate of Gregory's character. They shew us a man of great refinement, with a love for natural beauty and a lively appreciation of the picturesque in scenery and of elegance in architecture. Of the latter art the detailed description given in his letter to Amphilochius (*Epist.* 25), of an octagonal "martyrium" surmounted by a conical spire, rising from a clerestory supported on eight columns, proves him to have possessed considerable technical knowledge. It is perhaps the clearest, and most detailed description of an ecclesiastical building of the 4th century remaining to us. His letter to Adelphius (*Epist.* 20) furnishes a charming description of a country villa, and its groves and ornamental buildings, at Vanota in Galatia, on the banks of the Halys. He enlarges with evident delight on the vine-clad trellises laden with delicious grapes, the orchards of peaches and other fruits, the arbours bright with roses, the shrubberies vocal with the song of birds, and the stews filled with fish so tame that they came to be fed. Few passages of patristic literature will better repay perusal than this delightful letter, which makes us keenly regret the nearly total loss of his correspondence. He was commemorated in the *Cal. Ethiop.* on Nov. 22.

(Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 244 sqq.; Ceillier, *Auteurs Eccles.* tom. vii. p. 320 sqq.; Oudin, I. diss. iv.; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.* Bd. xiv. 1–147; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. ix.; Dupin, cent. iv.; Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* tom. ix. p. 98 sqq.; Photius, *Codd.* vi. vii.; Suidas, *sub voc.* Γρηγόριος; Rupp, *Gregor's Leben und Meinungen*, Leipz. 1834; Heyns, *Disput. Histor.-theol. de Greg. Nyss.* Lugd. Bat. 1835; Böhringer, *Kirchengesch. u. Biographien*, Achter Theil. On Gregory's Origenistic bias see Möller, *Doctr. de Hom. Natur.* &c. Halis. 1854; Daillé, *de Poen. et Satisfact.* lib. iv. c. 7; Schröckh, *u. s.* pp. 140 sqq.; Oudin. *Dissertat. de Vit. et Script.*; Ceillier, *u. s.*) [E. V.]

GREGORIUS (16), bishop of Merida from cir. 402. He is known to us only from the decretal of Innocent I. addressed ad universos episcopos in Tolosa (should be "qui in Toleto congregati sunt"). (For a discussion of the mutilated and imperfect form in which this letter appears in the Spanish *Codex Canonum*, drawn up, according to the majority of authorities, before 633, and of the inferences to be drawn from its mutilation, see dispute between Fr. Maassen, *Gesch. der Quellen und der Literatur des Kanonischen Rechtes*, &c., and Gams, *Tüb. Theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1867, 1–23, and *Kirchengesch.* ii. 2, 463.) Innocent's letter (which Jaffé dates 404) is concerned partly with the schism of those bishops of Baetica and Carthaginensis who refused to acknowledge the authority of the council held at Toledo in A.D. 400, in which the once Priscillianist bishops, Symphosius and Dictinius, were readmitted to communion, and partly with certain irregularities in the manner of ordination then prevalent in Spain. The pope lays down that although strictly speaking the illegal ordinations already made ought to be cancelled, yet, for the sake of peace and to avoid tumults, what is past is to be condoned. The number of canonically invalid ordinations recently made is, he says, so great that if all were to be inquired into, the existing confusion would be made worse instead of better. "How many have been admitted to the priest-

hood who, like Rufinus and Gregory, have after baptism practised in the law courts? How many soldiers who, in obedience to authority, have been obliged to execute harsh orders (severa praecepta)? How many curiales who, in obedience also, have done whatever was commanded them? How many who have given amusements and spectacles to the people (voluptates et editiones populo celebrarunt) have become bishops? (See Gams s comments on Can. 2 of Council of Eliberi. ii. 1, 53.) "Quorum omnium neminem ne ad societatem quidem ordinis clericorum, oportuerat pervenire" (see *Decret.* cap. iv. Tejada y Ramiro; *Col. de Can.* ii). In cap. v. we have the second mention of Gregory, "Let the complaint, if any, of Gregory, bishop of Merida, ordained in place of Patruinus (who presided at C. Tol. i.) be heard, and if he has suffered injury *contra meritum suum*, let those who are envious of another's office be punished, lest in future the spirit of faction should again inconvenience good men."

From these notices it appears then that Gregory succeeded Patruinus in the metropolitan see of Merida shortly after the council of Toledo in 400, that in his youth and after baptism, he had practised as an advocate; that his election to the bishopric of Merida was therefore, strictly speaking, illegal, and that, either on this account or on some other, great opposition had been made to his appointment. The effect of Innocent's letter would naturally be to confirm him in his see and to discredit the party of opposition to him. In all probability, it was during Gregory's pontificate that the irruption of Vandals, Alani, and Suevi into Spain took place (in the autumn of 409, Idat. apud *Esp. Sagr.* iv. 353), and those scenes of horror and cruelty took place of which Idatius has left us a vivid, though possibly exaggerated, picture. After a first period of indiscriminate devastation and plunder, "Barbari ad pacem ineundam Domino miserante conversi, *sorte* ad habitandum sibi Provinciarum dividunt regiones" (Idat. l. c. ann. 411). In this division Lusitania and Carthaginensis fell to the Alani, themselves to be shortly destroyed by the Goths under Walga (418), and Merida with its splendid buildings and its Roman prestige, together with all the other great cities of southern Spain, "Barbarorum per Provincias dominantium se subjiciunt servituti."

Innocent's letter, in which the passages above quoted concerning Gregory occur, is extremely valuable for Spanish church history at the time. It is given in two forms by Tejada y Ramiro II.; in the incomplete and mutilated form in which it appears in the Spanish *Cod. Canonum*, and in the complete form containing all the names and historical matter, in which it appears in other collections. (*Esp. Sagr.* xiii. 163; Gams, *Kirchengesch.* ii. 1. 420.) [M. A. W.]

GREGORIUS (17), a bishop of Lydia. He was an adherent of Chrysostom, compelled to retire from his see to some place of concealment in his native country, where he was living in A.D. 408. (Pallad. *Dial.* 195.) [E. V.]

GREGORIUS (18), bishop of Tamalle in Byzacene, present at Carth. Conf. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* 128.) [H. W. P.]

GREGORIUS (19), bishop of Cerasus, supposed to be Chrisanda in Pontus, at the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1123 c, 1214 d; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 515.) [R. S. G.]

GREGORIUS (20), a bishop of Lilybaeum of uncertain date, but probably between A.D. 200 and 450. He suffered martyrdom, but at what time, and whether under some Roman emperor or from the Vandals, is uncertain. (*Acta SS.* Jun. 5; Pirri, *Sicil. Sacr.* i. 492.) [R. S. G.]

GREGORIUS (21), bishop of Adrianople, metropolitan of the province of Haemimontus, at the council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451; one of the bishops who subscribed the synodal letter of that council to Leo I. (Leo. Mag. *Ep.* 98, 1304, Migne); present also at the council held at Constantinople under Gennadius against simony, about A.D. 459. (Harduin, *Acta Concil.* ii. 785.) He was also one of the metropolitans to whom the emperor Leo addressed his imperial letter in defence of the orthodox faith A.D. 457, on the occasion of the massacre of Proterius of Alexandria and the other excesses of the Egyptian Eutychians. No reply of Gregorius is extant, as in the case of many other of the metropolitans to whom the emperor's letter was addressed. (Harduin, *Acta Concil.* ii. 689; *Oriens Christ.* i. 1173; Tillemont, xv. p. 798.) [C. G.]

GREGORIUS (22), bishop of Sebastopolis in Lesser Armenia; his name is appended to the letter of his province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 589; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 426.) [L. D.]

GREGORIUS (23), supposed Sicilian bishop. There is a great doubt who and what he was. Such a person is supposed to have been driven from Africa during the Vandal persecutions of the 5th century, and to have found refuge in Sicily, where he afterwards met with martyrdom at the hands of some of the remaining heathen inhabitants. (*Acta SS.* Jun. 18.) [R. S. G.]

GREGORIUS (24), bishop of Modena, mentioned in a minatory letter of pope Simplicius to John, archbishop of Ravenna, who had ordained Gregory, much against his will, bishop of Modena (Simplic. Pap. ep. 2 in Patr. Lat. lviii. 35, dated by Jaffé May 30, 482, *Reg. Pont.* 50). Jaffé's date, if correct, must be the period of Gregory's consecration; but in the list of the bishops of Modena, according to Sillingardus (*Catal. Episc. Mutinens.* p. 14), Gregory sat from 477 to 501, coming between Theodorus and Bassianus. The same author details the circumstances under which Gregory was appointed. The see of Modena had been originally subject to Milan, but in 450 was transferred along with Bologna, Reggio, Parma, and Placentia, to Ravenna by the emperor Valentinian III., who wished thereby to increase the dignity of his capital city. Accordingly John of Ravenna claimed to consecrate the bishop of Modena, and pope Simplicius was appealed to on behalf of the rights of Milan. [C. H.]

GREGORIUS (25), the name of two bishops who attended the synod of Jerusalem in 518, viz. of—

Metrocomias (Bacatha) in Palestine (Mansi, viii. 1073 b; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* iii. 762

Carolus à S. Paulo Fuliensis, *Geog. Sac.* p. 316).

Eleutheropolis in Palestine (M. 1072 c). [J. de S.]

GREGORIUS (**26**), bishop of Jericho at the council of Jerusalem, 536. (Mansi, viii. 1172; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 655.) [J. de S.]

GREGORIUS (**27**), ST., twelfth bishop of Auxerre, between St. Theodosius and St. Optatus, early in the 6th century. He is said to have occupied the see twelve years and six months, and upon his death, in his eighty-fifth year, to have been buried in the church of St. Germanus. He is commemorated Dec. 19. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 266.) [S. A. B.]

GREGORIUS (**28**), fourth bishop of Saintes, between St. Ambrosius and Petrus I., at the beginning of the 6th century. All we know of him is from the *Acta* of St. Germerius bishop of Toulouse, according to which that saint was ordained subdeacon and deacon by him; but these *Acta*, which purport to be the work of Pretiosus, a contemporary, are quite untrustworthy. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iii. 592; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 1056; Gams, *Series Episc.* 623.) [S. A. B.]

GREGORIUS (**29**), ST., sixteenth bishop of Langres, succeeding Albiso. He belonged to one of the highest Gallic families, being related to Euphronius archbishop of Tours, and likewise great-grandfather of Gregory the historian, who wrote a short account of him. He was the uncle, too, of that Attalus who was one of the hostages given by Childebert to Theodoric, and after his rescue from slavery by one of Gregory's servants became count of Autun. It was not till late in life that he dedicated himself to the church. For forty years he was count of Autun, and remarkable for his inflexible justice. Upon the death of his wife, Armentaria, "he turned to the Lord," in Gregory's phrase, and was elected and consecrated bishop of Langres (A.D. 506). As bishop he was noted for his unostentatious abstinence, and his secret midnight devotions in the baptistery at Dijon, where he usually lived. Numerous miracles also are recorded of him, and especially the finding of the body of St. Benignus, the martyr of Dijon (A.D. 178), which his biographer relates at length (*De Glor. Mart.* li.). It was Gregory who induced St. John, the founder of Réomay who had left his monastery and retreated to Lérins, to return to his post and not abandon his undertaking (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 856). Gregory was at the council of Epaon in A.D. 517, and that of Clermont in 535, and was represented by Evantius a priest at the third of Orleans in 538.

He died of a fever caught in walking from Dijon to Langres to be present at the services of the Epiphany (probably in 539), and was buried, as he had desired, in a church within the walls of Dijon. His son and successor in the see, Tetricus, translated his remains into a more gorgeous tomb. He was commemorated Jan. 4.

A vapid epitaph was written on him by Venantius Fortunatus. (Greg. Tur. *Vitae Patr.* vii.; *Hist. Franc.* iii. 15, 19, iv. 15, v. 5; *De Glor. Mart.* li.; Venant. Fort. *Miscell.* iv. 2; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 153; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. 1, 167; Mansi, viii. 564, 863, ix. 21; *Gall. Christ.* iv. 517.) [S. A. B.]

GREGORIUS (**30**), thirteenth bishop of Geneva, between Pappulus I. and Nicerius, about the middle of the 6th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 381.) [S. A. B.]

GREGORIUS (**31**) THEOPOLITANUS, bishop of Antioch A.D. 569–594. In his earliest youth he devoted himself to a monastic life, and he became so celebrated for his austerities that when scarcely past boyhood he was chosen superior of the Syrian laura of Pharon or Pharan (Moschus), called by Evagrius the monastery of the Byzantines. Moschus had the following anecdote relating to this period of his life from Sergius the Armenian in the monastery of the Eunuchs near the Jordan, and the occurrence is placed by the narrator six years before Gregory became patriarch of Theopolis, as Antioch was then called. Sergius was earnestly importuned by Gregory to conduct him to his venerable master, another Sergius dwelling by the Dead Sea. When the latter Sergius saw Gregory approach he cordially saluted him, brought water, washed his feet, and conversed with him upon spiritual subjects the whole day. Sergius the disciple afterwards reminded his master that he had never treated other visitors, although some of them had been bishops and presbyters, as he had treated father Gregory. "Who father Gregory may be," the old man replied, "I know not; but this I know, I have entertained a patriarch in my cave, and I have seen him carry the sacred pallium and the Gospel." (Joann. Mosch. *Prat. Spirit.* cap. 139, 140, in Patr. Lat. lxxiv. 189.) From Pharan Gregory was summoned by Justin II. to preside over the monastery of Mount Sinai. During the period of his rule this monastery sustained a siege from the Arabs, which placed it in extreme danger (Evagr. *H. E.* v. 6). On the expulsion of Anastasius bishop of Antioch by Justin in 569, Gregory was appointed his successor. Theophanes (*Chronog.* A.C. 562, p. 206) does not mention his appointment at Mount Sinai, but makes him promoted from the first-named monastery. His administration is highly praised by the ecclesiastical historian Evagrius, who was then practising as an advocate at Antioch, and was fortunate enough to obtain the favour of the new patriarch. Evagrius ascribes to Gregorius almost every possible excellence, an imposing person and sweet address, quickness of perception and promptitude in execution, dauntless courage both in meeting danger and in confronting the secular power, and prudence in counsel both for himself and for others. Vehement in his indignation when occasion called for it, he was equally conspicuous for his gentleness and meekness. Moschus describes him as famous for his alms, his forgetfulness of injuries, and his tears of compassion for sinners. When Chosroes I. had again invaded the Roman territory, A.D. 572, Gregory, who was kept informed of the real state of affairs by his friend the bishop of Nisibis, which was then being besieged by the Roman forces, vainly endeavoured to rouse the feeble emperor from his habitual self-indulgence and lethargy, by representations of the successes

of the Persian forces and the incompetence of the imperial commanders. His letters were treated with contempt by Justin, who refused to believe in any serious danger, and during the intervals of the shocks of an earthquake which had thrown down a considerable portion of the city walls, and had compelled Gregory to take refuge in flight with the treasures of the church, the bishop had the mortification of witnessing Antioch occupied by the troops of Adaormanes, the general of Chosroes (Evagr. *E. H.* v. 9). The latter years of Gregory's episcopate were clouded by his extreme unpopularity with his people, and embittered by a succession of grave accusations. Soon after the accession of Tiberius, an intimacy with the successful adventurer Anatolius, who was charged with sorcery and other abominable crimes, raised a violent popular suspicion against him, and though examination by torture failed to elicit anything from Anatolius to criminate the bishop, he was placed in extreme danger (*ibid.* c. 18). In the reign of Maurice, A.D. 588, a quarrel with Asterius, the popular Count of the East, again excited the passions of the excitable Antiochenes against their bishop. All classes united to heap insult upon him, every one declaring he had suffered some injury from him. He could not appear in public without being openly reviled by the mob, and even the actors turned him into ridicule on the stage. On the removal of Asterius, his successor, John, was commissioned by the emperor to make formal enquiry into the charges against Gregory. Among them was one so foul, incest with his own sister, and he felt so little hope of justice at Antioch, John having openly sided with the popular feeling against him, that he applied to the emperor and claimed to be heard before a synod. He proceeded to Constantinople, accompanied by Evagrius as his legal adviser, c. A.D. 589, and the charges having been investigated before a mixed court, partly ecclesiastical and partly secular, he received a triumphant acquittal, his accuser being condemned to be scourged through the city and banished (*ibid.* vi. 7). Gregory returned to Antioch to witness its almost total destruction by earthquake, A.D. 589, from which he barely escaped with his life (*ibid.* c. 8). The widespread discontent of the imperial forces, which was soon to issue in the deposition and murder of Maurice and the elevation of Phocas, having extended to Syria, the troops on the Persian frontier broke out into open mutiny. They drove away their general, Priscus, and refused to accept Philippicus, whom Maurice had sent to succeed him. In this emergency, Gregory, who by his largesses had made himself very popular with the troops, was despatched to bring them back to their allegiance. He was suffering so severely from gout that he had to be conveyed to the camp in a litter, from which he addressed the army with such moving eloquence that they at once consented to accept Philippicus as their commander. His harangue is preserved to us by his grateful friend Evagrius (*ibid.* c. 11–13). Soon after this his diplomatic skill caused him to be selected by the emperor Maurice as an ambassador to the younger Chosroes, when compelled by his disasters to take refuge in the imperial territory, A.D. 590 or 591, and his advice was instrumental in the recovery of his throne, for which the grateful monarch sent him some gold and jewelled crosses, and other valuable presents (*ibid.* c. 18–21). In spite of his age and infirmities, he conducted a visitation of the remoter portions of his patriarchate, which were much infected with the doctrines of Severus, and succeeded in bringing back whole tribes, as well as many separate villages and monasteries, into union with the catholic church (*ibid.* c. 22). After this he paid a visit to Simeon Stylites the younger, who was suffering from a mortal disease, in the hope of receiving his last breath, but was disappointed (*ibid.* c. 23). Soon after he appears to have resigned his see into the hands of the deposed patriarch Anastasius, who resumed his patriarchal authority in 594. His own death very soon followed. He was poisoned by an excessive dose of the medicine administered to relieve his gout, A.D. 594 (*ibid.* c. 24). His extant works consist of a homily *in Mulieres unguentiferas*, printed in Greek by Combefis (*Auctiar. Nov.* tom. i. p. 727). It is found in Galland (*Bibl. Patr.* xii. 289), and Migne (*Patrol.* lxxxviii. p. 1847). There are also two sermons by him on the *Baptism of Christ*, which have been erroneously ascribed to Chrysostom. Evagrius also attributes to him a volume of historical collections, now lost (Evagr. *H. E.* vi. 24). (Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* xi. 102; Cave, *Hist. Lat.* i. 534.) [E. V.]

GREGORIUS (32) TURONENSIS, bishop of Tours (cir. 573–594). 1. *Authorities.*—For the life of Gregory, the principal materials are to be found in his own writings. The *Vita S. Gregorii Episc. Turon. per Odonem Abbatem*, generally published along with his works, is almost entirely based upon what Gregory says of himself. The Odo Abbas, to whom it is attributed in all the printed editions from that of 1511 downwards, is conjectured to have been St. Odo, abbat of Cluny (died 943), who was a native of Tours. There is another short life of Gregory by Joannes Egidius (Jean Gilles) of Tours; it is of the 16th century, and of small value. It is to be found in Bordier's edition of the *Miracula*, &c. vol. iv. pp. 234–7. There are numerous allusions to Gregory in the poems of Venantius Fortunatus, a contemporary, but there are not many facts to be gleaned from them, nor from the Testimonia of other writers collected in the fourth volume of Guadet and Taranne's edition of Gregory's History.

Gregory himself gives a list of his works. At the end of his history he says, "Decem libros historiarum, septem miraculorum, unum de vitis Patrum scripsi: in Psalterii tractatum librum unum commentatus sum: de cursibus etiam ecclesiasticis unum librum condidi." (Bk. x. ch. 31, sub fine). Of these all are extant except the commentary on the Psalms, of which only fragments exist, collected in the third volume of Bordier's edition, pp. 401 sqq. The treatise *De Cursibus ecclesiasticis* was supposed to be lost till Professor F. Haase of Breslau discovered what he believed to be it in a MS. in the library at Bamberg, and published it under the title of *S. Georgii Florentii Gregorii Tur. Ep. Liber ineditus de Cursu Stellarum, ratio qualiter ad officium implendum debeat observari, sive de Cursibus Ecclesiasticis*, Breslau, 1853. Professor Haase adds a short preface and a facsimile of a

page of the MS., as well as notes, in which he compares the language of this treatise with that of the other known works of Gregory. The assumption that this work entitled *De Cursu Stellarum*, &c., is identical with Gregory's *de Cursibus Ecclesiasticis* is founded on the similarity of its style to that of Gregory, and on the fact that it was written by a native of Auvergne in the time of Gregory. The MS. itself contains no ascription of authorship. The treatise has been since reprinted from Haase's edition by Bordier in his fourth volume.

Of the seven books of the Miracles the first, "De Gloria Martyrum," deals with the miracles of our Lord, the apostles, and many early saints, in 117 chapters; the second book is entitled "De Miraculis S. Juliani martyris"; books iii.–vi., "De Miraculis S. Martini"; the seventh book, "De Gloria Confessorum," recounts the miracles of many Gallic saints.

Besides the above, Gregory appears to have translated the Passion of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (*Glor. Mart.* 95), and to have translated or edited the *Liber de Miraculis B. Andreae Apostoli*, that is to say, to have written a short preface to it (see Bordier, iv. pp. 29 sqq.; cp. Monod, p. 39), as he tells us he had edited the Missae of Sidonius Apollinaris ("Quod in praefatione libri, quem de Missis ab eo compositis conjunximus, plenius declaravimus"). (*Hist.* ii. 21.) There are various other biographies of saints or accounts of their miracles attributed to Gregory, generally on the authority merely of ascriptions in the MSS., sometimes through the error of treating separate parts of the various Libri de Miraculis as independent works. Ruinart (Preface) has discussed in detail the claims of these various tracts to authenticity, deciding definitely in favour of none; Monod (p. 39) acknowledges Gregory's hand in the Miracula S. Andreae. There is little or no probability in the theory sometimes advanced that Gregory is the author of another Chronicle, or of the *Gesta Francorum*. The *Historia Epitomata* of Fredegar and the *Gesta Francorum* no doubt are made up mainly of extracts from Gregory, but by no means are on that account to be attributed to his authorship. Compare Bordier, vol. iv. pp. 29–32.

Gregory himself gives instructions as regards the editing and preservation of his works. "Although," he says, "these books of mine are written in a somewhat unpolished style, I nevertheless adjure all the priests of the Lord, who after my unworthy self shall be pastors of the church of Tours, I adjure them by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the day of judgment, a day of terror to all the wicked, as they hope to escape confusion and damnation at that dread day, that they shall never suffer these books of mine to be destroyed or to be copied with selections and omissions (quasi quaedam legentes et quasi quaedam praetermittentes); but these my books shall remain with my successors, complete and unaltered as I have bequeathed them." (*Hist.* x. 31, s. f.)

2. *Editions of the Works of Gregory, and Literature of the Subject.*—The first edition of the History was published at Paris at the press of Ascensius in 1512,[a] the *Vita* and the *Miracles of St. Martin*, together with some of the *Opuscula*, had appeared in the previous year, edited by Clichtoveus. The best text of the works, the standard of all subsequent editions, is that of Ruinart, published at Paris in 1699. A new text of the History, founded on a careful recension of all the extant MSS., has been promised for many years for Pertz's *Monumenta*, but has not yet been published. The History is to be found in the second volume of Bouquet, as also in the collections of La Bigne, Duchesne, and Migne. Of recent editions, the most complete are those of the Société de l'Histoire de France, with French translations and notes, viz. the *Histoire ecclésiastique des Francs*, edited by MM. Guadet et Taranne (4 vols. 1836–8), and *Les Livres des Miracles et autres Opuscules*, including the *Vita*, extracts from Fortunatus, &c., by M. H. L. Bordier (4 vols. 1857–64). M. Bordier has published a separate translation of the History, founded upon that of MM. Guadet and Taranne (2 vols. Paris, Didot, 1859–61). Of the numerous other French translations of the History the best known is that by M. Guizot, originally published in his *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, 1823, and republished in 1861 (2 vols. Didier), edited by M. Alfred Jacobs, who has appended thereto his treatise on the Geography of Gregory of Tours, and other valuable matter. There is a German translation, with an admirable introduction by W. Giesebrecht, in Pertz's *Geschichtsschreiber der Deutschen Vorzeit*, Lieferungen 12 and 16, or vi. Jahrhundert, Bde. 4 and 5.

Of the commentaries and works bearing on the life and writings of Gregory, the most important and thorough, besides the prefaces, &c., of Ruinart, Bordier, Jacobs, and Giesebrecht above referred to, are Löbell's *Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit*, 2nd edit. 1869, and Gabriel Monod's *Études critiques sur l'Époque mérovingienne*, pt. i. 1872, being Fascicule No. 9 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études*. Compare also Wattenbach's *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 3rd edit. 1873, and for the more detailed bibliography of the subject Monod, pp. 23–24; also *Répertoire des Sources historiques du Moyen Age*, par Ulysse Chevalier, Paris, 1877–8, Potthast's *Wegweiser*, s. v., and Bordier, vol. iv. M. Monod gives a critical list of the extant MSS. of Gregory (pp. 50–54), and examines in detail the textual objections brought against the authenticity of various parts of the history (chap. 3).

3. *Life of Gregory.* — Georgius Florentius (subsequently called Gregorius, after his great-grandfather St. Gregory, bishop of Langres), son of Florentius and Armentaria, of noble or senatorial family in Auvergne, was born on St. Andrew's day (Nov. 30) of the year 538. So Monod, p. 28, relying chiefly on the passage in the *Mir. Mart.* iii. 10. Previous authorities have generally placed his birth in the year 543, from the passage in the *Vita* which states that he was thirty years old at the time of his episcopal consecration, which took place in 573.

Members of his father's and mother's families had held high office both in church and state.

[a] Not 1522, as Potthast, Monod, and others. The colophon of the book (which contains other works besides the History of Gregory) gives 1522. But that is evidently a misprint, for the 'Privilège du Roi' which is on the reverse of the same folio is dated 1511, and the separate colophon of the History gives 1512.

His grandfather, Georgius, on the father's side, and his great-grandfather, Florentius, on the mother's side (*V. P.* 8, 1) had been senators at Clermont. Gallus, son of Georgius and uncle of Gregory, had become bishop of Auvergne; another uncle, Nicetius or Nizier, bishop of Lyons (*H.* v. 5, *V. P.* 8); another, Gundulf, had risen to ducal rank (*H.* vi. 11). Gregory, bishop of Langres, and originally count of Autun, was his great-grandfather, and all the previous bishops of Tours, except five, had been of his family (v. 50). It is with justifiable pride, therefore, that he asserts (*V. P.* 6) that none in Gaul could boast of purer and nobler blood than himself.

His father appears to have died early, and Gregory received most of his education from his uncle Gallus, bishop of Auvergne. The history of his adopting the clerical profession is told by himself. Being sick of a fever in his youth, he found relief by visiting the shrine of St. Illidius, the patron saint of Clermont. The fever however returned, and Gregory's life was despaired of. Being again carried to St. Illidius' shrine he vowed to God to dedicate himself to the ministry if he recovered, nor would he quit the shrine till his prayer was granted (*V. P.* 2, 2).

Armentaria, Gregory's mother, returned to Burgundy, her native country, and Gregory apparently lived with Avitus, at first archdeacon, afterwards bishop of Auvergne, who carried on the work of his education. Avitus directed his pupil rather to the study of ecclesiastical than of secular works. It is Avitus that Gregory looks upon as in the fullest sense his spiritual father. "It was his teaching and preaching," he says, "that, next to the Psalms of David, led me to recognise that Jesus Christ the Son of God had come into the world to save sinners, and caused me to reverence and honour those as the friends and disciples of Christ who take up His cross and follow in His steps." (*V. P.* 2, Intr.) By Avitus he was ordained deacon, probably about the year 563. (Monod, 29.)

Of Gregory's life before he became bishop of Tours few details are known. There are allusions to various journeys from Auvergne to Burgundy to visit his mother (*Mir. Mart.* i. 36, iii. 60; *Gl. Conf.* 85; *Gl. Mart.* 84), whose affection and piety he on more than one occasion commemorates (*Mir. Mart.* iii. 10, *V. P.* v. 12, Monod, 28–29), and he appears to have been well known at Tours before he became bishop (*Mir. Mart.* i. 32, *Vita*, ch. ii.); for it was in consequence of the expressed wish of the whole people of Tours, clergy and laity, that Sigebert appointed him, in 573, to the see. He was consecrated by Egidius of Rheims.

He was known to and favoured by Radegund the widow of Clotaire I., foundress of St. Cross at Poitiers, and according to Fortunatus her favour was of weight in bringing about his election to the bishopric of Tours.

> Quem patris Egidii Domino manus alma sacravit
> Ut populum recreet, quem Radegundis amet;
> Huic Sigebertus ovans favet et Brunechildis honori,
> Judicio regis, nobile culmen adest. (*Carm.* v. 3.)

The elevation of Gregory to the see of Tours was contemporary with the renewed outbreak of civil war between Sigebert and Chilperic, the former of whom had inherited the Austrasian, the latter the Neustrian, possessions of their father Clotaire I. (died 561). Of the other sons of Clotaire, Guntram had obtained Burgundy with Orleans as his capital, and Charibert Aquitaine together with Touraine and other territories. On Charibert's death in 567 (so G. Richter, *Annalen d. Deutschen Reichs*, s. a.; in 570 according to Giesebrecht) his possessions were divided, each of the three sons obtaining one-third share in Paris, which thus became a kind of federal capital, Sigebert Touraine, Chilperic, besides his share of Paris, only a few cities in Aquitaine (v. CHARIBERT, CHILPERIC, and on these divisions Bonnell, *Anfänge des Karol. Hauses*, pp. 206–215). Chilperic seized upon Tours and Poitiers (*H.* iv. 46), but his son Clovis was expelled from thence by the united forces of Guntram and Sigebert under Mummolus. Again later (probably in 573–4, Richter, but the chronology is very obscure), Chilperic sent a plundering expedition into Touraine under his eldest son Theodebert (*H.* iv. 48). Fearful destruction was committed, and "the lamentations of the church were worse than in the days of the persecution of Diocletian." In the following year (575), however, Theodebert was defeated and slain by Guntram Boso and Godegisel, Sigebert's generals (iv. 51), and Touraine regained for Sigebert. Almost immediately afterwards Sigebert was assassinated at Fredegund's instigation, and Chilperic recovered Tours (v. 13, 14, 49), which remained in his possession till his death in 584.

The possession of Touraine and Poitou was thus in some sort the occasion of the war, and these countries suffered from the devastation and ravages of both parties. Gregory's sympathies were with Sigebert, from whom he had originally obtained his bishopric (*Vita S. Greg.* § 11), and the people of Tours were generally (iv. 50), though not unanimously (iv. 46), on the Austrasian side. Cruel and regardless of human life though all the Merovingian princes appear to have been, Chilperic, according to Gregory, was conspicuously so; he was the "Nero and Herod of his age" (vi. 46); he not only plundered and burned throughout the country, but he specially destroyed churches and monasteries, slew priests and monks, and paid no regard to the possessions of St. Martin (iv. 48).

Tours remained under the subjection of Chilperic till his death in 584, and some of the best traits in Gregory's character appear in the resistance which he made to the murderous violence of the king and the truculent treachery of Fredegund. Thus he braved their wrath and refused to surrender their rebellious son Meroveus (*H.* v. 14), and their enemy Guntram Boso who had defeated and killed Theodebert (v. 4), both of whom had taken sanctuary at the shrine of St. Martin; and Gregory alone of the bishops dared to rebuke Chilperic for his unjust conduct towards Praetextatus, and to protect Praetextatus from the vengeance of Fredegund (v. 19). So, too, when Chilperic wanted to force on his people his views of the doctrine of the Trinity, Gregory withstood him. Chilperic recited to Gregory what he had written on the subject, and added, "I will that such shall be your belief and that of all the other doctors of the church." "Do not deceive yourself, my lord king," Gregory replied, "you must follow in this matter the teaching of the apostles and doctors of the church, the teaching of Hilary and Eusebius,

the confession that you made at baptism." "It appears then," angrily exclaimed the king, "that Hilary and Eusebius are my declared enemies in this matter." "No," said Gregory; "neither God nor His saints are your enemies," and he proceeded to expound to the king the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. Chilperic was very angry. "I shall set forth my ideas to those who are wiser than you, and they will approve of them." "Never," answered the bishop; "it would be no wise man, but a lunatic, that would adopt such views as yours." (v. 45.)

Gregory had a persistent and treacherous enemy in Leudastes, a man of low origin, who had risen under Charibert to be count of Tours, and who held the same post under Chilperic (v. 49). When removed from office because of his misdeeds, he endeavoured to take revenge on Gregory by maligning him by false accusations to the king, that he was going to deliver over the city to Childebert, Sigebert's son, and finally that Gregory had spread a report that Fredegund had committed adultery with Bertrand, bishop of Bordeaux. Whether there was any concerted scheme of Fredegund's to bring about Gregory's ruin is not clear. Anyhow the king was very angry, "beat and kicked" Leudastes severely, and cast him into prison. Leudastes appealed to the evidence of Riculfus, a clerk of Tours, and a declared enemy of Gregory. Chilperic summoned a council of the bishops of the kingdom at Braine, near Soissons, to investigate the charge. Popular sympathy was entirely on Gregory's side, a woodcutter, Modestus, being unable to restrain his indignation, and suffering for his pains, and the people outside making an uproar during the council (v. 50). Gregory entirely denied the charge, he had neither heard of nor spoken of such a thing. It was found that the accusation rested solely on the evidence of Leudastes and Riculfus. All agreed that the witness of an inferior was not to be believed against a priest and his superior ("non potest persona inferior super sacerdotem credi"), and so Gregory was acquitted on condition of solemnly disclaiming on oath all cognizance of the charge. Leudastes fled, Riculfus was condemned to death; at Gregory's intercession he was spared death, but not torture, which in the most horrible forms was inflicted on him (v. 48–50, *Grégoire de Tours au Concile de Braine*, par S. Prioux, Paris, 1847, is a mere réchauffé of Gregory's own account of these proceedings, and of no independent critical value). The subsequent fate of Leudastes illustrates the best side of Gregory's character. After being a fugitive in different parts of Gaul, Leudastes presented himself at Tours to have his excommunication removed with a view to marrying and settling there. For this end he brought letters from several bishops, but none from queen Fredegund, his principal enemy, and when Gregory wrote to her, she replied by asking Gregory to postpone receiving back Leudastes into communion till further inquiry had been made. Gregory, suspicious of Fredegund's design, warned Leudastes' father-in-law, and besought him to induce Leudastes to keep quiet till Fredegund's anger was appeased. "This advice," says Gregory, "I gave sincerely, and for the love of God, but Leudastes suspected treachery and refused to take it: so the proverb was fulfilled which I once heard an old man tell, 'Always give good counsel to both friend and foe; the friend will take it, the foe will despise it.'" Leudastes went to the king to get his pardon; Chilperic was willing, but warned him to be careful till the queen's wrath was appeased. Leudastes rashly tried to force forgiveness from the queen. Fredegund was implacable and furious, and Leudastes was put to death with great cruelty. "He deserved his death," says Gregory, "for he had ever led a wicked life" (vi. 32).

During the wars that followed the death of Chilperic Touraine and Poitou were again the subject of contention, and again suffered accordingly. Their desire was to be subject to Childebert, Sigebert's son, that is, to resume their allegiance to the Austrasian king; but they were compelled to submit to Guntram, the king of Orleans and Burgundy (vii. 12, 13), and under his power they remained till the treaty of Andelot in 587, in concluding which Gregory was one of Childebert's commissioners, when they were restored to Childebert (iv. 20). Gregory appeared during this period at the courts of both sovereigns; at Guntram's court at Orleans (viii. 2), and again at Coblenz with Childebert (viii. 13). Guntram was guardian of Childebert, and had adopted him as his heir, and one of the terms of the treaty of Andelot was that the survivor of the two should be the heir of him who died first. Guntram died in 593 and Childebert succeeded, and the latest notice in Gregory's writings is the visit of Childebert to Orleans after Guntram's death. (*Mir. S. Martin*, iv. 37.) The story in the *Vita* (c. 24) of Gregory's visit to Rome is very improbable (Monod, p. 37). Gregory himself died on Nov. 17, 594.

Gregory's activity was not confined to the general affairs of the kingdom. He was even more zealous for what concerned the welfare of his own and the neighbouring dioceses. He was much occupied in his later years with the disturbances caused by Chrodieldis in the nunnery at Poitiers which had been founded by Gregory's friend St. Radegund. Gregory's first interference was ineffectual (ix. 39 sqq.), but the disturbance having increased, and having caused an *émeute* in the town, the two kings, Guntram and Childebert, appointed a joint commission of bishops to inquire into the matter. Gregory was one of Childebert's commissioners, but he refused to enter upon the work until the civil disturbance had been actually repressed (x. 15, 16). So too he had a great deal of trouble with another rebellious nun, Berthegunda (ix. 33, x. 12).

With the city of Tours itself his relations were peculiarly intimate. He not only magnifies his office as bishop, but he takes a kind of family pride in it, when he says that all previous bishops of Tours, with only five exceptions, were of his family (*H.* v. 50; see above), and he magnifies the sanctity and power of Tours' great patron St. Martin. He maintained the rights of sanctuary of the shrine in favour of the most powerful offenders, and in spite of the wrath of Chilperic and Fredegund (*e.g.* Meroveus, Guntram Boso, Ebrulfus, vii. 22, 29). He was a builder of churches in the city and see, and especially a rebuilder of the great church of St. Martin (x. 31). He did his best to arbitrate

in and appease the bloody feuds within the city, whether springing from private or political partisanship (vii. 47), and he was a rigorous and effectual defender of the exemption of the city from increased taxation (ix. 20). Evidently a man of unselfish earnestness and energy, he was popular in the city with all. It was to the popularity of his early years that he owed his election to the see (*Vita*, ch. 11); that his popularity continued during life is manifested at the council of Braine and on many other occasions, and his popularity at death is attested by his almost immediate *veneration* as a saint. And his sanctity, his biographer (*Vita*, pref.) says, was manifested not so much by the working of miracles, as in being meek and lowly of heart, and so following in the footsteps of Christ.

4. *The Writings of Gregory.*—Gregory began to write first as bishop, and was induced to begin on the *Miracles of St. Martin* by the increasing wonders which had been wrought by the saint, since his life and miracles had been recorded by Paulinus and Severus, and by a vision of his own mother, who urged him to undertake the work (*Mir. S. Martin.* i. pref.).

Giesebrecht (Pref. pp. 26, 27) concludes from the fact that Venantius Fortunatus, in 576, alludes to the work of Gregory on the *Miracles of St. Martin*, that a first draft of at least a part of it, probably the first two books, must have been written by that time. These two books, however, were not completed till 583, the third book not before 587, and the fourth was still being written at the time of Gregory's death. Contemporaneous with the writing of the *Miracles of St. Martin* was the composition of the *Miracles of St. Julianus* and the *Gloria Martyrum* about the year 585. Gregory continued his labours in the same field in the *Gloria Confessorum* (completed 588) and the *Vitae Patrum*, the latter of which was continued till the time of his death. It is probable, from internal evidence, that Gregory was in the habit of making from time to time improvements and additions to what he had written.

The history appears to have been written contemporaneously with the books of the *Miracles of the Saints*, and most probably in several divisions and at different times. Giesebrecht who has carefully investigated the internal evidence bearing on this subject comes to the following conclusions. The history was originally written at three separate periods, and it falls into three separate divisions. The first division, comprising Books i.—iv. and the first half of Book v., was probably composed about the year 577; the second division, from the middle of Book v. to the end of the 37th chapter of Book viii., in the years 584 and 585; the remainder of the work in the years 590 and 591. The last chapter of the last book is an epilogue, separately composed; for the history as a history is unfinished. Had Gregory desired to bring it to completion he probably would have carried it on at least to the death of Guntram in March 593. As in the case of the books of the Miracles Gregory appears to have revised his History, and we find in the earlier books insertions, references to Gregory's other works, and references to events of later date. This revision does not appear to have reached further than the end of the sixth book; hence it is that several MSS., and these the most ancient, contain only the first six books, and the authors of the *Hist. Epit.* and of the *Gesta Reg. Franc.* appear to have known only these first six books. The conclusions of Monod with regard to the dates of the composition of Gregory's works are substantially the same as those of Giesebrecht. In the History he also finds a threefold division, namely, Books i. to iv. composed about 576; Books v. and vi., composed from 584 to 587; Books vii. to x. in 590 and 591; and the Epilogue or last chapter in 592. (Monod, pp. 115–119.)

The difficulty, that if the composition of the books of the Miracles and of the History was contemporaneous, there would be allusions to the History in the books of the Miracles, as there are allusions to the books of the Miracles in the History, is got over by Giesebrecht by the conjecture that, as Gregory intended his History to be for the use of posterity (*Hist.* i. pref.), whilst the books of the Miracles were for the edification of contemporaries, he kept the History secret during his lifetime and did not publish it in any form (p. 31).

Gregory begins his History, like most chroniclers of the time, with the Creation, and his first book is founded on, and in many cases made up of extracts from, Eusebius, Jerome, and Orosius (*Hist.* i. Prol. sub fine, ch. 34, 37). In the second book, which treats of the Frankish conquests, he still owes much to Orosius and to the Lives of the Saints, and quotes from the works of Renatus Frigiderius and Sulpicius Alexander (ii. 9), two writers of the 5th century, whose works are no longer extant. But from this point onwards he writes directly from oral tradition and unwritten authorities. The third and fourth books, dealing with events down to 575, two years after Gregory became bishop, are, compared with those which follow, meagre and not chronologically arranged, giving prominence to events which took place in Auvergne and Burgundy, the districts in which Gregory passed his childhood (Monod, p. 102). From 575 the narrative becomes fuller and more systematic, the intervals of time being regularly marked. And as the writer becomes himself a more and more important personage in the state, so he is able to give more and more details about state affairs. (Giesebrecht, pp. 32–34. Monod, in his 4th chapter, investigates the comparative value in different parts of the work of the documentary and oral sources of Gregory's history.)

Gregory apologizes on more than one occasion for the rudeness of his style. He has had no practice, he says (*Gloria Conf.* sub init.), in letters, he cannot distinguish the true character and meaning of words, he mistakes masculine for feminine and feminine for masculine, &c. (cp. *Hist.* pref., and *Hist.* book i. pref.). And doubtless this rudeness to a certain degree produces obscurity, and has damaged his reputation in modern times, though Sigebert of Gemblour (quoted by Monod, p. 111) gives him the highest praise, "Gregorius Turonensis episcopus, vir magnae nobilitatis et simplicitatis, scripsit multa *simplici sermone.*" But rough though his style might be, Gregory was far from being without learning or culture such as his age could afford. Though ignorant of Greek, he had a fair acquaint-

ance with Latin authors, quoting or referring to Livy, Pliny, Cicero, Aulus Gellius, &c. (Monod, 112).

In the art of the historian as such, he is quite unskilled; that is to say, he does not attempt to make his history a consistent and well-balanced whole. He cannot subordinate that which is of local to that which is of general interest. The length and fulness of his recital of particular events depends not upon their intrinsic importance but upon the amount of information he has at his command. Hence the great detail in which he recites the quarrels of Ingeltruda and Berthegunda at Tours (*H.* ix. 33 sqq.) and of Chrodieldis at Poitiers, matters of merely local interest, but with which he had a very immediate connexion.

So too he follows the dramatic method of writing history, putting speeches into the mouths of individuals which are the composition of the author, not the authentic utterance of the individual. Again, he does not attempt to estimate the value of the evidence of his informants. He retails immediately and at first hand whatever is given to him on fairly credible authority. As to his own words and works, he plainly gives us exactly what he himself has said and done. Never at any time does he repress his personal individuality.

Where, however, he depends upon written authorities he is, in detail, untrustworthy. Where he borrows from writers now extant, and can be compared with them, as in the first two books of the History, his inaccuracy is found to be considerable; he transcribes carelessly, and often instead of transcribing he cites from memory, giving the substance of that which he has read, and that not correctly (see instances ap. Monod, pp. 80 sqq.). It may be laid down generally that little confidence can be placed in his narrative of events outside of Gaul, and less confidence in proportion as the scene of action is farther removed from Gaul.

His authority as an historian, that is to say, his sincerity and impartiality, has been attacked in modern times on various grounds; that he unduly favours the church, or that he traduces the church in the recital he gives of the wickedness of the bishops of the time, or that he traduces the character of the Franks (Kries, *De Gregorii Turonensis episcopi vita et scriptis*, Breslau, 1859), whether from motives of race-jealousy or any other.

With regard to his ecclesiastical sympathies Gregory looks upon history as a struggle of the church against unbelief in the heathen and heretics, and against worldly-mindedness in professing Christians. In accordance with this view he begins his History with a confession of the orthodox faith (Scripturus bella Regum cum gentibus adversis, Martyrum cum paganis, Ecclesiarum cum haereticis, priùs fidem meam proferre cupio, ut qui legerit, me non dubitet esse catholicum.—*Hist.* i. Prol.). The epithet *ecclesiastica* applied to the History from Ruinart's time is a misnomer if used in the ordinary modern sense, for Gregory specially defends his method of mixing in his recital things secular and religious (mixte confuseque tam virtutes sanctorum, quam strages gentium memoramus.—*Hist.* ii. Prol.). Of course with a man so passionate and impressionable as Gregory, the fact of his being a priest and the bishop of the see of St. Martin, the ecclesiastical and religious centre of Gaul, does influence his feelings and actions towards individuals. Hence to a certain degree it is that Guntram, the friend of the bishops and of Gregory, is the "good" king Guntram, and Chilperic, who delights in bitter raillery against bishops, is the "Nero and Herod" of his time. But even if ecclesiastical prejudices may have so far influenced Gregory's mode of speech, they did not prevent him reciting events as they were told to him, even though he might have to relate molestation of bishops on the part of Guntram, or deference to bishops, even to Gregory himself, on the part of Chilperic. His professional feelings, no doubt, affect the praise and blame which he assigns to individuals, and the reprobation with which he speaks of evil deeds, but the "impartiality of his narrative corrects the partiality of his judgment" (Monod, p. 134). And that in both directions, for although Gregory's patriotism was love of the church and not love of his country, he is not prevented thereby from recording the evil deeds of bishops and priests, such as were the turbulent Salonius and Sagittarius (*H.* v. 21), the adulterous Dagulf (viii. 19), the immoral Palladius and Bertrand (viii. 7), the drunken Droctigisel (ix. 37, cp. x. 14).

On the much-disputed question of the relation of the Gallo-Roman subjects to the conquering Franks, Gregory gives no support to the theory that there was a continuous contest of races going on in Gaul, still less that that was a vital political principle at the time. Gregory was himself, as he tells us, a Roman, and he speaks of the Franks often as barbarians, but barbarians in the ancient not in the modern sense of the word. He shews no rancour in treating of the Frankish conquerors, such as would be natural in the victim of an oppressed nationality. Löbell treats elaborately of the question of the distinction and jealousy of Romans and Teutons from the ethnographical point of view (pp. 57–83), and shews further that after the first days of the conquest there was no political subjection of Roman to Teuton as such, and that Romans were not excluded from offices and dignities because of their birth (pp. 101–118).

Whatever may be the defects of the history of Gregory, due generally to the character of the author and lying sufficiently on the surface, his work remains as the great and in many respects the only authority for the history of the 6th century. During that dark period, when the forces out of which the nations of Western Europe and European civilization were to arise, were still in conflict, Gregory's fresh and simple, though not unbiassed, narrative is of the greatest value. He tells us exactly what the Franks were like, and what life in Gaul was like. He tells us, in so far as he knows them, *all* the facts, and he gives us his own judgment on them. We may agree with that judgment or not, but at any rate we are not kept in the dark as to the evidence upon which that judgment is founded.

[T. R. B.]

GREGORIUS (33) I., bishop of Agrigentum, in the 6th and 7th centuries. He was the author of an extant Greek commentary in ten books on *Ecclesiastes*. The latest edition (1740) of Cave's *Hist. Lit.* (i. 517) refers to this com-

mentary as lost to view since 1681. In 1791 it was edited in folio at Venice by Morcelli, with a Latin version and annotations, the life of Gregory by Leontius mentioned below accompanying it. In 1860 this edition was reprinted in the *Patrologia Graeca* (xcviii. 741), and in 1862 it was noticed by Ceillier (xi. 587), with a criticism of the style and a brief account of the author's doctrinal views, which were in accordance with the orthodoxy of his day. Morcelli discusses the question of the biblical text made use of by Gregory, it being found frequently to vary from the Septuagint. He also seeks to account for the circumstance that a Sicilian of the 7th century wrote in the Greek language.

There is likewise extant a very full Life of Gregory of Agrigentum, under the name of Leontius abbat of St. Saba at Rome, written not long after the bishop's death. It is, however, so devoid of dates and all notes of time that nothing more than an inferential and approximate chronology of its events is possible. According to Leontius Gregory was born near Agrigentum, and baptized by bishop Potamio, of whom no dates are known. At eighteen, being smitten with an ardent desire of seeing the sacred places of the Holy Land, he set sail for Carthage and thence proceeded to Palestine, where he passed some years among the various monastic communities, and especially those in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, by the patriarch of which city, Macarius, he was ordained deacon. Thence he repaired to Antioch, where Eustathius was bishop, and after a year proceeded to Constantinople, where Justinian was reigning. He next visited Rome, for the sake of its sacred places, and while there was consecrated by the pope bishop of Agrigentum. He had scarcely entered upon his episcopal duties when a plot was contrived to blast his character, his enemies having early one morning, while he was at church, secretly introduced a strange female into his house. He was summoned to Rome to clear himself, was acquitted by the pope and restored to his flock, among whom he continued to labour until his death. The names above given will furnish a first approximation to the chronology. Macarius of Jerusalem ruled between cir. 544 and 573, but not uninterruptedly (Clinton, *F. R.* ii. 537, 557, 558). No Eustathius of Antioch later than the Nicene period is otherwise known. Justinian reigned from 527 to 565. We have in addition a statement by Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* xvii. 17), that Gregory was present at the fifth general council, *i.e.* 553. Taking this date for a departure, Cajetan computes the year of Gregory's birth to have been 524, and Pirri nearly agrees with him (Cajet. *Vit. Sic. SS.* i. animadv. p. 167; Pirri, *Sic. Sac.* i. 693). But their calculation is perplexed by certain letters of Gregory the Great. Two of these (lib. i. ind. ix. ep. 72; lib. iii. ind. xi. ep. 12), dated by Jaffé (*Reg. Pont.* 97, 102), A.D. 591, 592, mention a Gregory bishop of Agrigentum. They are brief, and contain little direct information, but there are other letters which, without naming him, plainly allude to his case (lib. ii. ind. x. ep. 33; lib. v. ind. xiii. ep. 12; lib. viii. ind. i. ep. 23). From this group of epistles it is easy to discern that Gregory of Agrigentum is under accusation, that he is required at Rome with his accusers and the documents, that the see is under sequestration, and that he eventually returns to his church. In other words, here in pope Gregory's correspondence is an incident disclosed accurately corresponding with that described by Leontius. But the date is inconveniently late for the other computations of Cajetan and Pirri, who are therefore induced to conclude that there existed another Gregory of Agrigentum subsequent to theirs, labouring under a similar accusation. Him they call Gregory III. Morcelli on the other hand, believing this solution unnatural and far-fetched, takes his departure from the papal epistles, and working backwards constructs a theoretical chronology of the life thus:—Birth, 559; ordination at Jerusalem, 579, under John III. and not Macarius; Antioch, 586; Constantinople, 588; consecration at Rome, 590; accusation, 591; restoration, 594; death, cir. 638. But Morcelli, finding his scheme interfered with by the statement of Nicephorus, believes himself warranted in rejecting the "fifth synod," and that on two grounds; first, because the records of the council have no mention of the presence of a deacon or priest Gregory (vid. Mansi, ix. 175 C, 391 D); secondly, because another writer, Nicetas Pectoratus (*Contra Latinos*, cap. 12 in Patr. Gr. cxx. 1018), puts the council as the sixth, *i.e.* 680, a discrepancy which makes each writer discredit the other, as proving that neither had access to official documents. Morcelli's investigation is more searching than that of his predecessors, and his conclusion is supported, he thinks, by the internal evidence of the commentary. His chronological scheme is the one adopted in the new edition of Ceillier.

A Latin version of Leontius is given by Cajetan in his *Lives of the Sicilian Saints* (i. 188). The original Greek, with another Latin version, accompanies Morcelli's edition of the commentary as mentioned above. Morcelli gives an account of every subsequent Life of Gregory founded on that of Leontius, and cites all the ancient authors by whom Gregory is mentioned. (See also Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* viii. 322, x. 232, ed. Harles.) Founded on Leontius is a Life by Simeon Metaphrastes, the Latin of which may be seen in Surius (*de Prob. Hist. SS.* Nov. p. 487), Latin and Greek in Patr. Gr. cxvi. 189. The brief entry of Gregory under Nov. 23 in the *Menologium Graecorum* of Sirlet (Canisius, *Thesaur.* iii. 490), assigns his birth to the reign of Justinian; while the *Menologium* of Basil, Nov. 24, puts it under Justinianus Rhinotmetus, *i.e.* 685–711.

Finally it should be noticed that Pirri (*ut sup.*) gives a Gregory IV. of Agrigentum, citing as his authority a note by Baronius under Nov. 23 of the *Roman Martyrology* edited by him in 1610. This note is to the effect that the signature of a Gregory of Agrigentum is attached to the synodal of pope Agatho at Rome in 680, and must belong to a bishop later than the commentator. But Morcelli points out that Baronius here has simply misread his document, since the word in every copy, without a single various reading, is not Gregory but George [GEORGIUS (22)]: (see Mansi, xi. 305 A). Gregory IV. of Agrigentum therefore disappears as well as Gregory III. [C. H.]

GREGORIUS (34), bishop of Rhinocorura (Farma) on the frontiers of Egypt and Palestine. He is mentioned by Metaphrastes in his life of St. Joannes Eleemosynarius (cap. 1, Patr. Gr. cxiv. 901), as being sent c. A.D. 610 by that patriarch to relieve and ransom the Christians who had been seized by the Persians in the invasion of Chosroes. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 543.) [J. de S.]

GREGORIUS (35), bishop of Osma, from a little before 610. He signs the acts of the so-called synod of Carthaginensian bishops at Toledo, A.D. 610. [GUNTHIMAR.] (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 322; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 288.) [M. A. W.]

GREGORIUS (36) IV., supposed bishop of Agrigentum, in 680. [GREGORIUS (33), GEORGIUS (22).]

GREGORIUS (37), bishop of Oreto (nr. Almagro) from 681 to about 690. His signature is 15th among forty-eight at the 13th council of Toledo, 683. He also appeared at the fourteenth and fifteenth councils, A.D. 684–688. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 287, 304, 313; *Esp. Sagr.* vii. 271.) [AUDONIUS.] [M. A. W.]

GREGORIUS (38), the name of several bishops present at the councils of 680 and 692 at Constantinople, viz. of—

- Arce in Lesser Armenia, 680 (Mansi, xi. 676; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 448).
- Azani in Phrygia, 692 (M. 1001; *O. C.* i. 800).
- Calantea in Asia, 692 (M. 994 e, Greek ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Γαλάτων πόλεως. Mansi suggests Σκελεντῶν in the Hellespont).
- Calöe, in the valley of Caÿster, 692 (M. 993; *O. C.* i. 725).
- Cantanus in Crete, 680 (M. 317, 614 e; *O. C.* ii. 274).
- Evaza or Theodosiopolis in Asia, 692 (M. 996; *O. C.* i. 734).
- Jutalea, 692 (M. 998 b, Greek, Georgius in Latin).
- Mitylene, 680 (M. 614 c, 693; *O. C.* i. 956).
- Naxos, 680 (M. 615 d, Gregorius in the Latin, Georgius in Greek).
- Tabia in Galatia, 692 (M. 995 a; *O. C.* i. 474).
- Triocala in Sicily, 680 (Pirri, *Sicil. Soc.* i. 490). Mansi has Georgius. [GEORGIUS (23).]

GREGORIUS (39), bishop of Ostia c. 707. The date is fixed by a document containing a privilege granted by John VII. to the monastery of Subiaco. Besides his bishopric, he was "sanctae sedis bibliothecarius et cancellarius." (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 64; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* i. 445.) [R. S. G.]

GREGORIUS (40), bishop of Pavia at the beginning of the 8th century. He is mentioned by Landulph (Muratori, *Scriptores*, iv. 76) in a complaint addressed to pope Constantine by Benedict, archbishop of Milan, on the subject of his right of consecration to the see of Pavia. [A. H. D. A.]

GREGORIUS (41), supposed bishop of Tergeste (Trieste) between 715 and 731. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* viii. 681.) [R. S. G.]

GREGORIUS (42), bishop of Anagni, present at the synod of Rome in 721, under Gregory II. (Mansi, xii. 265; Hefele, § 330.) [A. H. D. A.]

GREGORIUS (43), bishop of Porto, present at the Roman synods of 743 and 745. In 743 another Gregorius appears as Orbeventanus. (Mansi, xii. 368, 380; Hefele, §§ 364, 367.) [A. H. D. A.]

GREGORIUS (44), bishop of Silva Candida, present at the Lateran synod in 769 (Mansi, xii. 714; Hefele, § 343). He also signed a letter of pope Paul I. in June 761 to the abbat John, (Mansi, xii. 649; Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 195). [A. H. D. A.]

GREGORIUS (45), ST., archbishop of Salamis (Constantia) in the island of Cyprus, commemorated in the *Menaea* on March 5 (Basil. *Men.*, in Migne, Patrol. Graec. cxvii.). He is perhaps to be identified with GEORGIUS (30), bishop of the see, who was a strong opponent of the Iconoclastic emperor Constantine Copronymus. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 1049; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. i. 368.) [L. D.]

GREGORIUS of Praeneste. [GEORGIUS (32).]

GREGORIUS (46), bishop of Pessinus, the metropolis of Galatia Secunda. He subscribed the condemnation of images by the council of Constantinople of A.D. 754. For this he was called to account at the council of Nicaea, A.D. 787, when he recanted, expressed his regret for what he had done, and subscribed the decrees of that assembly. (Mansi, xii. 723 A, 625 B, 731 D.) [T. W. D.]

GREGORIUS (47) II., bishop of Neocaesarea, present at the council of Nicaea, 787, where in the sixth session he cites the acts of the Constantinopolitan council of 754 against image worship, Epiphanius the deacon refuting them clause by clause, through the session (Mansi, xiii. 207, 382 D; Le Quien, *Or. Ch.* i. 504). It is stated by Ceillier (xiii. 613) that Gregory of Neocaesarea, Theodosius of Ephesus, and Sisinnius of Perga were at the head of the bishops who met at Constantinople in 754. But this must be a mistake as regards Gregory. Theophanes mentions only Theodosius of Ephesus and Pastillus of Perga (Theoph. *Chronog.* A.C. 745, p. 359 in Patr. Gr. cviii. 862). The *Acta* of the council of 754 are lost, except in so far as they are cited in the sixth session of Nicaea as just stated, and in those proceedings Gregorius is always mentioned with the epithet θεοφιλέστατος. [C. H.]

GREGORIUS (48), the name of several bishops present at the third council of Nicaea in 787, viz. of—

- Amastris (Sessamus) in Paphlagonia (Mansi, xii. 1099 c, xiii. 145 d; Le Quien, *O. C.* i. 563). He is thought to have been also called Georgius. [GEORGIUS (40).]
- Basilinopolis (M. xiii. 146 a, Latin; Georgius in the Greek). [GEORGIUS (37).]
- Cibyra in Caria (M. xii. 1106; *O. C.* i. 904), not Georgius of Libyra as in the Latin of M. xii. 1105 b).
- Delcum (Delcos, Derca) in Thrace (M. xii. 995, 1099 c; *O. C.* i. 1163).
- Euchania (Theodoropolis) in Thrace (M. xii. 1099 b; *O. C.* i. 1143).

Gordus (M. xii. 1102 d, Greek; Georgius in the Latin). [GEORGIUS (37).]
Heraclea Latmi in Caria (M. xii. 1106 c, xiii. 147 b; *O. C.* i. 906).
Mylasa in Caria (M. xii. 1006, xiii. 147 b; *O. C.* i. 922).
Nissa (M. xii. 1104 c, Latin; Georgius in Greek). [GEORGIUS (37).]
Palaeopolis in Asia (M. xii. 1098 c; *O. C.* i. 731).
Sinope (M. xiii. 145 c; *O. C.* i. 539).
Stratonicia (Hadrianopolis) in Caria (M. xii. 998, xiii. 148 b; *O. C.* i. 912).
Temenothyrae in Phrygia Pacatiana (M. xii. 1106 e, xiii. 147 c; *O. C.* i. 808).

[C. H.]

GREGORIUS II. of Ostia. [GEORGIUS (33).]

GREGORIUS of Amiens. [GEORGIUS (41).]

GREGORIUS (49), tenth bishop of Nismes, between Casatus or Cosatus and Vintericus, towards the close of the 8th century. His name is said to appear in an ancient breviary and other MSS. of that church. (*Gall. Christ.* vi. 430; Gams, *Series Episc.* 586.) [S. A. B.]

GREGORIUS (50), created first bishop of Mantua by Leo III. c. 804 or 808, and succeeded by Erfulfus, 823. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. 928; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xii. 18.)

[R. S. G.]

GREGORIUS (51) I. (called the Great), bishop of Rome from Sept. 3, A.D. 590, to March 12, A.D. 604, between thirteen and fourteen years. He was born at Rome, probably about the year 540, of a wealthy senatorial family, pope Felix II. (or III.) being said to have been his great-grandfather. The family was a religious one. His mother Silvia, and Tarsilla and Aemiliana, the two sisters of his father Gordianus, have been canonized. Under such influences his education is spoken of by his biographer, John the deacon, as having been that of a saint among saints. His intellectual seems not to have fallen short of his moral and religious training. Gregory of Tours, his contemporary, says that in grammar, rhetoric, and logic, he was thought to be second to none in Rome (*Hist.* x. 1). Conformably to his rank and prospects he studied law, distinguished himself in the senate, and at an early age (certainly before 573, when he would be little more than thirty years old) was recommended by the emperor Justin II. for the post of praetor urbis. The silk attire, the glittering gems, and the purple-striped trabea, with which he walked at this period through the streets of Rome, recurred afterwards to the memory of observers, as in striking contrast to the ecclesiastical garb so soon assumed (Greg. Tur. *ib.*). For after a public career of credit, it was not long before the religious ideas of his age, with which he was thoroughly imbued, suggested to him the pursuit of a higher vocation; and on his father's death he reserved to himself but a small share of the great wealth that came to him, employing the rest in charitable uses, and especially in founding monasteries, of which he endowed six in Sicily, and one, dedicated to St. Andrew, on the site of his own house, near the church of SS. John and Paul, at Rome. Here he himself became a monk. The date of this, his first retirement from the world, and its duration, are uncertain; as are also the exact dates of subsequent events previous to his accession to the papacy. What appears the most probable order of events will be given. During his seclusion his asceticism is said to have been such as to endanger his life, had he not been prevailed on by friends to abate its rigour; and it may have partly laid the foundation of the bad health from which he afterwards suffered. Gregory Turonensis speaks of his stomach at this time being so enfeebled by fast and vigil that he could hardly stand. His saintly aspirations were interrupted by the pope, Benedict I., who, having ordained him as one of the seven deacons (regionarii) of Rome, sent him as his apocrisiarius to Constantinople, it being customary to employ none but deacons in this capacity. We find him similarly employed, on the death of Benedict in 579, by his successor Pelagius II., who, having been consecrated before the customary confirmation of his election by the emperor had been obtained, found it necessary to send a nuncio to Constantinople to excuse the informality, and at the same time to solicit aid against the Lombards. After this Gregory resided three years in the imperial city. Two noteworthy circumstances are recorded during this stay in Constantinople. The first is his controversy with Eutychius, the patriarch, about the nature of the body at the resurrection. Eutychius had written a book in which he maintained that the risen body would be of an impalpable kind, subtle as air. This view Gregory opposed, urging the palpability of the risen body of Christ. The dispute was terminated by the intervention of the emperor Tiberius, who, having heard the two disputants, decided that Gregory had the best of the argument, and ordered the patriarch's treatise to be burnt (Joh. Diac. *Vit.* i. 28). John the Deacon adds that the disputants were so exhausted by the long discussion that both had to take to their beds at its close.

The second memorable incident of this period was the commencement at the instigation of Leander, bishop of Seville, who was then at Constantinople, of the famous work called Magna Moralia, of which some account will be given afterwards. Recalled at length by Pelagius to Rome, he was allowed, at his own earnest request, to return to his monastery, where he hoped to pass the remainder of his days, but was still employed as the pope's secretary. During the period of his renewed monastic life, and in his capacity of abbat (to which office he was chosen on the appointment of the previous abbat Maximianus to the see of Syracuse, though whether before or after his stay at Constantinople is uncertain), he was distinguished alike for the strictness of his own life and for the rigour of his discipline. One story which he tells himself leaves the impression of zeal in this regard carried to the extent of almost inhuman harshness. A monk, Julius, who had been a physician, and who had attended Gregory himself, night and day, during a long illness, being himself dangerously ill, confided to a brother that, in violation of monastic rule, he had three pieces of gold concealed in his cell. This confession was overheard, the cell was searched, and the pieces found. Gregory, being made aware of the fact, forbade all to approach the offender, even in the agonies of death, and

after death caused his body to be thrown on a dunghill, and with it the pieces of gold, the monks crying aloud, "Thy money perish with thee." (Greg. *Dial.* lib. iv. c. 55.)

On Feb. 8, 590, pope Pelagius died. The city of Rome was in great straits at the time. Without the gates the Lombards ravaged the country and threatened the city, aid being craved in vain from the distant emperor; within famine and plague were raging. Such, at a time like this, was the general recognition of Gregory's merits that he was at once unanimously chosen by senate, clergy, and people to succeed Pelagius. To him the news of his election was distressing. He at once wrote to the emperor Mauricius (who had succeeded Tiberius in 582) imploring him not to confirm the election. His letter was intercepted by the praefect of Rome, and another sent in its place, in the name of the senate, clergy, and people, earnestly requesting confirmation. It was during the interval before the reply of the emperor reached Rome, that Gregory, in addition to his excitement of the people to repentance by his sermons, instituted the famous processional litany, called Litania septiformis, in connexion with which the story about the origin of the name of the castle of St. Angelo is told; viz. that, as the monument of Hadrian was approached in a concluding processional peregrination of the city, Gregory saw on its summit an angel sheathing his sword in token that the plague was staid. At length an answer came from the emperor, confirming the election of Gregory. He still shrank from the proffered dignity, fled the city in disguise, escaping the guards set to watch the gates, and hid himself in a forest cave. Soon discovered, by means it was said of a supernatural light, he was brought back in triumph, conducted to the church of St. Peter, and immediately ordained on Sept. 3, 590, the see having been vacant since Feb. 8 in the same year (Anastas. Bibliothec. and *Martyrol. Roman.*). Though the sincerity of many others, in that age and afterwards, who have attempted to escape the episcopal dignity by flight, may well be doubted, there is not the least reason for disputing the reality of the feeling in Gregory's case, arising from his devotion to the monastic life, and a fear (as he himself expresses it) lest "the worldly glory which he had cast away might creep on him under the colour of ecclesiastical government." Subsequently to his ordination he ceased not to lament in his letters and other writings the manifold burdens, anxieties, and temptations of his high office, and to look back with regret to the safer quiet of his former monastic life. (Cf. *Ep.* i. 5; *Ep. ad Leandrum*, *Lib. de Cur. Pastor.* &c.)

After his accession, he continued in heart a monk, surrounding himself with ecclesiastics instead of laymen, and living with them according to monastic rule. In accordance with this plan a synodal decree was made under him in 595, substituting clergy or monks for the boys and secular persons who had formerly waited on the pope in his chamber (*Ep.* iv. 44). Yet he rose at once to his new position. The period, as has been said, was one of particular trial; and the church shared in the distress and disorganization of the time. The fires of controversy that had for the last two centuries inflamed it were not yet extinct; they still raged in the East. In Istria and Gaul the schism consequent on the question of the three chapters continued. In Africa the Donatists had begun once more to raise themselves aggressively against the Catholics. Spain had but just, and as yet imperfectly, been recovered from Arianism. In Gaul the church was oppressed under its barbarian rulers. In Italy the ferocious Arian Lombards had destroyed churches and monasteries, slain ecclesiastics, violated consecrated virgins, and wasted the land. The clergy were infected with the demoralization of the day. The monastic system which had taken such a wonderful hold on Christendom during the preceding age, was suffering the usual declension from the ardour of a first love, and was now notoriously corrupt. Literature and learning, crushed under the protracted struggle with barbarian hordes, had almost died with Boethius; and all such causes, combined with the temporal calamities and perils of the age, were such as to lead to a prevalent belief, which Gregory shared in and often expressed, that the end of all things was at hand. Nor was the position of the papacy encouraging to one who like Gregory took a high view of the prerogatives of St. Peter's chair. For since the recovery of Italy by Justinian (after the capture of Rome by Belisarius in 536) the popes had been far less independent than even under the Gothic kings. This prince had treated the bishops of Rome as his predecessors had long treated the Eastern patriarchs, regarding them as his creatures, to be appointed, summoned to court and deposed at his pleasure, and subject to the commands of his exarch at Ravenna; and no reigns of popes had been so inglorious as those of Gregory's immediate predecessors, Vigilius, Pelagius I., Benedict, and Pelagius II. His own description of the Roman church at this time was that it was "like an old and violently shattered ship, admitting the waters on all sides, its timbers rotten, shaken by daily storms, and sounding of wreck" (*Ep.* i.)

We may best obtain a view of the way in which this great pope acquitted himself as pilot of St. Peter's shattered bark, if we review his operations under separate heads, without strict regard to the chronological sequence of events. He will be regarded, first, as a spiritual ruler; secondly, as a temporal administrator and potentate; and lastly, as to his personal character, and as a doctor of the church.

I. Immediately after his accession he sent, according to custom, a confession of his faith to the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, in which he declared his reception of the four first general councils, as of the four gospels, and his condemnation of the three chapters; *i.e.* the writings of three deceased prelates, Theodorus, Theodoret, and Ibas, supposed to savour of heresy, and already condemned by the emperor Justinian, and by the fifth council called oecumenical. The strong language in which he exalts the authority of the four councils in this confession, as "the square stone on which rests the structure of the faith, the rule of every man's actions and life, which foundation whoever does not hold is out of the building," is significant of his views on the authority of the church at large, while his

recognition of the four patriarchs as co-ordinate potentates, to whom he sends an account of his own faith, expresses one aspect of the position in relation to the Eastern churches which then satisfied the Roman pontiffs.

He lost no time in taking measures for the restoration of discipline, the reform of abuses, the repression of heresy, and the establishment of the authority of the Roman see, both in his own metropolitan province, and wherever his influence extended. The definite jurisdiction belonging to the bishop of Rome since the political divisions of the Empire had been reproduced in the metropolitan constitution of the church was threefold; episcopal, metropolitan, and patriarchal. As bishop he had the oversight of the city of Rome; as metropolitan he had the superintendence of the seven suffragan, afterwards called cardinal, bishops of the Roman territory, those of Ostia, Portus, Silva Candida, Sabina, Praeneste, Tusculum, and Albanum; while his patriarchate seems to have originally extended (according to Rufinus, *H. E.* i. [x.] 6) over the suburban provinces which were under the civil jurisdiction of the vicarius urbis, including Upper Italy, with the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. But being the only patriarch in the West, he had in fact claimed and exercised jurisdiction as such beyond these original limits, including in his sway all the four vicariates into which the praefecture of Italy was politically divided; not that of Rome only, but those also of northern Italy, with its centre at Milan, western Illyricum, with its capital at Sirmium, and Western Africa, with its capital at Carthage. Further, before the time of Gregory's accession, a still wider authority had been claimed and in part acknowledged. As bishops of the old imperial city, with an acknowledged primacy of honour among the patriarchs, still more as occupants of St. Peter's chair and conservators of his doctrine, and as such from time to time consulted and appealed to by various Western churches, the popes had come to exercise a more or less defined jurisdiction over them all. The power of sending judges to hear on the spot the appeals of condemned bishops, which had been accorded to pope Julius by the Western council of Sardica in 343, had been claimed by his successors as perpetually belonging to the Roman see, and extended so as to involve the summoning of cases to be heard at Rome; and a law had been obtained by Leo I. from the emperor Valentinian (445) by which the pope was made supreme head of the whole Western church, with the power of summoning prelates from all provinces to abide his judgment. On the assumption of such authority Gregory acted, it being one of his fixed principles to abate none of the rights claimed by his predecessors, though scrupulous in respecting and maintaining the existing power of metropolitans, and though in countries under barbarian rulers, when circumstances did not allow the full assertion of his claims, he was wary, and adroit in his proceedings. Of his relation to the Eastern church something will be said hereafter. Instances will first be given of his measures in the West.

In the year of his accession (590) he endeavoured, though without result, to bring over the Istrian bishops, who still refused to condemn the three chapters, and to whom, during the pontificate of Pelagius, in his name as his secretary, he had addressed letters on the subject. With this view he appointed a council to meet at Rome, and obtained an order from the emperor for the attendance of these bishops. They, however, petitioned for exemption, saying that their faith was the same that had been formerly taught them by pope Vigilius, protesting against submission to the bishop of Rome as their judge, and pleading the state of Italy as a reason for granting them respite before satisfying the emperor, as in due time they were prepared to do, of the purity of their faith. The emperor countermanded the order, and Gregory acquiesced. (The letters are given by Baronius, ad ann. 590.) His acquiescence in this case is an early instance of what will appear more distinctly in other cases, his habit of submission to imperial authority, when remonstrance was unavailing.

In the following year (591) his orthodox zeal was directed with more success against the African Donatists. This sect, which had in former days been the object of much persecution, continued to flourish alongside with the Catholics, and lately without conflict or disturbance. It was the custom in Numidia for the senior bishop, whatever his see, to exercise metropolitan authority over the other bishops. Such senior now happened to be a Donatist, and he assumed the customary authority. Gregory therefore wrote to the Catholic bishops of Numidia, and to Gennadius, exarch of Africa, urging them to resist and put an end to the assertion of such a claim; and in his letter to the exarch (couched, as was Gregory's habit in addressing temporal potentates, in complimentary language) intimating pretty plainly his desire that active measures should be taken to suppress the Donatists (*Ep.* i. 74, 75). He succeeded so far as this, that the Donatist bishop was deposed from his assumed position, but the sect itself continued in Africa as long as Christianity. It may here be observed that this is not the only instance of Gregory, like others of his age, not being averse to persecution as a means of conversion. In Sicily he enjoined rigorous measures (summopere persequi) for the recovery of the Manichaeans to the church (*Ep.* iv. 6); there, and in Corsica, Sardinia, and Campania, the heathen peasants and slaves on the papal estates were by his order compelled to conform, not only by exactions on such as refused, but also by the imprisonment of freemen, and the corporal castigation ("*verberibus et cruciatibus*") of slaves (*Ep.* iii. 26; vii. Ind. 2, 67), and in France he exhorted Queen Brunichild to similar measures of coercion (*Ep.* vii. 5).

On the other hand, there are three letters of his, written in the same year with those about the African Donatists, which evince a spirit of unusual toleration towards the Jews. They are addressed to three bishops, Peter of Tarracina, Virgilius of Arles, and Theodorus of Marseilles, of whom the first had driven the Jews from their synagogues, and the two last had effected a number of conversions by offering them the choice of baptism or exile. In these letters he strongly condemns such proceedings, "because conversions wrought by force are never sincere, and such as are thus converted seldom fail to return to their vomit when the force is removed." (*Ep.* i. 34, i. 45; cf. *Ep.* vii. ind.

1, 26, vii. ind. 2, 5, vii. 2, 59.) Still, though in these instances averse to forcing them into the fold by persecution, he had no objection to luring them by the prospect of advantage: for in a letter to a deacon Cyprian, who was steward of the papal patrimony in Sicily, he directs him to offer to the Jews a remission of one-third of the taxes due to the Roman church on condition of their becoming Christians, saying, in justification, that though the conversions thus effected might be insincere, yet the children of the converts would be brought up in the bosom of the church (*Ep.* iv. 6, cf. *Ep.* xii. 30). In such apparent inconsistencies we may detect the good sense and Christian benevolence of the man in conflict with the impulses of zeal and the notions of his age.

He was no less active, from the very beginning of his reign, in reforming the church itself than in labouring for the conversion of heretics, heathens, and Jews. Mention has already been made of the laxity at that time prevalent among the monks, of which the life of the contemporary Benedict, the founder of the Benedictine order, affords ample evidence. [Benedict.] Several of Gregory's letters are addressed to monks who had left their monasteries for the world and marriage. He took especial pains with one Venantius, a distinguished member of the Decian family, who had joined a monastery and quitted it. In this case his remonstrances were in vain. He also issued the following, among other regulations designed for the restoration of monastic discipline; that no monk should be received under eighteen years of age, nor any husband without his wife's consent (in one case he orders a husband, who had entered a monastery, to be restored to his wife [*Ep.* ix. 44]); that two years of probation should always be required, and three in the case of soldiers; that a professed monk leaving his order should be immured for life; that no monk, though an abbat, should be allowed to leave the precincts of his monastery, except on urgent occasions; that under no pretext should any monk leave his monastery alone, on the ground that "Qui sine teste ambulat non rectè vivit." He also provided for the more complete separation of the monastic and clerical orders, forbidding any monk to remain in his monastery after ordination, and any priest to enter a monastery except for the exercise of clerical functions, or to become a monk without first giving up his clerical office; and further exempting monasteries from the jurisdiction of bishops. This last important provision, made at first in the case of some, was extended to all monasteries by the Lateran synod, held under him in 601.

In 593 his zeal for the monastic life brought him into temporary conflict with the emperor, in the course of which not only such zeal, but also his characteristic traits of boldness in asserting his views, and of submission at the same time to his temporal rulers, were alike conspicuous. Mauricius the emperor had issued an edict forbidding soldiers to become monks during their period of service, which edict the pope was required to publish in the West. Gregory at once complied, though strongly disapproving, and contented himself with sending, through Theodorus, the court physician, a letter to the emperor and his son, in which he earnestly and pathetically remonstrates against the edict, though fully acknowledging the emperor's power to issue it, and his own duty of submission to that power. He concludes thus: "And now I have on both sides discharged my duty: on the one I have yielded obedience to the emperor, and on the other spoken my mind with openness and freedom" (*Ep.* ii. 62).

He was no less zealous in his correction of the clergy than in his restoration of discipline among the monks. Several bishops under his immediate metropolitan jurisdiction and elsewhere he rebuked or deposed, among whom were Demetrius of Naples, Agatho of Lipari, Paul of Doclea, in Dalmatia, and Andreas of Tarentum, on grounds of incontinency and other crimes. His own nuncio at Constantinople, Laurentius the archdeacon, he recalled and deposed. From the clergy generally he required strict chastity, forbidding them to retain in their houses any women but their mothers, sisters, or wives married before ordination, and with these last prohibiting conjugal intercourse (*Ep.* i. 50; ix. 64). Bishops he recommends to imitate St. Augustine in banishing from their houses even such female relatives as the canons allow (*Ep.* vii. ind. 2, 39; xi. 42, 43). In Sicily the obligation to celibacy had, in the year 588, been extended to subdeacons. This rule he upheld by directing the bishops to require a vow of celibacy from all who should in future be ordained subdeacons, but acknowledging its hardship on such as had made no such vow on their ordination, he contented himself with forbidding the advancement to the diaconate of existing subdeacons who had continued conjugal intercourse after the introduction of the rule (*Ep.* i. ind. ix. 42).

He also set himself resolutely against the prevalent practice of simony, forbidding all bishops and clergy to exact or accept fee or reward for the functions of their office; and he set the example himself by refusing the annual presents which it had been customary for the bishops of Rome to receive from their suffragans, or payment for the pallium sent to metropolitans. Acceptance of payment for the pallium was also forbidden to all future popes by a Roman synod in 595.

In the year 592 began a struggle in reference to discipline with certain bishops of Thessaly and Dalmatia, in the province of Illyricum, where, though dealing with a province long subjected to the jurisdiction of Rome, he encountered, in one instance, resistance, as some of his predecessors had done. Hadrianus of Thebes had been deposed by a provincial synod under his metropolitan the bishop of Larissa, and the sentence had been confirmed by John of Justiniana Prima, the primate of Illyricum, to whom the emperor Mauricius, appealed to by Hadrianus, had referred the matter. The deposed prelate now appealed to Gregory, who, after examining the whole case, declared the past proceedings null, as being uncanonical, absolved the appellant, exempted him in future from the jurisdiction of his metropolitan, and, as to John the primate, ordered him to reinstate Hadrianus, at the same time excommunicating him for thirty days, and threatening severer measures in case of disobedience to the authority of the prince of the apostles (*Ep.* ii. ind. xi. 6, 7). In

the same year (592) he ordered Natalis, bishop of Salona in Dalmatia, and metropolitan, under pain of excommunication and eventual deposition, to reinstate his archdeacon Honoratus whom he had deposed (*Ep.* ii. ind. x. 14, 15, 16). In both these instances he appears to have been obeyed. Not so, however, in the case of Maximus, who succeeded Natalis as bishop of Salona and metropolitan in the same year. Maximus having been elected in opposition to the aforesaid archdeacon Honoratus, who had been recommended by Gregory, was alleged to be a man of scandalous life, and to have obtained his election by bribes. Gregory accordingly disallowed it, and wrote at the same time to the clergy of Salona forbidding them to choose a bishop without the knowledge and consent of the apostolic see. In the meantime the emperor had confirmed the election. Learning this, Gregory wrote to suspend Maximus and his ordainers till such time as he should be assured of the alleged imperial confirmation, and summoned him to Rome to give an account of himself. The suspension and summons were disregarded, and an order was obtained from the emperor bidding the pope give no further trouble to the bishop of Salona. Gregory now wrote to the emperor in a tone of earnest remonstrance, though with his customary deference to imperial authority, saying that he would rather die than suffer any diminution of the authority of St. Peter's see through his own indolence or neglect. But his remonstrance proving vain, he acquiesced for the present. Soon after, he again summoned Maximus to Rome on the ground of new charges brought against him of simony, sacrilege, and other crimes. He wrote also to Constantinople, this time to the empress, informing her of the state of things in a long complaining letter. Maximus again treated the summons with contempt, alleging as before that, if his conduct called for inquiry, it was on the spot and not at Rome, where, according to the canons, the inquiry should be made, and forwarded to Constantinople counter accusations against Gregory, from which the latter wrote to justify himself. After protracted negotiations, lasting altogether seven years, and in the course of which seventeen letters were written by Gregory, the emperor finally committed the settlement of the dispute to Maximianus, bishop of Ravenna, and the result was that Maximus, having publicly begged pardon of the pope, and cleared himself from the charge of simony by an oath of purgation at the tomb of St. Apollinaris, was at last acknowledged as lawful bishop of Salona (*Ep.* iii. indict. xii. 15, 20; iv. ind. xiii. 34; v. ind. xiv. 3; vi. ind. xv. 17; vii. ind. i. 1; vii. ind. ii. 81, 82, 83).

In countries of the West beyond the limits of the empire, no less than within those limits, he lost no opportunity of extending the influence of the Roman see, and of advancing and consolidating the church. Reccared, the Visigothic king of Spain, having renounced Arianism for Catholicism at the council of Toledo in 589, the year before Gregory's accession, he received intelligence of this event from Leander, bishop of Seville, whose intimate acquaintance (as has been already said) he had made during his stay at Constantinople. There are three very affectionate letters from Gregory to this prelate, in which, from the midst of distracting cares of office, and of suffering from gout, to which it appears that Leander also had been a victim, he expresses unbounded joy, and exhorts his friend to watch over the royal convert. In one of these letters he replies to a question as to single or triple immersion in baptism. Three immersions were the practice of the Roman church, regarded as symbols (sacramenta, according to the expression of Gregory) either of Christ's three days in the grave, or of the Trinity. The same had been the practice of the Arians in Spain, but not of the orthodox, who had hitherto immersed once only, by way of expressing the consubstantial unity of the Godhead. Gregory, with characteristic judgment, recommends, under the circumstances, the retention of single immersion, notwithstanding the difference of the Roman rite. He also sent Leander a pall, accompanied by the blessing of St. Peter, to be used at mass only. He wrote also to Reccared in a tone of warm congratulation, exhorting him to humility, chastity, and mercy; thanking for presents received, and sending in return a key from the body of St. Peter, in which was some iron from the chain that had bound him, and a cross containing a piece of the true cross, and some hairs of John the Baptist (*Canones Eccles. Hispan.*).

It is to be remarked that there is no distinct assumption in these letters of jurisdiction over the Spanish church, and that this is the only known instance of a pall having been sent to Spain previously to the Saracen invasion. The ancient Spanish church does not seem to have been noted for its dependence on the Roman see (see Geddes, *Tracts*, vol. ii. pp. 25, 49; Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 188).

With the Frank rulers of Gaul he carefully cultivated friendly relations, and through them endeavoured to effect his purpose. In 595, at the request of king Childeric, he conferred the pall on Virgilius of Arles, the ancient metropolitan see, whose bishop pope Zosimus had confirmed in his metropolitan right, and made him vicar as early as 417. He wrote also to Virgilius, enjoining the repression of simony and other abuses, and to the clergy of the province, enjoining submission to their metropolitan (*Ep.* iv. indict. xiii. 51, 52). To Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, he wrote an often quoted letter, blaming him for having destroyed church pictures in his indiscreet zeal against their abuse. "Pictures," said the pope on this occasion, anticipating the position taken by his successors in the subsequent iconoclastic controversy, "are to the unlearned what books are to the learned" (*Ep.* ii. ind. iii. 111). Not long after he began a correspondence with Queen Brunehild, in the course of which he again and again exhorts her to use her power for the correction of the vices of the clergy and the conversion of the heathen, writing in the complimentary style usual with him in addressing potentates, but which, in this case, jars strangely with the character of the lady addressed. Another royal female correspondent, cultivated and flattered with a similar purpose, and one more worthy of the praise conferred, was Theodelinda, the Lombard queen. To the year 599 is assigned the extensive conversion of the Lombards to Catholicism, brought about after the death of king Antharis through the

marriage of this Theodelinda, his widow, with Agilulph, duke of Turin, and the consequent elevation of the latter to the throne. The queen, a daughter of Garibald, king of the Bavarians, being a zealous Catholic, influenced her Arian husband, and his conversion is said to have been followed by that of the majority of his subjects, by the rebuilding of churches and monasteries, and the restoration of Catholic bishops to their sees. With this pious lady Gregory kept up a highly complimentary correspondence, sending her on one occasion a copy of his four books of dialogues; and one of his last acts was to write to her from his death-bed on the occasion of the birth and baptism of her son Adaloaldus, and in reference to a theological question on which she desired enlightenment.

Over the church in Ireland also, which in the time of Gregory was bound by no close tie of allegiance to the see of Rome, he endeavoured to extend his influence. In the year 592 he wrote a long letter to the bishops of that country in reply to one, no longer extant, which he had received from them, in which they appear to have spoken of some persecution under which they suffered, to have maintained against the pope their continued acceptance of the three chapters, and to have attributed the Lombard invasion to divine judgment on the pope for his condemnation of the same. In his reply he commends their patience under trial, warns them against regarding themselves as martyrs, which they could not be as long as they were heretical; but on the other hand attributes the sufferings of himself and his predecessors to fatherly chastisement rather than divine judgment, and finally sends them the letters which he had addressed to the bishops of Istria on the subject of the three chapters (*Ep.* ii. ind. x. 36). Though Baronius assumes that the Irish were thus reclaimed to orthodoxy, the contrary appears from a letter of St. Columban to pope Boniface IV. in 614 (first published by Archbishop Usher), in which he strongly blames that pope for continuing to condemn the chapters, and, in an ironical vein, cautions him not to forfeit the claim, superciliously insisted on (as all knew) by the popes, to be the keepers of the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The same saint, writing from Burgundy, had previously defended the Irish computation of Easter with equal boldness, and in the same tone of irony that marks his letter to Boniface, against Gregory the Great himself, among other things telling him (in reference to the authority of previous popes being adduced in support of the Roman usage) that a living dog was better than a dead lion, and reminding him of the universal resistance of the Easterns to pope Victor on the earlier Easter question (see Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.* div. ii. ch. vi. iii. § 126). There is also among the letters of Gregory a long one to Quiricus, and other Catholic bishops of Iberia, in reply to a request for advice, in which it is directed that Nestorian heretics having been baptized in the name of the Trinity are not to be rebaptized on their reception into the church, and the conditions of their reception are laid down (*Epp.* lib. ix. indict. iv. ep. 60).

Gregory was not content with thus influencing, consolidating, and reforming the existing churches throughout the Western world; he was also a zealous missionary, and as such the founder of our English, as distinct from the more ancient British, Christianity. Before his accession to the popedom, some time during the reign of Pelagius, had occurred, according to John the deacon, the famous incident in the forum of Rome, which is thus related. Observing there one day some boys with fair skin, comely faces, and bright flowing hair, exposed for sale as slaves, he asked whence they came. Being told "from Britain," he inquired whether the inhabitants of that island were Christians or pagans. Learning that they were pagans, he heaved long sighs, and said, "Alas, that men of such lucid countenance should be possessed by the author of darkness, and that such grace of form should hide minds void of grace within!" Being told further in answer to his inquiries that they were called Angli, "Well so called," said he, "for they have angelic faces, and should be coheirs in heaven with angels. What is the name of the province from which they come?" Being told that they were called Deiri, "Right again," was his reply, "de irâ Dei eruti, et ad misericordiam Christi vocati." Lastly, on hearing that the king of that province was called Aella, he exclaimed, "Alleluia! the praises of God the Creator must be sung in those parts." After this he had, we are told, set out in person, together with a few monks of his convent, in order to preach in Britain; but had been brought back to Rome, at the instance of the people, by order of the pope. It was not till the year 597, the eighth of his pontificate, that the thought so long entertained was carried into effect by the mission of Augustine. An account of this memorable mission will be found under AUGUSTINUS. Only such incidents will here be mentioned as serve to illustrate the character and policy of Gregory. Circumstances were now favourable. His previous intercourse with the ruling powers of Gaul favoured the speeding of the mission through that kingdom; and the recent marriage of Ethelbert king of Kent with Bertha daughter of King Charibert of Paris, for whom the free exercise of her religion had been stipulated, and who had already her church and priest at Canterbury, afforded a home and centre for the mission, with the inestimable advantage (such as Gregory was always alive to) of the aid and influence of a Christian queen. Augustine and other monks of St. Andrew's monastery were accordingly sent in 597, Augustine being designed as bishop, should the mission succeed. Arrived in Gaul, they turned faint-hearted, and Augustine returned to Rome to beg exemption from the dangerous enterprise. Gregory required him to proceed, and sent him back with letters of encouragement to his fellow missionaries, and commendatory ones to Virgilius of Arles and other Gallican bishops, as well as to the kings Theodoric and Theodobert and to Queen Brunichild, eleven letters in all. After the well-known successful issue of the mission in Kent, the baptism of King Ethelbert, and the consecration of Augustine (according to Gregory's original intention in the event of success) by the bishop of Arles, the cheering news was sent through Laurentius the presbyter and Peter the monk to Rome, and at the same time answers requested to a series of questions on points about which Augustine was in doubt. The replies sent by Gregory to these

questions evince great judgment and enlightenment. The following is an abstract of the most important. Celibacy and coenobitic life, though imposed on persons in holy orders, are not to be insisted on for other clerics; natives who before conversion had married brothers' wives, are not on that account to be debarred communion, however sinful such connexions for persons already Christians; a variety of fancied causes of impurity, about which the monkish missionaries had felt scruples, are not to preclude people from church and communion, some being natural and unavoidable, others falling under no positive law of prohibition, though at the same time persons are not blamed who on such grounds, out of reverence, absent themselves from sacred rites; the presence of three bishops at the consecration of a new one, though proper and in all cases desirable, may be dispensed with where it cannot be had; all assumption of authority over the Gallican church, or interference with the ancient rights of the metropolitan of Arles, is forbidden, though over all bishops in Britain jurisdiction is assigned; and lastly, the usages of other churches, whether in Gaul or elsewhere, though differing from those of the Roman church, are to be freely adopted if in themselves desirable, since (says this enlightened pope) things are not to be loved for places, but places for the good things found in them. Gregory also wrote to the bishop of Arles, desiring him, if requested, to assist Augustine, and to the latter sent a new band of assistants, including Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus, together with sacred vessels, vestments, ornaments for churches, relics, and books. He further fortified him in his authority by sending him the pallium, and sketched a plan for the organization of the English church, according to which there were to be two metropolitan sees, each with twelve suffragan bishops, at London and York, of which York was to be subject to London during Augustine's life, but independent after his death, while to him were also subjected all the existing British clergy, as well as such as should be ordained by him or his coadjutors. Afterwards to the abbat Mellitus, whom he had sent to Britain, he addressed a letter of remarkable import with reference to heathen temples and heathen usages. Idols were to be destroyed, but temples preserved and devoted to Christian worship, that so the people might more willingly renounce their errors, resorting to the worship of the true God in their accustomed places. Similarly sacrificial feasts were to be changed into church festivals, holiday being still kept round the old fanes, and the same banquets enjoyed as of old, only in honour of God instead of the service of daemons. The introduction into the Mosaic ritual, and the consecration to God's service, of sacrifices to which the people had been used in Egypt, is adduced as a sanction for this system of accommodation to ancient prejudices. Another letter to Augustine himself warns him against elation on the ground of the miracles wrought by him, the reality of which is not questioned. One to King Ethelbert exhorts him to perseverance in his new faith, and to exertions for the extirpation of heathenism, and tells him of the imminence of the end of the world, and of the importance of securing to himself the advantage of Augustine's prayers. In another to Bertha the queen, she is complimented on her own right faith and literary attainments, which she is exhorted to make available in behalf of the king. What has been related may suffice for shewing the unwearied zeal, the Christian temper, and the fine judgment with which Gregory instituted and superintended this important mission. Its final result was the Christianity of our English ancestors, and the eventual dependence of the whole church in these islands on the see of Rome, though the submission of the British and Scottish clergy to the claims then made, owing perhaps in part to Augustine's deficiency in the tact and temper of his master, was for many years delayed. (Cf. *Ep.* v. indict. xiv. 53–59; ix. ind. iv. 48–60, 63, 71; Joann. Diacon. 2, 34; Bede, *de Gestis Angl.* 1, 23, &c.)

The events so far referred to have shewn Gregory's attitude and conduct in spiritual matters throughout the West. Instances will now be given illustrating his relations with Constantinople and the Eastern church. The year 593 affords the first example. Having heard of two presbyters, John of Chalcedon and Anastasius of Isauria, having been beaten with cudgels, after conviction on a charge of heresy, under John the Faster, then patriarch of Constantinople, he wrote twice to the patriarch, remonstrating with him for introducing into the church a new and uncanonical punishment, exhorting him to restore the two presbyters or to judge them canonically, and expressing his own readiness to receive them should they come to Rome. The result was that, notwithstanding the patriarch's protest, the presbyters withdrew to Rome, and were there received and absolved by Gregory after examination of their cause (*Ep.* ii. 52; v. 64). Though the tone of his letters on this occasion was one of brotherly remonstrance rather than of authority, yet his proceeding implied the right of reversing at Rome what had been done at Constantinople, and a power of interference, such as he did undoubtedly claim, as his predecessors had done. For in other letters we find him saying, "With respect to the Constantinopolitan church, who doubts that it is subject to the apostolical see?" and "I know not what bishop is not subject to it, if fault is found in him" (*Ep.* vii. ind. ii. 64, 65). But the most memorable incidents in this connexion are his remonstrances against the assumption by John the Faster of the title of oecumenical or universal bishop. They began in 595, being provoked by the repeated occurrence of the title in a judgment against an heretical presbyter, which had been sent to Rome. The title was not at that time new. Patriarchs had been so styled by the emperors Leo and Justinian, and it had been confirmed to John the Faster and his successors by a general Eastern synod held at Constantinople in 588, on which occasion pope Pelagius had protested against it. But the occasion now referred to seems to have been the first to excite the indignation of Gregory. He wrote to Sabinianus, his apocrisiarius at Constantinople, desiring him to use his utmost endeavours with the patriarch, the emperor, and the empress, to procure the renunciation of the title. When neither remonstrance nor the withdrawal of Sabinianus from the patriarch's communion proved availing, he wrote himself to patriarch, emperor, and empress in peculiarly strong language. The title he called foolish,

proud, pestiferous, profane, wicked, a diabolical usurpation; the ambition of any who assumed it he compares to that of Lucifer; and intimates that its assumption was a sign of the approach of the king of pride, that is Antichrist. His arguments are such as to preclude himself as well as others from assuming the title, though he implies that if any could claim it it would be St. Peter's successor. Peter, he says, was the first of the apostles, yet neither he nor any of the others would assume the title universal, being all members of the church under one head, Christ. He also states (probably in error) that the title had been offered to the bishop of Rome at the council of Chalcedon, and refused. Failing entirely to make an impression at Constantinople, he addressed himself to the Eastern patriarchs. He wrote to Eulogius of Alexandria and Anastasius of Antioch, representing the purpose of their brother of Constantinople as being that of degrading them, and usurping to himself all ecclesiastical power. They, however, were not thus moved to action; they seem to have regarded the title as one of honour only, suitable to the patriarch of the imperial city; and one of them, Anastasius, wrote in reply that the matter seemed to him of little moment. The controversy continued after the death of John the Faster. Cyriacus having succeeded him in 596, Gregory instructed his apocrisiarius at Constantinople to demand from the new patriarch, as a condition of intercommunion, the renunciation of the proud and impious title which his predecessor had wickedly assumed. In vain did Cyriacus send a nuncio to Rome in the hope of arranging matters: Gregory was resolute, and in a letter on this occasion to the patriarch affirmed, "I confidently say that whosoever calls himself universal priest, or desires to be so called in his elation, is the forerunner of Antichrist." At this time he seems to have gained a support, if not to his protest, at any rate to the paramount dignity of his own see, in Eulogius of Alexandria, whom he had before addressed without result. For in answer to a letter received from that patriarch, he acknowledges with approval the dignity assigned by him to the see of St. Peter, and expresses adroitly a curious view of his correspondent, as well as the patriarch of Antioch, being a sharer in it. "Who does not know," he says, "that the church was built and established on the firmness of the prince of the apostles, by whose very name is implied a rock? Hence, though there were several apostles, there is but one apostolic see, that of the prince of the apostles, which has acquired great authority; and that see is in three places, in Rome where he died, in Alexandria where it was founded by his disciple St. Mark, and in Antioch where he himself lived seven years. These three, therefore, are but one see, and on that one see sit three bishops, who are but one in Him who said, I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you." But when Eulogius in a second letter proceeded so far as to style the bishop of Rome universal pope, Gregory warmly rejected such a title, saying, "If you give more to me than is due to me, you rob yourself of what is due to you. Nothing can redound to my honour that redounds to the dishonour of my brethren. If you call me universal pope, you thereby own yourself to be no pope. Let no such titles be mentioned or ever heard among us." Gregory was obliged at last to acquiesce in the assumption of the obnoxious title by the Constantinopolitan patriarch; and it may have been by way of contrast that he usually styled himself in his own letters by the title since borne by the bishops of Rome, Servus servorum Dei. It is evident that Gregory and his opponents in this dispute took different views of the import of the title contended for. They represented it as one simply of honour and dignity, while he regarded it as involving the assumption of supreme authority over the church at large, and especially over the see of St. Peter, whence probably in a great measure the vehemence of his remonstrance. It may be observed further that in the different views taken appears the difference of principle on which pre-eminence was in that age thought assignable to sees in the East and West respectively. In the East the dignity of a see was regarded as an appanage of a city's civil importance, on which ground alone could any pre-eminence be claimed for Constantinople. In the West it was the apostolical origin of the see, and the purely ecclesiastical pre-eminence belonging to it from ancient times, to which especial regard was paid. Thus viewed, the struggle of Gregory for the dignity of his own see against that of Constantinople assumes more importance than might at first sight seem due to it, as being a protest against the Erastianism of the East. And it certainly would not have been well for the church had the spiritual authority of the bishops of Rome accrued to the subservient patriarchs of the Eastern capital.

II. As a temporal administrator and potentate, no less than as a spiritual ruler, Gregory evinced great vigour, ability, and zeal, guided by address and judgment.

The see of Rome at this time had large possessions, constituting what was called the patrimony of St. Peter, not only in Italy, Sardinia, and Corsica, but also in more remote parts, including Dalmatia, Illyricum, Gaul, and even Africa and the East. Over all such estates Gregory exercised a vigilant superintendence by means of officers called "rectores patrimonii," and "defensores," to whom his letters remain, prescribing minute regulations for the management of the lands, and guarding especially against any oppression of the peasants. The exact amounts of their payments were fixed, they were to be allowed to pay by instalments, assisted by advances from the church treasury; unfair weights and measures were to be destroyed, and new ones provided; the seignorial payments on the marriage of serfs were lowered; and legal forms of security (securitatis libelli) were to be furnished to peasants, lest the old abuses should be revived. The families of farmers were also secured in their succession to tenancy, and their rights in other ways guarded. The revenues accruing to the see, thus carefully secured, though with every possible regard to humanity and justice, were expended according to the fourfold division then prevalent in the West, viz. in equal parts for the bishop, for the clergy, for the fabric and services of the church, and for the poor. And to such distribution, publicly made four times in the year, Gregory gave his personal superintendence. His own charities were immense, a large portion of the popula-

tion of Rome being dependent on them; every day, before he sat down to his meal, a portion was sent to the poor at his door; provision was made for searching out the sick and infirm in every street, and a large volume was kept containing the names, ages, and dwellings of the objects of his bounty.

A field for the exercise of his political abilities was afforded by his position as virtual ruler of Rome at that critical time. Before his accession the Lombards had conquered nearly all Italy, except the exarchate of Ravenna, and had committed ravages even there, no effectual aid against them being afforded by the emperor. In 594 the exarch Romanus, in violation of a treaty with Agilulph, the Lombard king, had seized an opportunity of invading his territory and carrying his booty to Ravenna. Agilulph in return invaded the exarchate, approaching the very gates of Rome, and remained there several months, laying the country waste with fire and sword. Gregory, whose letters and homilies at this time give a lamentable account of the miseries of the country, endeavoured to conclude a peace with Agilulph, who was himself disposed to come to terms. These endeavours were frustrated by the opposition of Romanus, who represented Gregory to the emperor as having been overreached by the crafty enemy. The emperor believed his exarch, and wrote to Gregory in condemnation of his conduct. In vain did Gregory remonstrate in letters both to the emperor and to the empress Constantina, complaining to the latter not so much of the ravages of the Lombards as of the cruelty and exactions of the imperial officers who had been sent to defend the country, but who had, on the contrary, burdened the people with intolerable taxes under pretence of raising funds for the war, in consequence of which the Corsicans especially had been compelled to sell their children, and had gone over in great numbers to the enemy, leaving their island almost depopulated. Further, he attributed the opposition raised to his own endeavours for peace to the fear lest, the war being ended, the excuse for such exactions should cease. At length, in 595, he obtained some relief through his pious friend Theodelinda, the Lombard queen, who, more amenable to influence than the emperor or empress, persuaded her husband to withdraw his troops (*Ep.* iv. 31, 33, 35, 38, 39; and *Hom.* 18 *in Ezech.*). This relief, however, was only temporary. Towards the winter of 596, Agilulph, provoked by the exarch's continued resistance to all overtures for peace, again invaded the exarchate, and threatened to besiege Rome Again Gregory's letters give a deplorable picture of general distress, both within and without the city. But he did more than complain. From his own resources, and through the contributions of bishops and others, both in the West and East, whose sympathy he succeeded in exciting, he expended large sums in the redemption of captives and the relief of distress, and further allowed bishops to sell the sacred vessels of the churches for the same charitable purposes (*Ep.* v. 29; vi. 13, 21, 23; vii. ind. ii. 13, 14). For several years he continued, unaided, his negotiations with the Lombards, with more or less success. At length, in 600, though at the time he had been for two years confined to his bed by painful illness, he succeeded in concluding a truce from September to the following April. If the results of these protracted efforts were after all but occasional truces with the enemy, and some mitigation of distress through charity, or through Christian influences brought to bear on the invaders, the blame for the smallness of success was entirely due to the emperor and his representatives, who would neither agree to peace nor assist effectually by arms, nor in any way back up the pope's patriotic exertions. Whatever good was done was due to him, and to him alone.

In the year 601 an event occurred which shews Gregory in a less favourable light, with respect to his relations to the powers of the world, than anything else during his career. Phocas, a centurion, was made emperor by the army. He secured his throne by the murder of Mauricius, whose six sons had been first cruelly executed before their father's eyes. He afterwards put to death the empress Constantina and her three daughters, who had been lured out of the asylum of a church under a promise of safety. Numerous persons of all ranks, and in various parts of the empire, are also said to have been put to death with unusual cruelty. The new emperor is painted in very black colours by the historians of the age (Theophylact, *Hist.* viii. 104; Cedren. *Annal. ad An.* i. Phocae; Niceph. *Hist.* xviii. 404; Evagr. v. 23; Theophylact. *Inst. Miscell.* xvii. 40). Yet to him and to his consort Leontia, who is spoken of as little better than her husband, Gregory wrote congratulatory letters in a style of flattery beyond even what was usual with him in addressing great potentates. He returns thanks to heaven, and calls on both heaven and earth to rejoice at their accession, vilifying at the same time the memory of the murdered Mauricius as a tyrant from whose yoke the church was now blessedly freed (*Ep.* xi. indict. vi. 38, 45, 46). His motive, doubtless, was in a great measure the hope of obtaining from the new powers the support which Mauricius had not accorded him in his still pending dispute with the Eastern patriarch. This motive appears plainly in one of his letters to Leontia, to whom, rather than to the emperor, with characteristic tact, he intimates his hopes of support to the church of St. Peter, endeavouring to work upon her religious fears. "I should have entreated you," he says, "to take under your particular protection the hitherto afflicted church of St. Peter, but, as I know you love God, I need not ask you to do what you will do of your own accord, for the more you love God, the more you will love His apostle, to whom it was said, 'Thou art Peter,' &c. I, therefore, do not doubt that you will take care to oblige and bind him to you by whom you desire to be loosed from your sins." These motives, and the adulatory style then in vogue towards the emperors, account for, though they cannot be held to excuse, the conduct of Gregory in this, the most glaring, instance of what was indeed his habit in other cases, that of propitiating the rulers of this world by flattering addresses, if so he might enlist them in what he believed to be the cause of God. That he rightly counted on the disposition of Phocas appears from his successor, Boniface III., having "obtained from the emperor Phocas that the Apo-

stolic see of St. Peter, that is the Roman church, should be the head of all churches, because the church of Constantinople wrote itself the first of all churches" (Anastas. Biblioth. *Vit. Pontif.*). The statement, often made, that Boniface had conferred on him, and accepted, the title itself which Gregory had so strongly repudiated for himself, is not supported by evidence, and is in itself improbable.

Gregory lived only sixteen months after the accession of Phocas. He died after protracted suffering from gout on the 12th of March, A.D. 604, and was buried in the basilica of St. Peter.

What occurred immediately after his death reflects small credit on the Roman people of his day. A famine ensued, which the starving multitude attributed to his prodigal expenditure. They were on the point of expressing their feeling towards their deceased benefactor by destroying his library, which was only saved by the interposition of the archdeacon Peter (his interlocutor in the Dialogues), who asserted that he had seen the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove hovering over his head as he wrote. Peter's sudden death in the pulpit, as he was on the point of confirming this assertion with an oath, was curiously taken as a testimony to its truth, and the library was spared (Joann. Diac. *Vit.* iv. 69). Hence Gregory is represented in art with a dove above his head.

III. The pontificate of Gregory the Great is rightly regarded as second to none in its influence on the future form of Western Christianity. He lived in the period of transition from Christendom under the imperial power to the mediaeval papacy, and he laid or consolidated the foundation on which the latter was built. He advanced, indeed, no claims to authority beyond what had been asserted by his predecessors; yet the consistency, firmness, conscientious zeal, as well as address and judgment, with which he maintained it, and, further, the peculiar circumstances of the time, when the waning of the power of the Eastern empire left him the virtual ruler of Rome, and the sole power to whom the Western church turned for support, and whom the Christianised barbarians, founders of the new kingdom of Europe, regarded with reverence; such conduct and such circumstances paved the way to the system of papal absolutism that culminated under Gregory VII. and Innocent III. Nor, it may be remarked, were any of his measures in this regard more pregnant with consequences (probably far beyond his own anticipation) than those which he took for the consolidation of the church and of the authority of Rome in France and England.

Of the purity of his motives, and of the eminence of his character as a Christian, there can be no doubt. If his Christianity was that of a monk among monks, intensely ascetic, tinged with credulity and superstition, and not averse to persecution, it was of the type most highly regarded in his age, and thoroughly sincere. In some cases, as has been seen, he evinced moderation and tolerance beyond that of his age, and it is impossible to read his letters without recognising the tone and spirit of a genuine Christian. The least defensible part of his proceedings was his adulation of Brunichild and Phocas, which cannot easily be justified, as has been attempted, by supposing ignorance of the true character of the potentates addressed. It is rather to be accounted for by his zeal for what was or seemed to him the cause of God, together with his peculiar turn for diplomacy, prevailing over complete sincerity, and perhaps in part to his view (evident generally in his letters to potentates) of the reverence due to the powers ordained of God. A like politic insincerity is perceived by some in many of the narratives contained in his Book of Dialogues, sent as they were to confirm the faith of Theodelinda, the Lombard queen, though too puerile, it might be thought, for the credence of a man of his own intelligence and culture. It is more charitable to suppose this otherwise enlightened pope to have been himself deeply tinged with the superstitious credulity of his day.

As a writer he was intellectually eminent, and deserves the place assigned to him among the doctors of the church. His learning, indeed, and mental attitude, were again those of his age. As a critic, an expositor, an original thinker, he may not stand high; he knew neither Greek nor Hebrew, and had no deep acquaintance with the Christian fathers; literature for its own sake he set little store by; classical literature, as being heathen, he repudiated. Though the story which we find told first by John of Salisbury in the 12th century (Policrat. i. 26) of his having purposely burnt the Palatine library is probably untrue, yet his feeling with regard to the classics is sufficiently evident from his sharp reproof of Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, for reading the heathen poets with his pupils in grammar (*Ep.* ix. 48). Yet, notwithstanding all this, as a clear and powerful exponent of the received orthodox doctrine, especially in its practical aspect, as well as of the system of hagiology, demonology, and monastic asceticism, which then formed part of the religion of Christendom, he spoke with a loud and influential voice to many ages after his own, and contributed more than any one person that can be named to fix the form and tone of mediaeval religious thought.

He was also influential as a preacher. A great part of his extant works are sermons, expository and hortatory; and we find him regretting that other duties interfered with more constant devotion to that of preaching.

He is no less famous for his influence on the music and liturgy of the church; hence called "magister caeremoniarum." For the cultivation of church singing he instituted a song-school in Rome, called *Orphanotrophium*, the name of which implies that it had also a charitable purpose. Of it, John the Deacon gives the following account, after speaking of the cento of antiphons which, like Solomon, he had carefully compiled:—"He founded a school of singers, endowed it with some farms, and built for it two habitations, one under the steps of the basilica of St. Peter the Apostle, the other under the houses of the Lateran Palace. There to the present day his couch on which he used to recline when singing, and his whip with which he menaced the boys, together with his original antiphonary, are preserved with fitting reverence." (*Vit. Gregor.* ii. 6.) Cardinal Bona (*de Reb. Liturg.* i. 25) gives proof of the existence of song-schools in Rome before the time of Gregory, hence concluding that his object was

the reform and improvement only of existing church music. The exact nature of his reforms cannot now be determined with certainty. It is generally alleged in the first place that, whereas St. Ambrose had in the latter part of the 4th century introduced at Milan the four authentic modes or scales, called, after those in ancient Greek music that corresponded to them, Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian, St. Gregory added to them the four plagal, or subsidiary, modes called Hypo-Dorian, Hypo-Phrygian, Hypo-Lydian, and Hypo-Mixo-Lydian, thus enlarging the allowed range of ecclesiastical melody. In explanation of these modes it may be observed in passing that the four so-called authentic ones were scales comprising eight notes of our modern diatonic scale, beginning respectively with the notes D, E, F, and G, which were also the finals of each, and having A, C, C, and D, for their dominant or reciting notes; and that the corresponding plagal modes, while retaining the same finals, began each a fourth lower than the authentic one to which it was subsidiary, and had different dominant or reciting notes, viz. F, A, A, and C. Mr. Chappell, however, in his recently published *History of Music*, maintains that the ecclesiastical scales above described "are not of the early date that has been supposed," and that "the two systems called Ambrosian and Gregorian did not exist at the time of their now supposed founders," adding that Ambrosian music and Gregorian music meant simply music according to the uses of the churches of Milan and of Rome. Apart from the question of the scales used, there can be no doubt that the subsequently well-known and prevalent terms, "cantus Ambrosianus," "cantus Gregorianus," expressed two distinct styles of church singing, which Ambrose and Gregory respectively promoted the use of. Now Ambrose is said, on undoubted authority, not only to have introduced at Milan the antiphonal method of chanting which had originated at Antioch, and thence spread in the East before its introduction in the West (Theodoret, ii. 24; Socrat. vi. 8; Nicetas, *Thesaur. Orthodox. fid.* v. 30; Augustin. *Confess.* ix. 7; Paulin. in *Vit. Ambros.*), but also to have inaugurated in his church a peculiarly pleasing and melodious style of music, which Augustine, though apparently with some scruple at first as to its propriety, confessed himself delighted with. He says, addressing Ambrose, "Verumtamen cum reminiscor lacrimas meas, quas fudi ad cantus ecclesiae tuae, in primordiis recuperatae fidei meae, et nunc ipso quod moveor, non cantu sed rebus quae cantantur, cum liquida voce et convenientissima modulatione cantantur, magnam instituti hujus utilitatem rursus agnosco. Ita fluctuo inter periculum voluptatis et experimentum salubritatis, magisque adducor, non quidem irretractabilem sententiam proferens, cantandi consuetudinem approbare in ecclesia; ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis adsurgat." (*Confess.* x. 33.) The style of singing here alluded to we may suppose to have been melodious congregational hymnody, as distinct from the monotone, varied only by slight inflexions, to which the orthodox (at Alexandria certainly, and probably elsewhere) had hitherto confined themselves. For Augustine tells us that St. Athanasius at Alexandria required the readers of the psalms to use such moderate flexions of the voice that it was more like recitation than singing (*Confess.* x. 33); and that the African Donatists, who affected exciting hymnody, reproached the Catholics with their dull and sober psalmody (*Ep.* cxix. *ad Januar.* c. 18). Ambrose, then, may be credited with having introduced into the Catholic worship of the West, not only the antiphonal system, but also melodious and attractive hymnody, such as seems to have been previously regarded with suspicion by the orthodox. On the other hand the term "Cantus Gregorianus" was ever used after Gregory's time to denote the "cantus planus," or monotone with inflexions on which the psalms were read; and we find this method spoken of as opposed to "Cantus Ambrosianus." "Scribit Leo Marsicanus in Chronic. Casinens. lib. 2, cap. 97, Ambrosianum cantum in ista Casinensi ecclesia cantari penitus interdictum fuisse" (Martene, *de Ant. Eccles. Rit.* vol. iii. p. 8). And thus it may be concluded that, whatever else Gregory did in the way of addition to the scales and other improvements or reforms, his especial object was to promote and cultivate the old "cantus planus" rather than the less severe style of melodious singing which had become current in the West from Milan; and that here was the most essential difference between the "Cantus Gregorianus" and the "Cantus Ambrosianus." It is in accordance with this view that Gregory is said by subsequent writers to have banished all that was light and theatrical from the music of the church, and also to have confined the singing to the choir, excluding the general congregation. (See on the whole subject Krazer *de Liturgiis;* Martin Gerbert, *de cantu et musica sacra;* Bona, *de rebus liturgicis;* Chappell's *Hist. of Music.*)

His institution of the Septiform litany immediately before his accession has been already referred to. It was so called from being appointed by him to be sung by the inhabitants of Rome divided into seven companies, viz. of clergy, of laymen, of monks, of virgins, of matrons, of widows, and of poor people and children. These, starting from seven different churches, were to chant through the streets of Rome, and meet at last for common supplication in the church of the Blessed Virgin. He also appointed "the stations," churches at which were to be celebrated solemn services in Lent and at the four great festivals; at which seasons he visited the churches in person, being received there with stately ceremonial, and taking part in the services. Of the share he had in the composition or arrangement of the liturgy something will be said in the notice of his works, which follows.

His extant works of undoubted genuineness, are:—1. *Expositio in beatum Job, seu Moralium* libri xxxv. In this celebrated work (begun during his stay at Constantinople, before he was pope, and finished afterwards) "the book of Job is expounded in a threefold manner, according to its historic, its moral and its allegorical meaning. For its exposition in the first of these senses his ignorance of any language but Latin, of ancient history, and of Eastern customs, rendered him quite unfit. The moral interpretation may still be read with profit, though rather for the loftiness and purity of its tone than for the justness of the exposition. Of the allegorical interpre-

tation, according to which the book was conceived as containing latently in itself the whole theory of the Christian church and sacraments, and a condemnation of all heresies, it may be said that a similar treatment might deduce almost anything from any book that was ever written. Names of persons, numbers, words, even syllables, are made pregnant with all kinds of mysterious meanings." The above account of the work is extracted from Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*.

2. *Libri duo in Ezechielem:* viz. 22 Homilies on Ezekiel, which, having been delivered at Rome in a time of distress during the siege of the city by Agilulph, were afterwards revised by himself, and addressed to a bishop Marianus.

3. *Libri duo in Evangelia:* viz. 40 Homilies on the gospels for the day, preached by himself at various times, and afterwards edited by himself and addressed to a bishop Secundinus. To these is appended a short sermon, called "Oratio ad plebem de mortalitate," delivered during the plague at Rome between his election and consecration. It includes directions for the Septiform litany.

4. *Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, in 4 parts; a treatise on the duties and responsibilities of the pastoral office, addressed (as appears from the preface) to a bishop John with the purpose of explaining and justifying the writer's former reluctance to undertake the burden of the popedom. This work was held in the highest esteem both at the time of its publication and for ages afterwards. Leander of Seville, to whom he sent it, circulated it in Spain; the emperor Mauricius had it translated into Greek; Alfred the Great himself translated it into English; a succession of synods in Gaul enjoined a knowledge of it on all bishops; and Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, in the 9th century, says that a copy of it was delivered, together with the book of canons, to bishops at their ordination, with a charge to them to frame their lives according to its precepts (*in Praefatione Opusculi 55 Capitulorum*).

5. *Dialogorum libri IV. de vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum, et de aeternitate animae.* The authenticity of this work has been doubted, but apparently without adequate grounds. It is written in the form of dialogues between the author and the archdeacon Peter, and contains accounts of a number of saintly persons, among whom a prominent place is given to Benedict of Nursia, the contemporary founder of the Benedictine order. It abounds in incredible marvels, and relates, among other things, visions of the state of departed souls, which have been a main support, if not a principal foundation, of the mediaeval doctrine about purgatory. The *Dialogues* were translated into Anglo-Saxon by order of Alfred (Asser. *Gest. Alf.* in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 486 e).

6. *Registrum Epistolarum*, in 14 books, of which the 13th is wanting; a collection of 838 letters to persons of all orders and degrees in various parts of the world, and on a great variety of subjects. Nothing that Gregory has left gives us so vivid an idea of his unwearied activity, the multifariousness of his engagements and interests, his address and judgment, and the versatility of his powers.

7. *Liber Sacramentorum.* This, the famous Gregorian Sacramentary, was an abbreviated arrangement in one volume, with some alterations and additions, of the previous sacramentary of pope Gelasius, which again had been founded on an older one attributed to pope Leo I. What John the deacon says of Gregory's work is, "Sed et Gelasianum codicem, de Missarum solemniis multa subtrahens, pauca convertens, nonnulla superadjiciens, in unius libelli volumine coarctavit" (Johan. diac. *de Vit. Greg.* lib. 2, c. 17; cf. Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 1). The changes made by Gregory were principally in the Missae, or variable offices for particular days; in the *Ordo Missae* itself only the two following alterations are spoken of as made by him. First, to the part of the canon beginning, "Hanc igitur oblationem," he added the words, "Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione eripi et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari." Secondly, he transferred the Lord's Prayer from its former place, after the breaking of bread, to its present place in the canon (*Ep. ad Joann. Syrac.* lib. ix. *Ep.* 12). Whatever uncertainty there may be as to the original text of Gregory's sacramentary as a whole, it is considered certain that the present Roman canon and, with the exception of certain subsequent additions, the ordinarium also are the same as what he left. [See art. SACRAMENTARY in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*]

8. *Liber Antiphonarius*, a collection of antiphons for mass. To what extent this work was original, or founded on a previous collection, and how far it may have been altered or added to since Gregory's time, are matters of some uncertainty.

Of the following works attributed to Gregory, the genuineness is doubtful:—

1. *Liber Benedictionum.*
2. *Liber Responsalis seu Antiphonarius.*
3. *Expositiones in librum I. Regum.*
4. *Expositiones super Canticum Canticorum.*
5. *Expositio in septem Psalmos Paenitentiales.*
6. *Concordia quorundam testimoniorum sacrae Scripturae.*

There are also nine hymns attributed to him with probability.

Of Gregory's personal appearance an idea may be formed from a description given by John the Deacon of a portrait preserved to his own day (9th century) in St. Andrew's monastery, "in absidicula post fratrum cellarium"; which he concludes to have been painted during the pope's life and by his order. There were in the *atrium* of the same monastery pictures of the father and mother of Gregory (see GORDIANUS), shewn by the inscription on one of them to have been painted by his order; and that this was the case also with his own portrait is inferred from the head being surmounted, not by a *corona*, but by a *tabula* ("tabulae similitudinem"), which John says is the mark of a living person, and by the appended inscription:—

> "Christe potens Domine, nostri largitor honoris,
> Indultum officium solita pietate guberna."

The portrait is thus described. The figure is of ordinary size, and well formed; the face a happy medium between the length of his father's and the roundness of his mother's—"most becomingly prolonged with a certain rotundity"; the beard is, like his father's, of moderate size, and somewhat tawny; in the middle of his otherwise

bald forehead are two neat little curls twisting towards the right; the crown of the head is round and large; dark hair, decently curled, hangs under the middle of the ear; he has a fine forehead; his eyebrows are long and elevated, but slender; the pupils of the eyes are of a yellow tinge, not large, but open, and the under eyelids are full; the nose is slender as it curves down from the eyebrows, broader about the middle, then slightly curved, and expanding at the nostrils; the mouth is ruddy; the lips thick and subdivided; the cheeks regular ("compositae"); the chin rather prominent from the confines of the jaws; the complexion is described as "aquilinus et lividus" (*al.* "vividus"), not "cardiacus," as it became afterwards. There is some uncertainty about the colours intended. "Aquilinus" may be equivalent to "aquilus" (*swarthy*), and "cardiacus" may denote the colour consequent on stomach disease ("cardiacus morbus"); in which case, if we adopt the reading "vividus" for "lividus," the meaning would seem to be that he had a dark but fresh complexion when his picture was taken, though in later life it acquired an unhealthy hue. (See Du Cange for the probable meaning of the words.) His countenance is mild; his hands good, with taper fingers, were well adapted for writing. His dress is a chestnut-coloured *planeta* over a *dalmatica*, which is precisely the same dress as that in which his father is depicted, and therefore not in Gregory's time peculiarly sacerdotal costume. (See Gordianus.) But he is distinguished from his father by the *pallium*, the then form and mode of wearing which are intimated by the description. It is brought from the left shoulder so as to hang carelessly under the breast, and, passing over the right shoulder, is deposited behind the back, the other end being carried straight behind the neck also to the right shoulder, from which it hangs down the side. In the left hand is a book of the Gospels; the right is in the attitude of making the sign of the cross. (Joan. Diac. *in Vit. S. Gregor.* l. 4, c. 83.) John the Deacon describes also his *pallium*, woven of white linen and with no marks of the needle in it; his phylactery (or case for relics), of thin silver, and hung from the neck by crimson cloth, and his belt ("baltheus"), only a thumb's breadth wide—which, he says, were preserved and venerated on the saint's anniversary, and which he refers to as evidences of the monastic simplicity of Gregory's attire. (Joan. Diac. *in Vit. S. Gregor.* l. 4, c. 8.)

Our chief authorities for the life of Gregory are his own writings, especially his letters. Among ancient writers Gregory of Tours (his contemporary), Bede, Paul Warnefried (730), Ado Trevirensis (1070), Simeon Metaphrastes (1300), Isidorus Hispalensis, have detailed notices of him. Paul the deacon in the 8th century, and John the deacon, a monk of Cassino, in the 9th century, wrote lives of him (Greg. *Op.* ed. Benedict). The Benedictine edition of his works contains also a fuller life, supplemented from other sources. [J. B–y.]

GREGORIUS (52) II., bishop of Rome, after Constantine, from May 19, 715, to Feb. 10, 731, for fifteen years eight months and twenty days, during the reigns of the emperors Anastasius, Theodosius, and Leo the Isaurian. He is said by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Vit. Pontif.*) to have been a Roman by birth, educated in the Lateran palace under pope Sergius, and a Benedictine monk; also to have accompanied his predecessor, pope Constantine, to Constantinople, where he evinced his learning and abilities by answering certain questions put to him by the emperor Justinian II., the purport of which is not told, to the satisfaction of the latter. The same authority describes him as pure in life, learned in Holy Scripture, eloquent in speech, and of resolute will, of the last of which characteristics the events of his pontificate afford sufficient proof.

The most important incidents of his reign were, first, the conversion, and with it the subjection to the Roman see, of the German races by the English missionary Boniface, and, secondly, the commencement of the Iconoclastic controversy, in which this pope was at issue with the emperor Leo Isauricus. The popes at this period were still subjects of the Eastern emperors, and required to be confirmed in office by the exarchs of Ravenna, though usually left to themselves to defend their Italian possessions against the neighbouring Lombards, who, having in 568 invaded Italy, and having subsequently established the two powerful dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento, had lately founded, under king Luitprand, a settled kingdom in the district hence called Lombardy. These long dreaded barbarians, though now professing Catholic Christianity, were still objects of fear and aversion; nor did the occasional friendly relations of Luitprand with the pope or with the emperor prevent his watching for every opportunity that might occur for making himself master of the whole of Italy. In the first year of his pontificate Gregory, for security against his troublesome neighbours, began the restoration of the ruined walls of Rome, a task of which subsequent troubles prevented the completion. In the same year (715) he found himself in conflict with them. They had seized and kept possession of the fortress at Cumae (Cumanum castrum). Gregory, having failed to obtain its cession by remonstrance, spiritual menaces, and offers of money, had at length recourse to the arms of John, duke of Naples (still part of the imperial dominion), who was induced by a bribe of seventy pounds of gold to recapture and restore it to him. Before or after this event we read of Luitprand having shewn a more friendly disposition in restoring to the Roman see its patrimony in the Cottian Alps, which had been previously bestowed on it by the Lombard king Aribert (Paul. Diacon., Bede, Anastas. Bibl.)

The year 717 was marked by the accession of Leo III., called Isauricus, on the abdication of Theodosius; on which occasion the new emperor, far from shewing signs of his future religious attitude, sent the pope a confession of his faith, the orthodoxy of which was also attested by the patriarch Germanus; whereupon Gregory sent a cordial letter in reply, alluded to in his subsequent correspondence.

The year 718 was memorable for the first visit to Rome of the English Winfrith, better known as Boniface, who came with a commendatory letter from Daniel, bishop of Winchester, to seek the pope's authority and blessing for missionary work among the Germans, on which his

heart had long been set. He had previously attempted a mission in Frisia without much success, having been thwarted by the pagan king Ratbod, who had at that time thrown off the dominion of the Franks, and devastated the churches already founded in his country. Boniface had therefore returned to his English monastery of Nursling, and after a stay there of two years, and refusal to fill the office of abbat, he repaired to Rome, arriving there in the autumn of 718. Gregory (says Boniface's biographer Willibald), on learning his purpose, looked at him "with blithe countenance and smiling eyes," and at length, after frequent colloquies, sent him forth with his blessing, and under the protection of St. Peter, in the May of the year 719, as a missionary at large to the German unbelievers. He carried with him a number of relics given him by the pope, and a letter addressed to himself, in which he was straitly charged to follow the directions of the Roman see, and refer to it for further instructions, if needed. (Othlon. *in Vit. Bonif.* i. 12; Bonif. *Ep.* ii. Giles's ed.) Visiting the Lombard king Luitprand on his way, by whom he was honourably received, the missionary proceeded first to Thuringia, a country, it would seem, already in great measure Christianized, where he exerted himself to correct the heresies and irregularities that had crept in among the clergy. Thence he repaired to France, and, having heard of the death of Ratbod and the recovery of Frisia to the dominion of Charles Martel, he prosecuted a successful mission in that country in conjunction with archbishop Willibrord, of Utrecht, who was already at work there. Urged by him to accept the office of bishop, he steadily refused on the ground partly of unworthiness, but especially of the absence of any command or leave from Rome. Having at length obtained the old prelate's consent to his departure, he returned to Germany about the year 722, and after extraordinary success among the Hessians and Saxons, of whom he is said to have baptized thousands, he sent a messenger to apprise the pope and request instructions. The result was a summons to Rome, which he at once obeyed, arriving there accompanied by several Frank and Burgundian disciples in the year 723. It was now that Gregory, having previously demanded of him a confession of his faith, which because of his imperfect knowledge of Latin he requested him to prepare in writing, and, being satisfied therewith, ordained him bishop on St. Andrew's day, A.D. 723; *i.e.*, a general missionary bishop, not one of any particular see. It was on this occasion that the pope is generally said to have given him the name of Boniface, by which, rather than his original one Winfrith, he is best known. Lingard, however (*Angl. Sax. Ch.* ii. 338), gives reasons for supposing that he had assumed it previously. The memorable oath which he took on this occasion (Othlon. *Vit. Bonif.* l. ii. c. 1. 14; Bonifac. *Concil.* ii. Giles's ed.), was to this effect:

"I, Boniface by the grace of God bishop, promise to thee the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, and to thy vicar, the blessed pope Gregory and his successors, by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the inseparable Trinity, and by this thy most sacred body, to maintain the purity of the holy Catholic faith, and by the help of God, persevere in the unity of the same; in no wise, through anyone's persuasion, to consent to anything against the unity of the common and universal church; but, as I have said, to evince in all respects my faith, and purity, and concurrence with thee, and the interests of thy church, to whom God hath given the power of binding and loosing, and with thy aforesaid vicar and his successors. Whenever I find the conduct of the chief officers of the church contradictory to the ancient ordinances and decrees of the fathers, I will have no fellowship or connexion with them, but will prevent it if I can, or, if not, will at once report it faithfully to my apostolic lord. And should I ever in any way attempt to do anything contrary to the tenour of this my promise, may I be found guilty in the eternal judgment, and incur the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, who presumed to commit fraud and to say what was false to thee." The taking of this oath, which was substantially the same as the *Indiculus Episcopi* then exacted by the pope from the bishops of his own patriarchate (*Lib. diurnus*, c. iii. tit. 8 and 9), was an event of great importance in the history of the church, as being exacted in this instance from the bishop of a German see, outside not only of the hitherto acknowledged patriarchate of Rome, but even of the Roman empire. It was taken afterwards by all bishops of sees constituted by Boniface, and laid in fact the foundation of the close dependence on Rome of the churches of northern Europe. It is interesting to trace back this result to the memorable mission of Augustine to England by Gregory the Great (597), the consequence of which had been the closer connexion with Rome of the English church than of any other in the north, attested among other ways by frequent pilgrimages and not unfrequent appeals to Rome, and resulting in that entire devotion to the apostolic see that marked and directed the career of the apostle of Germany, Boniface. He now resumed the labours of his mission, fortified by various letters from the pope. One addressed to Charles Martel announces the consecration of Boniface as bishop and missionary to the German races and others on the east of the Rhine, and requests Charles' support and protection. Another, to bishops, clergy, dukes, earls, and Christians generally, commends the new bishop and his companions to their hospitality and support, promising in return, through the intercession of the two chief apostles, communion with the holy martyrs, and threatening such as should oppose them with anathema and damnation. In a third, the clergy and laity of Germany are apprised of the instructions now given to Boniface, in accordance with which they are warned to demean themselves; the instructions being such as these; that he should ordain no bigamist, or one who had espoused a wife who was not a virgin, no illiterate person, none who was maimed in any part of his body, no one under the sentence of any court, and no African; the last prohibition being on the ground that some African candidates had been proved to be Manicheans, or rebaptized (*i.e.* Donatists); that he should strive to increase the possessions of his churches, dividing their revenues into four parts, for himself, for the clergy, for the poor and strangers, and for church-building; that he should hold ordinations only at the fasts of the fourth,

seventh, and tenth months, or at the beginning or middle of Lent, or "vespere sabbato sacro" (*i.e.* Easter eve); and that, except in cases of danger of death, he should administer baptism only at Easter and Pentecost. Another letter, to the chiefs and others among the Thuringians who were Christians, praises them for steadfastness in the faith, exhorts them to prefer death to apostasy, and enjoins obedience to the new bishop. Two more letters, probably sent on this occasion, are addressed to the Thuringians and Alt-Saxons, both Christian and heathen. The Thuringians are exhorted to hearken to, and build a house and churches for, the holy bishop who had been sent among them for no earthly gain, but to win their souls, and lead them on the way to everlasting bliss. The letter addressed to the Alt-Saxons (as the Saxons on the Continent were called in distinction from the English Saxons) is mainly made up of quotations from the epistles of St. Paul. They are told, among other things, that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand, they are warned against any one seducing them "with excellency of speech" to the worship of idols in which the devils dwell, against being spoiled through "philosophy and vain deceit," since the children of darkness are wiser than the children of light. They are finally warned to put no bar in the way of the conversion of any of their people, and to receive Boniface, whom he, Gregory, had sent, his brother and fellow bishop, to deliver them from the devil and number them among the children of God. (Bonif. *Epp.* v. vi. vii. viii. ix. x. Giles's ed.) The remaining career of Boniface brings him into no further connexion that is known of with Gregory II., except in respect to two subsequent letters, of which mention will be made in the final enumeration of the extant writings of this pope.

Mention may here be made of a visit of St. Corbinianus, bishop of Frisia, to Rome in 724, to beg permission to retire from his see, which he had held for eight years, to a monastery, or to some desert. He was honourably received, and a synod was held in which the desired leave was refused. An account of this is given in the history of Aribo, the successor of St. Corbinianus. One of the noted pilgrimages from England to Rome was made in the next year, 725, when Ina, king of the West Saxons, after reigning thirty-seven years, renounced his kingdom, and visited the tombs of the apostles with Ethelburga his queen. Both spent the remainder of their days at Rome (Bede, *H. E.* v. 7). Bede speaks of this being at that time a common practice among the English, both noble and ignoble, laity and clergy, men and women. According to Matthew of Westminster, Ina founded at Rome the Saxon school for such of his countrymen as might choose to be educated there, adding a church for their use; to support which, and to provide a subsistence for the English who should dwell there, he imposed a tribute of one penny on each family of his subjects, called Romescot (Matth. Westm. ad ann. 727). William of Malmesbury attributes the foundation of this school to king Offa, who died in 794. This has been supposed (Higden, Polydore Virg.), though without sufficient ground, to have been the origin of the Romescot or Peter's pence, afterwards paid by way of tribute from England to Rome; which, however, Malmesbury attributes to king Ethelwolf.

In the year 726 was published the first edict against image-worship by the emperor Leo Isauricus. At this time the veneration of representations of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the saints, as well as of relics, had become ingrained in Christian devotion, both in the East and West. Not, however, without some protest, not only from Jews and Mahometans, who charged Christians with idolatry, but also from remonstrants within the church. By whatever influences moved, Leo, having reigned for ten years without shewing any disposition to interfere in religious matters, except in the way of persecuting Jews, suddenly set himself the hopeless task of eradicating the prevailing worship. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his objection to it, which he grounded on the scriptural prohibition of idolatry (Greg. II. *Ep.* i.), whatever may be thought of the wisdom or justifiableness of his high-handed procedure. His first edict, issued with the sanction of a senatus-consultum, but without the concurrence of the patriarch, merely forbade the worship of images by genuflexions, prostrations, and the like, and ordered them to be placed high on the walls of churches, so as to preclude such alleged abuse of them. It was not till 730, after a series of conflicts, that he issued a second edict requiring their absolute destruction. His first edict was enough to provoke the most violent resistance. The populace of Constantinople, among whom the women and monks are said to have been especially zealous, rose in insurrection, and had to be controlled by armed troops. Similar disturbances ensued in the provinces. The inhabitants of the Cyclades went so far as to proclaim a rival emperor (one Cosmas, a zealous supporter of image-worship), and to equip a fleet with which they sailed for Constantinople with the view of deposing Leo. But they were successfully met, and their fleet destroyed. In Italy (as was to be expected) the resistance was general and violent. Leo had acquainted the pope with the purport of his edict, and was by him strongly remonstrated with by letter. Notwithstanding this, the edict was sent to Scholasticus, exarch of Ravenna, to be published and enforced. The people of Ravenna rose in insurrection, and bloodshed ensued. Luitprand, the Lombard king, now seized the opportunity, such as he had long desired, of making himself master of Ravenna, and afterwards of all the Pentapolis, being received as a deliverer rather than an enemy; and he proceeded to form it into a dukedom under his grandson Hildebrand. But the permanent loss of the exarchate to the empire, which did afterwards ensue, and which these iconoclastic measures of Leo certainly paved the way for, was deferred for the present. Ursus, duke of Venice, solicited by the pope, came to the aid of the exarch, and together they recovered the territory. The next few years in Italy were occupied by a course of insurrection and warfare, of which the following is a summary. Scholasticus the exarch, suspected by the emperor of connivance with the pope, was superseded in 728 by Paul the Patrician, who marched to Rome in order to seize Gregory, but was prevented by a body of Lombards sent by Luitprand, who at this stage of affairs espoused his cause. Paul now, by the emperor's order, required the edict to be published at Rome, and in all the

cities of Italy subject to the emperor. The pope excommunicated Paul; the Roman people rose, overpowered the imperial garrison, broke the statue of the emperor, and renounced their allegiance to him. The pope addressed a circular to the Italian cities, to the Lombards and Venetians, exhorting them to continue steadfast in the faith; the people of the Pentapolis now also renounced their allegiance, appointed magistrates of their own provisionally, and were only prevented from proclaiming a rival emperor by the remonstrances of Gregory. Paul, renewing his attempt to enforce the edict in Ravenna, was killed in an insurrection. Exhilaratus also, duke of Naples, having in vain tried to enforce the edict there, and having, it is alleged, employed two persons to assassinate the pope, was torn in pieces by the multitude. The eunuch Eutychius, sent as exarch to Ravenna in the place of Paul, though received by the people there, failed in inducing them to accept the edict; and having, it was said, sent to Rome a letter from the emperor requiring the imperial officers there to compass the pope's death, he was also excommunicated as his predecessor had been, and his messenger only saved from death by the pope's intervention. Eutychius now endeavoured to gain Luitprand to the emperor's side by promising him the cession of the cities that had been seized by him. Such overtures, however, were unavailing till the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento took the advantage of the disturbed state of things to assert their own independence; when Luitprand, having been assisted by the exarch in reducing them to obedience, proceeded with him to besiege Rome. At this crisis Gregory repaired in person to the camp of the Lombard king to implore mercy for the Roman people. The king, according to Anastasius Bibliothecarius, received him with the utmost deference, throwing himself at his feet, and divesting himself in the church of St. Peter of his arms, crown and royal mantle, which, with a silver cross, he placed upon the tomb of the apostle. But, though he granted the required amnesty, he required the pope and the Roman people to acknowledge the authority of the exarch. While the latter was still in Rome, the people of Tuscany proclaimed one Tiberius (who claimed imperial descent) emperor in the place of Leo. Gregory on this occasion supported the imperial authority, persuading the Romans to join the army of the exarch, who, thus aided, defeated the rebels, and sent the head of the usurper to Constantinople. The magnanimity of the pope in this instance is much lauded by his admiring historians. In the course of all these transactions Baronius, taking his facts from Anastasius, counts up six separate attempts on the life of the pope, authorized by the emperor or his officers; but the silence on this head of other early narrators, and of the pope himself in his subsequent letters to Leo, renders such allegations doubtful.

There seems, however, to be no doubt that attempts were made on the one hand to seize the pope and carry him prisoner to Constantinople (this is all that he in his extant letters speaks of as attempted against himself), and on the other hand that the pope, in his resolute defence of the prevailing worship, and, indeed, of the freedom of the church from tyranny, fomented, directly or indirectly, insurrection, though not to the extent of sanctioning the proclamation of a rival emperor, or (as far as we know) encouraging violence.

In 730 was issued the second edict above referred to, after a great council assembled by Leo at Constantinople, in which the absolute destruction of all images, and the whitewashing of the walls of churches, was ordered. This led to the resignation of the patriarch Germanus, and the appointment of Anastasius in his room. It led also to new and still more serious disturbances at Constantinople, especially in connexion with the destruction of an image of Christ called Ἀντιφωνητής (*Surety*), which stood over the gate of the imperial palace called the Brazen Gate. On this occasion the people are said to have attacked the imperial officers, some of whom were killed, and the women especially to have pulled down the ladder on which a person employed to remove the image was placed, and to have murdered him after his fall; and also to have assailed the new patriarch during divine service in the great church with opprobrious language and with stones. Notwithstanding all resistance, the edict was enforced throughout the East, and sent to the exarch of Ravenna for publication in the West also. The emperor on this occasion wrote twice to the pope, whose replies are extant, though neither his former letters nor any of Leo's are. To the emperor's allegation of the Old Testament prohibition of idolatry in the second commandment Gregory replies that this prohibition extended only to the images of animals and other creatures set up by the heathen in honour of the devil, not to images in honour of God; and he adduces the works done in gold, silver, and brass by Bezaleel and Aholiab, the tables of stone, the ark, the cherubim, and the pot of manna, as sanctioning the veneration of symbols of divine things. He states that pictures of Christ, of James the Lord's brother, of Stephen and other martyrs, had been taken by their contemporaries, and used from the first in the conversion of the heathen; he adduces as a fact the sending of His own portrait by Christ to Agbarus, king of Edessa; and alleges that the six general councils had handed down the tradition of image-worship. On Leo, in reply, asking how it was that these councils had never mentioned the subject, Gregory rejoins that their silence was equivalent to approval, since the practice was known to have been prevalent at the time of the councils, and habitual to the fathers who composed them. Neither, says he, was anything said in these councils about bread and water, whether men ought or ought not to eat and drink. Leo had referred to the destruction of the brazen serpent by Uzziah (meaning Hezekiah) as justifying his own iconoclasm. Gregory, in replying, falls into the same mistake as to the king referred to, and speaks of his act as one of sacrilege. "Truly," he says, "Uzziah was thy brother, and had thy persuasion, and like thee he tyrannized over the priests of his day; for the holy David introduced that serpent with the ark into the temple." The theory of the adoration of images he defends by the usual assertion of the devotion they were the means of kindling, of the instruction they afforded especially to the young and ignorant, and of the real objects of all such

worship being not the images themselves but the originals represented by them. The tone of the letters towards the emperor himself is contemptuous and insulting: he is addressed as insolent, proud, headstrong, unlearned, stupid, and with a dense military intellect incapable of entering into spiritual things; he is bid to go to an elementary school, and announce himself as a destroyer and persecutor of images, when the children would at once throw their tablets at his head. To the emperor's proposal of a general council to settle the matter of dispute Gregory replies, "Thou art a contumelious persecutor, enemy, and destroyer of images: leave off, and grant us the favour of thy silence, and then the world will enjoy peace, and scandals will cease. When is the Christ-loving and pious emperor to sit in council in the accustomed way, and reward those who speak aright, and dismiss those who babble contrary to the truth, when thou, the emperor, waverest and imitatest barbarians? Only keep quiet, and there is no need of a council." Further, the emperor is reminded of the entire distinction between the functions of emperors and of bishops, and how the former have neither the right nor the capacity to interfere in things proper to the latter. Lastly, significant warnings are given of the possible consequences of the emperor's persistence in his schemes. "I (to this effect writes the pope) have no fear of you. I have only to pass into Campania, and I shall be safe. The whole West venerates St. Peter as a terrestrial god. I purpose visiting the extreme regions of the West, where my missionaries have been requesting my aid in bringing princes to baptism. Naked and unarmed as we are, we call on Christ the prince of the supernal powers to send a demon upon you, as says the apostle, 'to deliver such a one to Satan,' &c. Consider what may ensue. Already, in the East, women have been found inflamed with zeal, and, emulous of those who brought ointments, who when they had in vain implored your agent to spare the image of the Saviour, pulled away the ladder on which he stood, and killed him with clubs. Already your authority has been disowned, and your statues broken in Italy. Should you send your satellites to Rome to overthrow the image of St. Peter, the Westerns are ready to avenge the Easterns. See, we protest to thee, we are innocent of the blood which they will shed: back on thy neck and thy head will these things fall" A synod afterwards held at Rome is alluded to by pope Hadrian (*Ep.* 1, *ad Car. Magn.*), in which, after a speech from the pope setting forth the usual arguments for image-worship, the retention of the practice was decreed, and its impugners condemned. In return the emperor is said to have confiscated the papal patrimonies in Sicily and Calabria, and subjected these provinces, as well as Eastern Illyricum, to Constantinople instead of Rome. But it is not certain whether the synod referred to was held under Gregory II. or his successor Gregory III., in whose reign the reprisals of the emperor above mentioned seem to have taken place. The Greek historians, Theophanes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Nicephorus, followed by Baronius, by Bellarmine (*de Pont. Rom.* v. 8), and on the Protestant side by the Magdeburg Centuriators (*Cent.* viii.), assert that Gregory II. excommunicated the emperor himself as well as the patriarch Anastasius. But his excommunication of the emperor is not mentioned by Paulus Diaconus, by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, nor by any old Latin writers, and is now generally discredited.

Gregory, besides his activities in the ways that have been detailed, was memorable for his restoration of churches ruined by the Lombard ravages, and his re-establishment of neglected monasteries. Among the churches restored by him are mentioned especially the basilica of St. Paul, and that of St. Laurence without the walls, to which he also conveyed water by pipes. Among the monasteries revived by him, and replenished with monks, were those about the basilica of St. Paul, one called Gerontocomium, behind the apse of St. Mary ad Praesepe, and especially the original Benedictine monastery on Mount Cassino.

He died Feb. 10, 731. He appears as a saint in the Roman Calendar, his day being the 13th of the same month. The following letters of this pope are preserved:—

1. The fragment of one to Turpin, archbishop of Rheims, with respect to a bishop Rigobert, who had been uncanonically deposed by Charles Martel. (Baronius, ad ann. 717.)

2. To Austrobert, archbishop of Vienne, commending Boniface to him, dated *prid. Cal. Sept. ann.* 3. *Leon. imp.* (Baron. ad ann. 718.)

3. To Boniface himself (above referred to), giving him commission to preach to the heathen under the authority of, and in subjection to the apostolic see, dated *Id. Mai. an.* 3 *Leon. Imp.* (Baron. ad ann. 719; Bonifac. *Epist.*)

4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Six letters commendatory of Boniface after his consecration, which have been specified above. (Baron. ad ann. 723; Bonifac. *Epist.*)

10. To Boniface himself, mentioning among other things that the writer had sent a letter to Charles Martel exhorting him to take measures against a bishop who had neglected to evangelize the Germans, and also to Thuringians and Germans exhorting them to found sees and churches. (Baron. ad ann. 724; Bonifac. *Ep.* 15 in Giles's edition.)

11. To Boniface in reply to various questions with respect to matters of discipline. In consideration of the barbarity of the people they may be allowed to marry after the fourth degree of consanguinity; a husband whose wife "infirmitate correpta non valuerit debitum tori reddere" may be allowed to marry another, "because here great people are concerned," but must maintain his first wife; an accused presbyter, if the proofs against him are uncertain, may purge himself by his own oath: one cup only is to be used in the celebration of mass, in conformity with the original institution by Christ. St. Paul's rule about not eating things that had been sacrificed to idols is to be observed, even though the sign of the cross had been made over the meats, infants placed by their parents in monasteries are not to be released on coming to years of discretion; persons baptized by adulterous and unworthy priests, and without interrogation as to their faith, are not to be rebaptized if the right form had been observed; children taken from their parents, of whose baptism there is no proof, are to be baptized. No one once confirmed by a bishop is to be confirmed again; faithful lepers, though not to be allowed to eat with

others, are not to be debarred from communion; infectious disease in a monastery is to be no excuse for its inmates leaving it; finally, Boniface is not to stretch discipline so far as to refuse social intercourse with vicious priests or bishops, or with vicious nobles whose aid may be valuable. The epistle is dated 10 *Kal. Decemb. ann.* 10 *Leon. Imp.* (Bonifac. *Ep.* 24 in Giles's edition.)

12. Capitulare Gregorii Papae II., given to Martinianus, a bishop, Georgius a presbyter, and Dorotheus a subdeacon, on their being sent into Bavaria, containing directions as to discipline. (Labbe, *Concil.*)

13. Seventeen anathemas pronounced in a synod held at Rome in 721 against unlawful marriages, then prevalent in Italy, and also against resort to magic and soothsayers, and the wearing of long hair by the clergy. In these marriage is condemned with presbyterae, diaconae, monachae, commatres spiritales, as well as with brothers' wives and blood relations. The presbyterae and diaconae referred to Baronius takes to mean the wives of presbyters and deacons who had been married before ordination, and who had (according to the custom in the west) been put away by their former husbands. (Cf. Bingham, b. ii. ch. xxii. 15.) [Labbe, *Concil.*; Baron. in ann. 721.]

14. A letter to Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, on the subject of Leo's iconoclasm, preserved in the acts of the seventh (2nd Nicene) council: Act. iv. (Labbe, *Concil.*)

15. The two letters on the worship of images to the emperor Leo, the contents of which are summarized above. These letters exist only in Greek, and were first published by Baronius, who erroneously refers them to the year 721 instead of 726 (Muratori, Jaffe), or 730 (Pagi). Their genuineness has been questioned, but is generally allowed. (Walch, x. 174; Schröckh, xx. 535. 61.)

Other letters said to have been written by Gregory II. are lost.

The early authorities for his life, besides extant letters, are principally Anastas. Biblioth. *in Vit. Pontif.*; Paulus Diaconus; Theophanes, *Chronograph.*; Othlon. *in Vit. Bonifac.*; Willibald, *in ejusd. Vit.*; Nicephorus Cpol. Cf. Baron. *Annal.*; Pagi, *Breviar.*; Muratori; Jaffé, *Regest. Pontif. Rom.*; Bower, *Lives of the Popes.*

[J. B—y.]

GREGORIUS (53) III., successor of Gregory II., bishop of Rome from March 18, 731, to Nov. 27, 741, during ten years, eight months, and eleven days, and contemporary with Leo the Isaurian. He was a Syrian by birth, and is said by Anastasius Bibliothecarius to have been forcibly seized and placed in the pontifical chair, as through a sudden impulse of the Holy Ghost, by the Roman people, as he was assisting at the obsequies of his predecessor. He was consecrated as soon as the confirmation of the exarch had been obtained, being the last pope whose election was so confirmed, leave to consecrate without waiting for the emperor's confirmation having been first obtained in the time of Benedict II. (683–5). His reign was memorable for the progress of what had marked and had its commencement in that of his predecessor, namely, the ecclesiastical subjection of Germany to Rome through the missionary Boniface, and the disturbed relations between Italy and Constantinople, together with renewed Lombard aggression, consequent on the Iconoclastic controversy. It was further especially noteworthy for the first step taken towards the transference of Rome politically from the suzerainty of the Eastern emperors to that of the Frank rulers of the West.

Immediately after his accession this pope took up the cause of image-worship, in which his predecessor had been so zealous, sending a letter to Leo and to his son Constantinus Copronymus (associated with him in the empire since 720), calling on them to renounce their errors. His messenger, Gregory, a Roman presbyter, having returned to Rome without having had the courage to deliver the letter, and having been again despatched, was arrested in Sicily by the emperor's order, and sent into exile. Gregory had convened a synod at Rome, attended by ninety-three bishops and the clergy generally, the laity being also present, in which image-worship was again established as agreeable to the practice of the Apostles, profaners and blasphemers of sacred images were excommunicated, and a resolution was come to that a new attempt should be made to convert the emperor. Accordingly two more unsuccessful legations were sent to Constantinople. The first was headed by Constantine, defensor of the Roman church, carrying a second letter from the pope: but he was stopped on his road and imprisoned for a year. The second (in 735), headed by Peter the Defensor, was charged not only with letters from the pope both to the emperor and to the patriarch, but also with a memorial from the people of Italy, representing the disturbances that had arisen from the imperial edict against images, and their determination to oppose it. The members of this legation were arrested in Sicily by Sergius, the commander of the imperial troops there, and sent back to Rome. (Anastas. Biblioth.) Next year (734) the emperor sent a fleet under Manes, in the hope of reducing his Italian subjects to obedience. The fleet was wrecked by a storm in the Adriatic, after which all attempts on both sides ceased (Theophan. *ad ann. Leon.* 17).

The exarch remained powerless at Ravenna, unable even there to enforce the edict, and the Romans once more appointed magistrates of their own, forming a sort of independent republic, under the pope as their head. In the meantime Gregory is said to have expended large sums, amounting to seventy-three pounds weight of gold, and 376 of silver, in filling the churches at Rome with pictures and images, and in collecting relics from various quarters, for the keeping and veneration of which he founded an oratory with an establishment of monks. Peace continued till 740, when the Lombards became the authors of new disturbances. The two dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, who in the time of Gregory II. had rebelled against Luitprand, the Lombard king, and been by him reduced with the exarch's aid, again revolted. Defeated by Luitprand, they took refuge in Rome, where the pope protected them. In the spring of 741 Luitprand invaded and devastated the Roman territory, and having given up to plunder the church of St. Peter without the walls, laid siege to the city. Now it was that Gregory began the overtures to the Frnaks, which led eventually to such impor-

tant results. Charles Martel had now for twenty-six years been the virtual ruler of the Franks, as mayor of the palace, and had a few years before won his memorable victory over the Saracens at Tours. To him, the most powerful magnate of the age, Gregory sent an embassy, carrying, among other valuable presents, keys of St. Peter's tomb, and supposed filings from the chain with which the apostle had been bound in Rome; and imploring protection to the apostle, his church, and people. Charles, though he received the embassy with great respect, and bestowed presents in return, was unmoved by the request. Gregory now addressed to him a most pathetic letter, which is extant (Greg. iii. *Ep.* 5, *Concil.*; Baron. ad ann. 740), in which he represents himself as overwhelmed with grief, tears streaming day and night from his eyes, on beholding the church of God abandoned by all her children, even by those in whom she had most reason to confide. He draws a most lamentable picture of the devastation and destitution caused by the Lombard invaders, and attributes their aggression, not to the protection afforded by himself to the rebel dukes, but to the latter having refused to join Luitprand in making war on the church and people of God. Those, he says, who accuse these persecuted dukes of treason and rebellion are guilty of a lie. St. Peter, he declares, is able to defend his own house and people without the aid of mortal man, though, with some apparent inconsistency, he speaks of his whole safety and happiness depending on Charles's answer. Him he endeavours to move by appealing both to his pride and his religious fears, as well as to his compassion and piety. "O that you could but hear the insulting and reproachful language with which they revile us, or rather you! Where is that mighty Charles, say they, whose protection you have implored? Where are those formidable Frank armies? Let them come to deliver you, if they dare, out of our hands!" And, appealing to his religious fears, he implores him, as he regards the salvation of his own soul, to hasten to the relief of St. Peter's church, lest the apostle in his turn should shut the gates of heaven on him; and he, the pope, undertakes, if delivered from the present danger, to pray day and night before the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul for Charles and all his subjects. But neither this nor a second letter had the desired effect; and it was not till a substantial temporal equivalent for the aid demanded was offered that anything was done. Such an equivalent was offered, through a second embassy, in the proposal that the Romans should altogether renounce their allegiance to the emperor, and put themselves under Charles as their protector, on whom the title of Patrician and Consul of Rome was to be conferred, he undertaking to protect them against the Lombards, and against the emperor in case of his molesting them. Charles now sent Grinan, abbat of Corbie, and Sigebert, a monk of St. Denys, as his emissaries to Rome. After their arrival the Lombards withdrew their troops and ceased from hostilities, retaining, however, four cities in the Roman territory which they had captured. The death of Charles Martel on Oct. 22 of the year of this treaty (741), and of Gregory on Nov. 27 of the same year, prevented any further immediate results. (On this whole transaction, see G. Richter, *Annal. d. Deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter*, 1873, i. 200, and Veltmann, *de Patriciatu Karoli Martelli*, Münster, 1863.)

On hearing of the accession of Gregory III. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, wrote to him, imploring a continuance of the favour accorded him by the preceding pope, and craving answers to certain questions. In reply Gregory (A.D. 732) sent him the pall, to be worn at mass and the consecration of new bishops, thus giving him the rank and jurisdiction of an archbishop. With it a letter was sent containing replies to the questions asked, which evince, in some respects, a spirit of greater strictness than that of the last pope. More bishops are to be ordained whenever needed; a certain criminal priest under Boniface's jurisdiction, who had represented himself as having been absolved at Rome, is to be corrected; persons baptized by pagans, or by priests who sacrificed to Jupiter or ate things offered in sacrifice to idols, are to be re-baptized; the eating of the flesh of horses, whether wild or tame, is forbidden as unclean and execrable, and to be visited with penance; for Catholics only are eucharistic oblations to be offered; marriages within the seventh degree are prohibited; husbands who have lost their wives are not to marry again more than once, if they can be restrained from doing so; persons who have killed their parents, brothers, or sisters, and such as have sold their slaves to be sacrificed by pagans, are to abstain from flesh during life, to fast on the second, fourth, and sixth days of every week, and be debarred from communion till the last viaticum; finally, the assistance of three bishops is required for the consecration of new ones.

Six years after this (A.D. 738) Boniface visited Rome for the third time, accompanied, we are told, by a crowd of disciples, and was there most honourably received. After remaining there, or in the neighbourhood, for a whole year, visiting shrines and collecting relics, he returned to the scene of his labours, and, on the invitation of Odilo, duke of Bavaria, proceeded to that country, where, with the duke's assistance, he propagated the Catholic faith, restored churches, and corrected irregularities, being especially zealous against heretical seducers of the people, who seem to have got a great hold on the church in those parts. His most memorable work there was his division of the country, with duke Odilo's sanction, and the pope's subsequent approval, into four episcopal sees, those of Salzburg, Freising, Regensburg, and Passau. We have extant four letters from Gregory III. written A.D. 739, the year of Boniface's return, and either taken with him or sent afterwards. 1. To all bishops, priests and abbats, commending Boniface, and enjoining them to hinder none of their ministers from joining him. 2. To the princes of Germany, Thuringia and Hessia, bidding them receive and hearken to Boniface and the clergy ordained by him, and not impede his acts of discipline; exhorting also such as were Christians, to abstain from various heathen usages and superstitions, such as are known to have lingered long in converted nations. 3. To the bishops of Bavaria and Germany, ordering them to attend a synod to be summoned in the pope's name at Cologne, or on the banks of the

Danube or elsewhere at the discretion of Boniface, and to receive him there with due honour, and accept from him the faith and order of the Roman Church, rejecting Britons and all false and heretical priests, as well as lingering rites of heathenism. 4. To Boniface himself in reply to an account he had sent of his proceedings. In Germany he had reported the conversion, with the aid of Charles Martel, of as many as one hundred thousand. In Bavaria, when he had found but one bishop, Vivilus, ordained not long before by the pope, he had announced his establishment, with the assent of duke Odilo, of the four new sees already mentioned. Of this measure the pope approves, urges him not to relax his endeavours to procure entire uniformity to the traditions of the Roman see, directs him to assemble a council on the banks of the Danube, and enjoins him not to stay in one place, but go and ordain bishops, and require uniformity with Rome wherever he can, regardless of difficulties. (Bonif. *Ep.* 43, 44, 45, 46, Giles's ed.)

It appears from the above summary that the establishment of Roman orthodoxy and order, and of Roman supremacy, was as difficult a part of the work of Boniface, and equally at the heart of his master, as the planting of the cross among unbelievers.

England was not overlooked by Gregory III., who, in 735, sent the pall to Egbert bishop of York, who was the first, according to Bede, since Paulinus who had thus been constituted archbishop of that see (Bede, *H. E. Contin.*).

To this pope is attributed the institution of the feast of All Saints on Nov. 1, in place of that in honour of the blessed Virgin and all martyrs, which Boniface IV. had appointed for the 13th of May (Anastas. Biblioth.).

Besides the letters above referred to, an extant document is attributed to this pope *Excerptum ex patrum dictis et canonum sententiis*, about sins and penances, for the use of confessors. Anastasius states that he also left a book of epistles no longer extant. He describes him as learned as well as mild, pious, and charitable, being versed in the Latin and Greek languages, and in holy Scripture; and mentions as a thing then new and unheard of that he knew all the Psalms by heart. He appears as a saint in the Roman calendar, his day being the 28th of November.

For the authorities for his life, see the list appended to the life of Gregory II. [J. B—y.]

GREGORIUS (54)—Dec. 24. A presbyter and martyr at Spoletum (Spoleto) in the Diocletian persecution. His acts in Surius and Ado are very legendary. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; *Mart.* Adon., Usuard,; Till. *Mém.* v. 347.) [G. T. S.]

GREGORIUS (55), abbat, fl. 390. He migrated from Palestine to Cyprus. Epiphanius, afterwards bishop of Salamis, appears on arriving in Cyprus to have entered his brotherhood. In one of his letters Gregory calls Epiphanius his son, and exhorts him to greater austerities. The high esteem of the latter for his old abbat is evident from an epistle of Epiphanius addressed to John of Jerusalem, and translated into Latin by St. Jerome. Gregory died before or soon after Epiphanius. He was the author of a Syriac work of unknown title and contents; ten discourses to his monks; and three epistles, one addressed to his disciple Theodore, and two to Epiphanius. (Assem. *Biblioth. Orient.* i. 170.) [C. J. B.]

GREGORIUS (56), a deacon and monk of Nazianzus, formerly a slave of Gregory Nazianzen, but manumitted by him as a reward for the loyalty of his service. He was one of the executors of Gregory's will, together with Marcellus the deacon and monk, and Eustathius. Gregory made him universal legatee of all his property both real and personal, to hold it for the benefit of the church of Nazianzus and its poor. As a personal legacy Gregory bequeathed him and Eustathius a farm at Arianzus, together with the live-stock, and fifty gold pieces. (Greg. Naz. *Testam.*) [E. V.]

GREGORIUS (57), a presbyter and abbat of a monastery near Jerusalem, or perhaps of Epiphanius's own house at Eleutheropolis, who was mixed up with the dispute between Epiphanius and John of Jerusalem, arising from the ordination of Jerome's brother Paulinian. John asserted that he had sent a message through Gregory to Epiphanius forbidding him to ordain any one, which was denied by Gregory (Hieron. *Epist.* lx.; Rufin. *H. E.* c. ii. 157). [E. V.]

GREGORIUS (58), abbat of Zeugma on the Euphrates, contemporary with Theodoret in the 5th century. (Theodoret, *Philoth.* cap. 5.) [C. J. B.]

GREGORIUS (59), presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of Cyrus according to one place in the lists, and in the Latin only. [GEORGIUS (48).] [C. H.]

GREGORIUS (60), ST., a local saint of Alcalá del Rio, on the Guadalquivir, near Seville. His relics were preserved there in a church built by Ferdinand and Isabella in his honour. The epitaph on the tomb in which they were found states that he lived about seventy years, and died in peace on the 9th of September, 542 of the era of the Goths, corresponding to A.D. 504. He is commemorated on the 9th of September. (Boll. *Acta SS. Sept.* iii. 368.) [F. D.]

GREGORIUS (61), abbas, presbyter in the coenobium of Scholares, from whom John Moschus, while residing in Nonus at Alexandria, heard a story about an aged brother of his society. The brother was of such extreme simplicity that he indiscreetly communicated in the Eucharist wherever he chanced to be. One day an angel appeared to him and enquired how he would like to be buried after death, whether according to the manner of the Egyptian monks or the manner of the Jerusalem monks. The old man was unable to say, and the angel gave him three weeks to consider. He consulted one of the brethren as to the answer he should give. "Where do you receive the sacrament?" asked the brother. "Wherever I find it," was the old man's simple reply. "In future then," returned the brother, "never communicate out of the Catholic apostolic church, within which the four holy synods are recognised, the Nicene of 318 fathers, the Constantinopolitan of 150, the first Ephesian of 200, the Chalcedonian of 650. Tell the angel you wish to be

buried as the monks of Jerusalem." The angel returned and the old man replied accordingly. "Well, well," said the angel, and the old man immediately died, being thus spared the disaster of having laboured in vain and being buried with heretics. (Joann. Mosch. *Prat. Spirit.* cap. 145, in Patr. Lat. lxxiv. 209.)

[C. H.]

GREGORIUS (62), archimandrite of the monastery of St. Theodosius in the wilderness of Jerusalem, who told John Moschus the story of Gregorius the Cappadocian (*vid.* No. 63).

[C. H.]

GREGORIUS (63), the Cappadocian, an anchorite, regarding whom John Moschus was told the following story by Gregorius the archimandrite of the monastery of Theodosius in the wilderness of Jerusalem. Gregory the Cappadocian, a brother of this society, had his duties at Phaselis. On a certain baking-day he had lit the fire, but when he came to clean out the oven the cloth was not to be found, for the brethren had hidden it in order to try his patience; so Gregory got into the oven, swept it out with his own coat, and came out uninjured by the fire. Another day he was feeding swine at Phaselis when two lions approached and tried to carry one of them off. Gregory took a switch and drove the lions down to the Jordan. (Joann. Mosch. *Prat. Spirit.* cap. 92, in Patr. Lat. lxxiv. 165.) [C. H.]

GREGORIUS (64), abbas, anchoret, respecting whom John Moschus was informed by one of the anchorets at Theopolis near Mount Amanus. When Gregory, who wandered naked in the desert for thirty-five years, was in the mountains near the monastery of Theodosius in Scopulus, the disciple by whom he was accompanied died. Gregory having no implements for digging a grave, descended to the shore, where he found a party of sailors just arrived and begged them to come and bury the body. They did so, and one of them named Thalaeus remained to take the dead man's place. After a year he found his frame wonderfully invigorated, but in two years and a half more Thalaeus, believing he was going to die, begged Gregory to go with him to Jerusalem, where he might adore the cross before his departure. Thither they went, and after visiting the sacred spots descended to the Jordan, where Thalaeus died and was buried in the monastery of Copratha. Here Gregory himself soon afterwards died and was buried. (Joann. Mosch. *Prat. Spirit.* cap. 91 in Patr. Lat. lxxiv. 164.) [C. H.]

GREGORIUS (65) THE BYZANTINE, abbas, anchoret, respecting whom John Moschus was informed by the anchorets of Raithu, near the Red Sea. This Gregory took up his abode with another anchoret, his disciple, named Gregorius Pharonites, on a neighbouring island whereon there was no water, and water had to be fetched from the mainland in a boat which they kept. One day they had moored the boat to a rock, and let her float, but a storm in the night broke the rope and wrecked the boat. After eight months some monks of Raithu landed on the island and found both of their brethren dead, and on the back of a turtle there was an inscription recording that Gregory Pharonites died after going without water twenty-eight days, and his master had tasted none for thirty-seven days. (Joann. Mosch. *Prat. Spirit.* cap. 121, in Patr. Lat. lxxiv. 181.) [C. H.]

GREGORIUS (66), abbat of St. Theodore in the district of Palermo, who by his neglect had caused great harm to his monastery, and was not allowed by Gregory the Great to be restored till after long punishment. (Greg. Magn., *Epist.* lib. i. indict. ix. ep. 12; lib. v. indict. xiii. ep. 6; Migne, lxxvii. 455, 727.)

[A. H. D. A.]

GREGORIUS (67), surnamed Dormitantius (*ὁ νυστάζων*), a Severian of Alexandria late in the 7th century. He held more than one public disputation in that city with Anastasius Sinaita, who in his *Hodegus* or *Viae Dux* speaks of him with little respect as in habit of mind a Syraegyptian. (Anastas. Sinait. *Viae Dux*, cap. 10 in Migne, Patr. Graec. lxxxix. 161, 169 n., 173, 181, 184.) [T. W. D.]

GREGORIUS (68) (Georgius), presbyter, messenger of pope Gregory III. [Gregorius (53), p. 796*b*.] (Anastas. Bibliothec. *de Vit. Rom. Pontif.* num. 191, in Patr. Lat. cxxviii. 1024, the readings vary between Gregorius and Georgius.)

[C. H.]

GREGORIUS (69), Roman presbyters present at Roman councils, and belonging to the following churches:—

St. John and St. Paul, in 721 (Mansi, xii. 265), possibly the Georgius of 745 (M. 381). [Georgius (51).]

St. Clement in 721, 745 (M. 265, 380).

St. Balbina in 745 (M. 381); at council of Paul I. in 761 (M. 649).

St. Anastasia, at council of 761 (M. 650).

Two presbyters of churches unnamed at the council of 743 (M. 367, 368). [C. H.]

GREGORIUS (70), ST., disciple of Boniface, abbat and administrator of the church of Utrecht (Trajectum). His life was written by his disciple St. Liudger, first bishop of Münster. He was born about A.D. 708, at Treves, of a noble Frank family, his father, Albricus, being a grandson of king Dagobert II. St. Boniface, on his way from Frisia to new labours among the Hessians and Thuringians, rested by the way at the convent of Paly (Palatiolum), near Treves, of which Addula or Adela, the grandmother of Gregory, was abbess. The youth, who had just left school, and was fourteen or fifteen years of age, was sent for, at the suggestion of Boniface, to read the Scriptures for the edification of the company at the convent meals. He read well, but Boniface, by his questions, elicited that he did not understand what he had read, so as to render it into his own Teutonic language. Thereupon the saint expounded and commented on the passage so eloquently that the boy's heart was touched, and he announced his intention of accompanying him on his mission. In vain his grandmother remonstrated. Gregory declared that if she would not provide him with a horse, he would go on foot, but go he would. Arrived in Thuringia they found the country desolated and impoverished by war. The labour of their hands provided them with the barest sustenance; and often some outbreak of the heathen compelled them to a hasty, though temporary, flight. But

their labours were rewarded by the gradual conversion of the land.

In time St. Boniface became bishop of Mentz (743), and his disciples were appointed administrators of the neighbouring districts, and among them, St. Gregory of the church of Utrecht, where he was assisted by a coadjutor of English race, named Alubert. He never became bishop, but, though his biographer does not state it in so many words, he seems to have been the abbat of a monastery in that city, for in the *Acta* of St. Liudger (s. 8; Migne, Patr. Lat. xcix. 773), we are told that the latter discarded his lay habit at the monastery in Utrecht, when he became St. Gregory's disciple.

He accompanied St. Boniface on one of his journeys to Rome, and brought back many sacred volumes, and two boys of English race named Marchelmus and Marcuvinus, who became his disciples.

His biographer dwells on his contempt of money, the simplicity of his food and raiment, his sobriety, his gentleness to enemies and detractors, and his almsgiving. Two of his half-brothers, returning from France to their own country, were set upon and killed by robbers. The murderers, when captured, were brought to Gregory, that he might inflict upon them what death he chose. Disdaining all thought of vengeance, he loosed their bonds, and when they had been tended and fed, dismissed them with exhortations and words of charity.

His disciples were very numerous, and were drawn, we are told, from high-born Franks, the "religiosa gens" of the Angli, the newly converted Frieslanders and Saxons, and even from the Bavarians and Suevi. Many of them rose to high place in the church.

At the age of seventy he was stricken with paralysis of the left side, which for three years, until his death in A.D. 781, rendered him nearly helpless, so that at last he was carried about by his disciples. Feeling his end approaching, he had himself borne to the oratory of St. Salvator, where he breathed his last, and where he was probably buried. He is commemorated Aug. 25. A letter written to him in 752 by Lullus, bishop of Mainz, is extant (Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 821). His successor at Utrecht was a kinsman and adopted son named Albricus. (*Vita S. Gregorii Abbatis, auct. Ludgero* in Migne, Patr. Lat. xcix. 752; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. v. 240; Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. iii. pars ii. 319 seqq., Paris, 1668–1701.) [S. A. B.]

GREGORIUS (71), the name of the following presbyters at the council of Nicaea in 787:—

Representing the bishop of Cephallenia (Mansi, xiii. 146 b, Latin; Georgius in the Greek).

Representing the bishop of Smyrna (M. xii. 1096 a).

Representing the bishop of Nicopolis (M. xii. 1096 e). [C. H.]

GREGORIUS (72), the name of the following hegumeni at the council of Nicaea in 787, viz. of

Agaurus (Mansi, xiii. 151 E).

Callistratus (*ib.* 151 D).

Hormisdas (*ib.* 151 A).

Hyacinthus (*ib.* 151 B, xii. 1111 E).

Monagrus (xiii. 151 D).

Pega (xii. 1112 E, Latin, Georgius in Greek). [Georgius (70).]

St. Clement (xiii. 156 E).

St. Theotokos (*ib.* 156 d). [C. H.]

GREGORIUS (73), a soldier, who with two others, Theodorus and Leo, in the time of Constantius, took refuge from the Arian persecution in the island of Cephalonia, where they lived in the ruins of a temple concealed by a thick wood. Their remains are said to have been miraculously revealed to Michael, a rich nobleman of the island, who was a leper, and who was cured by touching them. They are mentioned in the additions to Usuard's *Martyrology* in the Cologne edition of A.D. 1515 (in Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 396). They are commemorated on August 24. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 771.) [F. D.]

GREGORIUS (74), prefect of Italy, A.D. 336 (*Cod. Just.* v. xxvii. 1, July; *Cod. Theod.* xi. 1, 3, Oct. Gothofred, *n.*), and also A.D. 337 (*Cod. Theod.* iii. i. 2). He was sent by Constans to suppress the Donatists in Africa, A.D. 345, when Donatus of Bagaia wrote him a scurrilous letter. (Optat. Milev. *de Schism. Donat.* iii. 3, 10, Op. ed. Du Pin, *Monument.* p. 297; Du Pin, *Hist. Donatist.* prefixed to his edition of Optatus, xxvi.; Gothofred. *Prosopogr. Cod. Theod.* s. n. Gregorius.) [T. W. D.]

GREGORIUS (75), a governor of Cappadocia, to whom shortly after his arrival Gregory Nazianzen wrote in behalf of his niece Alypiana, the widow of Nicobulus, and her children. The recent death of her husband had plunged Alypiana in such a sea of troubles that she and her children had no leisure even to bemoan their misery. Gregory earnestly commends the widow and orphans to Gregorius's protection. (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 44.) [E. V.]

GREGORIUS (76), prefect of Gaul, at the end of the reign of Gratian (Sulp. Sev. ii. 49). [Priscillianus.] [M. B. C.]

GREGORIUS (77), Patricius of Africa, 645. He presided at the public disputation which was held in Africa that year between the abbat Maximus and Pyrrhus the exiled bishop of Constantinople (Maxim. *Disput. c. Pyrrho*, Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* xci. 287–354). A.D. 647 he revolted, by the aid of the Saracens, and was soon afterwards killed in battle by his allies (Theoph. *Chron.* s. a.). Joannes Moschus, who praises Gregorius very highly, has a characteristic story about him. He also states that he was a native of the province of Apamaea, Syria Secunda (*Prat. Spirit.* c. 196; Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxxvii. 3079; Baronius, s. a. 645, i. iii. vi. xxv. s. a. 646, xxv. s. a. 647, i.; Pagi, s. a. 646). Maximus also calls him Georgius (ep. 18, Migne, *u. s.* 585). [T. W. D.]

GREGORIUS (78), duke of Benevento (732–739), nephew of Luitprand, by whom he was put into the duchy during the minority of Gisulf, another nephew, son of the former duke Romnald. (Paulus Diaconus, vi. 55, 56; *Catalogus Regum Langob. et Ducum Ben.* in *Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* 1878, p. 494; Troya, no. 490, iii. 575.) [A. H. D. A.]

GREGORIUS (79), protospatharius or commander of the imperial guard, martyr for image

worship, with Maria a patrician lady and others [MARIA].

GREGORIUS (80) DECAPOLITES, lived under Leo V. the Armenian, A.D. 813–820. He took his surname from being born at one of the cities of the Isaurian Decapolis, named Irenopolis. Joseph the Hymnographer was a pupil of his, and was despatched by him to Rome to acquaint pope Leo III. with the unhappy state of the Eastern church under the reigning emperor, who was an ardent adherent of the Iconoclasts, and cruelly persecuted those who took the opposite side. Gregory was a considerable traveller, and visited many foreign countries. On his return to Constantinople he had the grief of finding that Joseph had been apprehended by Leo, and carried prisoner to Crete, where he remained in confinement till the emperor's death in 820. Gregory found another confessor, named Simeon, at Constantinople, suffering on account of his resistance to the Iconoclasts, and visited and comforted him in his prison. He did not long survive the emperor, and Joseph, on his return from Crete, found his old master dead, and erected a monastery to contain his body and that of his fellow pupil John. Gregory is commemorated in the *Menaea* on Nov. 20, though he is placed by some on April 18. We have extant an historical sermon of his, narrating the conversion of an Arab marauder named Ampelus, who was sacrilegiously profaning a church at the time of the celebration of the Eucharist, by the miraculous appearance of a living child on the paten and blood in the chalice. (Galland. *Vit. Patr. Bibl.* vol. xiii. p. 13; Migne, *Patrol.* vol. c. p. 1199; Pagius, ad ann. 721, No. 2, ad ann. 817, No. 18.) [E. V.]

GRELLAN (GALLAN, GREALLAN, GRILLAN, GRILLAAN), (1) the son of Rotan, commemorated April 15 (*Mart. Doneg., Mart. Tall.*). He has been identified with one of the companions of St. Columba when he came from Ireland to Iona. Reeves and Fordun call him Grillan, and Leslaeus and Boethius, Gallan, but all place him last in the list. On the authority of the last two authors, Dempster and Camerarius tell of Gallanus's piety and labours in the conversion of the Picts and the Scots, saying he flourished in Iona in A.D. 606, and died in A.D. 623. He is named among the reputed authors of *Acta S. Columbae*, and also wrote *Exhortatio ad monachos*, lib. i., but if so, his writings are lost. Camerarius commemorates St. Gallanus, monachus et confessor, at Dec. 7, and Dempster at Sept. 11 (and 2, *Men. Scot.*). (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 470, col. 2, 490 n. [70] et al.; Fordun, *Scotichr.* iii. c. 26; Reeves, *St. Adamnan*, 246; Boethius, *Hist. Scot.* ix. 167; Leslaeus, *de Reb. Gest. Scot.* 145; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 298; Tanner, *Bibl.* 307; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 201.) [J. G.]

(2) Of Craebh Greallain, and patron of the Hy-Many, commemorated Nov. 10. Of this saint there are Lives, written not on vellum but on paper, in one of the Brussels Irish MSS., and in the library of the Royal Irish Academy: extracts are given by Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 206–208), and in a much fuller form by O'Donovan from the Book of Lecan (*Tribes and Customs of the Hy-Many*, 8–18, Dublin, 1843; *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* iii. 485, vii. 372–75). His father was Cuillin or Callinus, son of Cairbre Cluais-derg, of Leinster, and his mother's name was Eithne or Ethnea. According to the Lives he was born in the time of St. Patrick, but this probably puts him too early: he is more likely to have been a pupil of St. Finnian of Clonard. Yet in the Lives he is represented as having obtained a place called Achadh Fionnabhrach from Duach Gallach, king of Connaught, where the saint built a church, before Maine Mor arrived in Connaught: this place was afterwards called Craebh-Greallain, from the Irish Craobh, a branch, the symbol given to Grellan by St. Patrick and king Duach, in token of possession, and is said to have been in the east of Magh Luirg, now the plains of Boyle, co. Roscommon. He also erected a church at Cill-cluain, now Kilclooney, near the town of Ballinasloe, in the barony of Clonmacowen, co. Galway. When Maine Mor came with the Colla-da-Chrioch and displaced Cian with his Firbolgs, St. Grellan espoused the side of the conquerors, and put them under heavy tribute in return for his support. His cathach or battle crozier, which was used as the standard of the tribe of the Hy-Many in the counties of Galway and Roscommon, and with which he is reported to have wrought a miracle by resuscitating the infant Eoghan Sriabh, was up to 1836 preserved in the family of the O'Cronghaile or Cronelly, the ancient comharbas or coarbs of the saint, but is now lost sight of. He probably lived about the end of the 6th century, if he be not regarded as a contemporary with the aged St. Patrick. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 252, n. [10], 337, c. 7, 339, n. [30], 396, c. 28, 399, n. [33]; *Tr. and Cust. Hy-Many*, by O'Donovan, *ut supra*, and p. 81.) [J. G.]

GRELLOG OEBLECH, of Tamlacht Charna, commemorated July 13. O'Clery (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 195) says Grellog Oeblech, of Tamlacht Charna, in Ui Breasail-airthir, "may be Grealla, sister of Manchán of Liath, and of Greillseach; and Mella was the mother of all three." [MANCHAN.] [J. G.]

GREPES (Γρέπης, Malal.; Γρᾶιτις, Theoph.; Γρέτης, Cedren; GETHES, Paul. Diac.), king of the Heruli, who came with his people to Constantinople, A.D. 521, and requested of the emperor Justinian that he might be made a Christian. He was baptized on the feast of the Epiphany. The emperor, who was his godfather, promised him any assistance he might require. (Jo. Malalas, *Chronog.* lib. xviii. p. 427, ed. Dindorf.; Cedren. *Hist. Compend.* t. i. p. 643, ed. Dind.; Theoph. *Chronog.* p. 149, sub A.C. 520; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Misc.* lib. xvi. init. in Patr. Lat. xcv. 979.) [C. H.]

GRIBERTUS of Geneva. [GUBERTUS.]

GRICINIANUS, martyr. [GRATIANUS.]

GRICINUS (CRICINUS), bishop of Verona, c. A.D. 356–360. He seems to have been the seventh bishop, and to have succeeded Lucillus and been followed by St. Zeno. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* v. 550; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 744; Biancolini, *Vescovi di Verona*, pt. ii. p. 1.) [R. S. G.]

GRIFO, son of Charles Martel. [GRIPPO.]

GRIFFO, bishop of Aosta. [GRIPHO.]

GRILLAAN, GRILLAN. [GRELLAN (1).]

GRIMO, twenty-seventh archbishop of Rouen, succeeding Ratbertus (A.D. 743), after an interval of nine years, during which the see remained vacant, owing probably to the disturbances of the times. In the same year Boniface archbishop of Mentz is said to have asked the gift of the pall for him. We know nothing more of him, except that in the *Acta* of the archbishops of Rouen he is praised for his nobility and honour, his care of his flock, and his liberality to the church of St. Mary (Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, p. 223, Paris, 1723); while, on the other hand, in the *Chartae Fontanellenses* (*Spicilegium*, ii. 274) he is said to have been ignorant of letters. He was succeeded by Raginfredus. (*Gall. Christ.* xi. 18.)

[S. A. B.]

GRIMOALDUS (1), son and successor of Pippin of Landen, mayor of the palace in Austrasia, who died 639. The office was not yet hereditary, and the claim of Grimoald, who was personally popular, to succeed his father was stoutly contested by Otto, who had been tutor to the young king Sigebert III., and seems to have commanded the influence of the court. Grimoald, aided by Cunibert archbishop of Cologne, the friend of his father, endeavoured for three years in vain to displace him in the palace. In 640 the rebellion of Radulphus drew Sigebert and his army into Thuringia. Grimoald was present among the generals at the defeat on the Unstrut, which resulted in the virtual independence of Thuringia. The ill-success of this expedition may possibly have contributed to discredit Otto. But Grimoald's success was not complete till 642, when his rival was slain by Leutharius duke of the Alemanni and Grimoald became mayor of the palace without further opposition. His policy seems to have been principally directed towards securing the kingdom against external troubles, and strengthening the central authority; and, no doubt, to him must be ascribed the resolution of Sigebert which forbade the holding of episcopal synods without the king's previous sanction. (See the letter to Desiderius of Cahors, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 264, and cf. Gérard, *Hist. des Francs d'Austrasie*, i. 359, Paris, 1866.) He does not appear, however, to have been an enemy of the church. When in 647, Sigebert, in his desire for an heir, as it was said, resolved to found twelve monasteries, Grimoald zealously cooperated in his design, and the charters of the two greatest foundations Stavelo and Malmundium, in the Ardennes speak of Grimoald as the builder (Bouquet, iv. 635). The precept, too, which installed St. Remaclus as first abbat of Casaegonguidinense (Cougnon) is addressed to Grimoald (*ibid.* 634; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 319), and Grimoald himself seems to have made a grant of Germigny to Stavelo (see Bouquet, iii. 693; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 325). For his efforts towards strengthening the position of the throne, see Pertz, *Geschichte der Merovingischen Hausmeier*, p. 43 seq., and Bonnell, *Anfänge des Karol. Hauses*, 110. On the death of Sigebert (A.D. 656) Grimoald attempted a measure which more than a century later Pippin, the father of Charles the Great, carried out. Sigebert's son, Dagobert, was but three years of age, and the opportunity seemed favourable for uniting the almost regal power of the mayor of the palace with the regal title. Accordingly Grimoald took possession of the infant king, cut off his long hair, the badge of royalty, and sent him away secretly by Dodo, or Dido, bishop of Poitiers, to Ireland, and had his own son Childebert proclaimed king. The Franks, however, were not yet prepared for this revolution, and the Austrasian nobles rose in rebellion, and, capturing Grimoald by stratagem, delivered him to Clovis king of Neustria, who imprisoned him at Paris, and put him to death with torture (A.D. 656). The annals of the time generally express approval of the sentence. The authorities for Grimoald's life are, besides those mentioned above, the *Chronicles* in Bouquet, ii. 446, 652; iii. 304, 328, 343, 350-1; Fredegar, *Chron.* lxxxv. lxxxvii. lxxxviii.; Aimoin, iv. 38; *Gesta Reg. Franc.* cap. xliii. in Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 1459; *Vita S. Sigeberti*, iv. 10–12, v. 14 in Bouquet, ii. 446-7; Ado. *Chron.* Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 117; and for two letters to him from Desiderius (Didier), bishop of Cahors. See Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 249, 251; Bouquet, iv. 37–8; cf. also Richter, *Annalen*, 164–7.

[S. A. B.]

GRIMOALDUS (2), king of the Lombards, 662–672, youngest son of Gisulf the first duke of Friuli. When Gisulf lost his life in resisting an incursion of the Avars his elder sons were on the point of putting their young brother Grimoald to death, because they thought he was too young to fly with them on horseback. He entreated to be allowed to join them, and succeeded in escaping. His two elder brothers, Tasso and Caco, who jointly inherited their father's duchy, were murdered by the exarch Gregorius, and succeeded by their uncle Grasulf. Radoald, the third brother, and Grimoald went to seek their fortunes at the court of Arighis, duke of Benevento, a friend of their family; or, as Paulus Diaconus says, their former instructor. Arighis, on his death, not considering his own son Aio fit to succeed him, commended the two young sons of the duke of Friuli to his subjects. Aio, however, became duke, and was killed in a year's time, c. 642, fighting against the Slaves. Radoald succeeded him, and on his death, c. 647, Grimoald became duke of Benevento. For fourteen years we know nothing about him; but in 661, the Lombard kingdom having been divided between the two sons of Aripert, one of them, Godepert, sent to Grimoald for help. Garipald, duke of Turin, the royal messenger, intrigued with Grimoald, who, having left his duchy in the hands of his son Romuald, marched northwards with a constantly growing army to take the kingdom. Ultimately, rightly suspecting treachery from Godepert, he killed him with his own hand at Pavia, and became king, and married Godepert's sister. Upon this Godepert's brother Perthari, who ruled in Milan, fled. In 663 Grimoald was summoned to Beneventum by his son Romuald to help him against the emperor Constans, who had landed at Tarentum, and was besieging Beneventum. At the approach of Grimoald, the emperor withdrew to Naples. On his return to the north Grimoald carried matters with a high hand. Lupus, duke of Friuli, had been left in charge at Pavia; but, having betrayed his trust, fled before Grimoald's return to Friuli. Grimoald did not wish for civil war, and so called in the Avars to suppress

Lupus, and ultimately had some difficulty in getting rid of them. He caused the daughter of Lupus, Theuderada, to marry his son Romuald, duke of Beneventum. He married his own daughter to Thrasamund, formerly count of Capua, who had helped him to obtain the kingdom, and he made Thrasamund duke of Spoleto. He thus united the kingdom and the two great and independent duchies in his own family. In the early years of his reign he repelled an invasion of the Franks, and c. 675 he made a treaty with Dagobert. (Paulus Diac. v. 32, and note in *Monum. Rerum Langob.* 1878, p. 155.) He entirely destroyed the town of Oderzo, where his elder brothers had been treacherously killed. He laid waste also the town of Forlimpopoli, whose inhabitants had impeded him on his way to and from Beneventum, and even slew the deacons who were baptizing children at the font. "Fuit, autem," says Paulus Diaconus, "corpore praevalidus, audacia primus, calvo capite, barba prominenti, non minus consilio quam viribus decoratus." If its later rulers had been as powerful as Grimoald the fate of the Lombard kingdom might have been different. On his death Perthari succeeded to the kingdom, turning out Grimoald's young son Garibald, and the Lombard power was again divided. Grimoald was buried in the basilica of St. Ambrose at Pavia, which he built. He was the first king who added to the Edict of Rotharis. He added nine sections in the year 688, the most important of which deal with the responsibility of masters for their servants' actions, the inheritance of grandchildren, and the protection of married women. (*Monum. Germ.* Legg. iv. p. 91, ed. Bluhme; *Fontes Juris Italici Medii Aevi*, Padelletti, 1877, i. p. 171.) The only authority of importance for the life of Grimoald is Paulus Diaconus, lib. iv. 39, 46, 51; lib. v. 1–33. [A. H. D. A.]

GRIMOALDUS (3), duke of Benevento, c. 687–689, son of Romuald and grandson of king Grimoald. He married Wigilinda, the daughter of king Perthari. (Paulus Diaconus, *G. L.* v. 25; vi. 2; *Catalogus Ducum Ben. in Monum. Rerum Ital. et Langob.* 1878, p. 493.) [A. H. D. A.]

GRIPHO (GRIFO, GRIPPO), third son of Charles Martel by Sonihilde or Swanahildis, the niece of Odilo, duke of Bavaria. Shortly before his death Charles called together his nobles and divided his whole principality between Carloman and Pippin, the elder half-brothers of Gripho. But at the last he was prevailed upon by Sonihilde to allot to her son, whose position seems to have been something between that of his two half-brothers and the sons of Charles' concubines, a portion in the centre of his possessions, comprising a part of Neustria, a part of Austrasia and a part of Burgundy. But this arrangement was upset almost immediately after his death (741). The Franks upon these severed portions of territory resented the forcible transfer of their allegiance from those whom they regarded as the rightful heirs, and, rising in arms, put Carloman and Pippin at their head, and marched against Gripho. He took refuge with his mother and a few followers in Laon, but was soon compelled to surrender, and was placed by Carloman under guard at Neuchâtel in the Ardennes, while Sonihilde was shut up in the monastery of Chelles (Cala). Gripho remained in this imprisonment till 747, when Pippin, moved by compassion, released and installed him honourably in his own palace, and gave him a countship with considerable revenues. But Gripho was not long content. Conspiring with some of the younger nobility, he withdrew to the Saxons, the implacable foes of the Frank power. Pippin pursued with an army through Thuringia into Saxony, and found Gripho with his allies encamped on the river Ocker, near where Brunswick now is. But the night before the battle distrust arose, and the Saxons, who seem to have been but half-hearted in his cause, dispersed homewards. Gripho took refuge in Bavaria, whither he was soon followed by Pippin and captured. No thoughts of revenge seem to have actuated the latter, and he gave him the city of Le Mans and twelve counties (749). But Gripho, who, claiming a kingdom, scorned a pension, soon resumed his plots, and secretly repaired to Waifarus, duke of Aquitaine, the hereditary foe of Pippin. It seems that about this time Carloman, who had renounced his kingdom and entered an Italian monastery, had prevailed on Pope Zachary to use his good offices towards reconciling the brothers, as appears from a letter of the latter to the bishops of France (see Bouquet, iv. 98, and Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 955). Gripho could not hope to elude Pippin's pursuit long in Aquitaine, and accordingly resolved to join Astolfus, or Haistulfus, the king of Lombardy, and enemy of the papacy and Pippin. But on his way he was met, near Maurienne, by Theodowinus, or Theodonus, count of Vienne, who had been deputed to guard the passes of the Alps, and killed in the combat which ensued (751). There is extant a letter of Boniface to Gripho, in 749, conjuring him, if God should give him the power, to help the clergy in Thuringia, and protect the monks and nuns there against the heathen (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 781; Bouquet, iv. 98). For the history of Gripho see the *Annales Einhardi*, *Annales Mettenses* and others in Pertz, i. 135, 137, 139, 327, 330–1, 10, 11, 115-16, and Bouquet, tom. v.; Fredegar. Cont. c. 117, 118; Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, ii. 151, 161–4, 201. [S. A. B.]

GRIPPO (GRIPHO), twenty-third archbishop of Rouen, between St. Ansbertus and Radilandus. He is probably the "Gripho episcopus" who subscribed the charter of Agirardus or Ageradus for the monastery of the Blessed Virgin on the Loire, though his see is not appended (A.D. 696). (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1228–31; *Gall. Christ.* xi. 17.) [S. A. B.]

GRIPPO, bishop of Volterra, c. 715. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xviii. 216; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 1427.) [A. H. D. A.]

GRISTIOLUS, Welsh saint. [CRISTIOLUS.]

GRISUS, bishop of Trevi (between Spoleto and Foligno), present at the Roman synod under Zacharias in 743. (Mansi, xii. 367; Hefele, § 364.) [A. H. D. A.]

GROD (Γρώδ, Malal.; Γορδᾶς, Cedren.), king of the Hunni who dwelt near the Cimmerian city of Bosporus. He came to Constantinople

in the reign of Justinian and received Christian baptism. The emperor stood sponsor for him, and dismissed him home with handsome presents that he might guard the Roman interests in his own country and take charge of Bosporus. On his return his people rose against him, and he was put to death by their idolatrous priests, for which atrocity the Hunni were severely punished by Justinian. (Jo. Malalas, lib. xviii. ed. Dindorf, p. 431; Geo. Cedrenus, *Hist. Compend.* ed. Dindorf, vol. i. p. 644.) [T. W. D.]

GROSSUS, bishop of Siena, present at the Roman synod under Zacharias in 743. (Mansi, xii. 368; Hefele, § 364.) [A. H. D. A.]

GROTALDUS, ST. (CROTOLDUS), fourth bishop of Worms, between Carolus and Amandus II. (circ. 503). The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (v. 661) quote Demochares (*De Div. Miss. Sacrif.* c. 35), to the effect that he began to build at Worms a noble temple for twelve monks and an abbat, on the walls of which his picture still remained, and where it was believed that he was buried. Le Cointe, quoting from Franciscus Irenicus, says that Grotaldus and his successors were for a time metropolitans of all Germany, until later that dignity was restored to Mentz. (Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 503, n. iv. tom. i. p. 216.) [S. A. B.]

GRWST, ST. (GORUST, GORWST), the founder of Llanrwst, in Denbigh. His festival has been held on Dec. 1. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 295.) Grwst is the Welsh form of the Irish Drest and Scotch Drust and Drostan (Skene, *Celt. Scotl.* i. 210). [C. W. B.]

GUADILA, bishop of Emporias. [GUNDILANUS.]

GUAGHINUS, bishop of Volterra, c. 706. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xviii. 216; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 1427.) [A. H. D. A.]

GUAIRE (GOAR) (1), bishop in Gobhail, is not commemorated in the *Mart. Doneg.* but in the *Mart. Tallaght* on Jan. 25. Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* 490, n. [69], 502) suggests that he may be a disciple of St. Columba, and the Saxon or Anglo-Saxon baker at Hy who is mentioned by St. Adamnan (*Vit. S. Columbae*, iii. c. 10). [GENEREUS.] Gobhail, Gabhal, Gowel, is a name of very extensive local use in every part of Ireland, so that we have no means of further identification. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 436; Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* xiii.) [J. G.]

(2) Beg, commemorated Jan. 9. As traced by Colgan (*Acta SS.* 223, c. 4) Guaire Beg (Little, in stature or reputation), was son of Lasren, son of Fergus, and in the fifth degree of descent from Colla Uais, monarch of Erinn (A.D. 327–331). His church was at Aghadowey, a parish on the west of the Bann, co. Londonderry, and he apparently had a cell at Agivey in the same parish. If he lived in the 7th century, as is commonly said, some steps in his pedigree must have been omitted. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 148–50; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 11; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 330; *Book of Rights*, by O'Donovan, 133, n. [m].) [J. G.]

(3) Mor, of Aghadowey—Jan. 22. Belonging to the same place and family as the preceding, Guaire Mor (Great) was son of Colman, son of Fuatage, son of Fergus, and thus sixth in the line of pedigree from Colla Uais. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 400; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 25; alii ut supra.) [J. G.]

(4) Abbat of Glendaloch, co. Wicklow, died A.D. 810. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 805, i. 415; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 809.) [J. G.]

(5) Ua Tibraide, abbat of Clonfad, co. Westmeath, died 795. (*Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, A.D. 790; *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 794.) [J. G.]

GUALIFERUS was a bishop, or at least used the episcopal title; he accompanied St. Rumbold, the Irish-Scot, to Mechlin, and partook of his labours and martyrdom about A.D. 775, but his nationality is only inferred to have been Scotch or Scoto-Irish from that of his master. Dempster would of course regard him as an Albanic Scot. (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 317; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 182, Oct. 29; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* iii. c. 19, § 15.) [J. G.]

GUALTARIUS (GUALTERUS), bishop of Firmum (Fermo). A "Gualterus episcopus de Firmo" is mentioned as having been present with other bishops as an assessor at the tribunal of Hildebert, or Hildebrand, Duke of Spoleto, A.D. 777. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ii. 735; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iii. 591.) [R. S. G.]

GUALTERANUS. [GUNTERANUS.]

GUALTERNUS (WALTERNUS), bishop of Geneva, acceded c. A.D. 780, and died A.D. 816. He was present, A.D. 800, at the synod of bishops at Rome, at which Charlemagne was crowned emperor. (Mülinen, *Helvet. Sacr.* p. 17; Besson, *Dioc. de Genève*, p. 7.) [R. S. G.]

GUANHUMARA, the wife of Arthur. Geoffry of Monmouth, ix. 9, says that after Arthur had restored the country to its former prosperity, he married Guanhumara, who was descended from the noble race of the Romans (vi. 5, there is a similar marriage of Constantine), and had been brought up by Cador duke of Cornwall; and later on that when Guanhumara heard that Modred had entered Winchester, she fled in despair from York to the city of Légions (Caerleon upon Usk), and in the church of Julius the Martyr resolved to become a nun. Her name does not occur in Gildas or Nennius. The *Historia Britonum*, attributed to Nennius, has been shewn by Paulin Paris to represent the Breton form of the Celtic legends; and in its present shape it contains the results of several recensions, each of which added new matter to it, including legends of Germanus and Patrick, with genealogies and chronological data, and two prologues. The earliest part may date back nearly to the time of Gildas, the latest belongs to the 10th century. The Celtic imagination continually added fresh names and details from other stories; and Geoffry of Monmouth, whose real basis is Nennius, gives us a much enlarged form of the legend, nor did the assimilating process stop with him. It is curious that his work should have appeared in Henry I.'s reign, just when Turpin's Chronicle of Charlemagne appeared in France; these two famous legends influenced the spirit of the two great nations that were now forming, opposed in interest and

glory to each other. Much of the detail in Geoffry is invented to account for facts and names which had no existence till long after the English settlement in Britain, and for feudal notions of a still later age; the manners are those of the feudal knights, while knight errantry is not at all a Cymric conception. William of Newburgh at once expressed his disbelief of Geoffry's story, as did Higden afterwards, but Higden's translator, Trevisa, defends it. The story of Arthur in Nennius, though not authentic history, is founded on the traditions of the struggle between the Romano-Celtic population and the English invaders. That native chiefs who had married Roman wives should have taken the lead in the struggle is probable enough. The names of Arthur's first battles point to North England, where the Roman troops and colonists were settled most thickly along the Great Wall. "The first war was at the mouth of the Glein, the second, third, fourth and fifth on the Douglas in the region of Linnuis, the sixth on the river Bassas, the seventh in the wood of Celidon, the eighth near Castle Guinnion (the name Castellum seems to point to a Roman station), the ninth at the city Leogis, called in British Cair Lion, the tenth on the shore of the river Traht Treuroit, the eleventh on the mountain Breguoin, the twelfth at mount Badon: and in all these wars he was victorious, as were many other British warriors." So the text of the Vatican MS., written in the fifth year of king Edmund, A.D. 946, which Gunn edited, and which Mai reprinted in his "Appendix ad opera edita" (only issued in 1871), without being aware that it was the text of the book commonly assigned to Nennius. But while the earlier battles seem to be in the north, some of the later may be assigned to Wessex, and we know that the earliest settlements of the Saxons were in the north and in Wessex. It is probable that, as usual in legend, the great name has swallowed up the little ones, and that under the name of Arthur are summed up the deeds of several chiefs "perplures militarii Brittones" as the Vatican MS. says; in fact, in the poems attributed to the early Welsh bards the name of Arthur appears very seldom. Thus in Llywarch Hen's Elegy on Geraint ab Erbin, the Devon chief who was killed at the battle of Llongborth, "at Llongborth were slain to Arthur valiant men who hewed down with steel; he was the emperor and conductor of the toils of war," where it is worth noting that Arthur is called Ammherawdyr, *i.e.* imperator; as if, to shew his leadership of the Celtic tribes, he continued the old Roman title which Maximus and other British commanders of the legions had claimed. Dr. Guest would identify him with the son of Aurelius Ambrosius, one of the Roman or Romanised chiefs. The Mabinogion stories place Arthur's palace at Camelot or Gelliwig, both in Cornwall, just as his place of birth is at Tintagel (Stephens' *Lit. of Kymry*, 319); and put other equally eminent heroes by his side. Since the emigration to Brittany took place largely from Cornwall, this would account for Arthur assuming greater eminence in the Breton tradition, from which we received his legend back again in its expanded form. As the Celts receded before the invaders, they naturally took their legends with them, and relocalized the stories in their new homes. This accounts for the number of Arthurian localities in the various Celtic districts. Similarly in the *Historia Britonum*, which is the nucleus of Nennius, all the references to Guorthegirn connect him with South England, while in the account of Germanus, which has been inserted at a later time, all the local allusions point to places in Wales. But the story of Arthur was not brought back to Wales till the 11th century. The Arthur of Romance is a creation of the Armorican Kymry, and strange to say the Bretons have not preserved their own romance. It was natural that one form of the story should occur at Glastonbury, the first British church which the English spared. This "island of Avilion" is situated in the midst of peat swamps, extending to the Bristol Channel, from which a boat might even now come up to Glastonbury when the country is flooded with rain, and here in Henry II.'s time was found the tomb of Arthur and Guanhumara, and Giraldus Cambrensis (*de Jure Princ.* pp. 191–93, *Speculum Ecclesiae* pp. 47–49) dwells on the fact that her hair crumbled into dust when it was exposed to the air. The amount of literature on Arthur is now so great that particular references in this place are hardly necessary. [C. W. B.]

GUARULFUS, twenty-fifth bishop of Noyon, between Gunduinus and Framengerus. He was present at the translation of St. Lambert, in A.D. 721. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 985; Gams, *Series Episc.* 589.) [S. A. B.]

GUASACHT (GOSACHUS), bishop, son of Maelchu, in Granard, commemorated Jan. 24. In the *Lives of St. Patrick* Guasacht is frequently spoken of. He was son of Maelchu or Milchu, whom St. Patrick in youth served as a swineherd. When St. Patrick returned to evangelize Ireland, Guasacht and his two sisters, both named Emeria, became disciples of their former companion, and renounced the world. [EMERIA.] Guasacht became bishop at Granard, in the baronies of Ardagh and Granard, co. Longford, and as such always finds his place in the Irish Kalendars. Beyond his being a contemporary of St. Patrick in the 5th century, we cannot fix a date. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 378, n. [22], and *Tr. Thaum.* pass.; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 428; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 408; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ir.* i. c. 5, §§ 1–3; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, ii. pt. iii. c. 85; Ware, *Bishops*, by Harris, i. 13; *Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 27.) [J. G.]

GUBA, the seventh of the English abbats of Glastonbury, in the list drawn up by William of Malmesbury (ap. Gale, p. 328), who assigns him a period of two years, 743–744. No such name occurs in the ancient list in MS. Tiberius B. 5; and although William of Malmesbury's list is not a mere fabrication, it is too weak in authority to prove the existence of an abbat otherwise unknown. In another section of his work this writer states that in the year 760 Cynewulf, king of Wessex, gave Guba five hides of land at Sudeton, and that he received other benefactions for the abbey (*Ib.* p. 314), but does not give copies of the charters on which the statement would depend. In the list given in the Monasticon (i. 2) the names are given in different order, and the date 760 is ascribed to Guba, but all the lists are alike untrustworthy. [S.]

GUBERTUS (GILABERTUS, GALBERTUS GRIBERTUS, POSTBERTUS), twenty-ninth bishop of Geneva, between Eucherius and Renenbertus in the second half of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xvi. 384.) [S. A. B.]

GUDA, bishop of Tuccis (Martos) from about A.D. 634 to 646, subscribes the acts of the sixth Council of Toledo, A.D. 648. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 413; *Esp. Sagr.* xii. 390.) [CAMERINUS.] [M. A. W.]

GUDA, a priest and abbat, who attests the charter of Oethilred to Barking, cir. 693 (*Mon. Angl.* i. 439; Kemble, *C. D.* 35): the same name with the title of presbyter appears among the attestations of a somewhat questionable charter of Caedwalha of Wessex, dated 688 (Kemble, *C. D.* 994). As the former charter is genuine, the occurrence of the name of Guda in the latter may add somewhat to the probability of its genuineness; both are attested by Earconwald, Wilfrid, and Headda. [S.]

GUDALUSA, mother of St. Cadocus: more properly called Guladusa, Gladusa and Gwladus (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 160, c. 2). [GWLADUS.] [J. G.]

GUDDENE—July 18. Virgin and martyr at Carthage, A.D. 203. She suffered by command of the proconsul Rufinus. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Usuard.; Till. *Mém.* iii. 125.) Tillemont, *l. c.*, thinks that Gaudens, or Gaudentius, martyr in Africa, commemorated by St. Augustine, Serm. 294, may be identical with Guddene. (Ruinart, p. 197.) [G. T. S.]

GUDELINA, queen of Theodahadus or Theodatus king of Italy. Among the letters of Cassiodorus are some addressed by her, or in her name, to the emperor Justinian and the empress Theodora. (Cassiod. *Var.* lib. x. epp. 20, 21, 23, 24, in Patr. Lat. lxix. 811–814.) [C. H.]

GUDEVALUS. [GUDWAL.]

GUDIBRANDUS, duke of Florence, the first certainly known, mentioned in a letter of Hadrian to Charles the Great, asking for the restoration of property to the monastery of Galliata. (*Codex Carolinus*, Jaffé, no. 90, 784–791; H. Pabst, *Forschungen z. d. G.* p. 483.) [A. H. D. A.]

GUDILAN, deacon of Toledo, bosom friend of Julian archbishop of Toledo. Their friendship is warmly described by Felix, bishop of Toledo, in his life of Julian, cap. 2. (Patr. Lat. xcvi. 415.) He died in 680. [C. H.]

GUDILIUVA, a Gothic noble mentioned in one of the best known of the Hispano-Gothic inscriptions (Hübner, *Inscrr. Hisp. Christ.* 115). He is described as having built with his own workmen, and at his own cost, the churches of St. Stephen, St. John Baptist, and St. Vincent "in locum Nativola," during the reigns of Leovigild, Recared, and Witteric. "The inscription, evidently put up shortly before the consecration of the church of St. Stephen, by bishop Paulus of Acci (Guadix) under Witteric (603–610)"—says Dr. Mommsen, in a note to one of the reports addressed by Hübner to the Berlin Academy—"mentions at the same time two older consecrations, that of the church of St. John in 577, and that of the church of St. Vincent in 594" (*Monatsbericht Berl. Akad.* 1861, p. 25). The stone bearing the inscription was found among the foundations of the church of Santa Maria del Alhambra at Granada, in the 16th century, and is now in the southern wall of that church. Nativola, therefore, was evidently the Roman name of Granada, or of a quarter of Granada; and Gams supposes—wrongly—that the name Granada is derived partly from Nata, the shortened form of Nativola (*Kirchengeschichte*, ii. [2] 22; conf. however, Dozy, *Recherches*, l. c. i. "Observations géographiques sur quelques anciennes localités de l'Andalousie," p. 336). Hübner thinks that Nativola belonged to the mountain diocese of Acci, and not to the bishopric of Elvira, which he supposes to have been confined to the valley of the Xenil (*Monatsberichte Berl. Akad.* l. c.); and this is no doubt the true explanation of the parts played in the different consecrations by the bishops Paulus and Lilliolus of Acci. Gams's contrary theory, that Nativola was a suburb of Illiberi, is grounded upon ignorance of the real position of Illiberi, which was placed about six miles to the north-west of Granada (Dozy, *Recherches*, l. c. p. 328). Who Gudiluiva was is unknown. That portion of the stone which would probably have given us the name of his office or dignity is missing (Hübner, *l. c.* notes). Prof. Dozy, however, quotes a passage from the Arabic chronicler Ibn-al Khatîb which very probably refers to Gudiliuva. "The Christians (of Granada) had a celebrated church two arrow-flights from the town opposite the gate of Elvira. It had been built by a great *seigneur* of their religion, whom a certain prince had placed at the head 'd'une nombreuse armée de Roum,' and it was unique in beauty of construction and ornament." The term *Roum*, which, according to Prof. Dozy, is only used by the Arabic authors when speaking of independent Spaniards, points back to a time before the Mussulman conquest, and he is therefore led to identify "the great noble of their religion" with Gudiliuva (whom he calls Gudila, depending on Masdeu and Florez's uncorrected text of the Latin inscription). Who was the prince? One is led to remember the date of the first consecration—597, the eighth year of Leovigild. Was Gudiliuva one of Leovigild's generals in the campaign of 592 against the imperialists (see art. LEOVIGILD), and was Nativola one of the "urbes et castella" then wrested from them by the great Gothic king? (Joannes Biclarensis, *Esp. Sagr.* vi. p. 377.) [M. A. W.]

GUDINUS, archbishop of Lyons. [GODWINUS.]

GUDLOCUS has his history sketched by Camerarius (*de Scot. Fort.* 129, April 11), who, however, gives no authority for his statements, Son of Penuald and Tecta, he became famous in the Scotch province of Merchia (Merse) for his piety and miracles; there, among the noble kindred of his parents, he lived fifteen years as a recluse, and was specially tempted by evil spirits, who transformed themselves into lions, bulls, bears, etc., before him. He died about A.D. 716, at the age of 45, and his name has become synonymous with the phrase "good luck." [J. G.]

GUDUDUS, bishop of Ancusa in Byzacene, present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* 126.) [H. W. P.]

GUDWAL, ST. (GUDUALUS, GUDEVALUS, GUDWAL, GUDWALDUS, GUDWALUS), a saint whose name occurs in the Breton Litany of the 10th century in Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 82, 85, "Guoidwale" (see too i. 28, 31, 36, 161). For his life, written in the 12th century, see *Acta Sanctorum* June 6, i. 729–742; Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, i. 371–373. He was commemorated in Flanders, where he is said to have died, June 6, 403, and the feast of the translation of his body to the monastery of Ghent was celebrated on Dec. 3. A parish in Cornwall, now called Gulval, on Mount's Bay, is dedicated to him, and there is a famous holy well there, but the old oratory has perished. [C. W. B.]

GUDWAL, bishop of St. Malo. [GURVALUS.]

GUEDNERTH, GUIDNERTH, king or chief of Glamorgan. [GWAEDNERTH.]

GUENEGANDUS, bishop. [GUENNOC.]

GUENGALOCUS, GUENNOLÉ, Armorican saint. [WINWALLUS.]

GUENNINUS (GUENNIUS, GUINNINUS), ST., an early bishop of Vannes, placed third in the list of the *Gallia Christiana*, succeeding St. Paternus II. or Mansuetus, if he is to be assigned to this diocese, and followed by St. Modestus. Le Cointe believes that he was consecrated A.D. 618, but nothing trustworthy has come down of him. He is commemorated Aug. 18. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 916; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 618; n. x. tom. ii. Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 662.) [S. A. B.]

GUENNOC (CONOGANUS, GUENEGANDUS, SUENUS, VENECANDUS, VENERANDUS), ST., an early bishop of Quimper, succeeding St. Chorentinus, and, according to Gams, followed by Albinus. A Venerandus, or Verandus, whose see is not appended, was represented at the first council of Tours (A.D. 461) by Jucundinus, and may possibly be Guennoc. Others, however, identify him with the Albinus, the Latin version of Guennoc, who was present at the Council of Vannes (A.D. 462 or 463). A doubtful list of names is all that remains of his successors till Felix is reached in the 9th century. (*Gall. Chr.* xiv. 873; Mansi, vii. 947, 955.) [S. A. B.]

GUENOLÉ, saint. [WINWALLUS.]

GUERICUS (GOERCIUS), bishop of Ausa (Vich) from about A.D. 643 until after 653. His signature appears twenty-fifth among those of fifty-two bishops at the eighth council of Toledo, A.D. 653. (Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 448; *Esp. Sagr.* xxviii. 60.) [CINIDIUS.] [M. A. W.]

GUERICUS. [GOERICUS.]

GUÉRIN. [GAIRINUS.]

GUERUR, ST., whose chapel in the parish of St. Neot, in Cornwall, is mentioned by Asser as the place where Alfred, while visiting it in a hunting expedition, was cured of his malady. See v. Guierus in Boll. *Acta Sanctorum*, 4 Apr. i. 377. [C. W. B.]

GUIBERTUS I., seventh bishop of Reate between Teuton and Isermundus I. c. A.D. 770. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* v. 300.) [R. S. G.]

GUIBERTUS II., eleventh bishop of Reate, between Sinualdus and Peter I., A.D. 778. The date is fixed by communications which he had with Hildebrand, duke of Spoleto. He held his see scarcely a year. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* v. 304.) [R. S. G.]

GUIBERTUS III., thirteenth bishop of Reate, between Peter I. and Alefredus A.D. 780. His name and date are known from documents, in which Charlemagne and Hildebrand, duke of Spoleto, are mentioned. He seems to have sat less than two years. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* v. 305.) [R. S. G.]

GUIDO (1) (VIDO), bishop of Volaterra (Volterra). He succeeded Martianus, c. A.D. 682, held the see sixteen years, and was succeeded by Petrus. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* i. *333; Ammirato, *Vescovi di Fiesole, &c.*, p. 66.) [R. S. G.]

GUIDO (2) I., twenty-eighth bishop of Noyon, between Hunuanus and St. Eunutius in the first part of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 985.) [S. A. B.]

GUIDO (3) (WIDO), a count, at whose request Alcuin composed his treatise *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*. Engaged in war he had asked for a short manual of instruction, which Alcuin, as he says, gladly composed and divided into chapters for easier reference in his busy life (Migne, Patr. Lat. ci. 613). [S. A. B.]

GUIDULPHUS. [GHILLO.]

GUIERUS, Cornish saint. [GUERUR.]

GUIGNER, martyr in Cornwall. [FINGAR.]

GUIGNOLÉ, saint. [WINWALLUS.]

GUILAIN, abbat of St. Guislain. [GISLENUS.]

GUILELMUS (WILLELMUS), ST., duke or count of Aquitaine, founder and monk of the monastery of Gellone, afterwards called St. Guillelme-du-Désert. The story of his life is as follows: He was born in the time of Pippin, of aristocratic parents, Theodoric and Aldana. His father, who was a consul, according to his biographer, has been identified with the count of the same name whom Einhard speaks of as a relation of Charles the Great (*Annales* ad ann. 782, Pertz, i. 163), but others trace a relationship to that monarch through his mother. He was liberally educated in divinity and philosophy, as well as the martial exercises which belonged to his rank, and in due course was sent to court, where he gained the love of his peers and the respect and affection of Charles, who had now succeeded his father Pippin, and who often had recourse to him for counsel. It happened that the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees, and were devastating the south of France. Charles appointed Guilelmus commander of the expedition sent against them, and created him duke of Aquitaine. Crossing the Rhone into Septimania he gave battle at Orange, where the enemy had established themselves, and recovered

the city in a victorious engagement. He pursued his success until they were utterly routed and driven back again into Spain. He then set himself to repair their ravages in the province. The ruined churches were rebuilt and new ones erected, and justice, religion, and charity characterized his rule. Determining to be himself the founder of a monastery he sought a spot in the mountainous district of Lodève, where he reared his buildings and collected monks from the country round, especially from the foundation of St. Benedict of Aniane, about a league distant. To this monastery his own was, by his wish, subservient. His sisters, Albana and Bertana, desirous of taking the veil, applied to him to aid them, and he established them at the church of St. Bartholomew, not far from the monastery. He now returned to his worldly duties, but the desire of embracing the monastic life had also seized him and was daily increasing in strength, when he was summoned to court. Here he made up his mind to become a monk. Charles consented, and he left for his new home, stopping at Brioude to offer his weapons at the shrine of St. Julian the martyr. Arrived at Gellone, he entered the monastery barefooted and clad in sackcloth, laid his gifts upon the altar, and announced his desire of joining the community (A.D. 806). His first work was with the aid of his sons, Bernard and Gaucelinus, or Gotcelmus, to complete the building, and render it accessible by cutting a road up the rugged valley. Next he planted gardens and vineyards, and laid out the valley in orchards. Louis, son of Charles, and king of Aquitaine, granted him a charter for his foundation. This done he devoted himself to the routine of the monastic life. Of his own choice he discharged the meanest offices. At the desire of the monks he consented to abandon these servile tasks, and entered upon a life of meditation. The gift of prophecy was vouchsafed to him, and revealed the hour of his death. His end was signalized by an earthquake, which shook the country round (May 28).

The life, of which the foregoing is with slight additions an abridgment, was first published by Stengelius at Augsburg in 1611, and may also be found in Mabillon's *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. iv. pt. i. p. 70, Paris, 1668–1701, and in the Bollandists' *Acta SS.* Mai, vi. 811. In the latter it is preceded by a short account of Guilelmus, extracted from the life of St. Benedict of Aniane by his disciple Ardo (Feb. ii. 615), which differs but very slightly from the fuller account, and is followed by a separate account of his miracles. The date of this life is not known, but its style has impressed commentators with respect. It was, at least, written previously to the year 1066, since Ordericus Vitalis against that year relates in his *Ecclesiastical History* (lib. vi.) that it had lately been shewn to him, and he gives a summary, which, in many cases, preserves the words and phrases of the life as we have it.

In his appendix to the Life (p. 88) Mabillon prints two instruments of gift of Guilelmus, one resembling a will, and the above-mentioned charter of Louis dated in 808 (see also Migne, Patr. Lat. civ. 982).

The life of Louis the Pious states (Bouquet, vi. 88) that Guilelmus succeeded Chorso in the dukedom, who was deposed for misconduct (A.D. 790), and successfully coped with a rising of which his predecessor was the cause. From the same source, and also from the charter or will above-mentioned, we learn something of his relatives, of whom the most famous was his son Bernard, who inherited his rank and married Dodana, whose manual, with an inscription to her son, Guillelm still survives (Migne, Patr. Lat. cvi. 109; cf. Rivet, *Hist. Lit. de la Franc.* v. 17). Ceillier has a short account of his life, *Hist. des Auteurs Sacrés*, xiii. 234. [S. A. B.]

GUILLERADUS (WILTRETRADUS), bishop of Pistoria and Pratum (Pistoja and Prato), succeeded Joannes A.D. 801. He is mentioned as acting in various affairs in 806 and 812, under the authority of Charlemagne. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* iii. 354; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* xvii. 81.) [R. S. G.]

GUILLOBOLDUS (WILLEBALDUS), twenty-ninth bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, between Ricoarius and Bovo I. or Bono cir. 750. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 863.) [S. A. B.]

GUIMILDUS (GUIMILUS). [GUMILDUS.]

GUINALUS, GUINGALOE, GUINGALOEUS, GUINGALOIS, Armorican saint. [WINWALLUS.]

GUINNINUS of Vannes. [GUENNINUS.]

GUINNIUS (GUNNUINUS, GUNUBUI), accompanied St. Padarn from Armorica to Llanbadarn (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 504 sq.), early in the 6th century. In the account of St. Oudoceus's election to the see of Llandaff, "Gunnuinus magister," called also Gunubui, and in the translation Cynfyn, was one of the three clerical electors named, with the abbats and laity, and was one of the three legates sent with the bishop-elect to Canterbury. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 124, 372; Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* iv. c. 8, p. 324, n. [a].) [J. G.]

GUINOCH, GUINOCHE, GUINOTH, bishop and confessor; a well-known Scotch saint, April 13. Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scott.* i. 306) thinks he was a bishop in Ross, A.D. 477, while Camerarius transports his memory to Buchan, and the author of the *View of the Diocese of Aberdeen* localizes it at Deer. Camerarius supposes that he lived in the time of Kenneth MacAlpin, A.D. 838, and Adam King, in the time of Ethus or Aedh, son of Kenneth, A.D. 875. (Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 149, 196, 236, 358; Bollandists, *Acta SS.* 13 Apr. ii. 138; Camerarius, *de Scot. Fort.* 130, Apr. 13; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Apr. 13.) [J. G.]

GUIPPER, accompanied St. Padarn from Armorica to Llanbadarn in Cardiganshire, in the 6th century (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 504 sq.). [J. G.]

GUIRMINNUS, Irish saint, daughter of Conghailus. [GURNIN.]

GUISLEIN, abbat. [GISLENUS.]

GUISO. [GISO.]

GUISTLIANUS. [GISTLIANUS.]

GUITELIN stands in the lists of bishops at London and at Caer Leon, and Nennius numbers twelve years "a regno Guorthigerni usque ad discordiam Guitolini et Ambrosii," if this be the same person as Guitelin (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* i. pt. ii. 77). Geoffrey Monm. says he was sent to Armorica for aid against the Saxons. (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 152, 154.) [GWYTHELIN.] [J. G.]

GULFARUS, "magister militum," probably in the district of Istria, where there was a severance from Rome on the subject of the "Three Chapters." Gregory the Great writes to commend him for his zeal in bringing back schismatics to the church. (*Epist.* lib. ix. indict. ii. ep. 93; Migne, lxxvii. 1019.) [A. H. D. A.]

GULOSUS, bishop of Beneventum, in Proconsular Africa, was banished to Corsica by Huneric after the convention at Carthage, A.D. 484. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 100.) [R. S. G.]

GULOSUS, bishop of Pupit or Pudput, in Proconsular Africa, A.D. 646, is said, in the vacancy of the bishopric of Carthage, to have called together the synod held in that year at Carthage, and to have been the first to subscribe the letter against the Monothelites, addressed by the assembled bishops to Paul, patriarch of Constantinople. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 258.) [R. S. G.]

GUMBERTUS (1), ninth bishop of Térouanne between Adalgerus and Aetherius, in the first half of the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* x. 1532.) [S. A. B.]

GUMBERTUS (2) (CUNIBERT), ST., reputed founder and first abbat of the monastery of Ansbach, in Germany, in the 8th century. A life of him was published by the Bollandists from the parchment lectionary of the Franciscan fathers at Würzburg (*Acta SS.* Jul. iv. 69). At the time when St. Boniface was archbishop of Mentz (743–c. 754), an Englishman named Burchard came to him there, and, after a short stay, went on to Rome. There pope Zachary consecrated him to the episcopate, and sent him back to Boniface, who escorted him to his diocese of Würzburg. The new bishop's fame came to Gumbertus, who was a noble of Eastern France, and a soldier. Making his way to Würzburg, he submitted himself to the commands and instruction of Burchard. Part of his wealth he devoted to enriching the church of St. Kilian, the martyr. The rest he reserved, having it in his mind to found the monastery of Onolsbach, or Ansbach, in the diocese of Würzburg. He readily obtained authority from Charles the Great, then emperor, to build his monastery in any spot he chose. Accordingly, he founded the religious house of Ansbach. The rule of St. Benedict was established, and a large number of monks thronged thither. The monastery church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The remainder of his life was devoted to the government of his monks, and on his death (March 11), at an advanced age, he was buried in the church he had built. He is commemorated July 15.

A shorter but almost identical account is found in the life of Burchard by Egilward in the 12th century (Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. vi. 588), and it seems not unlikely that the two writers were indebted to a common source.

Two early charters are extant for his monastery, one purporting to be granted by Charles the Great in 786, and the other by Louis the Pious in 837 (printed nos. 3 and 10 in Ussermann's *Germania Sacra*, tom. i.). In the former he is twice called episcopus, and for this, among other reasons, the document has been generally considered spurious. The whole story of Gumbertus rests upon the very slightest foundation. In addition to the above-mentioned accounts consult Rettberg (*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 338–343) and the authorities there quoted as to his life and the two charters, and the *Germania Sacra* (tom. i. p. 426 seqq.) [S. A. B.]

GUMBERTUS, martyr [GONDEBERTUS]; bishop of Sens [GUNDELBERTUS]; bishop of Reate [GUIBERTUS].

GUMESINDUS, bishop of Toledo. (*Esp. Sagr.* v. vi.)

GUMILDUS (GUIMILDUS, GUIMILUS, WIMILDUS), third bishop of Maguelonne between Genesius and Vincentius. He was in possession of the see in 672 or 673. In the former year he joined in the revolt against Wamba king of the Visigoths, and when in the following year the forces of Wamba were closing in upon Maguelonne by sea and land, he fled to Nismes to join Paul, the leader of the rebellion. On the fall of the latter city, which was not long deferred, the bishop with the other rebels obtained their lives, but were subject to the indignity of being shaved and dragged barefoot and ragged in the train of the conqueror, upon his triumphant entry into Toledo some months later. He was not liberated till the fourth year of Ervigius, Wamba's successor. His after history is unknown (S. Juliani, *Hist. Rebellionis Pauli*, xiii. seq. Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 778 seq.; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 732). [S. A. B.]

GUMMARUS (GOMMARIUS, GUNTMARUS), ST., founder of the monastery of Lira (Lier, Lierre), near Malines in Belgium, in the latter part of the 8th century. According to the story which has come down, he was born at Emblehem, about a mile from Lira. Though his parents were of high rank, he was uneducated, and could not even read the Scriptures. But his natural disposition was good, and the practice of fasting and alms-giving was familiar to him even in early years. In opening manhood he was sent to Pippin's court, where he gained the affection of the king and his nobles, though only deference to the wishes of his parents reconciled him to the worldly life. He was soon honoured with high command, and sent on a distant military expedition. During his absence his home was left under the sole control of Guninmaria, the wife whom he had married at Pippin's desire. Her one delight was in cruelty, and against the serfs and dependents of the house she raged, in the words of his biographer, "quâdam belluinâ feritate." After seven years, Gummarus returned from the wars, sternly rebuked his wife, and made amends to all who had been wronged. His thoughts were now bent on a monastic life, and on an island in the river Neta (Nethe), which was called Nivesdum or Nivesdouch (the Bollandists suggest Nieuwdonch), he erected a church in honour of St. Peter. The remainder

of his life he passed between his house and the new monastery. St. Rumoldus, an Irishman, was at this time leading a life of devotion and solitude at Malines. The two were drawn to each other, and a meeting-place was found half-way between their respective abodes, which they resolved should be the scene of a yearly assembly and religious services for the country round. At length a mortal disease came upon him, and he died Oct. 11, the day of his commemoration, towards the close of the 8th century.

The foregoing account is from the life written by Theobald, a monk of Lira, and dedicated to Sigerus, the abbat. It was first published by Surius (Oct. xi), but without the dedication, and in part abridged. Later, it was republished in full by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Oct. v. 682), together with an account of miracles performed by the saint's relics about 1475, related by an anonymous but contemporary author. The life itself was written about the middle of the 12th century, and when it is said that the earliest mention of Gummarus is in the *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium* (ii. 48, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxlix. 142), written in the 11th century, it may be easily understood that authentic information about him is absolutely wanting. There is now at Lierre a church of St. Gommarius, begun in 1445 and completed in 1557. [S. A. B.]

GUMPERGA, niece of king Luitprand and wife of Romoald, who was duke of Benevento in 706. (Paulus Diaconus, vi. 50.)
[A. H. D. A.]

GUNDAMUND (GUNTABUND, GUNTHAMUND), king of the Vandals. He was the son of Genzo, the son of Genseric, and succeeded his uncle Hunneric as king, according to the Vandal law of succession [GENSERIC], Dec. 11, 484. He had numerous contests with the Moors, who had revolted in the reign of Hunneric. According to Procopius (*Bell. Vand.* i. 8) and Theophanes (*Chronog.* A. M. 6026, p. 159) he cruelly persecuted the Catholics. According to Isidore, however, *de Regibus Gothorum* (Isid. *Opp.* vii. 133 in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxiii. 1079), and the Chronicle of Victor Tununensis (in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxviii. 946), on his accession he restored peace to the church and recalled the Catholic exiles. The appendix to the Chronicle of Prosper (in Migne, Patr. Lat. li. 606) appears to offer a means of reconciling these conflicting statements. It is there stated that Gundamund, in the third year of his reign, surrendered to the Catholics the cemetery of St. Agileus at Carthage, having already recalled St. Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, from exile. In the tenth year of his reign he opened the Catholic churches which had been closed for ten years and a half, and at the intercession of Eugenius recalled all the exiled bishops and priests. From this it appears that, though Gundamund shewed some favour to the Catholics soon after his accession, the persecution did not wholly cease till the tenth year of his reign. Gundamund died Sept. 24, A.D. 496. (Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, x. 464.) [F. D.]

GUNDEBALD, king. [GUNDOBALD.]

GUNDECAR, king. [GUNDICARIUS.]

GUNDEGESILUS, twelfth archbishop of Bordeaux. According to Gregory of Tours, Bertram, his predecessor, returning from the second council of Mâcon (A.D. 585) was seized with a fever. Summoning to his bedside a deacon, named Waldo, he nominated him, as far as he was able, as his successor. Upon his death, Waldo, with the consent of the citizens, repaired to the king to obtain his sanction, but this was refused, and orders were given for the consecration of Gundegesilus, surnamed Dodo, a count of Saintes, which took place (*Hist. Franc.* viii. 22). He took the lead in attempting to quell the disturbances excited by Chrodieldis at the monastery of the Holy Cross at Poitiers [CHRODIELDIS], and his life was endangered by the throng of cutthroats assembled in the church of St. Hilary. In the same connexion he was one of the subscribers of the letter addressed to the bishops, assembled by king Guntram at Poitiers in 590, the rescript to which is given by Gregory (*Hist. Franc.* ix. 41, x. 15, 16). There is a lacuna of more than 200 years in the series of the Bordeaux archbishops after Gundegesilus. Sicharius is the name of the next known (*Gall. Christ.* ii. 795). [S. A. B.]

GUNDELBERTUS, ST., supposed archbishop of Sens, and founder and first abbat of the monastery of Senoniae (Senone) in the Vosges. His life, written after the middle of the 13th century by Richerius, a monk of that foundation, in the *Chronicon Senoniense* (lib. i.) may be found in the *Spicilegium*, ii. 604, and with previous observations in Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. iii. p. 468, Paris, 1668–1701. The story he relates is that Gundelbert, a Gaul of noble birth, in the year 720 was archbishop of Sens, and filled that office with great honour, but aiming at higher sanctity resolved to seek the desert. Accordingly, relinquishing the wealth and honours of the archbishopric, but retaining the office, that he might be able to consecrate churches and ordain ministers in the wilderness, he penetrated, with a few disciples, into the country of the Vosges. His biographer describes the scene from personal acquaintance. It is a land full of lofty mountains crowded with savage rocks. The valleys between are profound, and rendered doubly dark and dreadful by the gloom of their pine forests. Wild beasts abound, and men shun it as they would a labyrinth. One of these valleys was the spot where St. Gundelbert rested, selecting for his abode the most remote and uninviting part of it. A grant was readily obtained from Childeric, at whose court he had once been familiar. A church soon rose, and on the warning of a vision was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and close by it he built his monastery in honour of St. Peter and the Apostles. The rule of St. Benedict was enacted, and under it his biographer was still living. The scene of his death and burial are alike unknown, though the former did not take place at the monastery.

The difficulties in this story are very great. Mabillon (see the *observationes praeviae*) would reject the date of 720, and suggests the substitution of 670 for it. He considers that St. Gundelbert must be placed earlier than Emmo, the twenty-fifth archbishop of Sens who held the see from about 658 to 675. It seems clear that he must be distinguished from Guntbertus, who, according to all the MSS. and authors (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 14) was the thirty-fifth archbishop, and lived about

779–786. In short, it seems very doubtful whether he ever belonged to Sens at all. In the *praeceptum* of Childeric A.D. 661 (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxvii. 1287), and the *privilegium* of Otto (949) no see is appended to his name. And Mabillon himself in his *Annales* (ad an. 661 n. xv. tom. i. p. 462) seems to suggest that he was possibly a chorepiscopus only. Gams omits him from his *Series*, recognising only the later Gombertus (p. 629). It might easily happen that the connexion with Sens was suggested by the name of his monastery. His day of commemoration is Feb. 21. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 262.) [S. A. B.]

GUNDEMAR, king. [GODEMAR.]

GUNDEMAR, king. [GUNTHIMAR.]

GUNDEMAR, bishop of Viseo (of Gothic descent apparently), signs the disputed *Decretum Gundemari* (A.D. 610?). [GUNTHIMAR.] (*Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 314; Aguirre-Catalani, iii. 324.) [REMISOL.] [M. A. W.]

GUNDERIC (1), son of Godegisilus king of the Vandals, succeeding him jointly with his illegitimate brother Genseric. According to Renatus, quoted by Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* ii. 61 (in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxi. 205), Godegisilus was killed in a great battle by the Franks soon after the Vandals had crossed the Rhine, which occurred on the 31st Dec. A.D. 406 (Prosper, *Chronicon*, in Migne, Patr. Lat. li. 590); but according to Procopius (*de Bello Vandalico*, i. 3) it was under his leadership that the Vandals invaded Spain, which took place in September or October, A.D. 409 (Idatius, *Chronicon*, in Migne, Patr. Lat. li. 876), and the expression of Isidore (*Historia de Regibus Gothorum, Isidori Opera*, vii. 131, in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxiii. 1099), "Primus autem in Hispania Gundericus Rex, Vandalorum successit," appears to support the statement of Procopius. The first attacks of the Vandals, Alani, and Suevi were repulsed by two wealthy young men of high rank, named Didymus and Verinianus, who armed their slaves, and occupied the passes of the Pyrenees. This obstacle was however removed by the usurper Constantine, who put these brothers to death, and the hosts of barbarians then poured into Spain, and ravaged the country cruelly. (Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 40, 577, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xxxi. 1166.)

About A.D. 411 however they became quieter, and made a kind of partition of Spain. Gallicia was occupied by the Suevi and the Vandals, Lusitania and the province of Carthagena by the Alans, and the tribe of the Vandals, known as Selingui, after ravaging the Balearic Islands, took possession of the province of Baetica. In the language of Orosius (*Hist.* vii. 41, 579), they turned their swords into ploughshares, and treated the remnant of the Romans as their friends and allies. This calm however was but a short one. The Goths, under Wallia, invaded Spain in A.D. 416, and carried on war for two years against the Vandals and their allies. He destroyed the tribe of the Selingui, and defeated the Alans with great slaughter, their king Ataces being among the slain. The remnant of the Alans then united themselves with the Vandals of Gallicia under Gunderic, and they disappear from history as a separate tribe. In A.D. 418, after the retreat of Wallia into Gaul, a quarrel broke out between the Vandals and the Suevi, who were blockaded by the former in the mountains of Nerbasa, or Erbasa, between Oviedo and Leon. The blockade was however raised by Asterius, the count of the Spains, and the Vandals retired into Baetica, where they were attacked, in A.D. 421, by Castinus, who had been sent against them by the emperor Honorius. Castinus refused to allow count Boniface to join the expedition, and after reducing the Vandals to great straits by blockade, imprudently offered battle, was defeated, and obliged to fly to Tarragona. The infuriated Vandals, in A.D. 424, ravaged the coasts of Mauritania and the Balearic Islands, and took and plundered Carthagena and Seville, and devastated the whole of Spain. Gunderic died in A.D. 428. According to Idatius and Isidore, his death was a punishment for having put forth his hands against the church of St. Vincent at Seville. According to Procopius, however, his brother Genseric was the cause of his death. From the praises bestowed on him by the Catholic Dracontius, the statements of Isidore and Idatius that Genseric was originally a Catholic, and the language of Orosius, who says that the mercy of God was to be praised for having by the invasion of the barbarians led them to a knowledge of the true faith, it appears probable that Gunderic was, at least originally, a Catholic, and not an Arian. For an account of his character, and his relations with the poet Dracontius, see DRACONTIUS. His name is variously spelt Gundericus, Gontharis, Guntharis, and Guntharius. [F. D.]

GUNDERIC, king. [GUNDEUCUS.]

GUNDERIC (2) (GANGRIC, GAUGERIC), twenty-seventh archbishop of Treves, succeeding St. Magnericus and followed by St. Sebaudus, at the close of the 6th century. He was supposed by some to have been identical with Gaugericus of Cambray, and to have been elevated from that diocese to the archiepiscopal see of Treves, but the theory appears to be without authority. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. vi. 172, 173; *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 384; Gams, *Series Episc.* 318.) [S. A. B.]

GUNDERIC (3), bishop of Segontia (Siguenza), from about A.D. 685 till after 693. He appears at the sixteenth council of Toledo, A.D. 693. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 333; *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 126.) [PROTOGENES.] [M. A. W.]

GUNDERIC (4), 36th bishop of Toledo and metropolitan, cir. 700–710. He is but briefly mentioned by Isidorus Pacensis (*Chron.* § 30, in Pat. Lat. xcvi. 1262 B), and Roderic of Toledo (*De Reb. Hisp.* lib. iii. cap. 15 in Lorenzana, *Patr. Toletan.* t. iii. p. 62), who record that he was a man of great sanctity and reputation. He is thought to have presided in the 18th council of Toledo, A.D. 701 (Mansi, xii. 163; Florez, *Esp. Sag.* v. 301; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 701, xv.). [C. H.]

GUNDEUCHUS (GUNDERIC, GUNDIACUS, GUNDIUCUS; French, GONDIOC, GONDERIC), a king of the Burgundians, one of the two sons of Gundicar. According to Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 28), he was of the family of Athanaric, king of the Visigoths. This statement, if not an error, must probably refer to the fact that he had married the sister of Rici-

mer, the patrician, who was a grandchild, on the mother's side, of Wallia, king of the Visigoths. (Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Miscell.* lib. xv.; Migne, Patr. Lat. xcv. 968; Mascou, *Hist. of the Ancient Germans*, ii. 358.) He succeeded his father about 437 in the straitened territory, which the victories of Aetius and the Huns had left to the Burgundians. In A.D. 443 probably, Sabaudia, nearly coincident with the modern Savoy, was given up to him and his people. In 455, when Avitus in Gaul usurped the throne of the West, Gundeuchus, and his brother Chilperic, with the greater part of Gaul, declared for him, and joined the force of Theodoric, the Visigoth, which, at his desire, marched into Spain to quell the Suevi (Jornandes, c. xliv.) In the confusion of these events the Burgundians seem to have found an opportunity for extending their territory in Gaul, sharing the lands encroached upon with the resident Gallic senators (Marius Avent. *Chron.* Joanne et Varane Coss. 456; Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxii. 793). Pagi considers their territory to have embraced in this year the Prima Lugdunensis, the Maxima Sequanorum, the Viennensis, the Alpes Graiae et Penninae and the Provincia cis Druentiam (Baron. Pag. an. 456, n. xiii.) Lyons, however, seems to have been afterwards forcibly recovered by Majorian, who was too much occupied at first to resist these encroachments. (Sidon. Apoll. carm. v., Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 675.) From a letter of pope Hilary to Leontius, archbishop of Arles, we learn that Gundeuchus held the rank of magister militum. (Ep. ix., Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 27; Bar. an. 463, n. iv.) And, from the terms of respect and affection in which he is spoken of in this letter, we may conclude that the family had not yet been perverted to Arianism. He left four sons, Gundobald, Godegesil, Chilperic and Godemar (Greg. Tur. ut supr.). [S. A. B.]

GUNDICARIUS (Guntiarius, French, Gondicaire), the first of the Hendins, or chiefs, of the Burgundians who attained to royal power.

The Burgundians were one of the nations of Germany, though they themselves, like other races, claimed an heroic origin. Their own account, suggested probably by their name, was that they were the descendants of the Roman soldiers of Tiberius and Drusus left to garrison the burg-festen on the German frontier (Orosius, vii. 32; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. 5). Their name first occurs in Pliny, who treats them as one of the component races of the Vandals (*Hist. Nat.* iv. 28), and their original position seems to have been between the Oder and the Vistula (Procopius, *de Bello Goth.* i. 12). From scattered notices in Jordanes, Zosimus, Claudius Mamertinus, Ammianus Marcellinus and Orosius, we learn that amid various vicissitudes, like the other German nations, they gravitated towards the Gallic border. At the earliest period of which we have information they were governed by a Hendinos, or chief, apparently elective, and liable to be deposed for failure in war, or even on account of a bad season. Their high priest, called Sinistus, on the other hand, was irremoveable from office (Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. 5). Although their warriors passed the Rhine before, it was not till 406 that they finally made good their footing in Gaul. In that year a part of the nation crossed the Rhine in company with Vandals, Suevi and Alani (Orosius, vii. 40; Hieronymi *Epist.* cxxiii. § 16, Migne, Patr. Lat. xxii. 1057). Whether they had been converted to Christianity at this time is somewhat doubtful. If we may credit the account of Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. 30), they had been zealous Christians for some years. His story is that at some time, probably about 392, while they were still on the east of the Rhine, and, according to him, led a peaceful life, being for the most part artisans (*τέκτονες*), they were harassed by the incursions of the Huns. Distrusting human aid, they resolved to put themselves under the protection of some god, and having reflected that the deity of the Romans was a God of might, they resolved to embrace the Christian faith. Accordingly they approached one of the Gallic cities (Treves is suggested), and asked the bishop to baptize them. This he did after first ordaining a fast of seven days and instructing them in the elements of the faith (*τὴν πίστιν κατήχησας*). On their return they marched against the Huns, whom they attacked the day after the death of their king Optar from surfeit, and defeated, 10,000 of the enemy falling before 3000 Burgundians. Henceforth they were zealous Christians (*ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸ ἔθνος διαπύρως ἐχριστιάνισεν*). On the other hand Orosius, writing in 417, says, "By the providence of God all have lately become Christians and Catholics, thanks to the care of our clergy whom they have welcomed. They treat the Gauls as brothers in Christianity, and lead lawful and innocent lives" (Orosius, vii. c. 32). Revillout (*De l'Arianisme des Peuples Germaniques*, 65–6) thinks they were converted to Arianism by missionaries from the Visigoths, who appear under Euric to have subdued them (*Chron.* Sigeb. Gemblac, and Jornandes in Bouquet iii. 336, 684). But see Pétigny (*Etudes sur l'époque Mérovingienne*, tom. ii. 50), who distrusts Orosius, and believes the Burgundians to have been Arians at the time they entered Gaul, though, unlike the Goths and Vandals, never propagandists or persecutors. In 413 Gundicar and his people espoused the cause of Jovinus the usurper, who assumed the purple at Mainz in 411 (Olympiodorus, Bouquet, i. 600). Jovinus was killed in 413, but the emperor made peace with the Burgundians, and settled them on a portion of territory bordering on the Rhine, with Worms for its capital (Prosper. *Chron.* ad Lucian. Cons. Patr. Lat. li. 591; Cassiodorus, *Chron.* Patr. Lat. lxix. 1243; Richter, *Annalen*, p. 19). In 435 or 436 Gundicar revolted against the Roman power, but was defeated by Aetius, with the loss of 20,000 men, and compelled to sue for peace (Idatius, *Chron.* ad Ann. Valent. xii. and xiii.; Migne, Patr. Lat. li. 880; Prosper, *Chron.* ad An. Theodos. xv., Valent. iv. Coss. (435) Patr. Lat. li. 596–7; Cassiodorus ad eund. An. Patr. Lat. lxix. 1244). If we may believe the panegyric of Avitus by Sidonius Apollinaris (carm. vii. 230, Patr. Lat. lviii. 687), there were on this occasion Huns, Sarmatians, Heruli and Franks fighting on the Burgundian side. A little later, perhaps in 437, Gundicar and a great part of the Burgundian race were annihilated by an army of Huns, who were probably for the time being in the pay of Aetius (Idatius *ut supr.*; Prosper. *Chron.* Bouquet, i. 631 Richter, *Annalen*, 21–2). [S. A. B.]

GUNDILANUS (GUADILA), bishop of Emporias (Ampurias) before A.D. 683. "Segarius abbas" represents him at C. Tol. xiii., but he attended the fifteenth and sixteenth councils, 688, 693, in person. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 287, 313, 333; *Esp. Sagr.* xlii. 273.)

[M. A. W.]

GUNDIPERGA, daughter of Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, and her second husband Agilulf. She married Arioald, who succeeded her brother Adaloald as king in 626. (Fredegar, *Chronic.* cap. 49; Migne, lxxi. 637; Paulus Diaconus is wrong, cf. note *Hist. Lang.* in *Monumenta Rerum Ital. et Langob.* 1878, p. 136.) She was imprisoned for three years on false suspicion of crime by Arioald, and ultimately reinstated. Fredegar says that she afterwards married Rotharis, who became king in 636. She built the basilica of St. John the Baptist in Pavia. (Paulus Diac. iv. 47; Fredegar, *Chronic.* cap. 51; Migne, lxxi. 638; Pabst, *Forschungen c. d. G.* ii. 428.) [A. H. D. A.]

GUNDLAEUS, GUNDLEUS, GUNDLIOU, Welsh king. [GWYNLLYW.]

GUNDOALDUS, bishop. [GONDOALDUS.]

GUNDOBALD (GUNDOBADUS, GUNDOBAGAUDUS), fourth king of the Burgundians. His father, Gundeuchus, died about 470, leaving four sons, Gundobald, Godegiselus, Chilperic and Godomar (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 28.) In 472, on the death of his uncle Ricimer, Olybrius created him patrician and magister militum (Paulus Diac. *Hist. Miscell.* lib. xv.; Migne, Patr. Lat. xcv. 968). In the same year Olybrius died, and Gundobald took part with Glycerius, who assumed the purple at Ravenna (Cassiodorus, *Chron.*, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxix. 1246). According to Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 28) Gundobald murdered his brother Chilperic, the father of Clotilda, and drowned his wife. But the statement is open to grave doubt. It rests solely on the authority of Gregory, who wrote about a century after the alleged murders, was a Catholic writing of an Arian, and was the personal friend of Guntram, the French king who reigned over the territory usurped from the Burgundian kings. The *Epitomata*, xvii., the *Gesta Regum Francorum*, xi., the *Chronicon* of Ado (Bouquet, ii. 666), &c., are mere reproductions of Gregory on this point. On the other hand Avitus, archbishop of Vienne, could scarcely have written "Flebatis quondam pietate ineffabili funera germanorum," &c. (Ep. v.; Patr. Lat. lix. 223), if he was addressing the murderer of one of those brothers. The manner and date of Chilperic's death, therefore, remain unknown, as also that of his brother Godomar, whom he is said to have burnt alive. About A.D. 492 Clovis was brought into close relation with the Burgundians by his marriage with Clotilda, Chilperic's daughter (Greg. Tur. ii. 28; *Epitomata*, xviii.; but the details of Clovis's betrothal are not historic, Richter, *Annalen*, 35). At this time, Chilperic and Godomar being dead, the kingdom of the Burgundians, which extended from the Vosges to the Durance and from the Alps to the Loire, was divided between the two surviving brothers, Gundobald and Godegiselus, the former having Lyons for his capital, the latter Geneva (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 32; Ennodius, *Vita S. Epiphanii*, 50–4; Boll. Jan. ii. 374–5; cf. Mascou, *Hist. of the Ancient Germans*, xi. 10, 31, and Annotation iv.). In the year 493, Gundobald, accompanied apparently by Godegiselus, made an expedition across the Alps into the territory of Theodoric, reduced Turin, and brought back a great number of captives (Ennodius ut supr.). In 500, Clovis with the aid of Godegiselus, who fought against his brother, conquered Gundobald in a battle at Dijon, and imposed a tribute. But on Clovis's departure he soon recovered his strength, renounced his allegiance, and besieged and killed his brother, who had triumphantly entered Vienne. Henceforth till his death he ruled the whole of the Burgundian territory. (Marius Avent. *Chron.*, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxii. 795–6; Greg. Tur. ii. 32, 33; *Epitomata*, xxii. xxiii. xxiv. The details of the two latter sources are probably not trustworthy, Richter, *Annalen*, 37–8.)

About the same time was held at Lyons a conference between the Catholics and Arians under the presidency of Gundobald, Avitus being the champion of the former, Boniface of the latter. According to the account of it which survives, written of course by a Catholic, the heretics were utterly confounded by the orthodox reasoning, and had recourse to abuse and insult, while Gundobald was ashamed of his bishops, and some Arians were convinced and baptized a few days after. The narrative is to be found in the *Spicilegium*, iii. 304, Paris, 1723, Mansi, viii. 242, and excerpta from it in Patr. Lat. lxxi. 1154. From 507 to 510 Gundobald was engaged in a war against the Visigoths in alliance with Clovis, in which he defeated Gesalic, their king, at Narbonne. (Isidorus Hisp. *Hist. Goth.* in Bouquet, ii. 702; *Chronologia Rerum Gothorum*, xi. Bouquet, ii. 704.) He died in 516, leaving his son, the Catholic Sigismund, as his successor.

In spite of the unfavourable testimony of the Catholic writers, there are many indications that Gundobald was for his time an enlightened and humane king. For his eloquence, see Ennodius, *Vita S. Epiphanii*, 53, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 375, "fando locuples, et ex eloquentia dives opibus et facundus assertor," and Avitus, ep. xxviii, Patr. Lat. lix. 246, and for his quickness and invention, Heraclius, ep. ad Avitum, ep. xlviii. Patr. Lat. lix. 265, "praecellentissimus princeps, . . . ad inveniendum igneus, profluus ad dicendum," etc., and for his humanity, the *Vita S. Epiphanii*, 50–4. The wisdom and equity of his government are also evidenced by the *Loi Gombette*, the Burgundian code, called after him, which, though it probably did not take its present shape entirely till the reign of his son, was enacted by him. Its provisions in favour of the Roman, or old Gallic inhabitants, whom in most respects it put on an equality with the conquerors, entitles it to be called the best barbarian code which had yet appeared (Greg. Tur. ii. 33; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 83 seqq.; *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, x. 365, Paris, 1818). The retention in it of the ordeal of battle, though only with a view to checking perjury, was its chief blemish, and called forth a bitter letter or treatise from Agobardus, archbishop of Lyons, to Louis the Pious, about three centuries later (*Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, in Migne, Patr. Lat. civ. 113

seq.) This code may be found in Bouquet, iv. 257 seq., and Pertz, *Leges*, iii. 497 seq.

Though he professed Arianism, he did not persecute, but on the contrary secured the Catholics in the possession of their endowments. Avitus writes to him, "Quidquid habet ecclesiola mea, imo omnes ecclesiae nostrae, vestrum est, de substantia quam vel servastis hactenus vel donastis." (Ep. xxxix. Patr. Lat. lix. 256.) The circumstances relied on by Revillout (*De l'Arianisme des Peuples Germaniques*, 180, 181), who takes the opposite view, are trivial, compared with the testimony of Avitus and the silence of Gregory.

His whole correspondence with Avitus and the conference of Lyons demonstrate both the interest he took in religious subjects and his tolerance of orthodoxy. Several of the bishop's letters survive, addressed to him in answer to enquiries on various points of doctrine on which he had asked for explanations, for instance, on the Eutychian heresy (Epp. 3 and 4), repentance in articulo mortis, and justification by faith or works (Ep. 5). One only of Gundobald's remains (Ep. 19), asking an explanation of Isai. ii. 3, 4, 5, and Micah iv. 4. These letters may be found in Migne, Patr. Lat. lix. 199, 202, 210, 219, 223, 236, 244, 255, and are commented on in Ceillier's *Hist. générale des Auteurs sacrés*, x. 554 seqq. He probably died an Arian, but it is not quite certain. According to Gregory he was convinced and begged Avitus to baptize him in secret, fearing his subjects, but Avitus refused, and he perished in his heresy (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 34, cf. iii. prologue). On the other hand there are two passages in Avitus's letters, (Ep. v. sub fin. Patr. Lat. lix. 224, "unde cum laetitiam—orbitatem," and Ep. ii. sub init. Patr. Lat. lix. 202, "Unicum simul—principaliter de tuenda catholicae partis veritate curetis") which seem almost to imply that he was then a Catholic. See too Gregory's story of the piety of his queen (*De Mirac. S. Juliani*, ii. 8). [S. A. B.]

GUNDOVALDUS, surnamed BALLOMER, or Pretender, was the son of a concubine of Clotaire I., though disowned by that monarch. By his mother's care he was well educated, and brought, while still a boy, to Childebert, the childless brother of Clotaire, and committed to his protection. Clotaire soon heard of it, and sent for him, but on his arrival vowed that he was no son of his, and ordered his flowing locks, the insignia of royalty among the Franks, to be cut off. Upon Clotaire's death (A.D. 561), his son Charibert received him, but another son, Sigebert, to whose court he was summoned, again cut off his hair, and sent him into exile at Cologne. He seems to have suffered considerable hardship, and at one time to have earned his living as a fresco painter (Greg. Tur. vii. 36). From Cologne he made his escape to Narses, then ruler of Italy. Here he married, and had children, and after the death of his wife migrated to Constantinople, where he was well received by the emperor Maurice, and lived prosperously for many years. But towards the close of 579 or beginning of 580, Guntram Boso, a duke of the Austrasian Franks, sought him out at Constantinople, and invited him to France, in the name of the nobles of Childebert's kingdom, who, in their struggle against the power of the monarchy, probably expected assistance from a contest for the crown. Boso gave the most solemn assurances of the successful issue of the expedition. Accordingly, in 582, he landed at Marseilles, where the bishop Theodorus was favourable to the design, and furnished him with a body of cavalry to escort him to Avignon, where Mummolus, the ablest general of France, who had abandoned the service of king Guntram, and joined the conspiracy, was settled. But the sight of the great treasure with which the emperor had supplied Gundovald for the expedition soon excited the avarice of Guntram Boso, who stole as much of it as he could, and deserted Gundovald. This defection was so serious that Gundovald retired to an island, the name of which we are not told, to await the progress of events (583). The following year, however, he returned to Avignon, and with Mummolus, Desiderius, a duke of Chilperic's kingdom, Sagittarius, bishop of Gap, and a considerable body of followers, marched towards Limoges, and on the way at Brives-la-Gaillarde was raised on the shield and proclaimed king (Dec. 584). From the neighbouring cities, amongst others, Angoulême, Périgueux and Toulouse, he exacted oaths of allegiance, to himself in the case of those which had belonged to Chilperic or Guntram, but to Childebert, where they had been included in the portion of his father, Sigebert. Meanwhile Guntram's army, led by Leudegisilus, Count of the Stable, and Aegilanus, a patrician, arrived at Poitiers, and pressed Gundovald's forces southward. For a time he remained in Bordeaux, where the bishop Bertchramnus was his warm adherent, but afterwards retired across the Garonne, almost to the Pyrenees, and seized the town of Comminges. Here he was besieged for fifteen days without avail, but his cause was now seen to be hopeless by Mummolus and his other followers, who were induced by the promise of their lives to betray their chief. Decoyed outside the city gates, he was treacherously and cruelly murdered by Guntram Boso and Ollon, one of the leaders of Guntram's army, a short distance from the town. His betrayers, including Mummolus, for the most part forfeited their lives also a little later (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vi. 24, 26; vii. 10, 14, 26–38; *Epitomata* lxxxix.; Fredegar. *Chronicon*, ii.; Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule Mérid.* c. xvi. tom. ii. 222–307 Richter, *Annalen*, pp. 83–7). [S. A. B.]

GUNDRADA was sister of Adalhard and Wala abbats of Corbie, and granddaughter of Charles Martel. She lived at the court of Charlemagne her cousin, where she bore the name of Eulalia. Two of Alcuin's letters are addressed to her. One of them (*Ep.* 243, Jaffé, *Monum. Alcuin*, p. 780) contains Alcuin's treatise on the nature of the soul, written at Gundrada's request (cf. *Vita Alcu.* c. 12, Jaffé, p. 28). It generally appears (*e. g.* ap. Froben and Migne, Patrol. 101, col. 639 sqq.) as a separate treatise under that title. The other (*Ep.* 199, Jaffé, 184, Froben) is a letter of exhortation and commendation upon chastity and purity. The praises bestowed upon Gundrada in this letter and in the *Vita Adalhardi* (quoted by Jaffé, and in Pertz, Sc. ii. 527) give a very dark picture of the morals of the palace.

[T. R. B.]

GUNDUINUS, twenty-fourth bishop of

Noyon, between Autgarius and Guarulfus, early in the 8th century. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 985.) [S. A. B.]

GUNDULFUS, bishop. [GONDULPHUS.]

GUNDULFUS, sixteenth bishop of Noyon and Tournay, between Faustinus and Chrasmarus. (*Gall. Christ.* ix. 981.) [S. A. B.]

GUNDULFUS, bishop of Lamego, from before A.D. 681 onwards. He appears at the twelfth and thirteenth councils of Toledo. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 270, 287; *Esp. Sagr.* xiv. 159.) [SARDINARIUS.] [M. A. W.]

GUNDULPHUS, a supposed bishop of Milan, about the middle of the 6th century. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 17 Jun. 378.) [R. S. G.]

GUNDVALDUS, son of Garipald, duke of Bavaria, accompanied to Italy his sister Theodelinda, who married first, king Autharis, and afterwards king Agilulf. He was made duke of Asti, and died c. 612 by an arrow from an unknown hand. His son Aripert became king of the Lombards in 653. (*Origo Gentis*, 6; Paulus Diaconus, iii. 30; iv. 41, 48; Fredegar, *Chronic.* cap. 34; Migne, lxxi. 623.) [A. H. D. A.]

GUNIBALD, saint. [WINIBALD.]

GUNIFORT, martyr. [GUNIBALD.]

GUNLEUS, GUNLYN. [GWYNLLYW.]

GUNNUINUS, GUNUBUI. [GUINNIUS.]

GUNTASIUS, Donatist bishop of Benefa, or Benesa, in proconsular Africa, present at the Maximianist council of Cabarsussis, A.D. 393. (Aug. *En. in Ps.* 36, 20.) [H. W. P.]

GUNTBERTUS (GOMBERTUS), thirty-fifth archbishop of Sens, succeeding Godescalcus and followed by Petrus I. (circ. 779–786). The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* (xii. 14) quote a MS. of the monastery of St. Peter to the effect that he died in the seventh year of his episcopate, and was buried in the church of that foundation. His day of commemoration is March 1. He is not to be confused with St. Gundelbertus, the reputed archbishop of Sens, who founded the monastery of Senoniae in the Vosges in the preceding century. [S. A. B.]

GUNTBERTUS, martyr. [GONDEBERTUS.]

GUNTCHRAMNUS. [GUNTRAMNUS.]

GUNTERANUS (or GUALTERANUS), c. 670, bishop of Siena. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xvii. 374; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* iii. 528.) [A. H. D. A.]

GUNTFRIDUS (GODEFRIDUS, GAUFRIDUS), thirteenth bishop of Cambray, between Trauvardus, or Trawardus, and Albricus. He subscribed the charter of Etho bishop of Strasburg, for the foundation of the monastery of Schwarzachum (Arnulfi-Augia), in Lower Alsace (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1314). He is said to have translated the remains of St. Landelinus, founder of the monastery of Lobbes, on June 15, 770 (Usuard. Jun. xv. *Auct.* Molani, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 159; Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 1062). He died probably soon after that date. (*Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, lib. i. 37; Migne, Patr. Lat. cxlix. 49; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* an. 750, n. xliii. tom. v. p. 254: *Gall. Christ.* iii. 9.) [S. A. B.]

GUNTHAMUND. [GUNDAMUND.]

GUNTHIMAR (GUNDEMAR), king of Gothic Spain from Oct. 610 to Aug. 614. From the *Hist. Gothorum* only two facts are to be learnt of his short reign, that he carried through a successful expedition against the rebellious Vascones, and that he besieged—unsuccessfully?—some of the remaining Byzantine strongholds of the peninsula ("alia [expeditione] militem Romanum obsedit"—Isid.). Besides these two statements of Isidore's, however, we have various documents which relate or profess to relate to Gunthimar, and which have been and are still disputed. It will be necessary to notice briefly: I. The letters of the comes Bulgaranus; II. The so-called synod, of Carthaginensian bishops held at Toledo in 610, and the *Decretum Gundemari* attached to it—two famous documents, upon which the much disputed primacy of Toledo was practically built up; III. The church laws which, in the 15th century, Alfonso of Cartagena first attributed to Gunthimar.

I. Three out of the seven letters of the Comes Bulgara or Bulgchramn were published for the first time in the excellent Valencian edition of Mariana's *History*, 1792, vol. ii. app. One more, a letter of consolation to Gunthimar on the death of his queen, Hilduara, was partially printed by Florez in his *Reynas de España*, vol. i. Three others—one addressed "Domino sancto ac Beatissimo et Apostolicis meritis equando, meoque semper praeclaro Domno Agapio epo. Bulgar."; the second, "cujus supra ad eundem de Galliis"; and the third, "quidam ad Agapium," which may not, of course, be a letter of the comes at all—remain unpublished. They are extant in the 16th century copy taken by Morales, and now in the Madrid Library, of the famous Codex Ovetensis (see art. FROILA (3), note). Morales speaks of another still older MS. of them at Alcalá (*Hist. de España*, vi.), of which, however, so far as we know, no modern mention has been made. On the strength of the three barbarous and all but unintelligible letters published in the appendix to Mariana, and well known in MS. to earlier scholars, it was commonly asserted by older authors—Morales, Mariana and Ferreras, for instance—that Gunthimar had paid tribute to Theuderic of Burgundy, the son of Childebert II. and grandson of Brunichild, possibly in return for services rendered him by Theuderic in the palace revolution which overthrew his predecessor Witteric (Mariana, lib. vi. cap. ii.); a theory still further developed by Helfferich, who regards the revolution as a church conspiracy, and Gunthimar as the clerical and Frankish instrument (*Entstehung und Geschichte des Westgothen-Rechts*, p. 50). Dahn has already refuted the tribute theory; but his explanation of the real bearing of the letters is still somewhat incomplete (*Könige der Germanen*, v. 176). A careful examination of them gives the following results. In the year 611, when the final and

successful campaign of Brunichild and Theuderic against Theudibert of Austrasia (Fredegar, cap. 37, 38) was about to begin, it was rumoured in Gothic Gaul, of which Bulgara was the governor (conf. "in hac provincia—ad ordinationem nostram pertinente," ep. ii.), that Brunichild and her grandson were exciting the heathen Avars against Theudibert. Bulgara writes for information to a bishop of Theudibert's kingdom (Theudibert is spoken of in the second letter as "filius vester Dominus Theudibertus," and again as "gloriosus Rex Theud."), promising that, if a report so hateful to Catholic ears should turn out to be true, solemn fasts and prayers shall be held throughout Septimania for the success of the "orthodox prince" Theudibert against so disgraceful a conspiracy. At the same time the comes refers (ep. i.) to negotiations already going on between Theudibert and Gunthimar, and asks the bishop for news as to whether the letters sent have reached Theudibert, and whether the Missi have returned "[ut] certius sciamus—quomodo aut ubi, pecunia praeparetur." In the second letter ("cujus supra ad episcopum Franciae directa") reference is again made, not only to Theudibert's present negotiations with the Goths, but to his relations with past Gothic princes ("decidentibus principibus"—an evident allusion to the alliance between Witteric, Theudibert, and the Lombard Agiulf against Theuderic—Dahn, *l. c.* 174), and it is explained that Theudibert had promised to furnish Gunthimar with troops ("numerum gentis Francorum —impertire") in return for a sum of money ("merito pecuniae"). The bishop is implored to further the execution of this compact, and is, moreover, again asked for news as to Theudibert's war with the Avars. Evidently Bulgara and Gunthimar are mainly anxious about this latter matter because it may prevent the performance of Theudibert's promise. What the Frankish troops were wanted for is of course unknown to us, unless we may suppose that they were to be used in the expedition against the Vascones of which Isidore speaks. Whether this were so or no, neither troops nor money ever reached their destination. Bulgara's third letter ("delectissimo atque in Christo reverendiss. Patri Epo. Bulg.")—which may be dated 612 with great probability—is one of angry remonstrance addressed to a bishop, not of Theudibert's kingdom, but of Theuderic's (conf. "cartas gloriosissimorum Regum — vestrorum Brunichildes Reginae et Theuderici Regis"). The comes complains that noble Gothic legates, Totila and Gunthrimar by name, have been unjustly captured by the bishop's sovereign, imprisoned by the bishop, and made to suffer "the disgrace of exile together with the shame of destitution." On account of these proceedings the king and people of the Goths have a large money claim against the bishop's masters ("non exigua sed magna pecuniae repetitio"), and until the legates are reinstated, Bulgara refuses to allow Frankish legates permission to enter Spain, or to give up to Brunichild the towns of Lubinianum (Juvignac) and Cornelianum (Corneilhan), which she claimed as a cession from Recared, but which the comes declared were only ceded by Recared for the confirmation of that peace between the Goths and Franks which she and Theuderic have now broken.

It appears tolerably clear then that the money sent to Theudibert by the Goths was captured by his cousin and rival Theuderic in the same year which saw the downfall of the former at the hands of the latter; that Gunthimar did not reverse, but rather carried out, the Frankish policy of his predecessor, Witteric; that therefore there is no ground for supposing a combination of Gunthimar and the Franks against Witteric for which an alliance between Gunthimar and Theuderic, not between Gunthimar and Theudibert, would be necessary; that there is no sign of any church action in the matter, and that the tribute story, on which Helfferich builds so much, is quite untenable.

In the fourth letter of the comes (unpublished), addressed to the bishop Agapius, and probably written after the death of Gunthimar, he describes his sufferings at the hands of one Atebo, or Azebo, whom he calls "tyrannus," and who seems to have been the head of some revolt at Narbonne. He was released from the prison into which he had been thrown, he tells his correspondent, by the good offices of the metropolitan Sergius of Narbonne. We shall find the mention of this bishop's name of importance in the investigation of our second point.

II. The so-called synod of 610, and the *Decretum Gundemari*. The *Constitutio Carthaginensium Sacerdotum* and the *Decretum Gundemari* were first published by Loaysa in 1590. Since then they have been generally treated as at least open to question by the various council editors (conf. Mansi, x. 511; Harduin, iii. 546), and of late the German scholar Dahn has pronounced decisively against them (*Könige der Germanen*, vi. 439). They are found in only three out of the nine council MSS. used by the latest editors of the Spanish *Codex Canonum*, but two of these at least, the *Codex Aemilianensis* and the *Codex Vigilanus*, rank as the best and fullest of the extant MSS. (see description of them in Florez, iii. app., and Tejada y Ramiro, *Coll. de Can.* l. c. i. pref.). The *Decretum* and *Constitutio* follow immediately upon the acts of the twelfth council of Toledo, held under ERVIG (*q. v.*), in which the famous sixth canon secures to the king and the metropolitan of Toledo the right of appointment to bishoprics all over Spain. After this canon, which raised the bishop of Toledo to the position of primate of Spain, the earlier documents, which conferred upon Toledo the metropolitan authority over the whole of Carthaginensis, seem to have been added, honestly or dishonestly, as tending to illustrate the history and enhance the dignity of the royal see. The *Constitutio* which is signed by fifteen bishops of Carthaginensis confesses that the see of Toledo has metropolitan authority ("metropolitani nominis habere auctoritatem"), and that it precedes the other churches of Carthaginensis, "et honoris potestate et meritis." Nor are its honours in any way of recent creation. They are declared by "the synodal sentence 'antiquorum patrum'" in the council held under bishop Montanus (A.D. 527; MONTANUS), and are now reiterated lest at any future time any of the comprovincial bishops should venture to despise the primacy of the Toledan church, and to appoint bishops without regard to the rights of the Toledan see ("remota hujus sedis potestate") as had been

hitherto done. Deposition and excommunication are threatened in case of any such presumption in future. The synod is dated the 23rd of October in the first year of the most pious and glorious Gundemar era, 648 (A.D. 610). The fifteen signatures, headed by that of Protogenes of Segontia (Siguenza), follow.

The *Decretum Gundemari*, which, although it precedes the synod in the MSS., has always been considered as confirmatory of the synodal acts (Dahn, *l. c.*; Helfferich, *l. c.* p. 52; *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 158), is an extremely curious and interesting document, whether forged or genuine. It is addressed to "our venerable fathers the bishops of Carthaginensis," and announces at the outset the king's desire to glorify his reign not only by due care for and arrangement of secular matters, but also of matters pertaining to divinity and religion. The passage which follows is almost unintelligible. "Nonnullam enim in disciplinis ecclesiasticis contra canonum auctoritatem per moras praecedentium [Florez has "*mores procedentium*," vi. 333] temporum licentiam sibi de usurpatione praeteriti principes [Florez, "*praeteriti Principis*"] fecerunt: ita ut quidam episcoporum Carthaginensis Provinciae non revereantur contra canonicae ecclesiae potestatem, per quasdam fratrias et conspirationes inexploratae vitae omnes (? homines) episcopali officio provehi atque hanc ipsam praefatae ecclesiae dignitatem imperii nostri solio sublimatam contemnere," As to the historical meaning of these sentences, we shall have a few words of suggestion to offer presently. The king goes on to declare that nothing of this kind is to be allowed in future, but that the honour of the primacy over *all* the churches of Carthaginensis is to be conceded to the church of Toledo, which excels the rest in dignity of name and office. Nor is it to be suffered that the province of Carthaginensis should be split up into two parts with two different metropolitans, which may lead to schism, to the overthrow of faith, and the destruction of unity. As for the signature of the venerable bishop Euphemius in the general synod of the Toledan council (C. Tol. III. A.D. 589; Euphemius), where he calls himself metropolitan of the province of Carpetania, the king corrects, "ejusdem ignorantiae sententiam," since the "regio" of Carpetania is not a province, but part of the province of Carthaginensis, as ancient documents declare. As Baetica, Lusitania, and Tarraconensis are separate provinces with separate metropolitans, so Carthaginensis is one province, and must obey one primate. Let not the bishops then venture to do again such presumptuous things as have been done. Indulgence is to be accorded to past transgressions, but if any disobey in the future, they are to be visited with degradation, excommunication and "nostrae severitatis censuram."

The king signs first, "propria manu." Then follow Isidore of Seville: "dum in urbem Toletanam pro occursu Regio advenissem agnitis his constitutionibus adsensum praebui atque subscripsi"; Innocentius of Merida, *id.*; Eusebius of Tarraco, Sergius of Narbonne, and, among the suffragans, the two historians Joannes of Gerona [Joannes Biclarensis] and Maximus of Saragossa, and Isidore's brother, Fulgentius of Astigi. There are twenty-six signatures, of which four are metropolitan.

Arguments for and against the Synod and Decretum.—Dahn's objections, based wholly on internal evidence, are—(1) the unusually good Latin of the documents, especially of the *Constitutio*, compared with that of other contemporary specimens, with the acts of C. Hisp. II. for instance, which we know to have been drawn up by Isidore himself; (2) the use of the title "majestas nostra," which we find nowhere else applied to a Gothic king, and of the word *fratria*, also unknown according to Dahn in the Latin of that time and country; (3) the sharp definitions of the words *regio* and *provincia*, the meaning of which varied greatly in official and public use; and (4) the absence of the name of the bishop of Toledo from the list of signatures (*Könige der Germanen*, vi. 439).

To these objections of detail we may add the generally suspicious character of these documents relating to metropolitan privileges (conf. the acts of the so-called council of Oviedo, in 811, and the supposed councils of Lugo, *Esp. Sagr.* iv. 141 and xxxvii. app.); and we may point to the avowed connexion between these documents and the synod of Montanus, another doubtful matter in the eyes of some scholars, though the grounds for rejecting it are as yet far from convincing (Montanus).

On the other hand, it may be urged—(1) that the Latin of the *Constitutio* is no better than, if as good as, the Latin of the second synod of Barcelona, held in 599, the acts of which were possibly drawn up by the historian Joannes Biclarensis, as the *Constitutio* and *Decretum* may have been at least partially drawn up by the learned Isidore (Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. 2, 27); (2) that the definitions of *regio* and *provincia* exactly correspond with the definitions given in Isidore's *Etymologiae*, xiv. 5, "Item regiones sunt partes provinciae, sicut in Phrygia Troia, sicut in Gallaecia Cantabria et Asturia"; (3) that, although the title "majestas nostra" cannot be matched elsewhere, the expression "regia majestas" was perfectly familiar to Isidore and to the time generally (*Etymol.* x. 238 and *Lex Visig.* tit. i. 5), and may very well have suggested the use of "majestas nostra" to the scribe, whether Isidore or another, while the word *fratria* does occur in a contemporary Spanish document, *i.e.* the judgment delivered at C. Tol. vi. (638) in the case of the rival bishops of Astigi, Marcianus and Habencius (Tejada y Ramiro, ii. 329); (4) that the signature of Aurasius of Toledo is wanting because "he could not appear as judge in his own cause" (*l. c.* p. 487).

Again, a careful cross-examination of the signatures both of the *Constitutio* and *Decretum* yields results certainly favourable to their authenticity. In the first place, we have the signatures of two bishops of Castulo (Cazlona), the first, Theodorus, among the signatures to the *Constitutio*, the second, Venerius, among the signatures to the *Decretum*, where he appears as the only Carthaginensian bishop. The obvious explanation of this is that Theodorus of Castulo, whose signature is found among those of the third council of Toledo, twenty-one years before the accession of Gunthimar, died shortly after the promulgation of the *Constitutio*, that he was succeeded by Venerius, who was made to sign the subsequent *Decretum*, having not signed

the *Constitutio*.[a] "The signature of Venerius," says Helfferich, "speaks very much in favour of the *Decretum*—a forger would hardly have taken notice of such a point." Among the whole forty-one signatures to the documents, there is not one against which a charge of anachronism or impossibility can be brought, while several are unexpectedly illustrated by contemporary documents. For instance, Sergius of Narbonne is known to us from the synods of Toledo, 589, and Narbonne, in the same year, only as Sergius of Carcassonne, but the fourth letter of Bulgaranus (unpublished; see above) shews him to us as advanced to the metropolitan see of Narbonne; Innocentius of Merida does not appear in any other synod of the time, but his life among the biographies of the bishops of Merida, current under the name of Paulus Emeritensis (a work of the first half of the 7th century), proves that an Innocentius was bishop of Merida just at this date. Eusebius of Tarraco is known to us from a letter of Braulio to Isidore (*Ep.* v.; *Esp. Sagr.* xxx. 326) and from the well-known letter addressed to him by king Sisebut [EUSEBIUS (85)], and he may possibly be identified with the Eusebius signing the council of Egara in 614. In general it may be said that we are able to identify most of the bishops signing the *Decretum*, who belong to the provinces of Tarraconensis, Narbonensis, and Baetica. This is only because we have synods in 589, 592, 599, and 619 held in these provinces, whereas we have no Gallician or Lusitanian synod between the third and fourth councils of Toledo, and also no synod besides the synod of Gunthimar in which the names of Carthaginensian bishops appear, between 589 or 597, if we accept the doubtful synod of Recared (Gams, *K.-G.* ii. 2, 25; *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 154) and 633. This explains how it is that only one of the Lusitanian, none of the Gallician, and very few of the Carthaginensian names can be substantiated from outside, but as the names that can be checked are right, it is at least probable that those which cannot are so also.

One of two alternatives, therefore, must be the case, either the documents are genuine, or they are the work of an extremely clever forger extraordinarily well versed in the ecclesiastical history of the time. On the latter supposition, three separate suggestions may be made: (i.) that they are connected with the synod of Montanus, that both are forgeries of the time of Eugenius II., and that Ildefonsus consciously or unconsciously made use of the deception; (ii.) that the *Constitutio* and *Decretum* are forgeries of the time of the ambitious Julian, to whose initiation was owing C. Tol. xii. 6, and during whose episcopate the see of Toledo assumed a position it had never attained before, and never equalled again until the time of archbishop Bernard and Alfonso VI. (conf. Gams, *K.-G.* ii. [2] 210); (iii.) that the forgery of these Toledan documents is connected with the efforts of Oviedo in the 10th and 11th centuries to obtain metropolitan rank, and to play the part of the heir of Toledo in things ecclesiastical as it had become the heir of the Gothic capital in civil status. This latter suggestion would require a careful re-examination and comparison of MSS. before it could be proved or finally refuted. Compare however the mention made of Toledan supremacy over Carthaginensis in the acts of the so-called council of Oviedo in 811 (*Esp. Sagr.* xxxvii. app.).

On the other hand, if the documents are genuine, we are in possession of the key to the ecclesiastical history of Carthaginensis in the first half of the 7th century. Between the modest signature of Euphemius in 589 as "metropolitan of Carpetania" and the glorification of the see of Toledo as the illustrious and privileged head of Carthaginensis which we find in Ildefonsus (conf. the *de Vir. Ill.* passim, but especially the preface), and see realized in Julian's career [JULIAN], the synod and *Decretum* would then occupy a middle and explanatory place. A glance at the history of the time throws some light on such an ecclesiastical attempt as these documents, if authentic, represent. In 589, many of the older bishoprics, certainly most of the maritime bishoprics of Carthaginensis and Baetica were in the hands of the Byzantines. The sees of Cartagena, Malaga, Urci, and Assidonia at least were in their possession, and possibly, as Gams suggests, Ilici, Dianium, and Saetabis also. The two letters of Gregory the Great to the Defensor Joannes (*Epist.* l. 13, ep. 45, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxvii.) imply the existence of a considerable but indefinite number of bishoprics within the Byzantine boundaries.

Euphemius then, at a time when several of the suffragan bishoprics of Carthaginensis, including Cartagena itself, up to 425 at least—as we can scarcely doubt notwithstanding the scanty nature of the evidence—not only the ancient civil but the undisputed ecclesiastical head of the province, were in the possession of the Eastern empire, could not truthfully assume the title of metropolitan of Carthaginensis, even if such a rank had formerly at any time belonged undisputedly to Toledo. And it was less possible at that moment than it would have been later, for the bishop of Toledo to assume the title without possessing the reality because of the existence of the distinguished Licinian of Cartagena, the friend of Gregory the Great, who undoubtedly, as his letters shew, possessed and exercised metropolitan powers either over the whole of the Spanish territory within the Greek borders, together with the Balearic isles, or over a portion of it (*Ep.* i. *ad S. Greg. Pap.* and ii. *ad Vincentium Ep. Ebositanae Insulae; Esp. Sagr.* v. 421, 425).

But after the death of Licinian of Cartagena (about A.D. 600), to whom we know of no successor, although he may have had one, and after the reigns of Recared and Witteric, during which the Gothic power was steadily increasing and the east-Roman power steadily decreasing (as is shewn by the rapid successes of Sisebert and Suinthila), the condition of things changed. In 610 Toledo was not yet even the civil head of the whole of Carthaginensis (the final renunciations of territory on the part of the Greeks were made in 615 and 625), but an energetic bishop

[a] Helfferich suggests that the signatures to the *Decretum* were obtained by sending the document round among the bishops, and that they are not to be regarded as the signatures of bishops in council. This would meet Dahn's objection to the improbably large number of bishops.

such as we know Aurasius to have been (Ildef. *Vir. Illustr.* cap. v.) might with some plausibility have *claimed* the ecclesiastical headship. In or about 615 Cartagena itself was destroyed (conf. Fredegar. *Chron.* c. 33 with *Etymol.* xv. 1, 67), and no possible rival remained to dispute the pretensions of the "urbs regia." At a time, therefore, when the Gothic power was rapidly advancing towards this conclusion, Aurasius may have made his attempt, just as Montanus may have made an earlier attempt in the same direction, when Cartagena, the ancient civil and ecclesiastical metropolis [see art. HILARIUS], was still suffering from the ruin and destruction wrought by the Vandals in 425 (Idat. ad an.), and before her restoration by the imperialists. (The Byzantines entered Spain in 554 at the invitation of Athanagild.) After Toledo became under Leovigild the seat of the Gothic government, the aggrandisement of the see was assured. If the synod and *Decretum Gundemari* are genuine, then we are in possession of the steps which led from the position of Euphemius to the position of Julian. If not, we are in the dark.

Among the exciting causes of the synod and *Decretum* may very well have been the obscure proceedings in the south-eastern corner of Spain revealed to us by Gregory's letters to the Defensor Johannes, and by the *sententia* or judgment of Johannes upon the causes he was sent to investigate. The words in the *Decretum*, "licentiam sibi de usurpatione praeteriti principis fecerunt," refer possibly not to Witteric, as Dahn supposes, but to Justinian or Maurice, and allude to the split of some bishops within the Greek borders from the rest of Carthaginensis, perhaps to the doubtful cases where part of the bishopric had fallen into Byzantine hands, and the bishop had taken advantage of the fact to separate himself from the Carthaginensian synod. Space fails us to dwell on the question, but the more those letters are studied, the more probable will it appear that the synod and *Decretum* of Gunthimar were in great measure an answer to the papal proceeding represented by them. The pope says that one of the bishops—of unknown see—whose cause is to be tried seems to have no metropolitan or patriarch. Therefore Rome takes up the matter and the Defensor Joannes is sent out. Toledo replies about six years later by claiming the whole of Carthaginensis, and sharply denouncing those who had tampered with her metropolitan privileges in the matter of appointment to bishoprics. Marked jealousy of the claims of Rome is shewn by Toledo throughout the 7th century. (See art. JULIAN; Gams, *K.-G.* ii. [2] 222–238.) The synod and *Decretum* of Gunthimar are not improbably one of the first symptoms of it.

III. On the subject of the supposed church laws of Gunthimar, see Helfferich (*Westgothen-Recht*, p. 53), who supposes that the four anonymous laws on the right of asylum in the *Lex Visig.* ix. 3, may with some probability be traced back to Gunthimar. Dahn, however, is of a contrary opinion (*Könige der Germanen*, v. 175, n. 6).

(*Esp. Sagrada*, vi. 158, 330; v. 162; Aguirre-Catalani, *Collectio Maxima Conc. Hisp.* iii. 322, 324; Tejada y Ramiro, *Colecc. de Can.* ii. 403.)

[M. A. W.]

GUNTHRANNUS. [GUNTRAMNUS.]

GUNTHSUENTHA. [GOISVINTHA.]

GUNTIARIUS, king. [GUNDICARIUS.]

GUNTMARUS of Lira. [GUMMARUS.]

GUNTRAMNUS (1) BOSO, a duke of the Austrasian Franks in the latter half of the 6th century, is a representative instance of the high-born adventurer of Merovingian times. His career, as far as we know it, was made up of murders, robberies, treachery, sacrilege, and abject superstition, with scarcely a redeeming feature. He first appears as one of Sigebert's generals, and the reputed slayer of Chilperic's son, Theodebert, in A.D. 575. Two years later a refugee from the vengeance of the father, he had settled himself with his two daughters in the sanctuary of St. Martin at Tours. Hither he invited Meroveus, another son of Chilperic, who had been in arms against his father, and a little later, seduced by the promise of a bribe, betrayed him to his stepmother Fredegund, and was credited by report with his murder. His next exploit was to go to Constantinople and invite Gundovald, the disavowed son of Clotaire, to come to France and contest the crown of Austrasia. At twelve separate shrines he pledged his oath that he might come securely, and received rich gifts from him, but when he had arrived, Boso first stole part of the treasure he had brought to assist his enterprise, and then betrayed him to king Guntram. Finally, when the pretender's cause appeared hopeless, he murdered him, with every circumstance of treachery and brutality, not omitting to carry off as much as he could lay his hands on of the remaining treasure (A.D. 585). In the same year he broke into the church of Metz, and robbed the body of one of his wife's relations, his cupidity being tempted by the gold and jewels in which she had been buried. For this he was tried before Childebert and his nobles, and compelled to return the treasure with shame. His end, however, was not far off. Amongst his other enemies was the queen-mother Brunichilde, whose hatred he had incurred by his reckless and outrageous calumnies. At her desire, Childebert had commanded his capture and death. He fled to the sanctuary of the church at Verdun, where he hoped to obtain safety through the mediation of Agericus, the bishop, who was Childebert's godfather. His intercession, however, could only obtain a promise that Boso's fate should rest upon the decision of king Guntram, at the approaching conference of the two kings at Andelot. This verdict condemned him to death. Boso, when he heard it, fled to the lodging of Magnericus bishop of Treves, who was in attendance on Childebert, and was godfather of his son, and barring the door swore that if he was to die, the bishop should die with him. From his durance the latter sent appealing messages to his master, but the two kings were inexorable, and the order had been given to fire the house and burn them both, when the bishop's attendant clergy burst in the door and dragged him out. Boso, driven out by the flames, was struck down on the threshold, and perished with his people, pierced with lances so thickly that his body stood upright. The large treasure which he had accumulated in

a life of rapine, for the most part hidden in the earth to provide against all contingencies, was forfeited to the crown.

Gregory's estimate of him is curious evidence of the desperate lawlessness of the times. Though himself the chronicler of all his crimes, it is his perjuries only which impressed him, and those apart, he admits that Guntram had good qualities (alias sane bonus), though avaricious and greedy of others' goods. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 51; v. 4, 14, 19, 25, 26; vi. 26; vii. 14, 32, 36, 38; viii. 21, ix. 8, 10, 23; *De Mirac. S. Martini*, ii. 17; *Epitomata*, lxxx.; Fredegar, *Chron.* viii.; Thierry, *Récits des Temps mérovingiens*, iii. iv.)

[S. A. B.]

GUNTRAMNUS (2) (GUNTCHRAMNUS, GUNTHRANNUS, GONTRAN), ST., king of Burgundy, son of Clotaire I., and Ingundis (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 3). Upon his father's death in 561, Guntram's half-brother Chilperic seized the royal treasure at Braine, and entering Paris with the Franks, whose support it enabled him to purchase, endeavoured to usurp the government of the whole kingdom. Thereupon Guntram, Sigebert and Charibert, having united their forces, drove him out, and proceeded to make a just division of the kingdom by lot. To Guntram fell the territory which had been the share of his uncle Chlodomer, viz., the kingdom of Burgundy, which at this time extended from the Vosges to the Durance, and from the Alps to the Loire. (For the territories of the sons of Clotaire, see Bönnell, *Die Anfänge des Karolingischen Hauses*, sub fin.) Orleans was his nominal capital, but in fact he made his ordinary residence at Châlon-sur-Saône (iv. 21, 22). The external history of his reign, owing to his pacific and unenterprising disposition, is uneventful. His wars were almost all defensive, and on one occasion only did he take the field in person. Upon Charibert's death, about A.D. 567, his kingdom was distributed between the three surviving brothers, the city of Paris with its territory being divided equally among them, and a compact was entered into to the effect that entry into the city by any of them should be followed by the forfeiture of the offender's share, an agreement under which Guntram later on claimed his two brothers' portions (vii. 6, 14). Sigebert soon broke the peace by endeavouring to deprive Guntram of Arles, but his expedition was defeated and he lost Avignon to Guntram's generals, though it was restored to him again out of good nature (iv. 30). In 571, and the following year, the Lombards broke into France from Italy. On the former occasion Guntram's general, Amatus, was defeated and slain with a terrible massacre of his Burgundian army, but on their return the superior generalship of Mummolus triumphed, and the Lombards were annihilated or driven back across the Alps (iv. 42). About this time broke out the civil war between Sigebert and Chilperic, which only ended with the former's murder in 575. Guntram at first joined Sigebert, and through Mummolus recovered for him Tours and Poitiers, which Chilperic had wrongfully usurped (iv. 46). But he would gladly have held aloof altogether, and in 573 he assembled all the bishops of his realm at Paris, that they might decide upon the pretensions of the two brothers, but without avail, for they refused to listen (iv. 48). In 577, all his four sons having died he solemnly adopted Childebert, the infant son of Sigebert, and declared him his heir (v. 18). In 584 Chilperic was murdered, and at Fredegund's request Guntram went with a force to Paris, and protected her and her infant son, Clotaire II., against the nobles of Childebert's kingdom (vii. 5). Here too he undid some of the wrongs committed by Chilperic, restoring the property which his followers had taken, and reviving the wills of pious donors which had been disregarded (vii. 7). Meanwhile, though he voluntarily relinquished Marseilles (vi. 46), he upheld his title, in spite of the remonstrances of Childebert, and the Austrasian nobles, to the part of Charibert's territory which had been inherited by Sigebert and Chilperic, on the ground that they had forfeited their shares by entering Paris (vii. 6, 12, 13, 14). In 584 Tours and Poitiers, which had formerly belonged to Sigebert, revolted from Guntram to Childebert, the former's son, but were speedily subdued, their territories being devastated with fire and sword (vii. 12, 13). In 585 Poitiers revolted again, and Guntram in person led an army against it, which pillaged, burned and murdered in the surrounding country till the city submitted. His soldiers afterwards did the same in Touraine, though loyal (vii. 24). In 582 there had arrived at Marseilles a pretender to a share in the kingdom of the Franks, in the person of Gundovald, a son of one of Clotaire's concubines, but disavowed by Clotaire himself. Induced by Guntram Boso and Mummolus, who had for some reason deserted Guntram, to leave Constantinople, where he had latterly lived, on the solemn assurance that the nobles of Childebert's kingdom were eager to espouse his cause, he found himself, after a time, betrayed and plundered by those who had invited him, and after a hopeless struggle was treacherously murdered at Comminges in A.D. 585 (vii. 14, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38). At this time, induced perhaps by the need of an ally against Gundovald, Guntram restored to Childebert the territory he held which had formerly belonged to Sigebert, and again solemnly made him his heir (vii. 33). In 586 he sent an army against the Visigoths in Septimania, to avenge the injuries of Ingondis, his niece, and the death of her husband, St. Hermenegild, but the expedition, accompanied by more than the usual devastation and sacrilege, broke up and failed. Reprisals followed almost immediately in the invasion of the territory of Toulouse and Arles by Richaredus, Leuvichilde's son (viii. 30). Hostilities were continued at intervals till Guntram's death, and, influenced presumably by the hatred of his clerical advisers towards Arianism, he uniformly refused to listen to the frequent overtures for peace, made to him by the Goths (viii. 35, 38, 45; ix. 1, 16). In Nov. 587, Guntram, Childebert, and Brunechilde, met at Andelot, and by the treaty there signed, the text of which we have in full, composed the differences which had always smouldered, and often broken out into open war, since the murder of Galsuintha in A.D. 567 (ix. 10, 11). The main provisions of it were that so much of Charibert's kingdom, as upon his death had fallen to Sigebert, i.e., one-third of Paris and its territory, Châteaudun, Vendôme, part of Étampes and Chartres were assigned to Guntram, while Meaux, Senlis, Tours, Poitiers, Avranches, Avic

Conserans, Bayonne, and Albi were given to Childebert. In the event of either dying without leaving a son, the other was to take the whole. As to the towns which had belonged to Galsuintha as dower or morgengabe, viz., Bordeaux, Limoges, Cahors, Lescar and Tarbes, they were to be held by Guntram for life, and then belong to Brunechilde, except Cahors, which should become hers at once (ix. 20). About the same time he became involved in a wearisome Breton war on his borders, which though settled for the time broke out again later (ix. 18; x. 9). In 589 he sustained a severe defeat from the Goths in Septimania, losing 5000 men (ix. 31). In 591, at Fredegund's request, he was present at the baptism of her son Clotaire II., and received him from the font. He died in 593, in the thirty-third year of his reign, on the 28th March, on which day the church commemorates him as a saint, and was buried in the monastery church of St. Marcellus, his own foundation at Châlons. The Martyrologies, both ancient and modern, make mention of him on this day. See Hieronymus, Bede, Wandalbert, Usuard. The assertion in the last that he retired from the world and gave his wealth to the poor, is legendary. (Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiii. 881.) The Bollandists under this date give a life of him extracted from Gregory of Tours and Fredegarius. (*Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 721.)

Though the church has canonized Guntram, it is perhaps doubtful whether his virtues would stand out brightly on any other background than the utter darkness of Merovingian times. His chief merit seems to have lain in the avoidance of the terrible excesses which characterized some of his family, and for this the feebleness of his nature was perhaps as much to be thanked as any positive inclination towards well-doing. Even his clerical eulogists admit that in the matter of women his morals were by no means scrupulous (Aimoin, iii. 3, Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 693). His concubine, Veneranda, originally the servant of one of his people, he discarded to marry Marcatrudis, whom in turn he repudiated in favour of Austrechildis (Greg. Tur. iv. 25, v. 17). Upon Charibert's death he entertained the proposals of marriage made to him by his widow, Theudechildis. "Let her come without fear," said he, "and bring her treasure with her." But no sooner was she in his power than he appropriated her riches, and shut her up in a monastery at Arles, where she soon after died (iv. 26).

In the absence of provocation or panic he was mild, and even merciful, in temper, but on occasion he readily committed the barbarities of his age. The two brothers of the forsaken Marcatrudis, who, in resentment at their sister's injuries, spoke against her successor, were put to death, and their goods confiscated (v. 17). He did not hesitate to beat, imprison and torture the ambassadors of Gundovald, though one of them was an abbat, and Mummolus and the rest of the pretender's generals were put to death in breach of the condition of their surrender (vii. 28, 32, 38). His chamberlain, Chundo, being accused of killing a wild bull in one of the royal forests, was sentenced, despite his protestations of innocence, to the ordeal by combat, and when his champion fell at the same moment with his opponent, was tied to a stake, and stoned to death (x. 10).

The merest suspicion or accusation connected with his personal safety was sufficient to throw him into a panic, when torture was freely applied to obtain confessions. Assassination was the haunting fear of his life, and to guard against it he always wore arms, and continually strengthened the escort by which he was attended everywhere, except in church (vii. 8, 18, viii. 11, 44). The murder of Chilperic made a deep impression on him, and when Fredegund denounced Eberulfus as the assassin, he swore before his nobles that he would kill not only him but his posterity to the ninth generation "to stay this impious practice of killing kings" (vii. 21). Childebert's ambassadors played upon this fear, when they assured him to his face that "the axe which had dashed out his brother's brains had not lost its edge" (vii. 14).

His apprehension at times took an almost comic aspect. Gregory tells us that one Sunday at church in Paris, when the deacon had enjoined silence for the mass, Guntram turned to the people, and said, "I beseech you, men and women who are present, do not break your faith to me, but forbear to kill me as you killed my brothers. At least, let me live three years, that I may rear up the nephews whom I have adopted, lest mayhap, which God forbid, you perish together with those little ones when I am dead, and there is no strong man of our race to defend you" (vii. 8, cf. Michelet, *Hist. de France*, i. 231, "Ce bon homme semble chargé de la partie comique dans le drame terrible de l'histoire mérovingienne").

But on one occasion, at least, he had not the excuse of either rage or fear for his cruelty. His wife, Austrechildis, on her death-bed, expressed a wish that her two physicians should die with her, and though they were in no way responsible for her death, Guntram commanded their execution as she desired (v. 36).

On the other hand, the mere abstinence from wanton wrong-doing and aggression must be counted for a virtue in his family and age. For the crowning evil of the time, the incessant civil wars which devastated France, he was in no way responsible. Indeed, he seems to have cherished a genuine affection for his relations, though it was generally ill-repaid (vii. 5; viii. 10, 37; ix. 11, 20). Though frequently in combat, it was always to repel the aggression of others, except in the case of his Gothic wars, which probably assumed in his mind the character of crusades against the heretics. And the profuse almsgiving which he practised (*e.g.* vii. 40) showed a real, if mistaken, desire for the good of his subjects.

But it was his attitude to the church and the clergy which procured him admission to the ranks of the saints. He was a warm friend to the church (vii. 7, 40). St. Benignus of Dijon, St. Symphorian of Autun and St. Marcellus of Châlon-sur-Saône, were founded or enriched by him, and in the last he established and provided for perpetual psalmody after the model of St. Sigismund's foundation at St. Maurice (Fredegar. *Chron.* xv.; Aimoin, *Hist. Franc.* iii. 81, Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 751). Bishops were his constant advisers, and his favourite solution of all complications was an episcopal council (v. 28; vii. 16; viii. 13, 20, 27). He commended himself to them, also by his respect for the ceremonies of the church, and the frequency and regularity of

his attendance at all religious services, and especially by the freedom and condescension with which he ate, drank and conversed with them (vii 29; viii. 1–7, 9, 10; ix. 3, 20, 21; x. 28). Gregory says, "You would have thought him a priest as well as a king" (ix. 21). "With priests he was like a priest," says Fredegarius (*Chron.* i.), and "he showed himself humble to the priests of Christ," says Aimoin (*Hist. Franc.* iii. 81, Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 751). Chilperic once intercepted the letter of a bishop, in which it was written that the transition from Guntram's sway to his was like passing from paradise to hell (Greg. Tur. vi. 22).

In estimating Guntram's character, therefore, it must always be borne in mind that the authors on whom we depend for our information belong to this favoured class. Especially is this true in the case of Gregory of Tours, who was on very friendly terms with him (viii. 2–7, 13; ix. 20, 21), and who goes so far as to ascribe miracles to his sanctity during his lifetime (ix. 21; cf. too Paulus Diaconus, *de Gest. Langob.* iii. 33, Migne, Patr. Lat. xcv. 535, and Aimoin. iii. 3, Patr. Lat. cxxxix. 693).

There is extant an edict of Guntram addressed to the bishops and judges of his realm, commanding the observance of the Sabbath and holy days, in conformity with the canon of the second council of Mâcon. It is dated Nov. 10, 585, and is to be found in Mansi ix. 962, and in Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 720; cf. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 369, seq.

Several authors relate of Guntram the following story, which Valesius (*Gest. Vet. Fr.* lib. xv. 452) takes pains seriously to refute. One day, weary with hunting, he was resting on the bosom of his esquire by the bank of a rivulet, and the esquire saw a little reptile issue from his mouth and vainly attempt to cross the water. The esquire held his sword across, and the creature passed over upon it, returned and re-entered the king's mouth. Guntram awoke in agitation, and said he had been dreaming that he had crossed a great river by an iron bridge, and in a cavern beneath a mountain discovered a vast treasure. Advancing beyond the stream he came to the treasure, which he devoted to the service of the church. (Paul. Diac. *Gest. Langob.* lib. iv. cap. 33; Aimoin. Monach. Floriac. lib. iii. cap. 2; Sigebert, *Chron.* ann. 585; Regino, *Chron.* in Pat. Lat. cxxxii. 31; Wendover, tom. i. p. 93, ed. Coxe.) [S. A. B.]

GUNTRAMNUS (3) I. (GUNTHARIUS), seventeenth archbishop of Tours following St. Baldus or Baudinus, and succeeded by St. Eufronius. Gregory of Tours says that he was abbat of the monastery of St. Venantius in the same city, whence he was raised to the episcopate. Before his elevation he was a man of wisdom, and a trusted ambassador of the French kings, but after it he became addicted to wine to such an extent that he grew stupid, and was unable to recognise his fellow-revellers, whom he cursed with unseemly abuse. He sat two years, ten months, and twenty-two days, circ. A.D. 552–554, and on his death was buried in the church of St. Martin. Gregory also relates the miraculous refusal of the bishop's horse to pass an oratory of St. Martin, where as abbat he had been wont to pray, until the duty had been performed (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 4, 11. x. 31; *De Glor. Confess.* cap. viii.) [S. A. B.]

GUNTRAMNUS (4) II., 36th archbishop of Tours, succeeding Ibbo and followed by Dido. According to the *Chronicon Turonense Magnum* (Salmon, *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, pp. 91–2), he sat from 730 to 742. He may have been identical with the third abbat of St. Martin's (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 32, 160). [S. A. B.]

GUNTRUTA, daughter of Teutpert, duke of the Bavarians, became the wife of Luitprand, king of the Lombards (713–744). Paulus Diaconus, vi. 43. [A. H. D. A.]

GUNWALLUS, saint. [WINWALLUS.]

GUODLOIU, GUODOLIU, suffragan bishop of Llandaff. [GWODLOEW and GWYDDLON.]

GUOZBERTUS of Poitiers. [GAUSBERTUS.]

GURAM, the first of the race of the Bagratides who ascended the throne of Georgia towards the end of the 6th century of our era. He was the adopted son of Stephen, last Georgian king of the house of the Sassanides. The dynasty of the Bagratides claimed to be descended from David king of Israel, emblazoning on their arms the sling that served to kill Goliath, David's harp, a pair of scales as emblem of Solomon's wisdom, a lion on which rested Solomon's throne, our Lord's coat, and St. George slaying the dragon. All round this device was the verse: "The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David; he will not turn from it: of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne" (Ps. cxxii. 11). Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Administ. Imp.* cap. 45) tells us that the kings of Georgia are descended from the prophet David, and that they quitted Jerusalem about the year 500 of the Christian era. (Malan, *Hist. of Georgian Church*, p. 15.) [G. T. S.]

GUREBERTUS of Reate. [GUIBERTUS.]

GURGEN king of Georgia, about the time of the emperor Justinian. He was persecuted by the Persians on account of his faith. (Malan, *Hist. of Georgian Ch.* p. 81.) [G. T. S.]

GURHEI, Welsh saint. [GWRHAI.]

GURIAS, Nov. 15 (*Cal. Byz.*); in the Armenian Calendar, Nov. 14; presbyter and martyr with another presbyter, Samonas or Shamuna, in the Diocletian persecution, A.D. 306, at the city of Edessa, where a magnificent church was raised to their memory, which the Mahometans afterwards turned into a mosque. Their acts were written by Aretas, bishop of Caesarea in the 6th century. The deacon Habibus is usually joined with them in commemoration, but he suffered some years after under Licinius. (Bas. *Menol.*; Asseman. *Mart. Orient.* i. 226; Cureton, *Anct. Syrian Docum.* p. 72; Wright's *Syr. Mart.*) [G. T. S.]

GURMAET, ST., a companion of St. Teilo after his return from Brittany to Wales, and the saint of a church corresponding to Llandeilo'r Fân, in Brecknock, which was bestowed by Rhydderch, king of Wales, on the bishopric of Llandaff. It is called Languruaet in the grant.

(R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 253; *Liber Landavensis*, 397, 523.) [C. W. B.]

GURNERTH [GWRNERTH.]

GURNIN (GUIRMINN), virgin, daughter of Cughaela or Conghail, is commemorated in *Mart. Doneg.* and *Mart. Tall.* on Feb. 22, and is given as Garnimia among the Praetermissi of the Bollandists. (*Acta SS.* 22 Feb. iii. 280; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 670.) [J. G.]

GURNUEU (GURNVEN, GURVAN), bishop of Menevia about the beginning of the 9th century. (Giraldus Cambr. *Itin. Kambr.* ii. c. i. wks. vi. 105; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 155; Godwin, *de Praesul. Angl.* 622.) [J. G.]

GURON, ST., a hermit, probably Irish, who had settled at Bodmin, in Cornwall, before the arrival of St. Petrock from Ireland. (Leland, *Collect*, i. 75.) William of Worcester (p. 107) says, "St. Woronus confessor die 7 Aprilis." A chapel is dedicated to him in St. John's parish on the part of Cornwall which projects out into Plymouth Sound. The parish of Gorran is on Mevagissey Bay further west, and the episcopal estate there is called Polgorran. See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 213. [C. W. B.]

GURVALUS (GUDWAL, GURWAL), ST., said to have been one of the early bishops of St. Malo in the first half of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 995.) [S. A. B.]

GURVAN, bishop of Menevia. [GURNUEU.]

GUTARD (GUTTARDUS), the thirteenth abbat of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, who ruled according to the *Chronologia Augustinensis*, from 787 to 803. (Elmham, pp. 12, 13, 335, 340.) According to the Canterbury historians, he was blessed by archbishop Jaenberht. (Thorn, c. 1, 75; Elmh. p. 335.) Although he was abbat during a most stirring period of Kentish history, nothing is recorded of his acts. [S.]

GUTHAGON, commemorated July 3; according to tradition a Scoto-Irish prince, who went with his sister Macra, and his servant or companion Ghillo [GHILLO], into Flanders, and, after a life of penitence and piety at Oostkerk, near Bruges, died there in the year 299, aged fifty-one, according to Dempster. (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 16, wks. vi. 314–16; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 314–15; Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, July 3, p. 97; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, July 3, Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 204, 213.) [J. G.]

GUTHLAC, ST., presbyter and hermit of Crowland or Croyland (699–714). He is known through a Latin *Life* by Felix, whose information was derived from the saint's intimate associates, the abbat Wilfrid and the presbyters Cissa (§ 2) and Bettelin (§ 35). It has been printed with notes and comments by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 11 Apr. ii. 37) and by Mabillon (*Acta SS. O. S. B.* iii. 256 or 263). A free Anglo-Saxon version from the Latin was made at some period unknown, and now exists in a Cottonian manuscript executed, it is believed, soon after the conquest. This version was edited in 1848 with an English translation by Mr. C. W. Goodwin. Felix must have written about thirty-four years after Guthlac's death, since he dedicates to Elfwald king of the East-Angles (747–749). The work is thus of much interest, as it carries on Anglo-Saxon historical literature a step in immediate succession to Bede. Bede's *Life of Cuthbert* and Felix's *Life of Guthlac* may be regarded as companion memoirs of early-English saints. In one respect Felix's memoir is even of more interest than Bede's, as containing much less of the marvellous in its details, and giving more reality to the saint. It is not known who Felix was. Of course he could not have been the bishop of Dunwich, which some have called him. He says of himself that he is a domestic (vernaculus) of a "catholic congregation," the latter phrase apparently indicating a monastery which adhered to Roman usages in a period when Roman and Celtic rivalries were yet in memory and possibly still alive. "Vernaculus" might further import that he was bred on the estate of the monastery, like Bede at Jarrow, a kind of foster child of the house, receiving perhaps his Latin name from the monks. An unsupported reading in one manuscript makes him a monk of Jarrow. The objection to assigning him to Crowland is that Elfwald was his lord and Crowland was a Mercian house. It is more natural to suppose that he was a monk somewhere in East Anglia, in which kingdom there had then been founded the monasteries of Cnobheresburg, Betrichesworth, Soham, and Ely.

Guthlac's father Penwall or Penwald, who resided among the Middle Angles, was descended from the Iclings, a noble race of Mercia, and belonged to the tribe of the Guthlacings, after whom the son was called (§ 8). His mother Tecta or Tetta also belonged to a family of rank. The birth of their son is not dated. Felix interprets the name Guth-lac as meaning belli-munus, an augury of the reward he was to obtain for contending against evil. A later interpretation (Capgrave's) is belli-donum in the sense of bonum donum. Goodlake has been suggested as the modern representative of the name. Guthlac was baptized in infancy. His earliest manhood was fired with the ambition of rivalling the heroes of ancient story, and taking up the profession of arms he collected a band of followers, at whose head he "wreaked his grudges on his enemies, burned their city, ravaged their towns, and wildly through the land made much slaughter, and took from men their goods" (Goodw. p. 15). The biographer seems to exaggerate the exploits, but he evidently does not regard Guthlac as a brigand, for he notes that "by a divine admonition" he restored to the vanquished one-third of the spoil. In another place (Felix, § 20) it is incidentally stated that Guthlac had once lived in exile among the Britons, and had learned their tongue. His enemies are called his "persecutors." It may be supposed then that his hostilities were undertaken against the hereditary British foe, from whom the lands of his family or tribe had received special wrong. The case of Hereric appears to have been somewhat parallel. After eight or nine years thus spent, Guthlac suddenly one night, in a fit of reflection, and apparently with a presentiment that his life would not prove a long one, resolved to devote the rest of his days to religion. Promptly in the morning, having signed himself

with the cross, he bade adieu to his comrades and repaired to the monastery of Repton in the Middle Angles. The little that is known of Repton during the heptarchal period is almost all contained in the pages of Felix. It is in Guthlac's Life we become aware of the existence of the house, and learn the names of two of its abbesses (*Monast. Angl.* vi. 429). The burial of the etheling Cynehard at Repton in 755 rests solely upon the statement of Rudborne (*Angl. Sac.* i. 196) against every other authority. The lady presiding over Repton was Oelfrid or Aelfthrytha [ELFTHRITHA (1), ELFRIDA (1)], and under her Guthlac received St. Peter's tonsure. Repton was a "Catholic congregation," as Felix elsewhere (§ 15) expressly calls it. Guthlac was then in his twenty-fourth year (§ 11 fin.). Florence of Worcester (in *M. H. B.* 539 B) records the date as 697, so that 674 is the computed year of Guthlac's birth. This is the year before Ethelred became king of Mercia, whereas Felix in opening his story within the reign of Ethelred appears to contradict our reckoning. Felix, however, plainly was ignorant of the precise time, or he would have recorded it; for when he thought he knew a date, that of his saint's death, he gave it; the period of his birth he wraps up in vague and general language. The discipline of Repton under abbess Elfrida is illustrated by the unpopularity which Guthlac incurred by abstaining from strong drink (§ 12). After a time, however, his worth was discerned, and he became a favourite. He was then in his manly prime, tall and handsome, modest, patient, wise, chaste, and "with divine love burning in his soul" (§ 12). The lives of early solitaries were recited at Repton, and they made Guthlac ardent for a new adventure in imitation of them. Cuthbert's life at Farne island (cir. 676–686) might have helped to kindle the enthusiasm, though Bede's account of it was not then written, Bede being a young man of Guthlac's own age. In two years he had learnt the psalms, canticles, hymns, and prayers after the ecclesiastical order, and thus spiritually equipped, with the sanction of the elders he departed from Repton (§ 13). The one spot named from which his route can be ascertained is Gronte, Granta, or Grantchester (§ 14; Goodw. 21), near Cambridge. The Roman road from Repton, then Watling Street, then Iknield Street, would have brought him into that neighbourhood. At Grantchester he found himself near the border of the great fen country, which Felix describes as stretching far to the north, with now a black pool of water, now foul running streams, many islands also, and reeds, and hillocks, and thickets, with manifold windings wide and long. From Tatwine, one of the inhabitants of Grantchester, Guthlac heard of Crowland, the most desolate island of the waste, and known to very few besides Tatwine himself. Crowland therefore he resolved to reach, with Tatwine for a guide. We know that they embarked in a fishing skiff, but again the route is left to conjecture. They could, however, have dropped down the Cam in the direction of Ely monastery, then up the Ouse to where Erith now stands at the threshold of a long northerly stretch of true fen occupying east Huntingdonshire. Pursuing that direction, and thus skirting the western edge of the great marsh land, they could doubtless have threaded their way through streams and pools and meres up to Medeshamstede (Peterborough), and there gain the Nene, which would carry them to Crowland in the extreme south of Lincolnshire. The charter of the foundation of Crowland abbey dated 716 (*Hist. Ingulph.* Gale, i. 3; Kemble, *C. D.* 66; Gough, *Hist. Croyl.* 1783, p. 4, app. p. 1) is spurious, but its delimitation of the ground need not be rejected. Here we find the island extending four "leucae" by three and bounded by the Shepishee on the east, the Nene on the west, Asendyke on the north, Southee on the south. These waters but partially survive in the modern map of the locality. Orderic, who describes (*ut infr.*) the original estate of Crowland Abbey as extending about 8 "miliaria" by 5, places Asendyke on the east, and calls it a fossa, an artificial work, which indeed its name implies. Roman engineers had by no means in their day neglected the drainage and embankment of the fen country. Guthlac's Crowland must have been a wilder one than that of Camden's days, when it was described as lying among the deepest fens and waters stagnating off muddy lands, so shut in and environed as to be inaccessible on all sides except the north and east, and that only by narrow causeways (Camd. *Brit.* ed. Gough, ii. 224). Guthlac certainly found no causeway; the spot was accessible by water only, and the language of Felix, "umbrosa nemora" (§ 14), "inter nubilosos lucos" (§ 15), suggest nothing better than a marsh jungle. A few days were spent in examining the capabilities of the spot, and Guthlac then went back to take final leave of Repton. In ninety days he returned, bringing with him two youths as servants, and arrived once more at Crowland on Aug. 24, the day of St. Bartholomew, Guthlac's chosen saint (§ 15).

For a Christian station Crowland was an advanced post into an unoccupied tract. Its monastic neighbour was Medeshamstede, about twelve miles in the west, while southwards, nearer to him, on the spot where Thorney Abbey afterwards rose, was Ancarig, a hermit settlement like his own, planted by Medeshamstede (*Monast. Angl.* ii. 593); but neither Medeshamstede nor Ancarig, nor yet Ely, are named by Felix. As he looked northwards into Lincolnshire Guthlac could see no monastery below the parallel of Lincoln, upon which line there lay Bardney and Partney eastward towards the sea. Beyond Lincoln there was only Barwe, somewhere by the Humber. It has been conjectured, however, with much plausibility (*M. H. B.* 1000; C. H. Pearson, *Hist Maps of Engl.* p. 68), that the minster built by St. Botolph in 654 (*A. S. C.* s. a.) was Boston or Botolphstone, and this minster would then have been, as far as can now be known, Guthlac's nearest neighbour in Lincolnshire.

In a cistern-like hollow (§ 16), upon the slope of a hillock thrown up in earlier times by diggers for hidden treasure, as Felix supposed, but more probably one of those ancient British barrows which are not uncommon in those parts (cf. Stukeley, *Itin. Curios.* p. 5, ed. 1776), Guthlac made his dwelling. He clothed himself with skins, and at sunset he took his single daily meal of barley-bread and water (*ib.*). A man of his energy and resource would soon have made the spot habitable and productive. The worst hardships of his lot were those horrors which solitaries

everywhere have experienced—temptations, the consciousness of sin, and an imagination haunted by demons. His temptations were to an excessive rigour. Stings of conscience, which had not driven him into solitude, came to him there (§ 17). But his fame more particularly rested on his conflict with demon powers, which caused him to be represented in mediaeval art in the form of a monk wielding a scourge with a dragon or evil spirit at his feet (Parker, *Angl. Ch. Cal.* p. 242, engr.). Felix describes how in the stillness of the night his tormentors would flock about him, with their great heads, long necks, lean visages, squalid beards, rough ears, ugly faces, horse teeth, grating voices, crooked shanks, big knees (§ 19). One night he heard the accursed host speaking in the British tongue, for, adds Felix, many were the conflicts between the British and Mercians in those days when Coenred was king (§ 20). Was it that Guthlac's memory was haunted with the British of his warrior days? Or were the fens themselves held by a British remnant reduced by malaria to types of demoniacal ugliness? The devils of Crowland, as they have been called, were misshapen humanity to the view, wild cattle to the ear, and the natural tenants of those desolate swamps could have furnished his imagination with both. That he once, after a night's hard conflict with the enemy of mankind, had a waking view in the morning watch of St. Bartholomew in his celestial splendour, is one of the embellishments of Felix's story. The relief he really found was described by himself in his last illness, when Beccel begged to know who that invisible being was with whom he had seen his master conversing every night and morning. "The second year after I dwelt in this wilderness," replied Guthlac, "at even and at daybreak God himself sent His angel of my comfort to me, who opened to me the heavenly mysteries which it is not lawful for man to tell, and the hardness of my conflict he quite softened with heavenly angelic discourses" (§ 35; Goodw. 87). This may be taken as a description of his daily devotional hours and the alleviation he found in them. But in addition to solitary prayer there before long commenced an intercourse with the outer world (§ 31), which must have rendered life more interesting to him and more tolerable. Guthlac was not one of the class that sought absolute isolation. A distinction has been drawn between an anchoret who lived so and a hermit, according to which view Guthlac was a hermit. Felix uses this word of him (§ 17; cap. 2, heading); but he also calls Guthlac's companion Egbert an anchoret (§ 35, p. 49 E). Some later writers call Guthlac hermit (Hen. Hunt., Matt. West., Jo. Tinmouth in Smith's *Catalogue* ut infr.); the Anglo-Saxon uses the word "ernan" (Goodw. 87); others style him anchoret (Orderic, Flor. Wig., Sim. Dun., Higden). Whether hermit or anchoret, Guthlac was none the less a missionary; but instead of itinerating to seek a flock, he attracted one to his own ground and taught them there, for prophets of the desert have always drawn out crowds. Guthlac's domain was ample for their entertainment, and an incidental mention of "harvest" implies that he and his two Repton servants, and Tatwine, and Beccel, and Cissa, and Egbert, as they successively joined him, were no idlers. Occupying their several cots, they gave the island a home-like and a farm-like appearance, and became the pioneers of a larger settlement. The island had its one entrance from the river, and its stated landing-place, where a recognised signal-sound brought Guthlac down to receive his visitors (§§ 26, 27). These visitors were "men of divers conditions, nobles, bishops, abbats, poor, rich, from Mercia and all Britain" (Goodw. 67). Among the visitors came his bishop, Hedda of Lichfield, and accompanying him was Wigfrith, a man of books and learning. Wigfrith had "long dwelt among the Scotch people," and had his suspicions whether Guthlac were a true man of God or a pretender. While they were conversing together, Guthlac shewed himself so mighty in the Scriptures that the bishop urged him to accept of holy orders, and Guthlac was ordained a priest. The year of this occurrence is not mentioned, but it was five days before St. Bartholomew's day. "The hallowing of the island of Crowland and also of the blessed man Guthlac took place at harvest time" (§ 32; Goodw. 75). Crowland, which had always been shunned as demon-haunted (§ 14), had now its priest, its chapel and its altar (§ 35); the bad spell was broken, the island was under the church's wing, and Guthlac's celebrity was increased if not originated; instead of demoniacal human shapes were flocks of human pilgrims, and the demoniacs were dispossessed (§ 27); instead of demon sounds distracting his devotions were swallows singing on his shoulders or nestling in his bosom as he turned the page of holy writ. "Who hath led his life after God's will," remarked Guthlac to one of his visitors, "the wild beasts and wild birds have become more intimate with him, and the man who will pass his life apart from worldly men, to him the angels approach nearer" (§ 25; Goodw. 53). The visitor to whom this was said was the abbat Wilfrid, "a venerable brother, who had been of old united with him in spiritual friendship" (§§ 2, 25), and Holy Scripture is mentioned as a subject of their conversation (§ 29). Of what monastery Wilfrid was abbat Felix does not say. His Bollandist editor suggests Medeshamstede or Bardney. Their intimacy was evidently close and of long standing. It was from Wilfrid that Felix obtained material for his memoir. Wilfrid introduced another important visitor, Ethelbald the exiled heir of Mercia. This nobleman, then persecuted and hunted by king Ceolred (§ 34), frequently resorted to Crowland, where he found both security and sympathy. Guthlac predicted his ultimate succession, and one of Ethelbald's earliest acts after becoming king was the foundation of the monastery at Crowland. The supposed gift of prophecy gained Guthlac much credit; and he was thought besides to have the faculty of revealing the secret. It was in vain that two brethren "from a certain monastery" had hidden their flasks under the turf before landing on the island (§ 30) and two others who had been carousing at a widow's house found themselves in confusion before him (§ 29).

Guthlac's connexion with Repton was never completely broken until his death, and hardly even then. Another abbess, Ecgburh [EADBURGA (3)], daughter of king Aldulf, sent him a leaden sarcophagus and a linen winding-sheet, requesting to know whom he should designate as his suc-

cessor. Repton seemed still to regard itself as the patron of the Croyland settlement. Guthlac replied that his successor, meaning Cissa, had not yet been baptized. His death therefore did not appear imminent. He was seized with his last illness on a Wednesday before Easter, and on Easter Wednesday he died (§ 35). Felix gives the year 715 (*ibid.* sub fin.), but as the day of commemoration was April 11, which was Easter Wednesday in 714, the latter appears to be the true year, and it is the one given by the *Saxon Chronicle*, Ethelwerd, Florence, Huntingdon, Gaimar (in *M. H. B.* 326, 507, 540, 725, 784). At the time of his death his fellow-hermits on the island were his old guide Tatwine, and the presbyters Beccel, Cissa, Egbert, the last being the sharer of his heart and confidences. In the neighbourhood, but not on the island, was his sister Pega, who was living as a hermitess in her own cell, four "leucae" westward of his (§ 20; *Hist. Ingulph.* Gale, i. 4). If he was, as he appears to have been, the first child of his parents, his sister was under 40. He had declined seeing her until they should meet in heaven, and her first visit to Crowland was after his death, when she came, as he had requested, to place his corpse in the sarcophagus (§ 36). The body was interred in the oratory, and Felix states that when it was exhumed at the end of a year it was found uncorrupted, and was not reinterred, but enshrined in the oratory (§ 37). According to the *Historia Ingulphi* Guthlac left among his relics a psalter and a scourge of St. Bartholomew. When Felix wrote, the site of his cell and oratory had been already covered by king Ethelbald with "manifold buildings" (§ 37).

Other lives of Guthlac, founded on that of Felix, were subsequently written (see Hardy, *Descr. Cat.* i. 805). One occurs in Ordericus Vitalis (iv. 20), another in John of Tinmouth's *Sanctilogium* (No. 39, vid. Smith's *Cat. MSS. Cott.* p. 28), adopted by Capgrave (*Nov. Leg.* ff. 169), and reprinted by Surius (*de Prob. SS. Hist.* Apr. p. 37) with verbal alterations and the omission of the latter part, about one-third of the whole. Ingulf abbat of Crowland is said to have written a book *De Vita et Miraculis S. Guthlaci*, now unknown (Gale, *Scr.* t. i. Lectori, p. 1; Hardy, *Cat.* i. 407). Two other lost lives are recorded, one attributed to William of Ramsey an abbat of Crowland, and one by Petrus Blesensis archdeacon of Bath, in an extant catalogue of whose works (see Patr. Lat. ccvii. proleg. p. xviii.) occurs a *Life of Guthlac*. Mabillon could ascertain nothing of these two (l. c. *Obs. Praev.* p. 256), and nothing has been forthcoming since. For manuscript Lives see Hardy, *Desc. Cat.* i. 404. Brief accounts of Guthlac occur in Malmesbury (*G. P.* i. 321, ed. Hamilton), in Matthew of Westminster (p. 260), in Brompton (Twys. 797), in the so-called *Historia* of Ingulph abbat of Crowland, in Higden, and in Wallingford (Gale, i. 2, iii. 243, 246, 527, 528). Passing notices are found in the *Saxon Chronicle* (ann. 714), Asser (Gale, iii. 151), Simeon of Durham (*G. R. A.*, Twysd. 104), besides the writers in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* already cited. In spite however of all this popularity, Guthlac was not placed in any of the ancient Martyrologies. An Anglo-Saxon Calendarium or Menologium among the Cotton MSS. (Jul. A. x. pp. 70–80) gives him a brief account under April 11, but he is not named in the present English Calendar. [C. H.]

GUTHMUND, a Kentish priest, who attests a charter of archbishop Wulfred, dated April 21, 811. (Kemble, *C. D.* 195.) [S.]

GUTTARDUS, abbat. [GUTARD.]

GUTTHEARD, a Mercian abbat who attests a charter of 777 granted by Offa to Aldred the ealdorman of the Hwiccii (Kemble, *C. D.* 131; *Mon. Angl.* i. 587). The same charter is printed by Hickes, *Thesaurus*, i. 171, with the date 775. Kemble's date, however, is right. It is just possible, supposing the chronology of the abbats of St. Augustine's to be erroneous, that, as Kent had fallen under the rule of Offa in 774, the person here denoted may be identical with Guttard, abbat of St. Augustine's. [GUTARD.] [S.]

GUYNLLEU, Welsh saint. [GWYNLLEU.]

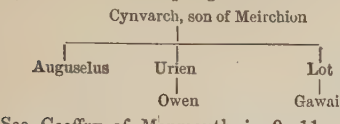
GUYNNAUC, GWYNNAWG, Welsh saint. [GWYNNOG.]

GWAEDNERTH (GUEDNERTH, GUIDNERTH), called king, in reality prince or chieftain, of Glamorgan, in the 7th century. He killed his brother Merchion in a contest for the chieftaincy, and was excommunicated for three years by bishop Oudoceus of Llandaff; in addition he was directed to go on pilgrimage for a year to the archbishop of Cornouaille, in Brittany, who was also a Welshman. But as Gwaednerth returned within the year, Berthgwyn, who had succeeded Oudoceus, refused absolution. On the earnest entreaty, however, of kings Morcant and Gwaednerth with many elders, and a solemn promise by the latter that he would make satisfaction with alms, fasting, and prayers, he was duly absolved, and gave to bishop Berthgwyn and the see of Llandaff, as satisfaction for his sin, Llann Catgualatyr or Llangadwaladr, now Bishton or Bishopston, near Caerleon, co. Monmouth. (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 18; *Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 430–2.) [J. G.]

GWALCHES, named with Barruc, Baruch or Barrocus, as accompanying St. Cadoc from the island of Echni, now the Holmes, to the island of Barry; he was buried on the island of Echni, and the stone found in Flatholme, off the coast of Glamorgan, in the Bristol Channel, and marked with a plain cross, may perhaps have marked his grave. [BARROCUS.] (Rees, *Cambro-Brit.* 357; Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* xx. c. 18; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 304.) [J. G.]

GWALCHMAI, son of Gwyar, one of the heroes of the Arthurian cycle, better known under the name of Gawaine, which comes from the Latinized forms Walganus and Walweyn. He is called one of the four sons of king Lot of Lothian and of Orkney, and of Morgawsa, Arthur's sister, and is the type of courtesy, just as Arthur's seneschal Sir Kai is of discourtesy. William of Malmesbury (iii. § 287) says that in 1086 the tomb of Walwen was discovered on the sea-shore in a certain province of Wales called Ros; still known by the same name in Pembroke, where there is a district called in

Welsh Castell Gwalchmai, and in English Walwyn's Castle. The pedigree runs thus:



See Geoffry of Monmouth, ix. 9, 11, xi. 1, and Guest's *Mabinogion*, ii. 122. Geoffry says "Walvanus filius Lot duodecim annorum juvenis, obsequio Sulpicii papae ab avunculo traditus, a quo arma recepit." By Sulpicius may be meant Simplicius. [C. W. B.]

GWALLONIR, clerical witness to grants to the see of Llandaff, Trychan and Cadwared being the bishops. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 455–66.) [J. G.]

GWARDOGWY (GWORDDOGWY) **(1)**, disciple of St. Dubricius, and clerical witness to grants to the see of Llandaff in the time of bishops Dubricius and Teilo (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 318 sq. 358–9).

(2) Abbat of Llandewi. [GWORDOG (1).] [J. G.]

GWARHAFEU. [GWRHAFWY.]

GWAROG, saint. [WINWALLUS.]

GWARTHAN, Welsh saint, son of Dunawd, Dunod or Dinothus, whom he assisted in establishing the famous monastery or college at Bangor Iscoed, Flintshire, in the 6th century. [DINOTHUS.] (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 103, 206, 260.) [J. G.]

GWAWR, daughter or granddaughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog, wife of Elidyr Lydanwyn, and mother of the celebrated bard, Llywarch Hên; she is classed among the Welsh saints of the 5th century, and Rees (*Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 605 sq.) suggests that she may be the same as Gwenddydd and Goleuddydd. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 43; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 147; *Camb. Quart. Mag.* iv. 366, n.[28]; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 600, 605 sq.) [J. G.]

GWAWRDDYDD (GWENDDYDD), daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog in the fifth century, wife of Cadell Deyrnllug, and ancestor of many Welsh saints; she was buried at Towyn or Tywyn, co. Merioneth. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 137, 149, 161; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 600; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 191.) [J. G.]

GWDDIN, Welsh saint of the fifth century, patron of Llanwddyn, on the borders of Montgomeryshire and Denbighshire. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 145, 333.) [J. G.]

GWEITH, clerical witness to the grant of Trelech, Monmouthshire, to bishop Trychan and the see of Llandaff, about the beginning of the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 452, 453.) [J. G.]

GWELVARCH. [GWYDDUARCH.]

GWEN (1), wife of Brychan, Brachan, or Frachan, and mother of St. Winwaloe, in Armorica, where she and her husband went from Wales, and were accounted saints. Malebranche (Cressy, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* ix. c. 10) translates her name Alba. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 606.) [J. G.]

GWEN (2), ST., granddaughter of Brychan, in the 5th century. She founded the church of Talgarth, in Brecon, where she is said to have been murdered by the pagan Saxons. She is also called Gwendeline. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 44; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 150; Williams, *Iolo MSS.* 520.) [C. W. B.]

GWEN (3), daughter of Caer Gawch, mother of St. Cybi, and aunt of St. David (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 162, 266). [J. G.]

GWEN (4), Welsh saint. [GWENTEIRBRON.]

GWENAFWY (GWENAVWY), Welsh saint, daughter of Caw, but without church dedication. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 230.) [J. G.

GWENAN, Welsh saint. [GWYNNOG.]

GWENASETH, Welsh saint, daughter of Rhufon ab Cunedda Wledig, and wife of Pabo Post Prydain. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 111, 166 sq., 265.) [J. G.]

GWENDDYDD, Welsh saint, supposed to be the same as Gwawrddydd (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 149). [GWAWRDDYDD.] [J. G.]

GWENDELINE, Welsh saint. [GWEN (2).]

GWENDOLEU (GWENDDOLAU), son of Ceidio ab Garthwys, was educated with his brothers, Cov and Nudd, at St. Illtyd's College, Llantwit Major, and the three are numbered with the Welsh saints. He was a distinguished chieftain of North Britain, and in the Triads is called one of the "bulls of battle of the island of Prydain;" he was patron of the bard Myrddin the Caledonian, and fell in the battle of Arderydd, A.D. 577. (*Myv. Arch.* 4, 7, 60, 70; Rees, *Welsh Saints* 103, 208.) [J. G.]

GWENFAEN, ST., a daughter of Paul Hen, in the 6th century. She was the foundress of Rhoscolyn in Anglesey, anciently called Llanwenvaen. Her festival is Nov. 5. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 237.) [C. W. B.]

GWENFREWI, Welsh saint. [WINEFRED.]

GWENFYL, ST., a daughter or descendant of Brychan in the sixth century. She founded a chapel called Capel Gwenvyl, now extinct, subject to Llanddewi Brefi, in Cardigan. Her feast day is Nov. 1. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 153.) [C. W. B.]

GWENGAD is associated with bishop Oudoceus, the abbats of Llancarvan, Dochou or Docunni, and Llanilltyd, and other clerics, as a witness to the restoration of Lannmerguall (now Bishopston or Llan-deilo-Vernalt, co. Glamorgan), by Morgan, king of Glamorgan, to the see of Llandaff, and to the grant of Llewes, co. Radnor, by king Meurig to bishop Oudoceus and the same see. He is in the first called "prince of Lanncynuur" (now Llangunnor, co. Carmarthen), and in the second "prince of Penaly" (now Penally, co. Pembroke). As distinct from abbat he must have been coarb or erenach, and he flourished in the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 387, 388, 392, 393.) [J. G.]

GWENGALEU, clerical witness to a grant by king Rhys ab Ithael to bishop Cadwared (Catgwaret) and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 465.) [J. G.]

GWENGARTH, clerical witness to grants by Awst, king of Brecknock, to bishop Oudoceus and the see of Llandaff in the end of the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 388–9, 397–8.) [J. G.]

GWENGENYW, priest, witnesses grants by two kings, Iddig and Cynan, to bishop Oudoceus and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 393–4.) [J. G.]

GWENGOLLÉ, GWENHOLLÉ. [WINWALLUS.]

GWENLLIW, GWENLLIU, granddaughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog, by his daughter Corth, wife of Brynach Wyddel, but sometimes included among Brychan's children; she was sister of St. Gerwyn, and had two sisters, Mwynen and Gwennan. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 142, 151.) [J. G.]

GWENLLWYFO, ST., who gave name to Llanwenllwyfo in Anglesey in the 7th century. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 307.) [C. W. B.]

GWENNAN, ST. [BERWYN.]

GWENNY, GWEUNO, GWIGUOLEU, GWINGALAIS, saint. [WINWALLUS.]

GWENOG, ST., a virgin saint of the 7th century, after whom Llanwenog in Cardigan is named. Her day is Jan. 3. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 307.) [C. W. B.]

GWENOG, clerical witness of grants to bishop Berthgwyn, and the see of Llandaff, in the reign of Ithael ab Morgan, king of Glamorgan, late in the 6th or early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 435, 436.) [J. G.]

GWENONWY, daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig, king of Morganawg and Ghent in the 6th century, was married to Gwyndaf Hên ab Emyr Llydaw, and became mother of St. Meugan. She and Gwndaf have given their name and patronage to Undy or Nondy, near Chepstow, co. Monmouth. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, append. p. 15.) [J. G.]

GWENRIW, daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 600.) [J. G.]

GWENTEIRBRON, ST., the mother of St. Cadfan. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 215.) [C. W. B.]

GWENVAEN, Welsh saint. [GWENFAEN.]

GWENVYL, Welsh saint. [GWENFYL.]

GWENWOR, abbat of Langarthbenni, and witness to the grant of Lann Louden, in Ergyng, by Gwrgan, king of Ergyng, to bishop Lunapeius and the see of Llandaff in the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 408–410.) [J. G.]

GWERN, clerical witness to a grant of Mafurn by king Cynfyn ab Pebiau to bishop Aidan and the see of Llandaff, about the beginning of the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 408.) [J. G.]

GWERNABWY, disciple of St. Dubricius, and clerical witness to grants to the see of Llandaff in the time of bishops Dubricius and Comereg; but it was probably another Gwernabwy who was witness in the time of bishop Cadwared (Catgwaret). (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 321, 324, 411–12, 460.) [J. G.]

GWERYDD, ST., a Welsh saint of the 5th century, who founded the church of Llanwerydd in Glamorgan, which is now called St. Donats. (R. Williams, *Enwogion Cymru*, 195.) [C. W. B.]

GWESLAN, Welsh bishop. [GISTLIANUS.]

GWHARAFEU (GWRAFEU), clerical witness to grants to the see of Llandaff, under bishops Trychan and Cadwared (Catgwaret), or more probably different persons under the two prelates. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 455, 463.) [J. G.]

GWINEAR, ST. [FINGAR.]

GWINOCUS, Welsh saint. [GWYNNOG.]

GWLADUS (GWLADIS, GWLDDYS, GLADUSA, GULADUSA), called daughter, but more probably granddaughter of Brychan, of Brycheiniog, if not the daughter of another Brychan, who went to Armorica, and was father of St. Winwaloc. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 606.) She was wife of Gwynllyw Filwr, mother of St. Cadoc (Cattwg), and flourished about the middle of the 5th century. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 43; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 137, 146, 170.) [J. G.]

GWLECED, clerical witness to grant of Merthyr Tecmed (probably Llandegwedd, co. Monmouth) to bishop Trychan and the see of Llandaff, about the beginning of the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 452.) [J. G.]

GWMYN, disciple of St. Dubricius at Hentland, co. Hereford, in the study of divine and human wisdom. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 324.) [J. G.]

GWNFYW (GWNNYW), reader, clerical witness to grants to bishop Berthgwyn and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 430–2, 439.) [J. G.]

GWNNOG, Welsh saint. [GWYNNOG.]

GWNNYW, reader. [GWNFYW.]

GWODLOEW, GWODLOYW (GUODLOIU, GUODOLOIN, GWYDDLON), son of Glywys Cerniw ab Gwynllyw Filwr, was first a teacher at St. Cadoc's school at Llancarvan, and then became a suffragan bishop of Llandaff, standing in the deeds of grants as Gwyddlon. With Glywys, his father, he founded Coedkernew, co. Monmouth, and flourished in the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 415, 625; Godwin, *de Praesul. Angl.* 623; Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 156.) But Rees (*Welsh Saints*, 114, 268) is of opinion that Guodloiu, bishop of Llandaff, must have lived at an age too late for being the son of Glywys Cerniw, and perhaps belonged to the end of the 8th century. [J. G.]

GWORAFWY. [GWRHAFWY.]

GWORDOG (GWORDOC, GWORDDOGWY, GWRDDOGWY). (1) Abbat of Llandewi (now Dewstow, near Chepstow) and witness to several grants made to the see of Llandaff in the time of bishops

Lunapeius, Comereg, and perhaps Grecielis. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 409 sq. 417–18.)

GWORDOG (2), Disciple of St. Dubricius. [GWARDOGWY (1).] [J. G.]

GWORFAN (GORFAN), disciple of St. Dubritius, and clerical witness to grant to St. Dubricius and the see of Landaff in the 5th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 314 sq., 324.) [J. G.]

GWORGAED, clerical witness to grant to bishop Trychan and the see of Llandaff early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 454, 455.) [J. G.]

GWORGENEU, clerical witness to the grant of Llewes, co. Radnor, to bishop Oudoceus and the see of Llandaff in the 5th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 392, 393.) [J. G.]

GWORGYFIETH, clerical witness to the grant of some villages to bishop Trychan, and the see of Llandaff early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 456.) [J. G.]

GWORMOI, clerical witness to the grant of Llan Garth by king Iddon to bishop Teilo and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 358, 359.) [J. G.]

GWORWYDD, clerical witness to grant of Merthyr Clitawg (now Clodock, co. Hereford) to bishop Berthgwyn and the see of Llandaff by Ithael, son of Morgan, king of Glewyssig, with the consent and approbation of his heirs and heirs' heirs, all named. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 446–448.) [J. G.]

GWRAFEU, GWRAFWY. [GWRHAFWY.]

GWRCEWID, clerical witness to grant to bishop Berthgwyn and the see of Llandaff late in the 6th or early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 435, 436.) [J. G.]

GWRDDELW, GWRDDYLY, Welsh saint, son of Caw, flourished early in the 6th century, and is said to have had a church at Caerleon upon Usk. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 231; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 198.) There is no feast day assigned to him. [J. G.]

GWRFARWY, of Lanneineon, clerical witness to grants of a number of churches by king Athrwys to bishop Comereg and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 411, 412.) [J. G.]

GWRFODW, clerical witness to grants to bishop Berthgwyn and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 428, 442.) [J. G.]

GWRFWY, clerical witness to the grant of Porthcasseg, near Chepstow, to bishop Oudoceus and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 393–4.) [J. G.]

GWRFYW (GORFYW, GORVYW, GWRVYW), Welsh saint of the 6th century, son of Pasgen ab Urien Rheged, seems to have had a church dedicated to him in Anglesey, and a "capel Gorfyw" in Bangor uwch Conwy, co. Carnarvon. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 45; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 103, 280.) His feast day is not mentioned. [J. G.]

GWRGI (1), clerical witness to a grant of the village of Bertus by Ithael, king of Glewyssig, to bishop Berthgwyn and the see of Llandaff, late in the 6th or early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 440, 441.)

GWRGI (2) Gwrgi and Peredur, sons of Elifer Gosgorddfawr, were trained at St. Illtyd's college, but in the Welsh Triads appear as warriors, being at the head of one of the "three disloyal households of the island of Prydain," which deserted their leaders; that of Gwrgi and Peredur, on the eve of the battle with the Saxon Ida at Caer Grau, did so, and allowed them both to be slain, A.D. 584. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 13, 70, 80; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 103; Skene, *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, ii. 455; E. Williams, *Iolo MSS.* 530, 654; R. Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 199.) [J. G.]

GWRGON, daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog, and wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd, who flourished about A.D. 430. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 44; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 147.) She was also called Gwrgon Goddeu, and was abused by Tinwaed Faglawc, a chieftain, one of the "three strong-crutched ones of the island of Prydain." (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 5; Skene, *Celt. Scot.* i. 160, n.) [J. G.]

GWRGYNUF, clerical witness to grant of Is-pant by Cuchein ab Glywys to Gwyddlon (Guodloiu) and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 415.) [J. G.]

GWRHAEREU, clerical witness to grant to bishop Trychan and the see of Llandaff, early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 453, 454.) [J. G.]

GWRHAFAL, GWRHAFARN, abbat of Llanilltyd (Llantwit Major, co. Glamorgan) and witness to many grants to the see of Llandaff during the episcopates of Oudoceus, Trychan, and Berthgwyn (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 387, 388 et al. ad p. 459). Another Gwrhafal appears as clerical witness in the time of bishop Cadwared (*ib.* 463). [J. G.]

GWRHAFWY (GWARHAFEU, GWORAFWY, GWRAFEU, GWRAFWY), clerical witness to grants to the see of Llandaff under bishops Trychan and Cadwared (Catgwaret). (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 451–465.) [J. G.]

GWRHAI (1) (GURHEI, GWRHEI), Welsh saint early in the 6th century, son of Caw, and founder of the church of Penystrywad in Arwystli, Montgomeryshire. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 25, 43; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 231; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 597, 598; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 199, adding that he was a member of the college of Deiniol.) [J. G.]

GWRHAI (2), son of Glywys and uncle of St. Cadoc. He ruled over Gurinid or Gorwenydd, a district probably co-extensive with the deanery of Groneath, Glamorganshire (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 310, and notes), and was witness to a grant to bishop Arwystyl and the see of Llandaff (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 413). [J. G.]

GWRHAL, clerical witness to grant of Lann Garth (probably Llanarth, co. Monmouth), by king Iddon to bishop Teilo and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 358–9.) [J. G.]

GWRHEI, Welsh saint. [GWRHAI.]

GWRHIR, the bard of St. Teilo, was a saint of the college of St. Cattwg (Cadoc), who lived in the 6th century. He founded the church of Llysfaen, in Glamorgan. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 251.) [C. W. B.]

GWRHYDPENNI, clerical witness to grants to bishop Comereg and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 411–12.) [J. G.]

GWRIN, Welsh saint, founder of Llanwrin, co. Montgomery; he was son of Cynddilig ab Nwython ab Gildas, and belongs to the 6th century (Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 200) or more probably to the middle of the 7th, if he is to be accounted third in the line of descent from Gildas. [J. G.]

GWRMAEL, Welsh saint of 4th century, son of Cadfrawd ab Cadfan. His feast day is unknown, and no church is known to have been dedicated to him. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 89, 102; Williams, *Emin. Welsh*, 200.) [J. G.]

GWRMAET, disciple of SS. Dubricius and Teilo. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 351, 352.) Languruaet in Brecon belonged to the see of Llandaff. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 248.) [J. G.]

GWRNERTH, ST., a Welsh saint of the 6th century. A religious dialogue, in verse, between him and his father, Llewellyn of Welshpool, said to be by St. Tysilio, is preserved. His day is April 7. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 279.) [C. W. B.]

GWRON, clerical witness to grant by Ffernwael, king of Glamorgan, "before the seniors of Gwent and Ergyng," to bishop Trychan and the see of Llandaff, early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 451, 452.) [J. G.]

GWRTHAFAR, abbat of Llanilltyd (Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire), and witness to grant of Lann Oudocui (Llandogo, co. Monmouth?) by Morgan, king of Glewyssig, to bishop Oudoceus and the see of Llandaff, in the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 400.) [J. G.]

GWRTHEVYR (surnamed VENDIGAID, the blessed) better known as Vortimer, son of Vortigern, who for a short time headed the Britons on the deposition of Vortigern, but was poisoned by his Saxon stepmother Rhonwen about A.D. 468. In the Triads he is called one of the "three canonized kings of Britain," and, as he was not an ecclesiastic, he was honoured with this title, it is thought by Rees, for his care in restoring the churches which had been destroyed by the Saxons, and likewise for the respect which he paid to men of religion. (Williams, *Emin. Welsh*, 201; *Camb. Quart. Mag.* i. 378 sq.; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 134.) [J. G.]

GWRTHWL, ST., the saint of Llanwrthwl, in Brecknock, and Maesllanwrthwl, in Carmarthen. The saint's day is March 2. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 308.) [C. W. B.]

GWRTRI, clerical witness to grant by king Rhys ab Ithael of Glamorgan to bishop Cadwared (Catgwaret) and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 465.) [J. G.]

GWRWAN (GURVAN). (1) Bishop of Llandaff or local suffragan at Ystrydyw, excommunicated Tewdwr ab Rhun, king of Dyfed, for the perfidious murder of Elgystyl ab Awst, king of Brecknock, and as an atonement from Tewdwr, received Lanmihangel Tref Ceriau, probably Llanfihangel or St. Michael Cwmdu, co. Brecknock. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 413–15, 625.) He is not given by Stubbs (*Reg. Sacr. Angl.*), and in Godwin's list of prelates at Llandaff (*de Praes. Angl.* 622) is called GURVAN.

(2) **GWRWAN** Hermit. Two brothers, Lybiaw and Gwrwan, and their sister's son, Cynwr, some time after the death of St. Clydog, came from Glamorganshire and lived as hermits at the place of his martyrdom, Merthyr Clitawg, now Clodock, co. Hereford. With the advice and assistance of the bishop of Llandaff, probably Berthgwyn, they built a new and better church, and king Penbargawd or Pennargaut endowed it with lands along both sides of the Mynwy, with all privileges and immunities in perpetuity. There the two brothers remained till death, and it was probably this endowment which "Ithael ab Morgan, king of Glewyssig, with the approbation of his sons and heirs, Ffernwael and Meurig, and with the consent of their heirs, Ithael and Ffrewddyr, sacrificed to God and to St. Dubricius, St. Teilo, and St. Oudoceus, and Clydawg the martyr, and bishop Berthgwyn," etc. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 446–48.) [J. G.]

GWRWAREU, pupil of Gwenwor (abbat of Lanngarthbenni), was clerical witness to grants to the see of Llandaff under bishops Aidan and Lunapeius in the 5th or 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 408–410.) [J. G.]

GWRWEITH, GWRWIEITH, clerical witness to grants to the see of Llandaff under bishops Berthgwyn and Trychan, late in the 6th or early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 427, 436, 451, 452.) [J. G.]

GWTFIL, Welsh saint. [TANGLWST.]

GWYAR, Welsh saint of the 7th century, son of Helig Foel, and brother of two other Welsh saints, Brenda and Euryn. No feast-day is assigned to him. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 302; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 213.) [J. G.]

GWYDDELAN, ST., the saint of Llanwyddelan in Montgomery, and of Dolwyddelan in Carnarvon in the 7th century. The saint's day is Aug. 22. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 308.) [C. W. B.]

GWYDDELW, Welsh saint. [GWYDDLEW.]

GWYDDFARCH. [GWYDDUARCH.]

GWYDDLEW (GWYDDELW), Welsh saint of the 5th or 6th century, son of Gwynllyw Filwr of Gwynllwg, and brother of St. Cadocus or Cattwg. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 114, 233.) No feast day or church dedication is recorded of him. [J. G.]

GWYDDLON, bishop. [GWODLOEW.]

GWYDDON, clerical witness to the grant of Cilpedec (now Kilpeck, Herefordshire) by Ffanw, son of Benjamin, to bishop Grecielis and the see

of Llandaff, late in the 7th or early in the 8th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 416.) [J. G.]

GWYDDUARCH, a member of the college of St. Cybi at Caergybi, in Anglesey, and son of Llywelyn of Welshpool (Williams, *Emin. Welsh*, 204), but is not given by Prof. Rees (*Welsh Saints*). [J. G.]

GWYDDYL, clerical witness to grants to the see of Llandaff in the time of bishop Cadwared, probably in the beginning of the 9th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 463–5.) [J. G.]

GWYLERION, clerical witness to the grant of the village of Bertus by Ithael, king of Glamorgan, to bishop Berthgwyn and the see of Llandaff, late in the 6th or early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 440, 441.) [J. G.]

GWYNDAF HEN, the father of St. Meugan. He was said to have been a confessor in Illtyd's monastery, and afterwards superior of the college of Dubricius, at Caerleon, and to have retired in his old age to Bardsey island, near the north point of Cardigan Bay, where he died. He may be deemed the founder of Llanwnda, in Carnarvon, and of another church of that name in Pembroke. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 164, 219.) [C. W. B.]

GWYN (1), Welsh saint of the 6th century, one of five sainted sons of Cynyr Farfdrwch, viz. Gwyn, Gwynno, Gwynnoro, Celynin, and Ceitho, who were also the patrons of Llanpumsaint, in the parish of Abergwilly, and of Pumsaint, in the parish of Conwil Cayo, or Cynwyl Gaio, Carmarthenshire. He was commemorated on Nov. 1. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 52, 111, 213, 329.) [J. G.]

GWYN (2) Son of Helig ab Glanawg, and buried, with Boda, his brother, at Dwygyfylchau, now Dwy-Gyfylchi, Carnarvonshire (*Camb. Quart. Mag.* iii. 43). He is probably Rees's Gwynnin. [GWYNNIN.] [J. G.]

GWYNAU, classed as a son, but probably only a descendant of Brychan of Brycheiniog; he was brother of Gwynws, but had no church dedication or feast. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 153; *Camb. Reg.* iii. 219.) [J. G.]

GWYNAWC, GWYNAWG, GWYNNAWG, Welsh saint. [GWYNNOG.]

GWYNFWY, called Master, was clerical witness with three Welsh abbats and others to a grant made by Meurig, king of Glamorgan, to bishop Oudoceus and the see of Llandaff in the end of the 6th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 381–3.) [J. G.]

GWYNGAD, son of Caw (Jones, *Welsh Bards*, ii. 22), but not classed by Rees among the Welsh saints, as he followed a different list of Caw's descendants. (Lady Ch. Guest, *Mabinogion*, ii. 260, 335, London, 1849; Williams, *Emin. Welsh.* 205.) He may be the same as Gwyngar. [GWYNGAR.] [J. G.]

GWYNGAR, GWYNGAWR, son of Gildas ab Caw, and brother of SS. Gwynnog, Noethon, and Tydecho. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 44; *Camb. Quart. Mag.* i. 30.) "Guenan a Noethon Meibyon Gildas M. Kadu," in the *Bonedd Saint Yays Prydain* (*Myv. Arch.* 225) may refer to Gwyngar or Gwynnog, or even to Gwyngad. [GWYNNOG.] [J. G.]

GWYNGENEU, ST., Welsh saint of the 6th century, to whom Capel Gwyngeneu under Holyhead was dedicated. He was one of the children of Pawl Hên (Paulinus) of Tygwyn ar Daf. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 237.) [C. W. B.]

GWYNIO, ST., Welsh saint of the 7th century, to whom Llanwynio, in Carmarthen, was dedicated. His day was March 2 or May 2. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 308.) [C. W. B.]

GWYNLLEU (GUYNLLEU, GWYNLLYW), son of Cyngar, of the race of Cunedda Wledig, and belonging to the 6th century; he founded Nantgwnlle, Cardiganshire. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 111, 261; *Myv. Arch.* ii. 23; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 593, 607.) [J. G.]

GWYNLLYW (GUNDLEUS, GUNDLIOU, GUNLEUS, GUNLYN).

GWYNLLYW (1) Filwr (the warrior), king of the South Britons and a Welsh saint; commemorated March 29. Several Lives have been published, but evidently derived from the same stock. The chief are—(*a*) *Vita S. Gundleii Regis et confessoris*, a MS. in Cott. Lib. Brit. Mus., Ves. A. xiv., and published by Rees (*Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 145–157), but collated with MS. Titus D. xii.; (*b*) *De S. Gundleo Rege et confessore*, an abstract of the preceding, given by John of Tinmouth (*Sanctilogium*), from whom it was taken by Capgrave (*Nov. Leg. Angl.* f. 168), and reprinted by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 29 Mart. iii. 783). (For the Lives and MS. authorities, see Hardy, *Descript. Cat.* i. pt. i. 87–9, pt. ii. 804, append.)

Gwynllyw Filwr, son of Glywys ab Tegid ab Cadell, and lord of Gwynllwg or Wentloog, Monmouthshire, married Gwladus, daughter or grand-daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog [GWLADUS], by whom he had St. Cadocus or Cattwg, and other children (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 114, 233, for lists of his family). Persuaded by the exhortation of Cattwg, he resolved to devote himself to a religious life, resigned his lordship in favour of Cattwg, and retired with his wife from the world, each afterwards occupying a distant cell. On Cattwg's advice, and with the consent of St. Dubricius, he built for himself a church "tabulis et virgis," supposed to be the church at Newport, Monmouthshire, situated in the hundred of Gwentloog, and dedicated to him under the name of St. Woolos. In his cell beside the church he lived for some years in great abstinence and devotion, subsisting by his own labour. At last worn out with age and austerity, he received the last holy rites of the church at the hands of his son Cattwg and bishop Dubricius, and entered his rest towards the end of the 6th century [CADOC]; but Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 13, Wks. v. 530, Ind. Chron. A.D. 490) would place him earlier. He was buried in his own church or monastery, and near the church of St. Woolos there is a tumulus, which, according to the local tradition, was the tomb of Gwynllyw. (Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 310, 356, 448 sq.; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 157, app. E; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 13, 415 sq.; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, March 29; Cressy,

Ch. Hist. Brit. x. c. 21; Williams, *Emin. Welsh*, 205; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 158.)

(2) Welsh saint. [GWYNLLEU.] [J. G.]

GWYNNIN, ST., the patron saint of Llandygwynnin, in Carnarvon, is commemorated Dec. 31. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 302.) [C. W. B.]

GWYNNO or GWYNNOG, ST., Welsh saint of the 6th century, patron saint of Llanwynno, a chapel under Llantrisaint, and of other churches. His festival is Oct 26. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 257.) [C. W. B.]

GWYNNO, son of Cynyr Farfdrwch. [GWYN (1).]

GWYNNOG. (GUYNNAUC, GWNNOG, GWYNAWC, GWYNAWG, GWYNGAWR, GWYNNAWG, GWYNNO, GWYNNOC, GWYNOG, WYNNOG, and latinized GWINOCUS, GWYNNOCUS), Welsh saint of the 6th century, son of Gildas ab Caw, and member of the society of St. Cattwg or Cadoc; commemorated Oct. 26. He was patron of Y Vaenor, Brecknockshire, is said to have assisted St. Illtyd and St. Tyfodwg in founding Llantrisaint, Glamorganshire, under which there was a chapel called Llanwynno dedicated to him; he also founded Llanwynnog or Llanwnog Montgomeryshire, where in a painted glass window of the 14th century he is represented in episcopal habits, with mitre and crosier, and underneath in old black characters is the inscription, "Sanctus Gwinocus, cujus animae propitietur Deus. Amen." (*Cambr. Quart. Mag.* i. 30–1, from a Parochial History of Llan-Wynnog, in Montgomeryshire, by Gwalter Mechan; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 180, 257; *Myv. Arch.* ii. 25, 44, where in *Bonedd Sant Ynys Prydain* he appears to be called Guenan; Rees, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 597; Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, Oct. 26, p. 646, calling him son of "Aneurin, also called Gildas.") [J. G.]

GWYNNORO, Welsh saint. [GWYN (1).] [J. G.]

GWYNODL, ST. (GUENNOEDYL, GWYNOEDYL), Welsh saint of the 6th century, the founder of Llangwyodl, in Carnarvon. His festival is Jan. 1. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 236.) [C. W. B.]

GWYNOG, Welsh saint. [GWYNNOG].

GWYNWS, ST., the saint of Llanwnws in Cardigan in the 5th century. His festival and that of his brother Gwynau is Dec. 13. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 153.) [C. W. B.]

GWYRAWM, clerical witness to grant by king Athrwys of Glamorgan, to bishop Cadwared (Catgwaret), and the see of Llandaff (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 464). [J. G.]

GWYTHELIN. [GUITELIN.]

GWYTHENOC. [WINOC.]

GWYTHERIN, ST., Welsh saint of the 6th century, the founder of a church called Gwytherin, in Denbigh, at which St. Winifred was afterwards buried. (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 275.) No feast day is assigned to him. [C. W. B.]

GWYTHIANUS, ST., gives name to a parish on the north coast of Cornwall. He was one of the Irish saints who came over with St. Breaca (Vol. I. p. 333), and his oratory is buried in the sand, like the more famous oratory at Perran Zabuloe, the sand having very much encroached all along this coast, possibly in the 12th century. The parish feast is on the nearest Sunday to Nov. 1. The name Guoidiane occurs in the Breton Litany of the 10th century in Haddan and Stubbs ii. 82. [C. W. B.]

GYBRIAN. [GIBHRIANUS.]

GYMNASIUS, a bishop who at the council of the Oak was the first to propose the deposition of Chrysostom. (Photius, *Cod.* 59, p. 60.) [E. V.]

GYMNOPODAE, the name given by "Praedestinatus" (68) to the EXCALCEATI of Philaster. [G. S.]

GYNFARWY, Welsh saint. [CYNFARWY.]

GYNYR, of Caer Gawch, originally chieftain of Pebidiog, or Dewsland, Pembrokeshire, and afterwards enrolled among the saints of the Welsh church, which he enriched by his possessions, when he embraced the religious life. He first married Mechell daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog, and then Anna daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid or Vortimer; by the latter he had Gistlianus bishop of Menevia, Non mother of St. David, and Gwen mother of St. Cybi. He endowed the see of Menevia with his lands, to which the cathedral was transferred, and where the see of St. David's now has its episcopal seat, in Giraldus's Vallis Rosina [DAVID (5)]. (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 162, 163; Williams, *Emin. Welsh*, 207; Leland, *Collect.* iii. 103.) [J. G.]

GYROINDUS, twenty-sixth bishop of Clermont, between St. Genesius and Felix. About A.D. 659 he subscribed a charter of Emmo archbishop of Sens for the monastery of St. Pierre le Vif. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1171–1174; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 243.) [S. A. B.]

H

NOTE.—Reference should be made to the unaspirated form of any name which the reader may fail to find under this letter.

HABALAHA, the name of one of the thirteen presbyters and confessors of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and likewise of a deacon and confessor in Persia, mentioned in the *Syrian Martyrology* (Wright's translation, *Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 432). [G. T. S.]

HABERILLA (HABRILIA), Jan. 30, virgin honoured at Augia near Bregenz, on the lake of Constance. According to the *Chronicon Constantiense* quoted by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 1033), she was a recluse, whom St. Gall consecrated as abbess of the cell of Bregenz of the order of St. Benedict. But nothing trustworthy is known of her. Her tomb in the

church of the apostles Peter and Paul at Augia became celebrated for its miracles. [S. A. B.]

HABETDEUS (1), Donatist bishop of Aurusalianae or Sulianae, in Byzacene, one of the assistant managers on the Donatist side in Carth. Conf. A.D. 411. In that capacity, on the third day, he read the document drawn up in reply to the one handed in by the Catholics on the first day. [DONATISM, Vol. I. 894.] (Aug. *Brev. Coll.* iii. 8, 10–14, and vol. ix. *App.* pp. 834–838; *Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 454, 554–563, ed. Oberthür; *Gest. Coll. Carth.* pp. 228, 286, in Migne, Pat. Lat. xi. 1228, 1343 B.) [H. W. P.]

HABETDEUS (2), a Donatist deacon of Carthage, who appears to have been employed by Primianus, his bishop, at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411, especially on the first day, to recognise and identify the bishops of his party as they appeared before the president, and sometimes to account for their absence. The part which he took in discharge of this duty excited the indignation of Fortunatianus, bishop of Sicca Veneria [FORTUNATIANUS (4)], who complained that as a deacon he was overstepping his position, and taking on himself duties which belonged to a bishop; but the president overruled the objection, pointing out that in doing this he was acting only as a witness, and not as a member of the assembly. (*Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 405, 406, 422, ed. Oberthür; *Gest. Coll. Carth.* p. 270 in Pat. Lat. xi.) [H. W. P.]

HABETDEUS (3), Donatist bishop of Marazana, Marazania, or Maraziana, a town of Byzacene, between Sufes and Aquae Regiae (Haouch Sultani) (Ant. *Itin.* 47, 4), who at the Carth. Conf. A.D. 411, when Eunomius the Catholic bishop asserted that there were no Donatists in Marazana, replied by complaining that both his own predecessor and the Donatist congregation there had been expelled by force, and that he himself had been forcibly prevented from entering the place. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 213; *Mon. Vet. Don.* pp. 415, 416, ed. Oberthür; *Gest. Coll. Carth.* p. 270 in Pat. Lat. xi. 1305 A.) [H. W. P.]

HABETDEUS (4), bishop of Theudale, in Proconsular Africa, banished by Genseric c. A.D. 457. He has been supposed to have retired to Italy, and to have been identical with Habetdeus bishop of Luna. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 313.) [R. S. G.]

HABETDEUS (5), supposed bishop of Luna (Luni) in Etruria in the 5th century. It is said that, during the Vandal persecution in Africa, having strongly opposed Arianism, he was banished, then recalled and forcibly rebaptized in the Arian manner, and afterwards put to death, in consequence of his continued resistance. It is much more probable, however, that he was an African bishop, who suffered martyrdom either in Africa from the Vandals, or, as a refugee in Italy, from the Arian Goths. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 17 Feb. iii. 15; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 834; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iii. 427.) [R. S. G.]

HABETDEUS (6), bishop of Tamalluma in Byzacene, banished by Hunneric A.D. 484, having previously suffered much persecution from the Arians. (Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 303.) [R. S. G.]

HABIBUS (1), martyr. [HIPPARCHUS.]

HABIBUS (2) (ABIBUS), deacon, martyr at Edessa in the reign of Licinius. He is mentioned in the Basilian *Menologium*, Nov. 15, in association with the martyrs Gurias and Samonas, who belonged to that day and in whose tomb he was laid, and at Dec. 2 he has a separate notice. Simeon Metaphrastes in his lengthened account of those two martyrs (the Latin in Surius, *de Prob. Hist. SS.* 15 Nov. p. 342, the Latin and Greek in Patrol. Gr. cxvi. 141) similarly embodies the history of Habib. Assemani notices him in his *Bibl. Orient.* (i. 330, 331) from Metaphrastes, but not in his *Acta Martyrum*. In recent years the original Syriac account of Habib which Metaphrastes abridged has been discovered, and in 1864 it was edited by Dr. Wright with a translation by Dr. Cureton (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 72, notes p. 187). The Syrian author, whose name was Theophilus, professes to have been an eyewitness of the martyrdom (which he places on Sept. 2) and a convert. The ancient *Syrian Martyrology*, another discovery of recent years translated by Dr. Wright (*Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 429), likewise commemorates Habib on Sept. 2. Theophilus, who is minute in dates, and copious in his notes of time, relates that in the month of Ab (*i.e.* August) in the year 620 of the kingdom of Alexander of Macedon, in the consulate of Licinius and Constantine, in the days of Conon bishop of Edessa, the emperor commanded that the altars of the gods should be everywhere repaired, that sacrifices and libations should be offered, and that the people should burn incense to Jupiter. Upon the appearance of this edict Habib, a deacon of the village of Telzeha, went about privately among the churches and villages encouraging the Christians. No penalty was at first announced for refusing compliance with the edict; the Christians were more numerous than their persecutors, and word had reached Edessa that even Constantine "in Gaul and Spain" had become Christian and did not sacrifice. Habib's proceedings were reported to Licinius, who sentenced him, as one directly and actively opposing his commands, to die by fire. When this news reached Edessa Habib was some fifty miles off at Zeugma, secretly encouraging the Christians in that city, and as he was not to be found at Telzeha his family and friends there were arrested. Hearing of this, Habib proceeded to Edessa and presented himself privately to Theotecnus the head of the governor's household. This official desired to save Habib, and pressed him to depart without divulging the visit, assuring him that his family and friends would soon be released. Habib, however, believing that cowardice would endanger his eternal salvation persisted in the surrender, and was accordingly led before the governor. On refusing to sacrifice he was imprisoned, tortured, and finally committed to the fire, but not before he had at great length uncompromisingly exposed the sin and folly of idolatry. The day of his imprisonment was the emperor's festival, and on the second of Ilul (September) he suffered. His dying prayer was—"O king Christ for thine is this world and

thine is the world to come, behold and see that while I might have been able to flee from these afflictions I did not flee, in order that I might not fall into the hands of Thy justice. Let therefore this fire in which I am to be burned be for a recompense before Thee, so that I may be delivered from that fire which is not quenched; and receive Thou my spirit into Thy presence through the Spirit of thy Godhead, O glorious Son of the adorable Father." The Christians buried his ashes in the tomb of the martyrs Gurias and Samonas on the hill Baith Allah Cucla, upon which spot in the 4th century a church was erected in their honour. It was the sixth day of the week and the second of Ilul when Habib was buried. "On that day," proceeds Theophilus, "it was heard how Constantine the Great had begun to depart from the interior of Spain in order to proceed to Rome, the city of Italy, that he might carry on the war against Licinius; and lo, the countries are in commotion, because no man knoweth which of them will be victorious and continue in the power of the empire."

The year of the martyrdom is given by Baronius, who had only the narrative of Metaphrastes to guide him, as A.D. 316 (*A. E.* ann. 316, xlviii.). Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* i. 331) with the same materials decides for 323. The details of Theophilus might seem sufficient to settle the point; but if his era is that of the Seleucidae, the second of Ilul, 620, was Friday Sept. 2, A.D. 309, a year inconsistent with the chronology of Licinius, who did not become master of the East until 313. The date therefore is still a difficulty. In illustration of the other notes of time furnished by Theophilus we may state that the emperors Constantine and Licinius were consuls together in 312, 313, 315; in 319 Constantine and young Licinius Caesar were consuls, and according to one authority in 320 (Clinton, *F. R.* i. 372). The emperors were at war in 314 and 323. Conon bishop of Edessa was living in 313, according to the *Chronicle of Edessa* (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* i. 330; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 955). Friday Sept. 2 occurred in 315, 320. On June 13, 313, Licinius published the Edict of Milan at Nicomedia. Upon the whole, the history of the times and especially the alteration of Licinius's conduct on the question of the Christian religion cir. 321, makes the later date preferable if other difficulties can be overcome. [C. H.]

HABIBUS (3), Dec. 29, martyr in Persia under Sapor II. A.D. 327, with Jonas, Brichjesus, and eight others in the city of Beth-asa. (Assem. *Acta SS. Mart. Or. et Occ.* i. 215.) [G. T. S.]

HABIBUS (4) (ABIBOS, ABIB, AVIV), Nov. 29, bishop of Necres in Georgia, and martyr under the Persians cir. 550. He was one of the thirteen fathers from Syria who came to revive the faith among the Georgians. [IBERIAN CHURCH.] (Malan, *Hist. of Georg. Church*, 51, 67.) [G. T. S.]

HABITUS, bishop of Urci (Almeria) from before 688 until after 693, subscribed the acts of the fifteenth (A.D. 688) and sixteenth (693) councils of Toledo. He was the last bishop of the see before the Mohammedan invasion. (Aguirre-Catalani, iv. 313, 333; *Esp. Sagr.* viii. 224.) [INDALECIUS.] [M. A. W.]

HABRILIA, virgin. [HABERILLA.]

HACCA. (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 58.) [ACCA.]

HACONA, abbat. [HAGONA.]

HADALINUS, Feb. 3, confessor, A.D. 690 A monk and missionary from Aquitaine, who preached and founded a monastery in Belgium. (*Acta SS.* Boll. Feb. i. 372–377; Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. vi. 1013.) [S. A. B.]

HADDA, a Mercian abbat who attests the forged charter of Medeshamstede, purporting to be granted by Caedwealha, Sighere, Swebheard, Wihtred and Ethelred. (Kemble, *C. D.* 40; *Mon. Angl.* i. 384.) [S.]

HADDE, a West Saxon abbat, whose name is appended as a witness to the charter of Coinred of Wessex to the Tisbury charter in 759. (Kemble, *C. D.* 104.) [S.]

HADDI (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 48, A.D. 701), bishop. [HEDDA (1).] [C. H.]

HADECERDITAE. [ADECERDITAE.]

HADELOGA (ADALOGA), **ST.**, said to have been the first abbess of the nunnery of Kissingen in the 8th century. According to an anonymous life published by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* Feb. i. 306), and attributed to the 12th century, she was the daughter of Charles Martel and Kunehildis. So renowned were her beauty and virtue that kings, princes and nobles came to woo her from Britain, Pannonia and Greece. But from her earliest years she had resolved to consecrate her virginity to God, and, in spite of her father's anger, rejected all her suitors. Her meekness under persecution enlisted the sympathy of all the court, and especially of one of the royal chaplains. Accused to the king by malicious tongues of shameless commerce with him, she was expelled in his company from the court. The chaplain, who was possessed of some wealth, built a nunnery and bought some land for its endowment. Here he collected a few nuns, over whom he set Hadeloga as abbess, and instituted the rule of St. Benedict. The place was called Kitzingen, or Kissingen, from Kuccingus, a shepherd. In time, the king, hearing of the sanctity of her life, and filled with compunction for his unjust suspicion, visited her, and enriched the foundation with lands and property. The nuns became numerous, and a congregation of monks was instituted hard by. She ruled her nunnery prosperously for many years, and at last, worn out with self-inflicted privation, died Feb. 2, the day of her commemoration, and was buried at Kissingen before the altar of St. Mary amid universal grief.

The credibility of this somewhat late history is affected by the statement in Othlonus's *Vita Bonifacii* (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 646–7), to the effect that Boniface established St. Tecla, or Thecla, at Kissingen. Attempts have been made to reconcile the two accounts. Some have supposed the two names to have denoted the same person, others, as the later Bollandists (Oct. vii. 62), that Hadeloga was the first and Tecla the second abbess, but no satisfactory

explanation has been given (cf. Retzberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 334–5).

The Bollandists also publish from two MSS. of the Carthusian foundation at Würzburg an *Elogium* of her virtues, written by an anonymous author at the request of the nuns of Kissingen (*Acta SS.* Feb. i. 944–58). [S. A. B.]

HADES. [DEATH AND THE DEAD, ESCHATOLOGY.]

HADO (ADO), thirty-sixth archbishop of Chartres, between Leobertus and Flavinus, in the first half of the 8th century. He is said to have instituted canons in the place of monks in the cathedral church (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1102). [S. A. B.]

HADOINDUS (HADUINDUS, CHADOINUS, CADUINDUS, CHADAENUS, HARDUINUS, CLODAENUS) ST., thirteenth bishop of Le Mans, St. Bertramnus, and St. Berarius, was present at the council summoned by Sonnatius at Rheims in A.D. 625, and was represented by Chagnoaldus, an abbat, at that of Châlons held about 650. His name is contained in many documents admitted to be forgeries. His will, however, is genuine. It is to be found in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxx. 567, Boll. *Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 1142, *Vetera Analecta*, p. 267, and Bar. *Annales*, an. 652, n. xiv. It was dictated to his deacon Cadulphus, in the fifth year of the reign of Clovis II. (A.D. 642). He makes the church of Le Mans his heir, and leaves to it the dispensation of his other bequests to churches and monasteries. In 630 he had founded the monastery of Ebronium (Notre Dame d'Evron). His death is placed about the year 652, and he was commemorated Jan. 20. The Bollandists publish his *Gesta* from an old MS. (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 1140), but they are historically worthless. (Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* ii. 5; Patr. Lat. cxxxv. 102; Mansi, *Conc.* x. 1194; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 349; *Gesta Pontificum Cenoman.* c. xii.; Mabill. *Vetera Analecta*, p. 264, Paris, 1723.) [S. A. B.]

HADRIANISTAE. The title ADRIANISTAE occurs in an enumeration by Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 1) of short-lived heretical sects, the origin of which he ascribes to Simon Magus; and in the preface to his second book, Theodoret includes in a list of heretics Adrianus, no doubt the supposed founder of this sect. But Valois has pointed out that Theodoret got the name from a corrupt reading in his copy of Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 22). In an enumeration of heretical sects there quoted from Hegesippus, the followers of MENANDER are mentioned ἀπὸ τούτων Μενανδριανισταί. Nicephorus (*H. E.* iv. 7) reproduces the passage with the reading ἀπὸ τούτων μὲν Ἀδριανισταί, and the reading Adrianistae is still found in several MSS. of Eusebius. There can be no doubt that Theodoret so read, and that thus he obtained the name. [G. S.]

HADRIANUS (1), PUBLIUS AELIUS (117–137). The early life and the general policy of this emperor may be compressed for our present purpose within comparatively narrow limits. Born in A.D. 76, and placed at the age of ten, on his father's death, under the guardianship of his cousin, Ulpius Trajanus, afterwards emperor, he was conspicuous in his youth for his study of Greek literature, and entered on his career as military tribune in Lower Moesia in A.D. 95. On the death of Nerva in A.D. 97, Trajan, whom he had adopted, became emperor, and Hadrian, on whom he bestowed such favours that men looked for a formal adoption, served in various capacities in the wars with the Dacians, Pannonians, Sarmatians, and Parthians. During the campaign against the last-named enemy, Trajan, leaving him in command of the army and of the province of Syria, started for Rome, but died at Selinus in Cilicia in A.D. 117. Hadrian, on hearing of his death, had himself proclaimed emperor by the army, communicated the election to the senate, and in due course received their formal sanction.

The external policy of Hadrian was marked by the abandonment of any idea of extending the eastern frontier of the empire. The Euphrates was recognised as a natural boundary in that direction, and the emperor, after suppressing a real or alleged conspiracy at Rome by the execution of four men of consular rank, and gaining popular favour by gladiatorial games, large donations, and the remission of fifteen years' arrears of taxes due to the state,[a] devoted himself in A.D. 120 to a personal inspection of the provinces of the empire, which was prolonged for several years. In that and the following year he visited Gaul, Germany, and Britain, erecting fortresses and strengthening the defences of the frontiers. The Roman wall carried from the Solway to the mouth of the Tyne remains as a memorial of his activity in the last-named province. Possibly also we may find traces of the eclectic tendency of his mind and his readiness to adopt foreign forms of worship in the altars dedicated to Mithras, and to an otherwise unknown goddess named Coventina or Conventina, which have recently been found in the neighbourhood of one of the stations near the Wall not far from Hexham.[b] In A.D. 122 he came to Athens, and found the eager speculative activity of the place so congenial to his taste that it was henceforth his favourite residence, and his love for making experiments, as it were, in different forms of worship led him to seek initiation in the Eleusinian mysteries (A.D. 125). The next four or five years were spent in the same restless travelling and insatiable desire to see all remarkable places. He ascended Aetna, he returned to Athens, he went up the Nile. The death, probably the self-sought death, of his favourite Antinous, a Bithynian page of great beauty and genius, in the last-named journey plunged him into as deep a grief as his nature was capable of, and he sought to

[a] One of the two reliefs discovered in 1872, and now standing at the N.W. entrance of the Roman forum, may, perhaps, represent the destruction of the documents which were the legal proofs that the arrears were due. They are referred by Dr. Hertzen in a paper read before the German Archaeological Society at Rome to a like remission on the part of Trajan.

[b] See the account of this discovery in a paper by Mr. Clayton in the *Transactions of the Newcastle Archaeological Society* for 1875. Some archaeologists are inclined to see in Conventina a Latinized form of the name of some British goddess. The fact that Hadrian when in Spain, made his visit memorable by summoning a *conventus* of all the Romans who resided there makes it, perhaps, more probable that the mysterious name indicates that the goddess was the idealized and personified guardian of such a *conventus* held in Britain.

console himself by surrounding the memory of his minion with the divine honours which had been paid to emperors.[c] Constellations were named after him in the heavens, cities dedicated to him on earth. Incense was to be burnt in his honour, and the art market was flooded with statues and busts representing his exceeding beauty. The new form of worship thus introduced probably did much to alienate the better class of minds that were halting between two opinions. The apotheosis of such an one as Antinous was the *reductio* at once *ad absurdum* and *ad horribile* of the decayed and putrescent polytheism of the empire. (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 8; Justin, *Apol.* i. 39.) Shortly afterwards the state of affairs in Palestine called for the emperor's serious attention, and, as connected with the history both of the Jewish and the Christian churches, may be dealt with here with somewhat greater fulness than his general administration of the empire. Disturbances which had threatened the tranquillity of Judaea at the beginning of his reign had been repressed by Martius Turbo, and for fifteen years they were not renewed. His coins and medals bore the inscription of "Tellus stabilita." In A.D. 131, however, the emperor began to execute the plan, conceived earlier in his reign, of transforming Jerusalem into a Roman colonia, and rebuilding it under the title of *Aelia Capitolina*, the first word commemorating the *gens* to which the emperor belonged, the second its consecration to the Capitolian Jupiter. At first the proposal was received tranquilly. The work of rebuilding was placed in the hands of a Jew, Aquila of Pontus (the reader will note the coincidence of name and country with those of the preacher of Acts xviii. 2); the great rabbi Akiba was on friendly terms with Rufus, the emperor's representative, and the Jews even ventured to petition for permission to rebuild their Temple. They were met with what must have seemed to them a studied indignity, and a plough was drawn over the site of the sacred place in token of its desecration. The city was filled with Roman emigrants, and Jews were forbidden to enter the city of their fathers, with the solitary exception, granted as if in bitter irony, that they might on the anniversary of the capture of the city by Titus come to bewail their fate within its gates. On one of the gates of the new Aelia the figure of the unclean beast in marble sent a shudder through any Jew who approached the walls. The feelings of Christians were in like manner outraged by seeing a statue of Jupiter on the site of the Resurrection and one of Venus on that of the Crucifixion. Trees and statues were placed on the platform of the Temple, and a grove in honour of Adonis was planted near the cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The persistent defiance of national feeling thus displayed roused a wide-spreading indignation, which, after smouldering for a time, burst out under a leader whom we know only by his assumed name of Bar-Cochba, the son of a star. The choice of the name was probably determined by the imagery of the prophecy of Balaam in Num. xxiv. 17, possibly also by the recollection of the "star in the east" of Matt. ii. 2. The man himself is described by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 3) as being of the Barabbas type, a murderer and a robber (*φονικὸς καὶ λῃστρικὸς*), but he was recognised by Akiba, the leading rabbi of the time, as the Messiah, obtained possession of fifty fortresses and 985 villages, and established himself in the stronghold of Bethera, between Caesarea and the old town of Lydda, which, like Jerusalem, had been rebuilt and renamed by Hadrian as Diospolis. The Christians of Palestine, true to the apostolic precept of submission to the powers that be, took no part in the insurrection, and were accordingly persecuted by the rebel leader, and offered the alternative of denying the Messiahship of Jesus or the penalty of torture and of death (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 8). Severus was recalled from Britain, the rebellion was suppressed with a strong hand, and edicts of extremest stringency were issued against the Jews, forbidding them to circumcise their children, to keep the Sabbath or to educate their youth in the study of the law. Akiba died in tortures under the hands of the executioner, and the prohibition of instruction in the law led to the formation of a secret school, continuing the rabbinic traditions, at Lydda. (Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 7.) To the Christian church in Judaea, the suppression of the Bar-Cochba revolt and the generally tolerant spirit of the emperor brought a relief by which they were glad to profit. They left Pella, where they had taken refuge during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, and returned to the holy city under its new name. Their return was marked by a change in the character of the community. The succession of fifteen bishops, all Hebrews, and belonging to the church of the circumcision, came to an end, and the mother-church of the world found itself under the care of a gentile bishop. (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 5.)

In his general treatment of the Christians of the empire, Hadrian followed in the footsteps of Trajan. The more cultivated members of the church felt in addressing the tolerant, eclectic, enquiring emperor, "curiositatum omnium explorator,"[d] as Tertullian calls him (*Apol.* c. 5), that they had a chance of a favourable

[c] The death of Antinous was enveloped in a mysterious darkness. According to some accounts he was drowned accidentally. Other rumours reported that he had sought a voluntary death in order to avert a predicted disaster from his master; or that Hadrian had sacrificed him, with his own consent, in order that he might practise the form of augury known as *extispicium* (the scrutiny of the viscera of the victim), and so penetrate the secrets of the future. It is not necessary to examine here the evidence in favour of these conflicting statements. The fact that the last gained currency is, however, characteristic of the popular belief as to Hadrian's restless and feverish superstition. See an elaborate discussion of the whole question in a paper on Antinous, by Mr. J. A. Symonds, in the *Cornhill Magazine* for February 1879. The practice of *extispicium* appears again, it may be noted, among the enormities of ELAGABALUS.

[d] So Julian describes him in his survey of the character of the Caesars, as *πολυπραγμονῶν τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα*. The rest of the picture is worth quoting as shewing what the philosopher-apostate thought of his predecessor. He is described as bustling and pretentious (*σοβαρὸς*), wearing a long beard, occupied in many studies, and especially in music, prying into hidden mysteries (as above). Silenus, as Hadrian comes into the presence of the gods, asks "What is the Sophist doing? Is he looking for Antinous?" and gives orders, "Tell him that the youth is not here, and stop his garrulous chattering." (Julian, *Caesares*, p. 28, ed. 1583.)

hearing, and the age of apologists began. Quadratus, according to one tradition [but see QUADRATUS], bishop of Athens in A.D. 126, and famed as possessing prophetic gifts (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 37, iv. 3), presented his *Apologia*, laying stress on the publicity of the works of Christ, and appealing to the testimony of eye-witnesses who were even then surviving. Aristides, a philosopher of the same city, followed, and addressed (A.D. 133) a treatise to the emperor, which was extant and admired in the time of Jerome, in defence of the Christians, and was said even to have been admitted to a personal hearing. [ARISTIDES.] Early in his reign, but probably after receiving these apologies, an Asiatic official of high character, Serenius Granianus, applied to him for instructions as to the treatment of the Christians of that province, complaining that their enemies expected him to condemn them without even the formality of a trial. The result was that the emperor addressed an official letter to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, regulating the mode of procedure against the persecuted sect. No encouragement was to be given to common informers (*συκοφάνται*) or to popular clamour. If the official persons of the district (*ἐπαρχιῶται*) were confident that they could sustain a prosecution, the matter was to be investigated in due course. Offenders against the laws were to be punished according to the measure of their guilt, but, above all things, the trade of the informer was to be checked (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 8, 9). The character of Hadrian's mind may be inferred from what has been stated as to the policy of his government. He had not the zeal of a persecutor, he was not influenced by the fear that leads to cruelty. His philosophy and his religion did not keep him from the infamy of an impure passion of the basest type. He adapted himself without difficulty to the worship and the thoughts of the place in which he found himself. At Rome he maintained the traditional sacred rites which had had their origin under the republic, and posed as the patron of Epictetus and the Stoicism which was identified with his name. At Athens he was initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, and rose to the dignity of an Epoptes in the order, as brought within the circle of its most esoteric teaching. He became an expert in the secrets of magic and astrology. To him, as he says in his letter to Servianus, describing the character of his Egyptian subjects, the worshippers of Serapis and of Christ stood on the same footing. Rulers of synagogues, Christian bishops, Samaritan teachers, were all alike trading on the credulity of the multitude (Flavius Vopiscus, *Saturn.* c. 7, 8). According to the statement of Lampridius, one of the later writers of the history of the emperors (*in Alexand. Sever.* c. 43), the wide eclecticism of his nature led him at one time to erect temples without statues, which were intended to have been dedicated to Christ. He was restrained, it was reported, by oracles, which declared that, if this were done, all other temples would be deserted, and the religion of the empire subverted. The testimony of Lampridius as to the fact that temples such as he describes, known as Hadrian's, existed in his time may be received without much hesitation, but the absence of contemporary evidence of such an intention, on which it would have been natural for the Christian apologists of his own reign, or those of his successors, to lay stress, compels us to reject his explanation of the fact as an unauthenticated conjecture. The more probable solution of the problem is that adopted by Casaubon (*Annot. in Lamprid.* c. 43), that the temples in question were built by Hadrian, but not formally dedicated, and that they were intended ultimately to be consecrated to himself. So the imperial Sophist—the term is used of Hadrian by Julian (*ut supra*)—passed through life, "holding no form of creed and contemplating all," and the well-known lines—

> "Animula, vagula, blandula,
> Hospes, comesque corporis,
> Quae nunc abibis in loca,
> Pallidula, rigida, nudula?
> Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos."[e]
> Spartian. *Vit. Hadr.*

shew that the same dilettante spirit was with him to the last.

It lay in the nature of the case that a reign like that of Hadrian was on the whole favourable to the growth of the Christian church. The popular cry, "Christianos ad leones," was hushed, and no organized persecution took its place. The appearance of an apologetic literature was a sign that the disciples of Jesus made their appeal with confidence to the intellect and judgment of mankind. The frivolous eclecticism of the emperor and yet more his deification of Antinous were enough to shake the allegiance of all serious minds to the older system. The succession of bishops in all the great centres of the church's life went on without the interruption of martyrdom or imprisonment. The tolerance, which was favourable to the growth of the good seed was also, however, equally favourable to that of the tares; and it is to the reign of Hadrian that we have to trace the rise and growth of the chief Gnostic sects of the 2nd century, the followers of SATURNINUS in Syria, of BASILIDES, CARPOCRATES, and VALENTINUS in Egypt, of MARCION in Pontus (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 7, 8). (Compare, in addition to the authorities cited, Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. iii.; Milman, *History of Christianity*, b. ii. c. vi.; Lardner, *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, chap. xi.) [E. H. P.]

HADRIANUS (2), servant of Hilarion the hermit. He brought to his master, then in the oasis west of Egypt, the news of the death of Julian; but he afterwards proved unfaithful, and is recorded to have died of the Morbus Regius. (Jerome, *Vit. Hil.* § 34, *Opp.* vol. ii. p. 34, ed. Vall.) [H. W. F.]

HADRIANUS (3), rector patrimonii under Gregory the Great in Sicily. He is generally addressed as "notarius;" he is once spoken of as "chartularius." When he was at Palermo,

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[e] Prior's version is familiar to most readers. The following is from a less-known writer:

> "Poor soul of mine, who canst not rest,
> Fluttering still within my breast;
> Of the body mate and guest,
> Whither bound art thou?
> Pallid, bare, and shivering left,
> Of thy wonted mirth bereft,
> Jests are done with now."

Gregory wrote to him that the husband of a certain Agathosa, who had become a monk, was to be restored to her even if he had received the tonsure, for no man may leave his wife without her consent, except for the cause of fornication. In another letter, Gregory praised him "quod quosdam incantatores et sortilegos fueris insecutus." Hadrian was transferred from the estates of Palermo to be rector patrimonii of those of Syracuse. For the papal estates in Sicily, and the system of papal officials, see Carl Hegel, *Städteverfassung von Italien*, i. 162. (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* lib. xi. indict. iv. 50. 53, lib. xiii. indict. vi. 18, in Migne, Pat. Lat. lxxvii. 1169–1171, 1273.) [A. H. D. A.]

HADRIANUS (4), bishop of Thebae Phthioticae in Thessaly on the Pelasgic gulf, whose condemnation both by John of Justiniana Prima on a charge of peculation, and by John of Larissa his metropolitan, on a criminal charge, gave an opportunity to pope Gregory I. to interfere. When Hadrian appealed, the matter was carried to Rome, and Gregory revoked the sentence of deprivation from the priesthood pronounced against him, and ordered John of Larissa, if he had any suit against Hadrian, either to conduct it before the pope's agents (responsales) at Constantinople, or to bring it to Rome (*Ep.* iii. 6 and 7). The emperor Maurice, A.D. 582–602, ignored the interference of Gregory, and directed Hadrian's appeal to be heard by the bishop of Corinth, by whose efforts a reconciliation was effected between Hadrian and his metropolitan. Gregory sent a deacon to watch the proceedings, lest, he said, there be any pecuniary corruption between the two parties. (*Epist.* iii. 39; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 121.) [L. D.]

HADRIANUS (5), bishop of Regium Lepidi, (Reggio in Lombardy), between Donodeus and Benenatus, his period being cir. A.D. 600, judging from his place on the list. (Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* ii. 243; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xv. 361, 397.) [C. H.]

HADRIANUS (6), bishop of Rieti, signing the epistle of pope Agatho in 680. (Mansi, xi. 303; Hefele, § 314.) [A. H. D. A.]

HADRIANUS (7), second bishop of Numana, Humana, or Umana, signing the epistle of pope Agatho in 680. (Ugh. *Ital. Sac.* i. 743; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, vii. 79, 191.) [C. H.]

HADRIANUS (8) I., bishop of Rome from Feb. 9, 772, to Dec. 25, 795, during twenty-three years, ten months, and seventeen days. He is said by Anastasius to have been a Roman of noble race, son of one Theodorus, and of "elegant" personal appearance. Left an orphan early in life, he had been educated under the care of Theodatus (or Theodulus), a distinguished Roman, had shewn signs of precocious piety, had been noticed on this account, and ordained subdeacon, by pope Paulus, and deacon by Stephanus III., whom he succeeded in the see after a vacancy of seven days. On the very day of his accession he is said to have released and recalled all who had been sentenced to prison or exile by Paulus Afiarta the chamberlain, at the close of the late pope's reign. These were probably the partisans of the Franks, whose support Hadrian ever zealously courted. The Lombard king, Desiderius, had, at the time of Hadrian's accession, invaded the exarchate of Ravenna, which the Frank king, Pippin, had in 755 conquered and bestowed upon the pope. Pippin was now dead, having left his kingdom divided between his two sons, Carloman and Charles (*Charlemagne*). The former, dying in 771, had left Charles sole king, who had thereupon repudiated the daughter of Desiderius, whom, in the previous year, his mother Bertrada had, for reasons of policy, induced him to marry. The two young sons of Carloman, with their mother, had fled to the Lombard king for protection, and were now with him. Under these circumstances Desiderius was anxious to get these two youths anointed by the new pope as kings of the Franks, and so divide the house of Charlemagne by setting up a rival branch. With this view he at once sent an embassy to Hadrian, promising him restitution of his rights in the exarchate, if he would come to him for a personal interview. But against all such overtures Hadrian stood firm; and, having continued to insist on the restitution to the see of Rome of all that Pippin's donation had included, he sent by sea (the passages of the Alps being occupied by the Lombards) an embassy to implore the aid of Charles, who in 773 assembled his forces at Geneva for an invasion of Italy. In the meantime, Desiderius had prepared to besiege Rome, and Hadrian to defend it resolutely; but the former had been diverted from his attempt by a sentence of excommunication in case of his continuing it, sent to him through three bishops by the pope. The passes of the Alps having been for some time successfully defended by the Lombards against Charles, a sudden panic, attributed to the interposition of heaven, caused their retreat. Desiderius retired to Pavia, which was blockaded by the Franks; his son Adalgisus, with the widow and sons of Carloman, took refuge in Verona, which was taken by Charles, after a siege lasting from June to October. Other cities nearer Rome now submitted themselves to the pope. The people of the duchy of Spoletum are especially said by Anastasius to have sued to be subject to the see of Rome, to have sworn fealty in St. Peter's, and Hildebrand, selected by them, to have been made their duke by Hadrian. Pavia, where Desiderius was, continued to hold out, and was not reduced till after the Easter of 774, when Charles returned to it after spending that festival in Rome, whither he had gone, accompanied by his queen Hildegard, who had joined him in Italy; and had been enthusiastically received. Anastasius (*Vit. Hadr.*) gives a long account of the proceedings. Hadrian, on hearing of his unexpected approach, caused all the judges of Rome to meet him nearly thirty miles from the city; and at a mile's distance he was received and escorted by the Roman militia, and children carrying olive branches, and singing in his praise. Early next day, which was Easter eve, the pope himself received him in St. Peter's. On reaching the steps leading up the church the king knelt and kissed each step as he ascended. At the door of the church the two potentates embraced, and proceeded hand in hand, while the choir sung "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini," to the tomb of St. Peter, where they prostrated them-

selves together, and returned thanks. After solemn services in various churches during the Easter festival, and suitable entertainments, it was on Wednesday in Easter week, in the church of St. Peter, that the memorable event of this visit of Charlemagne to Rome took place. In the presence of the clergy and notables of Rome, Hadrian reminded the king of the donation of his father Pippin to St. Peter and his vicars for ever, the promise of which had been assented to by himself and his brother Carloman at Carasiacum (*Chiersi*), and admonished him to confirm it; whereupon the king, having caused the engagement entered into at *Chiersi* to be read, ordered a new instrument of donation to be written, which he signed, and placed, first on the altar, and then on the tomb of St. Peter, having sworn to observe its conditions. The exact extent of territory assigned to the pope by this memorable donation, as well as that of the donation of Pippin, is uncertain, the original documents having perished, and contemporary writers giving us no certain information. Anastasius (*in Vit. Hadr.*) speaks of large additions to the exarchate of Ravenna, granted previously by Pippin, including Corsica, Istria, Venetia, and the dukedoms of Beneventum and Spoletum. It may be that the evidently exaggerated accounts given by him and others are partly due to a confusion between the "patrimony of St. Peter" in various countries and temporal dominion over them. The dukedom of Spoletum is indeed spoken of in one of Hadrian's letters (*Cod. Carol. Ep.* 58) as specifically made over to him, and, as has been seen, Anastasius tells us of its having already submitted to him. But, with this exception, and perhaps some other subsequent concessions, it was certainly the Greek exarchate, not the Lombard kingdom, of which a donation was made. Charles ever after styled himself "rex Francorum et Longobardorum," and was absolute in Northern Italy. The nature of the pope's temporal authority over the lands of the donation is also open to dispute. He assumed certainly all the rights of the former exarchs, and Hadrian, writing to Charles, speaks as possessing sovereign power in his own domains (*Cod. Carol. Ep.* 85); but Charles was still "patricius Romanorum," whatever the title implied, the pope claiming in distinction the "patriciatus b. Petri" (*Cod. Carol. Ep.* 85); Charles on being crowned emperor by Leo III. was adored by the pope and Roman people, as the Greek emperors had been by their subjects; Rome remained an imperial city (see Charles's will, *in Vit. Car. M. per* Einhard, c. 33); the popes afterwards had to swear fidelity to the Frank emperor; and it was not till the time of Innocent III. (1198) that the pope exacted from the praefectus Urbis the oath of allegiance formerly taken to the emperor.

In a subsequent letter from Hadrian to Charles (A.D. 777), an allusion has been supposed to the alleged donation of Constantine. (So De Marca, *de Conc. Sac. et Imp.* iii. 12, who supposes the document to have been already forged. Also Neander, *Ch. Hist.*) The words are: "Et sicut temporibus b. Sylvestri Rom. Pont. a sanctae recordationis piissimo Constantino M. Imperatore per ejus largitatem Sancta Dei catholica et apostolica Romana Ecclesia elevata atque exaltata est, et potestatem in his Hisperiae partibus largiri dignatus est; ita et in his vestris felicissimis temporibus atque nostris S. Dei Ecclesia, i.e. b. Petri apostoli, germinet atque exsultet:—quia ecce novus christianissimus Dei Constantinus Imperator his temporibus surrexit." But the allusion appears to be only to some fabulous acts of St. Sylvester, referred to by Hadrian also in his letter to the second Nicene council (*Concil. Nicen.* ii. act. ii.), though the language may have suggested the late forgery.

During the disputes about investiture it was maintained by the imperial party that, Charlemagne having returned to Rome after the reduction of Pavia, a synod was held in which Hadrian granted him the powers contended for. Thus in the *Collectio Cann. tripartita*, written in the time of Urban II., and in Ivo's decree (in Pertz, *Monum.* iv. ii. 160, note), "Carolus Romam reversus, constituit ibi synodum cum Adriano papa. Adrianus autem papa cum universa synodo tradiderunt Carolo jus et potestatem eligendi pontificem et ordinandi apostolicam sedem, dignitatem quoque patriciatus ei concesserunt. Insuper archiepiscopos, episcopos per singulas provincias ab eo investituram accipere diffiniverunt, et ut, nisi a rege laudetur et investiatur episcopus, a nemine consecretur. Et quicunque contra hoc decretum esset, anathematis eum vinculo innodaverunt, et, nisi resipisceret, bona ejus publicari praeceperunt." The same account was inserted (Pagi, *Crit.* iii. 343, shews it to be an interpolation) in the *Auctarium Aquicenense* of the Chronicle of Sigebert of Gemblours, A.D. 1113 (Pertz, *Monum.* vi. 393). It appears, too, in different words in a treatise composed A.D. 1109 at Naumburg by bishop Waltram or the abbat Conrad. But there is no early notice of any such synod, and Charles appears evidently to have gone straight to France from Pavia without returning to Rome:—"postquam vestra excellentia a civitate Papia in partes Franciae remeavit" (*Ep. Hadr. ad Carol. M. Cod. Carol. Ep.* 52). The fact, doubtless, was that Charles exercised the same rights in ecclesiastical affairs as he had always done in the empire of the Franks, and that it was not till a later age that the pope's concession of such rights was conceived as necessary (see Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* div. i. pt. ii. ch. ii. § 5 and § 6, and notes).

Charles having left Italy after his capture of Pavia and complete subjugation of Lombardy, and having taken Desiderius with him into France, Hadrian did not all at once enjoy his donation in peace. There are a number of letters addressed by him to Charles, in which he complains of Leo, archbishop of Ravenna, retaining cities in the exarchate on the plea that they had been granted to him by Charles; of the arrogance of Hildebrand, duke of Spoletum; and in one letter of the latter being engaged in a conspiracy with the dukes of Beneventum, Clusium (*Chiusi*), Forum Julii (*Friuli*), and ambassadors from Adalgisus (the son of Desiderius who had escaped to Constantinople), to attack Rome with Greek aid, and restore the kingdom of the Lombards. He repeatedly implores Charles to come again into Italy (*Cod. Carol. Epp.* 54, 58, 59). But the latter, engaged in his Saxon wars, contented himself with sending emissaries till, when in 775 Hrodgand, duke of Friuli, openly rebelled, he crossed the Alps and put down the rebellion, but did not on this occasion visit Rome (*Annal.*

Lauriss. ann. 775, 776). After this the pope continued to send letters of complaint: in one he complains of the duke of Chiusi, who had seized the patrimony of St. Peter in his dukedom, and frequently of the archbishop of Ravenna, whom he describes as defying St. Peter and himself in retaining territory included in the donation; and he repeatedly urges Charles to come to the rescue (*Cod. Carol. Epp.* 53, 60). At length, the Saxons being subdued and multitudes of them having been obliged to accept baptism, Charles, in 780, found leisure again to visit Italy, and spent the Christmas of that year at Pavia. He reserved his second visit to Rome for the Easter of 781, taking with him his queen Hildegard and two of his sons by her, Carloman and Lewis, with the intention that Carloman, born in 776, whose baptism had been deferred that he might receive it from the pope, should so receive it on Easter Eve. On his baptism he received the name of Pippin. The two children were also anointed and crowned by Hadrian, Pippin, the elder, as "rex in Italiam," Lewis as "rex in Aquitaniam" (*Annal. Lauriss. et Einhardi*). The pope's difficulties with regard to his temporal claims appear to have been settled during this visit; and in return he concurred with Charles, before the latter left Rome, in appointing two episcopal legates to act with those of the king in a mission to Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, who was wavering in his allegiance sworn to Pippin and his successors. The mission, thus strengthened by spiritual authority, is said to have resulted in temporary success. (*Annal. Lauriss. et Einhard.*)

At the close of the year 786 Charles again crossed the Alps and, after spending Christmas in Florence, repaired without delay to Rome to take counsel with Hadrian. The purpose of this expedition was to crush a rebellion concocted by Arichis, duke of Beneventum, who, surprised by the sudden invasion, sent at once his eldest son, Romald, to Rome with rich presents, professing submission. But Charles, advised by the pope not to trust the duke, proceeded with his forces to Capua; on which Arichis, having left Beneventum and taken refuge in Tarentum, sent again to sue for mercy, offering both his sons, with others, as hostages. Charles, having accepted his submission, returned to Rome, where he again kept Easter (787) with his friend Hadrian joyfully. While he was still at Rome, the pope again endeavoured to aid his benefactor in differences that had again arisen between him and Tassilo of Bavaria. Ambassadors arrived from this duke to beg the pope's good offices with a view to peace. He accordingly interceded with the king, who expressed himself ready to come to terms; but, when the ambassadors pleaded want of authority for ratifying any terms proposed, Hadrian, moved to anger and convinced of their duplicity, brought forth his spiritual weapons, laying their master and his abettors under an anathema unless he rendered full obedience to Charles and his sons, and declaring the latter free from all guilt for the calamities of war that might ensue. The anathema however failed of its intended effect; for it was not till Charles had coerced him by war that Tassilo made the required submission, and was secluded in a monastery (*Annal. Lauriss. et Einhard. et Vita Car. M. per Einhard.*).

Not long after Charles had left Italy, Hadrian informed him by letter that Arichis had proved faithless; had made overtures to the Greek emperor, requesting for himself the dukedom of Naples and the patriciate, and offering allegiance to the emperor if the latter would send back Adalgisus, with a competent force, to re-establish the Lombard kingdom. Arichis, however, had died before the arrival of the emperor's reply, whereupon the scheme had been resorted to of requesting Charles to send home Grimoald (the son of Arichis, who had been taken as a hostage into France), the intention being to break out in rebellion, with the aid of the Greeks, on his arrival. The Neapolitans also were concerned in the conspiracy. Of all this Hadrian diligently informed Charles, requesting him to take measures of repression, and on no account to send back Grimoald. But Charles, with better policy as the event proved, allowed the heir to return, who, with Hildebrand of Spoletum, made common cause with a small Frank contingent, and defeated a Greek army under Adalgisus, which had landed in Calabria with the design of expelling the Franks from Italy. (*Cod. Carol. Epp.* 88, 90, 86; *Annal. Lauriss. et Einhard. ad ann.* 788; *Vita Car. M. per Einhard.*)

It remains to notice Hadrian's action in the controversy about image-worship. When Irene had resolved on a council for the restoration of the practice in the East, she sent a letter to the pope, in her son's name and her own, urgently requesting his personal attendance, and promising that he would be received and sent home with the utmost distinction (*Concil. Nicen.* ii. cap. iv. Labbe). He did not comply with this request, but sent two legates to represent him, Peter, archpresbyter of Rome, and Peter, abbat of St. Sabas, and with them a singularly long and verbose letter. After complimenting Irene and her son in the style of the period, comparing him (as he had before done Charlemagne) to Constantine, and her to Helena, and declaring that his joy at their intention to restore image-worship was such as words could not express, he supports the practice by long arguments from Scripture and tradition, which do not much commend the writer as a reasoner, or theologian, or accurate historian. The concluding part of his letter has reference to Tarasius, whom Irene had just made patriarch of Constantinople, as a fit instrument of her designs. He had been a layman when elected to the patriarchate, at which irregularity Hadrian expresses his wonder and disapproval, comparing it to the case of a man being made a general who had had no military experience; but he condones it on the understanding that the new patriarch would restore image-worship. Further, he complains strongly (as Gregory the Great had done in a similar case) of the title "universal" having been given to the new patriarch, and this especially on the ground that it seemed to imply superiority to Rome, "the head of all the churches," which, he says, would be plainly ridiculous. This latter part of the letter is suppressed in the Greek edition, not having been read with the rest before the council. To Tarasius himself (who, as usual, had, on his election, sent a confession of his faith to the pope) he wrote also in a similar strain, telling him

that his acceptance of him as patriarch would depend on his zeal and success in getting image-worship restored. In both letters he sets forth more than once and strongly the paramount supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and his being (as he also often reminded Charlemagne) the representative of St. Peter, who has the keys of heaven (*Concil. Nicen.* act. ii.). The council, called the second Nicene or seventh Oecumenical, met at length on Sept. 24, 787, at Nice in Bithynia.

Undue importance has been attached to the question who presided at the council, whether the pope's legates or Tarasius. Whoever managed its proceedings, there is no doubt that at this time the pope's claim to take the lead in a general council was recognised in the East. His legates are mentioned first among those present at the closing session before Tarasius, and their names head the signatures.

An account of the decrees of the council confirming image-worship, and anathematizing its opponents, was sent by Tarasius to Hadrian, who accepted them. Charlemagne, however, and his divines, notwithstanding his great reverence for the pope, were not prepared to do so. He caused to be compiled the famous treatise called *Libri Carolini*, issued by him in his own name A.D. 790, in which the decrees of the second Nicene council are condemned, and the arguments advanced during its sittings refuted. These books find fault with the previous council (754) under Constantine Copronymus, in which images had been rejected altogether, as well as that under Irene, in which their adoration was enjoined. Their position is that such representations are allowable for commemoration and ornamentation, though all adoration of them is wrong. They allow also that the learned, being able to distinguish between the images themselves and that which is denoted by them, may possibly use them without offence, but contend that their abuse is inseparable from their use in the case of the vulgar. At the same time they allow of reverence paid to the relics of saints. Hadrian answered these books in a very long letter to Charles. He addresses him, as usual, in a tone of affection and respect, and seems to regard his purpose in transmitting the treatise to have been that of eliciting the judgment of the see of Rome rather than of expressing his own opinions. After setting forth, after his usual manner, the commission to St. Peter of "the keys of the kingdom of heaven and of the whole Church," and the transmission of his functions to his vicars, and after reminding Charles how his great worldly success had come of his attachment to St. Peter's see, and how his hopes of heaven depended on its continuance, he proceeds to answer one by one ("pro vestra melliflua regali dilectione") the objections of the Caroline books to the decisions of the council, and to the positions maintained during its deliberations. The only section of the treatise that he approves is the concluding one, in which a well-known letter from Gregory the Great to Serenus of Marseilles (*Epp.* Gregor. i. lib. 7, ep. 9) was adopted as expressing the true view. This section ("hoc sacrum et venerandum capitulum") is, he says, so different from the rest that he concludes it to be due to Charles's own "God-preserved and orthodox royal excellence;" and he endeavours to shew that the Nicene decrees were but a carrying out of the view of St. Gregory. In the end he makes a kind of apology for having so far fraternized with the emperor as to accept the council held under his auspices. At the beginning of his letter he had shewn similar uneasiness by disclaiming with an "absit" the intention of defending any man whatever (quemlibet hominem) in replying to the Caroline books, and before concluding he says in effect, "This council having rightly restored image-worship, I could not refuse to accept it, lest the Easterns should return to their heresy. But I have not yet written to the emperor on the subject. I am still much dissatisfied with him for not yet restoring portions of the patrimony of St. Peter which had been alienated by the Iconoclasts; and, if your God-protected royal excellence approves, I will admonish him to restore them, and, on this account, though not on the other, declare him a heretic if he refuses" (*Epp. Hadr. ad Car. M. de imaginibus, post Act. Concil. Nicen.* ii. Labbe). Neither the arguments nor the authority of Hadrian converted Charlemagne and his divines. In the year 794 was held the council of Frankfort, at which the pope was represented by two legates, Theophylact and Stephen, bishops. The primary object of the council was to condemn Adoptionism, *i.e.* the doctrine that Christ in His divinity was the natural Son of God, but in His humanity the adopted Son. It had been taught in Spain by Elipand, archbishop of Toledo, and Felix, bishop of Urgel, and had penetrated into France. Felix had been made to recant before a synod at Ratisbon (792), and then before Hadrian at Rome, to whom he had been sent by Charles. Elipand having complained to Charles, the latter called the Frankfort synod, at which Adoptionism was unanimously condemned, a letter from the pope to the Spanish bishops on the subject having been read. The question of the second Nicene council was then introduced, and the result was that all adoration of the images of saints, such as that council have enjoined under anathema, was repudiated and condemned.[a] The legates of Hadrian are not said to have dissented from this canon, or he himself, notwithstanding his strong language on the subject at issue as against the Greeks, to have condemned the Franks. Image-worship continued to be rejected in the Frank empire through the 9th century without denunciation from Rome, and a synod at Paris (825) expressly condemned pope Hadrian himself for his action in the matter, saying among other

[a] "Allata est in medium quaestio de nova Graecorum synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopoli fecerunt, in qua scriptum habebatur ut qui imaginibus sanctorum, ita ut deificae Trinitati, servitium aut adorationem non impenderent, anathema judicarentur. Qui supra sanctissimi patres nostri omnimodis adorationem et servitatem renuentes contempserunt, atque consentientes condemnaverunt. (*Concil. Francoss.* can. ii.) Synodus etiam quae ante paucos annos in Constantinopoli sub Irene et Constantino filio ejus congregata, et ab ipsis non solum septima, verum etiam universalis erat appellata, ut nec septima nec universalis haberetur dicereturve, quasi supervacua in totum omnibus abdicata est. (Einhard, *de Gestis Car. M.* ad an. 794.) Pseudosynodus Graecorum, quam falso septimam vocabant, et pro adorandis imaginibus fecerunt, rejecta est a pontificibus.' (*Annal. Lauriss.* ad an. 794.)

things (as well might be said) that his letter to Irene and Constantine contained things "valde absona, et ad rem de qua agebatur minime pertinentia" (Mansi, *Concil.* xiv. 421D, who is the first to include this in his collection of councils).

That the old cordiality between Charles and Hadrian had not been interrupted would appear from Einhard's account of the king's sorrow when he heard of the pope's death ("the decease of the Roman pontiff being announced to him, whom he held chief among his friends, he wept as if he had lost a son or a very dear brother") and also from the epitaph in Latin elegiacs, full of affection and respect, which Charles wrote, and had inscribed upon Hadrian's tomb. They were always fast allies and friends, and there were several reasons for their being so. In addition to personal regard and mutual respect, there was the deep religious reverence undoubtedly felt by Charles for the Roman see, which Hadrian lost no opportunity of fostering; and on both sides there were evident temporal advantages in their close alliance. To Charles it was of importance to have so great a spiritual potentate, owing his temporalities to himself, for an ally in Italy, while Hadrian clearly saw that from no earthly power could he get so much reverence, immunity, and temporal sway as from the generous and religious Charles. Zeal and pertinacity in contending for the temporal claims of St. Peter's see, and by the assertion of spiritual prerogative invoking temporal aid for their enforcement, are leading characteristics of Hadrian, as shewn by his letters. As has been intimated, he does not shine in the field of controversy; but there is no reason to doubt the account of him by Anastasius, confirmed by Charles's epitaph, that he was sincerely devout, and very liberal in his gifts for charitable and ecclesiastical purposes. Anastasius, in his life of him, goes at great length into his expenditure on churches and other works in Rome, in which undertakings he was aided by Charles, who, as his biographer Einhard tells us, sent him large gifts, gold, silver, and gems, for such purposes, having nothing more at heart than that the city of Rome should through his aid recover her ancient dignity, and the Church of St. Peter should be not only defended by him, but also adorned and enriched beyond all others.

There is extant a large collection of letters from Hadrian to Charlemagne preserved in the *Codex Carolinus*, some of which have been referred to above. A large proportion refer to political events in Italy, complaining of wrongs done to St. Peter's see, or of machinations against Charles, and often begging him to come to the rescue. In others he congratulates Charles on the subjugation and forced conversion of the Saxons; orders at his request litanies to be sung in celebration of these successes; directs how to deal with Saxon renegades from the faith; sends palls, and confirms metropolitan privileges, to the bishops of Rheims and of Bourges in Aquitania; grants a bishop of their own to the abbat and monks of St. Denys; undertakes, having been complained of to Charles, to control the irregularities of Lombard bishops, and to suppress simony; courteously denies Charles's claim to intervene through his legates in the election of archbishops of Ravenna; on one occasion thanks for the present of a cross; on another gives Charles marbles and mosaics from Ravenna, and on another the dead body of a martyr.

On the occasion of one of the visits of Charles to Rome (probably the first, A.D. 773) Hadrian gave him a collection of the canons of the church for his guidance in his own country, to which was prefixed an epistle in Latin verse (if verse it can be called) of which the first letters of the lines form the sentence, "Domino eccel. filio Carolo regi Hadrianus papa" (Labbe, viii. 583). Also, when Charles was at Rome (Easter, 787), he is said to have taken home with him, as a gift from the pope, the Antiphonary of St. Gregory, with musical notes inserted by the pope himself, together with two singing-masters, learned in Gregorian music, in order that the corrupt method of singing then prevalent in France might be reformed according to the ancient Gregorian use, which was retained at Rome. There had been, we are told, contentions between the French and Roman singers during the Easter services, the former saying that their own singing was the sweetest and the best, the latter defending their own style as orthodox Gregorianism. Charles, being referred to, decided in favour of the Roman use on the ground that the fountain must be purer than its stream, and accordingly took measures for having it taught and maintained in France, founding schools for the purpose with the assistance of the two Roman teachers, who also taught organ-playing (*artem organandi*). (*Annal. Lauriss.*)

The authorities for this life are Anastasius Biblioth. *in Vita Hadr.*; *Codex Carolinus* (collection of letters from popes to Charles, &c., contained in Muratori, *Script. rerum Italic.* in Cajet. Cenni, *Monumenta Dominat. Pontific.* and in Jaffé's *Regesta*); *Monumenta Carolina*, ed. Jaffé; *Annales Laurissenses, Annales Einhardi*, &c., and *Vita Caroli M. per Einhard.* (in Pertz, *Monumenta Germanic. Histor. Scriptores*); the *Standard Collection of Councils*, &c. [J. B—y.]

HADUFRITH, priest. [HATHUFRITH.]

HADUINDUS, bishop of Le Mans. [HADOINDUS.]

HADULAC, bishop of Elmham. [HEATHOLAC.]

HADULFUS, ST., eleventh bishop of Cambrai and Arras, between Hunaldus and Trauvardus. He was, according to some, a son of St. Ragnulfus the martyr. He is said to have entered the monastery of St. Vaast (Vedasti) in early youth, and risen to be first prior and then abbat, in which office he succeeded St. Hatta, the first of the series. He died in the year 728 or 729, after ruling the monastery for nineteen years and the see for twelve. His tomb in the church of St. Peter, near the walls of his monastery, became famous from the numerous miracles said to have been worked there, and in the 10th century his remains were exhumed and elevated by one of his successors in the see named Enguerranus, or Engranus. His epitaph of four Latin lines in the church of St. Peter is preserved. He is commemorated May 19 and Aug. 31 (*Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, 34, 35, Migne, Patr.

Lat. cxlix. 49; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. iv. 332; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* saec. iii. pt. i. 471–3, Paris, 1668–1701; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 9. 374; Le Glay, *Cameracum Christianum*, 11).
[S. A. B.]

HADUMARUS, bishop. [HATHUMARUS.]

HADWALD, a servant of Elfleda abbess of Whitby, circ. A.D. 685. He was killed by a fall from a tree, and St. Cuthbert is said to have seen angels bearing his soul to heaven at the very time of the accident. Cuthbert mentioned the circumstance to Elfleda, and on the following day the news of Hadwald's death was brought to her (Bed. *Vita Cuth.* c. 34). [J. R.]

HADWIN, a bishop, consecrated in 768 to the see of Machui, or Mayo of the Saxons, on the west coast of Ireland. (Sim. Dun. in *M. H. B.* 663; Hoved. *Chron.* Ann. 768; tom. i. p. 9, ed. Stubbs.) He died in 773, when his successor Leuferth was consecrated (*ib.* 664). [S.]

HAEDDI, bishop of Wessex. [HEDDA (1).]

HAEHA, an abbat who attests the charter of Ine to Malmesbury dated May 26, 704. (Kemble, *C. D.* 50; W. Malmesb. *G.P.* lib. v. ed. Hamilton, p. 380; *Ang. Sac.* ii. 22.) Although the charter is a forgery, several of the abbats whose names are attached to it are historical persons, such as Wintra, Beornwald, and Aldhelm, so that Haeha also may be a real name. [S.]

HAELRIC, an abbat who attests a grant of Ethelred king of Mercia to Worcester, in 692. (Kemble, *C. D.* 34.) [S.]

HAEMATITAE (Αἱματιται). An early heretical sect mentioned by Clement of Alexandria as deriving their name, like the Docetae, from the opinions which they held (*Strom.* vii. 17). What those opinions were, however, he does not say. [T. W. D.]

HAEMGILS, a monk mentioned by Bede. (*H. E.* v. 12.) He lived in the neighbourhood of the solitary Drycthelm, probably at Melrose, and was a priest. At the time Bede closed his history he was living as an anchorite in Ireland, and subsisting on bread and water. It was Haemgils who reported the visions of Drycthelm to Bede. His name appears among the anchorites in the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*, p. 6. [S.]

HAEMGILS, abbat of Glastonbury. [HEMGISLUS.] [S.]

HAEMORRHOISSA [VERONICA.]

HAERES (HERES) (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 631; Fabricius, *Bibl. Med. et Inf. Lat.* lib. i. vol. i. p. 134, ed. 1754; Velser, *Rerum Boic.* p. 308, making haeres the Latin equivalent of the old German Aribo or Erbo), monk. [CYRINUS (2).]
[C. H.]

HAERHUNEN (HAERNUNEN), bishop of Menevia in the 8th century. (Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 154; Godwin, *de Praesul. Angl.* 601.)
[J. G.]

HAESITANTES, the current rendering of διακρινόμενοι (Phot. cod. 24; Valesius, note 79 on Theodor. Lect., *E. H.* ii. 29, p. 578; Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. § 4), those who held aloof from the council of Chalcedon. Timotheus the presbyter reckons up twelve various sects of these separatists, as Eutychianistae, Acephali, Julianistae, &c. (Timoth. Presb. *de Recept. Haeret.* p. 405, Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. 51; Leont. Byzant. *de Sectis*, act. vi. § 1, act. ix. Migne, *u. s.* 1234 B, 1259.) [T. W. D.]

HAGIOCAUSTAE. The opponents of image-worship were so called. They were anathematized under that name by a synod convened at Jerusalem by Theodorus the patriarch, A.D. 726 (τῶν ἁγιοκαύστων αἱρεσιν, *Libell. Synod.* ap. Mansi, xii. 272; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* iii. 374).
[T. W. D.]

HAGONA (HAGUNA, HUGON, HACONA), an abbat whose name appears among the signatures of charters of the last decade of the 7th century. He attests the grant of Oethilred to Barking (Kemble, *C. D.* 35; *Mon. Angl.* i. 439), the grant of Earconwald (*Mon. Angl.* i. 439), that of Ine to Malmesbury (spurious, K. *C. D.* 50), that of Caedwalha to Winchester (K. *C. D.* 994), and one of Nothelm of Sussex to Selsey (K. *C. D.* 995). Although most, if not all, of them are forgeries, the coincidence of the name seems to imply that some such person was known to tradition in the 10th century, and the charter of Oethilred may be genuine. [S.]

HAIARNGEN (HAERNGEN), clerical witness to grant of the church of Ma Mouric, that is, Lann Vuien, to bishop Cadwared (Catgwaret) and the see of Llandaff. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 460.)
[J. G.]

HAICO (NAICO), twenty-second bishop of Nantes, between Taurinus and Salapius, towards the middle of the 7th century. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 801.) [S. A. B.]

HAIDO, bishop of Basle. [HETTO.]

HAIMO, ST. [HAYMO.]

HAINMARUS (AYMAR), twenty-sixth bishop of Auxerre, succeeding Savaricus. According to the annals of the see, he was of noble birth, and of possessions so extended that he became duke of nearly the whole of Burgundy. He followed Pippin upon two campaigns, first against Aimo king of Saragossa, when, bringing up his forces after the battle had commenced, he decided the event for Pippin with great slaughter of the Saracens. In the second expedition, he assisted Pippin against Eudo duke of Aquitaine, who, from an ally on the former occasion, had been changed into a foe. The Aquitanians were defeated, but Eudo escaped, and it was suggested to Pippin by the bishop's enemies that it was not without his connivance. He was accordingly imprisoned at Bastogne (Bastonia villa) in the Ardennes. After a few days, he escaped on horseback by the aid of a nephew, but was pursued and overtaken at Lifold in the district of Toul. Despairing of escape, he spread out his arms in the form of a cross, and, raising his eyes to heaven, was pierced by the lances of his pursuers. He was supposed to have been buried on the same spot (circ. A.D. 736). This account, however, can only be brought into harmony with history by substituting the name of Charles Martel for that of Pippin, and that of Waifarius

for Eudo, and putting the events in 765, as does Le Cointe. Hainmarus has been counted among the number of martyrs. He was succeeded, after an episcopate of fifteen years, by Theodrannus, whom he had associated in the bishopric during his lifetime, that the diocese might not suffer from his secular occupations. (*Gesta Autissiodorensium*, Bouquet, v. 434; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 270; Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.* 765, n. xlviii. tom. v. 677–8; Fisquet, *La France Pontificale, Diocèse d'Auxerre*, p. 252.) [S. A. B.]

HAITO, bishop of Basle. [HETTO.]

HALACHAH. [TALMUD.]

HALANUS (ALANUS), sixth abbat of the monastery of St. Mary at Farfa, a Sabine town in the Roman states, upon the Farfa, a tributary of the Tiber, about twenty miles north of Rome. The *Historiae Farfenses* (in Pertz, *Scriptores*, xi. 528) represent him as a man deeply versed in spiritual philosophy and secular wisdom. Being a monk of Farfa, under the abbacy of Wandelbert, he retired for greater privacy to a spot near the oratory of St. Martin, in the mountain Motilla overhanging the monastery, and it is in that seclusion he may have composed the work which is attributed to him. On the death of Wandelbert, at the close of 759, the whole fraternity of St. Mary's came out to request Halanus to take his place. He complied, and presided nine years, until his death on March 3, 769, nominating as his successor a man of English birth named Wigbert. Another authority (*Catalogus Abbatum Farfens.* in Pertz, xi. 585) dates his accession 761, and places him between Wandelbert or Guandelpert and Probatus. The work attributed to him is a *Homilarium*, the prologue of which is given in Pez (*Thesaur. Anecd.* vi. 83). This prologue describes the plan of the work as a series of discourses appropriate to the leading seasons of the church year, commencing with the eve of the Nativity. (Ceillier, xii. 145.) [C. H.]

HALMUND, an abbat who attests a grant made by Cuthred, king of Kent, to archbishop Wulfred in a synod at Acle, in Aug. 805. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 559, from MS. Lambeth, 1212; cf. Kemble, *C. D.* 190.) [S.]

HANANIAS (HANINA in *Syr. Mart.*), a priest and martyr with another priest named Abedecales and Simeon Barsaboe archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the primate of the Persian church, in the persecution begun by Sapor II. in A.D. 343. A decree having been issued by Sapor for the execution of the clergy of the three first grades, and the demolition of the churches, Simeon and two attendant presbyters were conveyed in chains to Ledan, a city in the province of Huzitis, where Sapor then resided. Being required by Sapor to do homage to the sun, and being assured that upon their compliance depended the safety of themselves and of the Christians at large, they refused, and were condemned to be executed with one hundred others of the clerical order, upon the day which the Persian Christians had consecrated to the memory of Christ's passion. Simeon and his two companions were reserved till the last, the emperor designing to shake their constancy by the sight of so much bloodshed. Simeon, however, confirmed the band of confessors by his exhortations, and at last died himself with his two companions. It happened that Hananias, when it was his turn to strip himself and be bound in order to receive the stroke of the axe, was suddenly seized by the natural fear of death, and trembled through his whole frame; the flesh only, however, being weak, while the spirit was strong as before. When this was observed by Phusik, an officer of rank, superintendent of all the workmen in the palace, who was himself a Christian, he said to the martyr, "Take courage, shut your eyes for a moment, you will soon see the light of Jesus Christ." For this speech he and his daughter, who was a consecrated virgin, were seized, cruelly tortured, and executed. (Sozomen, *H. E.* l. ii. c. 8–11; Assemani, *Acta Mart. Orient.* t. i. pp. 10–42; Wright, *Syr. Mart.* in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* for 1865, p. 45, and 1866, p. 423.) [G. T. S.]

HANNO, c. 758, bishop of Verona. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, x. 751.) [A. H. D. A.]

HANNO, HANNUS, alleged bishop of Constance, also called JOANNES II. (*Gall. Chr.* v. 894.) [C. H.]

HANTO (HATTO), fourteenth bishop of Augsburg (809–815), between St. Sintbert and St. Nitger. He was at the same time abbat of Neustadt, where he succeeded Waldericus. Eckhart suggests that he may have been the son of that Hatto from whom St. Megingaudus acquired the site of Neustadt, then called Rorlacha. On two occasions he was commissioned by Charles the Great to settle disturbances in monasteries, first when the territory of Benedictoburanum (Benedictbeuern) was invaded by wrongdoers (Meichelbeck, *Chron. Benedictobur.* p. 21), secondly, in 812, when he was sent with the bishops of Mainz, Worms and Würzburg, to compose the differences which had arisen between Ratgarius abbat of Fulda and his monks (*Annal. Lauriss. Min.* 812, Pertz, *Scriptores*, i. 121). In 815, the year of his death, he is said to have assisted his brother Ratpardus in building a church on the site where afterwards stood the monastery of Diessen in Bavaria (*De Fundatoribus Mon. Diess.*, Pertz, *Scriptores*, xvii. 329). For Hanto, see also Eckhart, *Francon. Orient.* ii. 139, 473; Retzberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 152. [S. A. B.]

HANUS (1), presbyter martyr in Persia under Sapor II. in the month of May, A.D. 375. He suffered with forty others, including two bishops, sixteen priests, nine deacons, six monks, and seven consecrated virgins. (Asseman. *Mart. Orient.* i. 144.) [G. T. S.]

HANUS (2), deacon and martyr on the same occasion as the preceding, A.D. 375. (Asseman, *Mart. Orient.* i. 144.) [G. T. S.]

HARDUINUS, bishop of Le Mans. [HADOINDUS.]

HARDUINUS, a presbyter and recluse at the monastery of Fontenelle. For the sake of more undisturbed contemplation he inhabited the cell of St. Saturninus, built by the abbat Wandregisilus, near Fontenelle, and there gave

instruction to many in arithmetic (*i.e.* ecclesiastical computation, according to Mabillon), and the art of writing, in which he had no small skill. He found time, however, to make a pilgrimage to Rome in the time of pope Hadrian to visit the holy places. Upon his death, which took place in 811, he bequeathed to the fraternity numerous volumes copied during a long life by his own hand, the names of which are preserved, and a little silver plate for the services of the church. (*Chartae Fontanellenses*, xvi., Pertz, *Scriptores*, ii. 292; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* iv. i. 69–70, Paris, 1668–1701.) [S. A. B.]

HARDULF (Hen. Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* iv. in *M. H. B.* 773 a), king of Northumbria. [EARDULF (2).] [C. H.]

HARIBERTUS [ARITPERTUS), fourth abbat of the monastery of Murbach (Morbacum, Maurbacum) in the diocese of Basle, succeeding Baldebertus in A.D. 762 (*Annales* in Pertz, *Scriptores*, i. 28, 29). Soon afterwards we find him at Rome, on his return whence he was entrusted with a letter from the pope, Paul I., to king Pippin (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 1144). Upon Paul's death in 767, he was sent to Rome a second time by Pippin (*Annales*, Pertz, i. 31). Several documents relating to him are preserved, a letter of a matron named Herchinildis to him in A.D. 768, a deed of grant from one Usitericus in the same year, a charter of immunity from public burdens granted to his monastery by Charles the Great in A.D. 772, and a gift of land from one Williarius to the foundation in 774 (Schoepflin, *Alsatia Diplomatica*, i. 40, 44, 47). In this last year Haribert died, and was succeeded by Amicho (*Annales*, Pertz, i. 40; *Gall. Christ.* xv. 537). [S. A. B.]

HARIFEUS of Besançon. [HERVAEUS.]

HARIMARUS, bishop. [HATHUMARUS.]

HARIOLFUS, thirty-fourth bishop of Langres, between his brother Erlolfus and Waldricus. He was founder and first abbat of Ellwangen, in Würtemberg, on the river Jaxt, in the 8th century. He is said to have been of noble family, and not undistinguished while still a layman. In later life he was much loved by Charles the Great, who habitually addressed him as his father. His life was written by Ermenric, a monk of the same foundation, between A.D. 845 and 855. It is in the form of a dialogue between the author and one Mahtolfus, and contains but little information, being principally occupied with his miracles. His choice of the spot for his monastery at Ellwangen, according to this narrative, was determined by a vision. His brother, the bishop of Langres, assisted him in constructing the monastery, and under his influence Hariolfus adopted the monastic garb and became abbat. The relics of the martyrs St. Sulpicius and St. Servilianus, which Erlolfus had received from pope Adrian, were translated to Ellwangen. The date of the foundation is given in A.D. 764. His later life in the diocese of Langres is unknown to us, but he appears to have returned to Ellwangen to die. In the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (iv. 526) he is confused with his brother Erlolfus, who preceded him in the see, and was present at the Lateran council in A.D. 768 (Mansi, xii. 715). The day of his death is given as August 13, but the year is unknown. An epitaph, discovered on an old parchment MS. in the monastery, is printed by Pertz at the end of the Life. (*Scriptores*, x. 11–14, *Annales Elwangenses, Chronicon Elwacense*, Pertz, ibid. 18, 35; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 169.) [S. A. B.]

HARMACARUS (HARMACKARUS), fifth bishop of Utrecht, between Theodardus and Richfriedus or Rixfridus. He is said to have been a Frisian by birth, and a canon of Utrecht before his elevation to the episcopate. He sat about thirteen years, from 791 to 804, and was buried in the church of St. Saviour at Utrecht. (Van Heussen, *Hist. Episcopat. Federat. Belg.* i. 6; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 535.) [S. A. B.]

HARMASIUS, a Eutychian and Monothelite of Alexandria, contemporary with Sophronius bishop of Jerusalem, c. A.D. 636. He is mentioned by that writer in an additional paragraph of his celebrated synodic which is published by Cotelier, as "qui Alexandriae adhuc veritatem oppugnat Harmasius piacularis homo" (*Eccl. Gr. Monum.* i. 790). The authenticity of the paragraph, however, is questioned by Cotelier (*u. s.*), and also by Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.* ed. Harles, x. 45); but it is admitted by Le Quien (*Praef. in Jo. Damasc. de duab. Volunt.*, Migne, Patr. Gr. xcv. 129). Anastasius Sinaita mentions the HARMASITAE, who would seem to have been followers of Harmasius (*Odeg.* c. 13, Migne, *u. s.* lxxix. 223; Petavius, *de Theol. Dogm.* v. 43). [T. W. D.]

HARMATIUS (1), a pagan, whose son was converted to Christianity. Basil writing to Harmatius, styling him *ὁ μέγας*, begged him to respect his son's conscientious convictions, and suggested that he should rather admire the young man's nobility of soul in preferring the heavenly relationship to the earthly. (Basil. ep. 276, p. 420, in Pat. Gr. xxxii. 1011.) [C. H.]

HARMATIUS (2), a gentleman, the possessor of property at Cucusus, to whom Chrysostom wrote a playful letter, A.D. 404, telling him how much better pleased he should be if, instead of bidding his people supply all his bodily wants, which were none at all, he would spend a little paper and ink in informing him how he and his family found themselves. What he should like best would be a visit from him; but the fear of the Isaurian banditti forbad all hope of that. (Chrys. *Epist.* 75.) [E. V.]

HARMATIUS (3), bishop of Misthium in Lycaonia, subscribed to the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, by Onesiphorus of Iconium. (Mansi, vii. 165; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1087.) [L. D.]

HARMOGEN. [ARMOGEN, ARMAGIL.]

HARMONIUS (1), son of Bardesanes (Bardaisan) of Edessa, A.D. 190. He is said to have studied at Athens, where he became familiar with the language and philosophy of Greece. He wrote much in Greek and in Syriac. With his father's peculiar tenets he combined others

drawn from Greek sources, relating to the origin of the soul, the decay of the body, and transmigration (παλιγγενεσία). He sought to popularize his doctrines by presenting them in the form of hymns to be sung on the feasts of the martyrs. He was the first to compose in Syriac, doubtless in imitation of Greek models. Long afterwards, in the 4th century, St. Ephrem wrote hymns in the same metres and to the same airs as those of Harmonius, in order to supplant the heterodox originals. (Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. 26, p. 1008; Id. *Haeret. Fabul. Compend.* i. 22, p. 313; Id. ep. 145, p. 1248; Mansi, *Concil.* xi. 499 E; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 86; Ceillier, i. 466; Tillemont, *Mém. hist. eccles.* ii. 457.) [BARDAISAN, Vol. I. p. 252, col. 1.] [C. J. B.]

HARMONIUS (2), apparently a disciple to whom Gregory Nyssen dedicated his treatise *De Professione Christiana* (Greg. Nyssen. *Opp.* in Pat. Gr. xlvi. 238.) [E. V.]

HARMONIUS (3), bishop of Lampsacus, on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, signed the synodal letter of the Cyzicene province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 587; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 773.) [L. D.]

HARMONIUS (4), bishop of Callipolis (Gallipoli) on the Hellespont at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 879; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 1123.) [J. de S.]

HARPOCRAS (1), one of the seven emissaries of Peter of Alexandria, probably bishops, sent by him to Constantinople, A.D. 380, as spies, to prepare the ground for the clandestine ordination of Maximus the Cynic as bishop of Constantinople (Greg. Naz. *Carm.* i. p. 14). [E. V.]

HARPOCRAS (2) (ARPOCRAS), one of the orthodox Aegyptian bishops who, with some Alexandrian clerics, fled to Constantinople, in A.D. 457, to escape the persecution of Timotheus Aelurus and the Eutychians. His name appears in their petition to the emperor Leo (Harduin, *Concilia*, ii. 696; Labbe, iv. 891), and at the head of the letter addressed to them by the pope Leo (Leo Mag. *Ep.* clx. 1336). He appears also in the list of bishops subscribing the encyclical letter of the council held at Constantinople in 459, under Gennadius, against simony (Harduin, ii. 783). In the petition to the emperor he appears as "Episcopus Gavaeorum" (? Tavoeorum), among the subscribers to the decree of the council as "Episc. Taneos." His see was probably Taua, in the province of Aegyptus Prima (*Oriens Christ.* ii. 526). [C. G.]

HARPOCRATIANS. Celsus, quoted by Origen (*Adv. Cels.* v. 62), mentions a heretical sect "ἁρποκρατιανοὺς ἀπὸ Σαλώμης." It is natural to conjecture that Carpocratians are intended; and though we have no independent testimony that this sect professed to have derived traditions from Salome, we know that she is frequently mentioned in apocryphal gospels (*Protev. Jac.* 19, 20; Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 6, 13; *Pistis Sophia*, p. 102). [G. S.]

HARPOCRATION (1), bishop of Cynopolis in Egypt, on the right bank of the Nile. He was present at the first general council at Nicaea, A.D. 325, according to the statement of Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 13; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 591). The list of the Nicene fathers in Mansi (ii. 692 D) names him Alphocration and Arpocration, bishop of Naucratis (see also Le Quien, ii. 523). A bishop of the same name was present at the synod of Tyre, A.D. 335, but his see is not mentioned. (Mansi, ii. 1143 C; Athanas. *Apol.* Patr. Gr. xxv. 392.) [J. de S.]

HARPOCRATION (2), bishop of Bubastus (Basta) in Egypt. He was one of the bishops consecrated by Melchius, according to the Breviarium given to Alexander. (Athanas. *Apol. contra Arianos*, in Patr. Gr. xxv. 376; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 561.) [J. de S.]

HARUCHUS (HARRUCHUS, HARRUTH), third bishop of Verden, between Tanko and Haligad, 808–830 (Potthast. *Bibl.* Suppl. p. 435). He was of Irish birth, and before his elevation to the episcopate held the post of abbat in the monastery of Amarbaracum, which was usually supposed to be in Ireland, but according to Eckhart and later critics was in Germany, not far from Fulda, with which Ireland maintained friendly relation. (*Francon. Orient.* i. 700, ii. 23; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, c. xx. vol. iii. 221.) According to the Chronicle of Verden he was a man of great excellence, and after his death wonderful cures were reported to have been performed at his tomb. Eckhart quotes from the *Necrologium* of Fulda to the effect that he died in the year 829, and that his remains, together with those of the first bishop, Spatto, and the dalmatic of Tanko the second bishop, were carried back to Verden, from which he infers that these three bishops may have governed the see by chorepiscopi (*Francon. Orient. ibid.*). Though he finds a place in some hagiologies, principally the Irish, on July 15, Haruchus is omitted by the Bollandists. For their reasons see the *Acta SS.* Jul. iv. 3. [S. A. B.]

HASSEA, Irish saint. [HEISE.]

HASTULPHUS. [HEISTULFUS.]

HATES, virgin and martyr in Persia under Sapor II. A.D. 343. She is noted in *Rom. Mart.* on Oct. 17; in *Bas. Men.* on Oct. 5. In the former she is commemorated under the name of Mamelta, and we are told that she was converted from idolatry by an angelic voice, stoned by the heathen and drowned in a lake. (Assemani, *Mart. Orient.* i. 96–101.) [G. T. S.]

HATHELAC, bishop. [HEATHOLAC.]

HATHOBERHT (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 175, A.D. 798), bishop. [HEATHOBERT.] [C. H.]

HATHOBERHT (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 116, A.D. 767), bishop; the same as Eadbert bishop of Leicester. [EADBERT (9).] [C. H.]

HATHORED, bishop. [HEATHORED.]

HATHOWALD, a priest of Worcester, who attests an act of bishop Deneberht in or about the year 802. (Kemble, *C. D.* 181.) [S.]

HATHUBERT, bishop. [HEATHOBERT.]

HATHUFRITH (HADUFRITH), a priest who was present at Ripon in A.D. 709 when Wilfrid gave his last instructions to the convent, and he was also one of those deputed by that prelate to return from Mercia to tell them who was to be their abbat (Eddi, cap. 63). [J. R.]

HATHUMARUS (HADUMARUS, HARIMARUS), first bishop of Paderborn in Westphalia. This district was previously under the care of the bishop of Würzburg, but had become neglected on account of its distance from that place. According to Ido, who wrote the history of the translation of St. Liborius, Hathumarus was a Saxon, who when a boy had been given to Charles the Great as a hostage, and was sent by him to reside at Würzburg. Here he was educated, and in time took the tonsure, and devoted himself to study. He was afterwards consecrated first bishop of Paderborn by command Charles. The year is usually given as A.D. 795, but this seems too early a date to harmonize with Ido's narrative. He was alive in the year 815, as we find Louis the Pious, when asked for a charter for the foundation of the monastery of Corvey, summoning Hathumarus as the bishop of the diocese in which the proposed site lay, that the step might not be taken without his sanction (*Hist. Transl. S. Viti*, viii., Pertz, *Scriptores*, ii. 579). He was succeeded by Baduradus. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jul. v. 415, 417.) His day of commemoration was Aug. 9. (Schaten, *Annalium Paderbornensium*, tom. i. p. 29 seqq.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 448; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 440–1.) [S. A. B.]

HATTO, eighth bishop of Passau (A.D. 807–818), between Urolf and Reginar or Riucharius, is said to have obtained the see through the influence of Arno of Salzburg. Probably out of gratitude for his elevation he made no claim to the pallium, which at this time had gone to the see of Salzburg. He was present at two councils, that of Salzburg, in 807, and another at Regensburg, the date of which is not known. His name also occurs in some charters of Louis the Pious for the church of Passau. (*Auctarium Cremifanense*, 807, 818, Pertz, *Scriptores*, ix. 551, 552; Hansizius, *Germania Sacra*, i. 152–4; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii. 251; Potthast, *Biblioth.* Suppl. p. 381.) [S. A. B.]

HATTO, bishop of Augsburg. [HANTO.]

HATTO, bishop of Basle. [HETTO.]

HAUNEPERTUS, abbat of Farfa, 716. He came from Toulouse. (*Constructio Farfensis*, in Pertz, *Monum.* xi. p. 528; *Catal. Abb. Farf. ibid.* p. 585.) [A. H. D. A.]

HAWYSTL, ST., a daughter of Brychan, in the 5th century, who founded the church of Llanhawystl, supposed to be Awst in Gloucestershire (R. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 152). [C. W. B.]

HAYMO, ST. (HAIMO), flourished towards the end of the 8th century. He and his brother Veremundus while hunting near Milan were pursued by wild boars, and, in fulfilment of a vow which they made in the hour of danger, founded a monastery at Meda, a village midway between Milan and Como. They were commemorated on Feb. 13. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 705; Mabill. *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. iii. ii. 380.) [I. G. S.]

HAYNIUS, thirty-second bishop of Chartres, between Berthegrannus and Agirardus. He is said to have been in occupation of the see in A.D. 686. But the history of the diocese of Chartres at this time is involved in the greatest obscurity. (*Gall. Christ.* viii. 1101.) [S. A. B.]

HEABERHT, king of Kent. [EADBERT.]

HEABERT (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 162, spurious charter of Offa king of Mercia, A.D. 793), bishop; perhaps Heathobert bishop of London. [C. H.]

HEABURGA, abbess of Minster. [EADBURGA (2).]

HEADBERHT (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 1020, A.D. 799), bishop. [HEATHOBERT.] [C. H.]

HEADDA (HEADDI), bishop of Winchester. [HEDDA (1).]

HEADDA (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 36, A.D. 693; 52, A.D. 704), bishop of Lichfield. [HEDDA (2).] [C. H.]

HEADDA (1), a priest of the diocese of Worcester, who attests an act of Eanberht, Uhtred and Aldred, ealdormen or underkings of the Hwiccii, to Worcester in 757. (Kemble, *C. D.* 102.) He is probably the same person as the following. [S.]

HEADDA (2), priest and abbat of the diocese of Worcester; kinsman of bishop Heathored, to whom in 759 the three Hwiccian ealdormen granted lands at Onnanford (Kemble, *C. D.* 105). and who some years later left his hereditary estates to the monastery at Worcester (*ib.* 169). The condition of the bequest is curious; the estates are to be held by the abbats' heirs so long as there can be found in the family one who is fitted to rule a religious house, and they are never to come into lay hands. The date of the bequest falls between 781 and 798. [S.]

HEADDA, the eighth bishop of Hereford. (*M. H. B.* 621, v. l.) [CEADDA.] [S.]

HEADRED, bishops. [HEARDRED.]

HEAHBERHT, a priest of the diocese of Rochester, who attested the acts of the council of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 547.) [S.]

HEAHBERT, abbat of Reculver, to whom Eardulf, king of Kent, made a grant of land at Perhamstede. (Dugdale, *Mon.* i. 455, from the Canterbury Cartulary in the Bodleian.) He is called Eadberht in Kemble's recension of the charter, which is undated, but would fall about 747. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1005.) [S.]

HEAHSTAN, a priest of the diocese of London, who attested the acts of the council of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 547.) He may possibly be identical with the person of the same name who became bishop of Sherborne in 824, and survived until 867; but this is scarcely likely. [S.]

HEAMUND, a Kentish priest, who attested the act of archbishop Wulfred, dated April 21, 811. (Kemble, *C. D.* 195.) [S.]

HEAN, the founder of the monastery of Abingdon. In the chronicles of that abbey he is represented as nephew of Cissa, the ealdorman of Wiltshire under Kentwin and Ceadwalha successively kings of the West Saxons. Cissa is called by William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* ed. Hamilton, 191, 354), father of king Ine: this, however, was not the case, Ine being son of Cenred; and the relationship here asserted being part of a notion, common to the Malmesbury traditions, which was intended to make the family of Ine a nucleus of monastic sanctity. But this mistake as to the father of Ine need not invalidate the testimony of the Abingdon writers with respect to the relationship of Hean and Cissa. (*Hist. Abingdon*, ed. Stevenson, ii. 269.) Ceolswitha, or Cilla, the foundress of Helenstow nunnery, is on the same authority said to have been Hean's sister. According to this tradition, which in this point again has something in common with the Malmesbury and Glastonbury legends, Abingdon (which was no doubt named from some ancient Saxon Abba who has left other traces of his occupation in the adjacent country (see Stevenson, *Hist. Abingd.* vol. ii. pref. p. v.) had been the home of an Irish anchoret named Abbennus or Aben in the 5th century. (*Chr. Abingd.* i. 2, 3; ii. 268.) The name of Seovekesham was also ascribed to Abingdon before the foundation of the monastery by Hean. It was in the reign of Kentwin that the foundation was first contemplated; Hean about the year 675 obtained from Cissa a place for his monastery, and devoted his own inheritance to the endowment. Under Ceadwalha the successor of Kentwin, the work which, according to the legend, had been begun upon the hill of Abbennus, and been stopped by miraculous agency, which every night threw down what had been built during the day, was removed to the plain by the Thames, where a furrow had been cut by supernatural means to mark the place for the foundation, and where a hermit of Cumnor had directed Hean to build. About this time Cissa died, and was buried first on the hill, then translated to the church on the plain. Hean here completed his work, and obtained charters for his monastery from Ceadwalha, and, after his death, from Ine, who had at first shewn himself unfriendly, but was soon reconciled. He was made first abbat and ruled his monks until the reign of Ethelheard, Ine's successor, when he died, and was succeeded by Conan. (*Chron. Abingd.* ii. 268–272.) The chronicle gives a detailed description of Hean's monastic buildings. Unfortunately the whole story rests upon very untrustworthy authority, and accordingly the charters, which are adduced in support of it, incur a suspicion of forgery over and above the internal evidence of spuriousness. Of these, however, the most important are the will of Hean (Kemble, *C. D.* 998; *Chron. Abingd.* i. 13), in which as abbat he provides for the disposition of his property at Bradanfeld, Escesdune and Earmundeslea, by his sister Cilla, with reversion to his monastery; this is confirmed by Ine and bishop Daniel, and must be dated therefore after the year 705: a fragment of a charter of Ceadwalha (*Chr. Abingd.* p. 8): a charter of Ine restoring to Hean 273 cassates or hides of land granted to him and Cilla by king Cissa, which Kemble condemns as a clumsy forgery, but which, as far as its material portions go, is defended by Stevenson (*ib.* 9, Kemble, *C. D.* 46): another grant by Ine of some of the lands mentioned in Hean's will (*Chr. Abingd.* i. 11; K. *C. D.* 45), which is rejected on account of the false date (A.D. 687), which may have been a late addition: and a charter by the same king to Hean and Ceolswitha, confirming an earlier grant by Eadfrith, son of Iddi, of lands in Bradfield, Bestlesford and Streatley; this last, although rejected by Kemble, may be genuine. (*Chr. Abingd.* i. 12; Kemble, *C. D.* 31.) The main features of the tradition must have been current before the days of William of Malmesbury, who without, however, mentioning Hean, calls Cissa, the father of Ine, the founder. When in the reign of Eadred, St. Ethelwold settled a monastery at Abingdon, he found there the remains of a small monastery, possessing forty mansae, and claiming a larger territory which was in the hands of the king (Alfric, Life of Ethelwold, *Chr. Abingd.* ii. 257; Wolstan, v. Ethelw. ap. Mab. *AA. SS. O. S. B.* saec. v. p. 600); the early existence of the monastery is thus attested by evidence of the age of Dunstan. But it must be feared that as Bede, the chronicles, Asser and Ethelwerd are silent as to the traditions, they were either invented or developed from the genuine portions of the charters, in the reign of Edgar. See besides the chronicle of Abingdon, edited by Mr. Stevenson, the extracts from the Abingdon copy of Florence of Worcester, *Ang. Sac.* i. 163; *Mon. Angl.* i. 505–526; W. Malmesb. *Gesta Pontificum*, lib. ii. § 88; Ralph de Diceto, ii. 211; Harpsfield, *Hist. Angl. Eccl.* p. 78. [S.]

HEANBALD (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 2199, in *M. H. B.* 790), archbishop of York. [EANBALD II.] [C. H.]

HEANFLET (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1196, in *M. H. B.* 779), daughter of Edwin king of Northumbria. [EANFLED (2).] [C. H.]

HEANFRID (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1258, in *M. H. B.* 780), king of Northumbria. [EANFRID.] [C. H.]

HEARDBERHT, brother of Ethelbald king of Mercia, c. A.D. 736. (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 80, 83.) [C. H.]

HEARDRED (HEARDRAED, HEADRED), the seventh bishop of Dunwich after the division of the East Anglian sees. (*M. H. B.* 618.) His name occurs in the act of Heathored at the council of Brentford in 781 (Kemble, *C. D.* 143; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 439), and under the corrupt form Harchelus among the attestations of the acts of the legatine council of 787. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 461.) It appears also in the charter granted by Offa to the gesith Osbert in the council of Celchyth in 788 (K. *C. D.* 153), and in other documents dated at a similar assembly at the same place in 789. (K. *C. D.* 155, 156, 157.) The latter year seems to be the last of Heardred's pontificate, as his successor Aelhun [ALHUN] appears in 790. If these dates are correct, Heardred would be one of the bishops transferred from the province of

Canterbury to that of Lichfield, supposing the account given by the later writers of the arrangement made in 787 to be trustworthy. [HIGBERT.] [S.]

HEARDRED (HEADRED), bishop of Hexham. [EADRED (2).] [S.]

HEARED, a deacon of the diocese of Rochester, who attended the council of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 547.) [S.]

HEATHOBALD, a deacon of the diocese of Hereford, who attended the council of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546.) [S.]

HEATHOBERT (HATHUBERT), the thirteenth bishop of London. (*M. H. B.* 617.) His name is attached to charters of 798 and 799. He attests a grant of Kenulf of Mercia, confirmed in synod in 798 apparently at Clovesho (Kemble, *C. D.* 175; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 514), and an act of Witenagemot at Tamworth (K. *C. D.* 1020) in 799, where his name appears as Headbert. There is likewise a document of the year 801, in which Hathobert appears as a witness. (K. *C. D.* 116; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 531.) Such being the evidence of charters to Heathobert's date, it is satisfactory to find his death noted under the year 801 by Simeon of Durham (*M. H. B.* 672), and, as no intervening name occurs, he probably succeeded Eadbald, who left England in the year of Offa's death, 796. [EADBALD (3).] It is, however, to be observed, that in a remarkable charter, purporting to be granted by Offa to Canterbury in a council at London in 795, no name of a bishop of London is found. (K. *C. D.* 159; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 485, 486.) Simeon records that shortly after Heathobert's death great part of London was burnt. (*M. H. B.* 672.) [S.]

HEATHOLAC (HADULAC, HATHELAC; ETELATUS, *Ang. Sac.* i. 404), the third bishop of Elmham after the division of the East Anglian sees (*M. H. B.* 618). He was bishop at the time Bede closed his history (*H. E.* v. 23), and must have attained that dignity after the year 716, in which his predecessor, Nothbert, was living. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 300.) His successor, Ethelfrith, was consecrated by archbishop Nothelm in or about 736. (*Ang. Sac.* i. 404.) [S.]

HEATHORED (1), 8th bishop of Worcester (*M. H. B.* 623). According to Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B.* 545, 546) he succeeded bishop Tilhere in 781, and died in 798; and these dates are amply borne out by the evidence of charters, from which also we learn more of Heathored than we know of most of the contemporary bishops. In 781 we find him at the council of Brentford, making an agreement with Offa by which the monastery of Worcester resigned to the king its rights at Bath, on condition of retaining lands at Stratford, Sture in Usmere, Bredon, and Homtune. (Kemble, *C. D.* 143; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 438, 439.) The same year he attests some questionable charters of Offa (K. *C. D.* 141, 142), and in 785, the fabricated grant of that king to Westminster. (*Ib.* 149; *Mon. Angl.* i. 291.) In 787, under the name "Adoredus," he appears at the legatine council. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 461.) In 789 Heathored was engaged in litigation with Wulfheard, the son of Cissa, touching the inheritance of Hemele. (Kemble, *C. D.* 156; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 465; *Mon. Angl.* i. 587.) This cause was tried in the council of Acle in that year, and it was then decided that Wulfheard should retain the property for life; the matter was again brought forward after Heathored's death in the council of Clovesho in 803. (K. *C. D.* 183.) The division of the province of Canterbury in 787 or 788 would have the effect of making Heathored's see subject to Lichfield. His name, however, appears in the list of bishops who attended with Ethelheard at London in 795 (K. *C. D.* 159; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 485, 486). In 794 at a council at Clovesho, attended by both archbishops, he recovered an estate at Aust from Bynna, a 'gesith' of Offa (K. *C. D.* 164). He continues to attest Mercian charters of Offa and Egferth, and appears as signing a grant of Kenulf to the ealdorman Oswulf in the synod of 798. (K. *C. D.* 175.) Besides occurring in genuine charters his name is found in the spurious grants of Offa to St. Alban's (K. *C. D.* 161, 162) and Westminster (K. *C. D.* 149). His last appearance is in a dated charter of Kenulf to Christ Church, Canterbury, of the year 799. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1020.) If this charter is genuine, the date given by Florence for Heathored's death will require the common rectification by two years, and belong to the year 800. (Thomas, *Survey of Worcester*, pp. 19-22; Heming, *Cartulary of Worcester*, ed. Hearne, passim; *Anglia Sacra*, i. 471.) [S.]

HEATHORED (2), bishop of Lindisfarne, properly the 13th in succession, but omitted in the ancient list (*M. H. B.* 626), and inserted among the bishops of Whithern (*ibid.*). Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B.* 547, 548) gives the date of his promotion to Lindisfarne as 819, and dates his death in 828; in the margin of the MS. of Simeon of Durham, he is dated, by mistake, 891 (*ib.* p. 685). The latter author, in his *History of the Church of Durham*, recognises Heathored as bishop of Lindisfarne, assigning him an episcopate of nine years between Egbert and Egred (lib. ii. c. 5; ap. Twysden, p. 13), which probably signifies from A.D. 821 to 830, as in the latter year the accession of Egred is noted (*M. H. B.* 673). Of Heathored as bishop of Whithern nothing is known, but he may have taken charge of that diocese after the death of Badwulf. [S.]

HEATHORED (3), a priest of the diocese of Sidnacester, who attests the act of Clovesho in 803. (K. *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546.) [S.]

HEATHORED (4) (HETHERED), an undated abbat of Malmesbury, whose name occurs twelfth in the list in the Cotton MS., Vitellius, A. 10. (Birch, *Abbots of Malmesbury*, p. 7.) [S.]

HEBDOMAS. All the early Gnostics of whose opinions Irenaeus gives an account, in a section (i. 23 sqq.) probably derived from an earlier writer, agree in the doctrine that the world was made by the instrumentality of angels. The brief account given of the teaching of the first two in the list, Simon and Menander, does not state

whether or not they defined the number of these angels; but it is expressly told of the third, Saturninus (ch. 24), that he counted them as seven. At the end of the first book of Irenaeus is a section to all appearance derived from a source different from that just referred to. He here (c. 29) relates the opinions of heretics to whom he himself gives no title, but whom his copyist Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 14) calls Ophites. We have noted (Vol. I. pp. 382, 426) coincidences between this chapter and the former chapter on Saturninus, which have led us to the conclusion that in both chapters the doctrines of the same school are described. The former chapter might be regarded as an abstract derived from a previous treatise on heresies; the fuller details of the latter might have been obtained by Irenaeus himself from a work of the school written when the system had received some development. In any case the Ophite teaching may be used to illustrate that of Saturninus, his connexion with that school being closer than with any other. It would have been natural to think that the number of seven angels was suggested to Saturninus by astronomical considerations; and this supposition is verified by the statement in the later chapter (c. 30, p. 111) that the holy Hebdomas are the seven stars called planets. In fact, the sphere of the seven stars, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon, were supposed to be presided over, each by a different angel. Their names are differently given; Irenaeus (c. 30) giving them, Ialdabaoth, the chief, Iao, Sabaoth, Adonaeus, Eloeus, Oreus, and Astaphaeus. With this closely agrees Origen, who, writing of the Ophites (*Adv. Cels.* vi. 31, 32), gives the names Ialdabaoth, Iao, Sabaoth, Adonaeus, Astaphaeus, Eloaeus, Horaeus. Epiphanius (*Haer.* 26, p. 91), relating the opinions of what was clearly a branch of the same school, places in the highest heaven Ialdabaoth or, according to others, Sabaoth; in the next, Elilaeus according to one version, Ialdabaoth according to the other; in the next Adonaeus and Eloaeus; beneath these Dades, Seth, and Saclas; lowest of all Iao. It was thought that each of the Jewish prophets was sent by a different one of these seven angels, whose special glory that prophet was to declare. Thus (Irenaeus, i. 30, p. 109) the first angel sent Moses, Joshua, Amos, and Habakkuk; the second Samuel, Nathan, Jonah, and Micah; the third Elijah, Joel, and Zechariah; the fourth Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel; the fifth Tobit and Haggai; the sixth Micah (*qu.* Malachi?) and Nahum; the seventh Ezra and Zephaniah. The ancient astronomy taught that above the seven planetary spheres was an eighth, the sphere of the fixed stars (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 25, xxv. p. 636: see also his quotation, v. 11, p. 692, of a mention of the fifth heaven in apocryphal writings ascribed to Zephaniah). In the eighth sphere, these Gnostics taught, dwelt the mother to whom all these angels owed their origin, Sophia or Prunikos according to the version of Irenaeus, Barbelo according to that of Epiphanius. In the language of these sects the word hebdomad not only denotes the seven angels, but is also a name of place, denoting the heavenly regions over which the seven archons presided; while Ogdoad denotes the supercelestial regions which lay above their control.

Again, beside the higher hebdomad of the seven angels, the Ophite system told of a lower hebdomad. After the serpent in punishment for having taught our first parents to transgress the commands of Ialdabaoth was cast down into this lower world, he begat himself six sons, who with himself form a hebdomad, the counterpart of that of which his father Ialdabaoth is chief. These are the seven demons, the scene of whose activity is this lower earth, not the heavens; and who delight in injuring the human race on whose account their father had been cast down. Origen (*Adv. Cels.* 30) gives their names and forms from an Ophite diagram; Michael in form as a lion, Suriel as an ox, Raphael as a dragon, Gabriel as an eagle, Thauthabaoth as a bear, Erataoth as a dog, Onoel or Thartharaoth as an ass.

It does not appear that the Oriental philosophy, or the earliest Gnostic systems, recognised any place higher than the eighth sphere; and it is here that according to the account of Epiphanius (*Haer.* 26, p. 91) dwelt Barbelo the mother of all. But Grecian philosophy came to teach that above the sensible world there lay a still higher, and Clem. Alex. (*l.c.*) speaks of the eighth sphere as lying nearest *τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ*. Accordingly, those Gnostic systems which are tinctured by Grecian philosophy, while leaving untouched the doctrine of seven or eight material heavens, develope in various ways the theory of the region above them. In the system of BASILIDES, as reported by Hippolytus (vii. 20 sqq.), Ogdoad and Hebdomad are merely names of place. In that system the universe is divided into the Kosmos and the hypercosmical region. At the highest point of the Kosmos presides the great Archon, ruling over the Ogdoad, or ethereal region, which is described as reaching down to the moon. Beneath the Ogdoad is the Hebdomad presided over by its own Archon. In one place (p. 238) the names Ogdoad and Hebdomad seem to be given to the archons themselves. In any case the names shew marks of having been derived from a previous system, for the system of Basilides itself gives no account of the numbers seven or eight; and the number of heavens is not limited to seven, as many as 365 being counted. In the latest form of Basilidianism, that contained in *Pistis Sophia*, the doctrine of the higher regions receives such enormous development that the seven planetary spheres are thought of as contemptibly low; and Ialdabaoth, once their ruler, in this book sinks to a demon.

In the system of VALENTINUS again the names Ogdoad and Hebdomad occur in the same signification. Above this lower world are the seven heavens, where dwells their maker the Demiurge himself also, on that account, called Hebdomas (Iren. I. v. p. 24). Of these seven heavens Marcus taught in more detail (Iren. I. xiv. 7, p. 72). Above these heavens is the Ogdoad, also called *ἡ μεσότης*, and Jerusalem above, the abode of Achamoth, who herself also is called Ogdoad (Iren. I. v. 2, p. 24; Hippol. vi. p. 191). Over the Ogdoad is the Pleroma, the abode of the Aeons. Thus (Hippol. p. 195), we have the threefold division, *τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αἰῶνας, τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὀγδοάδα, τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἑβδομάδα*. This use of the words Hebdomad and Ogdoad also bears traces of derivation from a previous system, the word Ogdoad occurring in a

different sense in the system of Valentinus himself, whose Ogdoad within the Pleroma was probably intended to answer to the Ogdoad outside. Irenaeus (ii. 107) argues from what is told of Paul's ascent to the third heaven against the low place assigned to the heavens in the Valentinian scheme.

The word Hebdomad occurs also in the Clementine *Homilies*, but its use there is quite unconnected with the teaching hitherto described. The mystery of the Hebdomad there unfolded (*Hom.* i. 10) is an independent exposition of the six days' work of creation, and the seventh day's rest; illustrated by the six directions, into which infinite space extends, viz. up, down, right, left, backward, forward, together with the central point considered as making a seventh.

The mysteries of the number seven are treated of by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* vi. 16), and in the source whence he borrowed (Philo, *de Op. Mund.* and *Leg. Allegor.*, where the theme is enlarged on, *χαίρει ἡ φύσις ἑβδομάδι*). See also Hippol. *Ref.* iv. 51; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* i. 416. On the Jewish theory of seven heavens, see ISAIAH, ASCENSION OF. [G. S.]

HEBREW LEARNING AMONG THE FATHERS. Judging from *à priori* grounds it would not be unreasonable to expect that we should find evidence in the works of the earliest Christian writers of some acquaintance with the Old Testament Scriptures in their original tongue. The facts that Christianity has its roots firmly planted in Judaism,—that the writers of the New Testament uniformly appeal to the words of Moses and of the prophets,—that the new law went forth from Jerusalem,—and that its first preachers and converts were Jews—naturally suggest the probability that we should find in the writings of the early fathers indications of their habitual use of the Old Testament Scriptures in the original tongue. It is well known to every ecclesiastical student that the facts of the case are otherwise, but very little labour has been hitherto bestowed (especially in this country) upon any attempt to ascertain the extent to which the study of Hebrew was cultivated within the first few centuries of the existence of the Christian church.

It is not difficult to trace the chief causes of the neglect of this study. Jerusalem soon ceased to be the centre from which the new faith was propagated, and Judaism soon ceased to supply its ablest expositors and apologists. Moreover, whilst the use which was made of the LXX version by the writers of the New Testament sufficed to establish its authority amongst Christians, the prevailing use of the Greek language accounts for the general adoption of that version, both for the instruction of converts and for the conviction of adversaries. And further, whilst the bitter animosity which existed on the part of the Jews towards Christianity may have so far reacted upon Christians as to create within them a prejudice against the Hebrew language, there existed a strong reluctance, and in some places a strict prohibition against the imparting of a knowledge of Hebrew by Jews to those whom they regarded as enemies alike to their creed and to their nation.

These considerations may serve in some measure to account both for the prevalent neglect of the Hebrew language, and also, to a certain extent, for the disposition on the part of those who possessed some acquaintance with it to rest their statements on the authority of Jews rather than to advance them on their own responsibility. In confirmation of this view the following extract may be adduced from the *Apologia adversus Rufinum* of St. Jerome. "Ipse Origenes et Clemens et Eusebius atque alii complures, quando de Scripturis aliqua disputant, et volunt approbare quod dicunt, sic solent scribere: Referebat mihi Hebraeus, et audivi ab Hebraeo, et Hebraeorum ista sententia est. Certe etiam Origenes patriarchen Huillum, qui temporibus ejus fuit, nominat, et tricesimum tomum in Esaiam, in cujus fine dedisserit Vae tibi . . . illius expositione concludit" (tom. iii. p. 91, Basil. 1516).

JUSTIN MARTYR.—The controversy of Justin with Trypho deserves notice in connexion with this subject on several grounds. Justin Martyr was a native of Samaria. He was born at Flavia Neapolis, a town which occupied the place of Sichem, the old capital of Samaria, and which was colonized with Greeks by the emperor Vespasian. His dialogue with Trypho, who was esteemed one of the most learned Jews of his time, was held at Ephesus about the year A.D. 148. We have here the case of one who, though born and brought up in the land of Palestine, was not only ignorant of the vernacular language of that country at the time of his conversion to Christianity, but who appears to have been insensible of the great disadvantage under which, by reason of this ignorance, he engaged in controversy with a Jew; and who, as far as we know, never subsequently applied himself to the study of those Scriptures in their original tongue from which the arguments which he urges against Trypho are mainly derived.

The indications which Justin gives of his entire dependence upon the Greek version (or versions) of the Old Testament, and of his ignorance of a Hebrew text, are of a very marked and conclusive character. The following will suffice by way of illustration.

(1) In c. 49 Justin's argument based upon Ex. xvii. 16, "A hand upon the throne (or, as some read, 'upon the banner') of the Lord," is derived from the LXX, who appear to have had a reading entirely different from the present Hebrew text, and one which is unsupported by the other versions, viz. *ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαίᾳ*, "with a hidden hand."

(2) Although Justin's quotation, in c. 50, from Is. xxxix. 8 to xl. 18, presents several verbal variations from the LXX, he agrees with the LXX and with the Vulgate, and differs not only from the Hebrew, but also from the other Greek versions, in adopting the masculine instead of the feminine gender in ver. 9, *ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος*, "thou that bringest good tidings."

(3) In c. 113, Justin prefers it as an accusation against the Jews that, whilst taking no account of the change of Oshea into Joshua, they made it a theological question why an *a* was added to the name of Abraham (Ἀβραάμ for Ἄβραμ) and a second *r* inserted in that of Sarah (Σάρρα for Σάρα). It is difficult to imagine that this "vulgar mistake of the Greeks," as it is

described by bishop Pearson,[a] could have been made by any one who knew that the real change was the addition of the letter ה (*h*) in the name of Abraham (*i. e.* Abraham for Abram), and the change of י (*i*) into ה (*h*) in that of Sarah (*i. e.* Sarah for Sarai).

(4) One more illustration will suffice. In c. 125, Justin gives his explanation of the meaning of the name *Israel*, "not thinking it right when he knew a thing not to say it." The explanation is that it is derived from *Isra* (*Ish*), *a man*, and *El*, *power*, the true derivation, as is well known, being from שַׂר a *chief* or *prince*, or שָׂרָה *sarah*, *he contended*, or *prevailed*, and אֵל *El*, *God*.

It is important to observe, in connexion with this subject, that Justin not only follows the LXX generally[b] in his quotations, and defends the accuracy of their version, but that he charges the Jews with corrupting those copies of that version, which, as it appears from his statements, were used in some of their synagogues. Thus, in c. 68, he says that the Jewish teachers "presumed to affirm that the translation made by the seventy elders in the time of Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, was in some respects untrue."[c] In c. 71 he repeats the same charge, and alleges that the Jewish teachers did not allow that the translation of the LXX was well done, and that they endeavoured to make a translation themselves (ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐξηγεῖσθαι πειρῶνται). The Benedictine editor supposes that these words have reference only to certain passages, and not to a new translation. It does not appear improbable, however, that allusion is made to the version of Theodotion, who is said by Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 24) to have been a Jewish proselyte, and whose version is supposed to have been made during the former half of the 2nd century. The versions of Aquila and of Symmachus appear to have been made at a somewhat later date, but it is possible that one or both may have been taken in hand during the life of Justin Martyr, who is thought by some to refer to the version of Aquila in this place. [See art. AQUILA.]

In the following chapter Justin endeavours to establish the accusation preferred in the 71st chapter against the "Seventy Elders" of having removed from their translation many passages which have reference to Christ. No confirmation of this charge, so far as we are aware, has been obtained from any existing MSS., and in regard to the alleged expurgation of one of the passages quoted by Justin, viz. Jer. xi. 19, Justin himself acknowledges that it was "still found in some copies in the Jewish synagogue," and, as far as we are aware, it is retained in all the MSS., both Hebrew and Greek, which are now known.[d] It is remarkable, however, that Trypho who is described by Eusebius (*Hist.* iv. c. 18) as "the most distinguished of the Hebrews of his time," instead of insisting upon the production of direct evidence of so grave an accusation, contented himself with remarking that "the thing appears incredible." Upon the whole it seems not unreasonable to conclude that neither Justin nor Trypho was able to refer to the Hebrew text.

Whilst, however, Justin shews his entire ignorance of the Hebrew language, he gives evidence of some familiarity with the Jewish traditional interpretation of many passages of the Old Testament. Thus, *e.g.*, in his *Dialogue* with Trypho (c. xx.), he adopts the same view of the meaning of Gen. i. 29, 30, which is found in the *Midrash* on Ps. cxlvi. 7, viz. that whereas only the flesh of some animals was allowed as food by the Mosaic laws, the flesh of all animals, without restriction, was granted to Noah and to his sons. In c. xxxii. of the *Dialogue* Justin refers to the Jewish interpretation of Daniel's "time," עִדָּן (xii. 25), as denoting a hundred years. Again, in c. xl. of the same *Dialogue*, Justin, by the use of the word ὅμοιοι, as applied to the two goats, of which one was killed and the other sent into the wilderness on the day of Atonement, shews his acquaintance with the injunctions of the *Mishnah* (treatise Yomah) respecting the exact *resemblance* of the two goats, on which, indeed, though nowhere prescribed in the law of Moses, it makes the validity of the enjoined rites to depend. In c. cxii. of the *Dialogue* he shews his acquaintance with the Jewish traditional interpretation of Gen. xxxii. 15, where mention is made of female camels only, not males, and of the number of measures of fine flour, and of oil in the appointed offerings. And once more, in c. cxxxi., Justin refers to the interpretation of Deut. viii. 4, which appears to have been currently received by his Jewish contemporaries, viz. that the clothing of the children of the Israelites, during their wanderings in the wilderness, increased in size in proportion to the growth of the wearers. (Cf. *Justinus Martyr und die Agada*, von Dr. Alex. Heinrich Goldfahn, Breslau.)

TERTULLIAN, QUINTUS SEPTIMIUS FLORENS, the earliest of the Latin fathers of the church. The precise date of his birth is uncertain. It was probably between A.D. 145 and A.D. 150. There are passages in his writings which lead to the inference that he was brought up as a heathen, but Jerome, in his *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, gives no information on this point. There can be little doubt (notwithstanding the objections of some Romanist writers) that, although a married man, Tertullian was a presbyter, either of the church of Rome, or of

[a] Note on Art. II. p. 113, Ox. 1797.

[b] It is obvious, however, that in some places either the text which Justin used differed from any which is now known, or that Justin did not strictly adhere to it. Thus, in the quotation from Is. liv. which occurs in c. 13, we observe that whereas the LXX omit two negatives which are found in the Hebrew in ver. 4, and insert two negatives which are not found in the Hebrew in ver. 6, Justin follows the Greek text in the former case and the Hebrew text in the latter. We may observe also that in the quotation in c. xiii. from Is. lii. 12, where the version of the LXX is πορεύσεται γὰρ πρότερος ὑμῶν, Justin, in accordance with the Hebrew, which has לִפְנֵיכֶם *liphnechem*, i. e. *before your face*, reads πορεύσεται γὰρ πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν.

[c] Justin refers particularly to Is. vii. where he says (cf. c. 71 and c. 84) that the Jews presumed to corrupt the translation made by the LXX and to substitute ἡ νεᾶνις for ἡ παρθένος.

[d] We may refer to two valuable notes on this subject in Bishop Kaye's *Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr*, pp. 20, 21, 22, and 44, 45, 2nd ed. 1836. Bishop Kaye is of opinion that the Christians appear to have been more justly liable to the accusation of corrupting the Septuagint version than the Jews.

that of Carthage. He appears to have been acquainted with all those branches of science and of literature which were studied in his time; and he sometimes speaks, as bishop Kaye has observed in his *Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the writings of Tertullian* (p. 66, foot-note, 1826), as if he was acquainted with Hebrew. Thus, *e.g.*, in his *Five Books against Marcion* (iv. 39), we find him giving the correct meaning of the name *Israel, viz. one who prevails with God* (in martyris nomine cum Deo invalescentis, quod est interpretatio Israelis). This is the more remarkable when we remember that Jerome, in his treatise on proper names, as well as Origen, adopts the interpretation of the name then commonly received, *viz. one seeing God*, and that the former afterwards assigned as his reason for so doing the names of great weight by which that interpretation was supported (see under *Jerome* in this article).[e] Again, in his work *Against Praxeas* (c. 5), Tertullian says, "There are some who allege that even Genesis opens thus *in Hebrew*,— "In the beginning God made for Himself a Son" ("in principio Deus fecit sibi filium"), on which statement Tertullian observes, "Hoc ut firmum non sit, alia me argumenta deducunt," &c. &c. In his *Quaestiones in Genesim*, Jerome refers to these words of Tertullian, and having first observed that the Hebrew is בראשית and not בבן, which latter reading would mean that God created the heaven and the earth by the Son, Jerome remarks that the reference to Christ must be understood rather according to the sense than according to the letter. The remarks of Tertullian do not appear to justify the inference that he rejected the statement to which he refers from a personal examination of the original. It is quite possible that the evidence of the version or versions which he used may have satisfied him of its incorrectness.

In his treatise *Against Marcion* (iii. 22) Tertullian quotes Ezekiel ix. 4 thus, "Pertransi in medio portae, in media Hierusalem, et da signum *Thau* in frontibus virorum." He goes on to observe that the Greek letter *Tau* and the Roman letter T have the form of the cross, but he does not appear to have been aware that in the old characters which Jerome says the Samaritans used in his time, the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet has the form of the cross. Tertullian quotes the passage from Ezekiel again at greater length in his treatise *Adv. Judaeos* (c. 11), but in this place the MS. which Oehler usually follows omits the word *Tau* after *signum*. Now inasmuch as the Greek version of the LXX has simply *σημεῖον* both in v. 4 and in v. 6, in both of which the Hebrew has the word תָּו, *Tav*, it is possible that Tertullian may have derived his version from the original Hebrew; on the other hand it seems more probable that the old Latin version or versions, which are thought to have existed in the time of Tertullian, had the *Thau* as the present Vulgate has.

It may be observed here that the *Tav* is found in the version of Theodotion, according to Origen and Jerome, and also in the versions of Aquila according to Origen; but independently of the question whether these versions, especially that of Theodotion, could have been known to Tertullian, there appears no evidence of his use of them.

In his treatise *Adversus Judaeos* (c. 9), Tertullian refers to the meaning of the word *Immanuel* in the Hebrew: "Sonus enim Hebraicus, quod est *Emmanuel*, id est nobiscum Deus, suae gentis est." These words, however, like those to which reference has already been made, do not warrant the inference that Tertullian was capable of referring to the Hebrew text; and the wide deviation of his quotations from it, even when arguing against the Jews, affords presumptive evidence that he was unable to do so. Amongst many incidental indications that such was the case reference may be made to the following: (1) In common with many of the early Christian writers, Tertullian quotes the words "from the tree" (inadvertently transferred it may be, in the first instance, from Acts xiii. 29 to Ps. xcvi.), as if they occurred in Ps. xcvi. 10 (*Adv. Jud.* c. x.). (2) When quoting Is. xlv. 1, Tertullian either read Κυρίῳ for Κύρῳ or quotes from some old Latin version which was based upon that reading: "Sic dicit Dominus Deus Christo meo Domino." The origin of this reading is obvious to any one who refers to the LXX, but such a rendering would have been impossible if reference had been made to the Hebrew, which has לכורש, "to Cyrus." (3) Tertullian's quotation from Micah v. i. (*ib.* c. xiii.) agrees more closely with the Greek of St. Matthew ii. 3–6, than with the Hebrew or the LXX. (4) Tertullian's rendering of Ps. xxii. 17 is "exterminaverunt manus meas et pedes." (5) Tertullian follows the LXX in his version of Jer. xvii. 9, *ib.* c. xiv. "homo est et quis cognoscet illum," where the Hebrew word אָנֻשׁ which is taken in the *Vulg.* and in the *A. V.* as an adjective, or past participle from אָנַשׁ *to be sick*, is read by the LXX as the Aramaic אֱנָשׁ or the Hebrew אֱנוֹשׁ, *ἄνθρωπος*. The above instances of Tertullian's mode of quotation, which it would be useless to multiply, appear to justify the conclusion that there is no sufficient evidence of Tertullian's knowledge of Hebrew, and that when his quotations are not made from memory, "Tertullian," as bishop Kaye has observed, "in quoting the Old Testament, appears either himself to have translated from the Greek, or to have used a Latin version made from the Greek, not from the Hebrew" (*Eccles. Hist. of the Second Century*, p. 310).

IRENAEUS.—Very little is known of the early history of Irenaeus. He was probably born in Syria, and his great work, *Against Heresies*, appears to have been written towards the close of the 2nd century, during the episcopate of Eleutherus, who was succeeded as bishop of Rome by Victor about the year A.D. 190. This work was composed in Greek, but the greater portion of the original has been lost, and the portion which remains has been preserved in quotations made by different authors. An ancient Latin translation, however, has been preserved. Irenaeus believed in the miraculous composition, and consequently in the inspiration, of the Septuagint version which he commonly follows, although,

[e] The remark, however, does not seem to justify the inference that Tertullian understood the true etymology of the name, as his information may have been derived from others.

in common with other early writers, his quotations are frequently made from memory. He was aware of the existence of the versions of Aquila and Theodotion, and refers to their incorrect translation of Is. vii. 14 (iii. 21, 1).

In his reference to the appearance of the Son of God to Jacob (iv. 10) Irenaeus seems to allude to the commonly accepted meaning of the name *Israel* as a man seeing God. In the same chapter he says that our Lord was foretold by Moses, in a figurative manner, "by the name given to the passover," in reference, apparently (to Tertullian and other early writers), to the etymology which connects πάσχα (Heb. פסח, *pesach*), with πάσχειν, *to suffer*. In his quotation from Ps. xl. 7 (iv. 17), if the old Latin translation may be trusted, Irenaeus follows the version of the Vulgate "aures autem perfecisti mihi"; which, if we may read *perforasti* for perfecisti, agrees with the Hebrew, whilst the LXX read σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι. But whilst this correspondence affords no evidence of the ability of Irenaeus to consult the Hebrew, there is strong presumptive evidence to the contrary, as, *e.g.*, in iv. 18, where he not only adopts the Septuagint version of Gen. iv. 7, but dwells with particular emphasis upon the word ἠσύχασον, which is found in some copies of the LXX, but which has no warrant whatsoever in the original Hebrew. The quotation from Dan. xii. 3 gives rise to an interesting inquiry respecting the Greek version then in use in the churches. The words of Irenaeus, as they are found in the Latin, are "a multis justis," which correspond with the version of Theodotion ἀπὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πολλῶν, but which accord neither with the Hebrew (unless the מ (*m*) of the Hiphil participle מצדיקי were read as the preposition מִן (*min*, *from*), and the absolute form of the word were read in place of the construction), nor with the Greek of the LXX as it is found in the edition of Daniel, published at Rome in 1772.[f] It has been thought remarkable that Irenaeus should have seen the version of his contemporary Theodotion. It is still more remarkable that one holding the view which Irenaeus did of the authority of the LXX should have followed any other. Upon the whole there does not appear any ground for the supposition that Irenaeus made any use of the Old Testament Scriptures in their original language.

THEOPHILUS.—Theophilus is said by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 20) to have been the sixth bishop of Antioch in Syria, and to have been appointed to that bishopric in the eighth year of Marcus Aurelius, that is A.D. 168.

The following remarks refer to the three books which he addressed to his friend Autolycus.

(1) In book i. c. 12, Theophilus says "that which among the Hebrews is called the *Sabbath* is when translated into Greek ἑβδομὰς." It is obvious that Theophilus has here fallen into the error of supposing that the word *Sabbath* is connected with some form of the numeral שבע, *sheba*, *seven*, rather than with the verb שבת, *shabath*, which denotes *rest*, and from which the noun שַׁבָּת, *shabbath*, is derived.

(2) In book i. c. 19, Theophilus follows the LXX version of Gen. ii. 2, where the *sixth* day is substituted for the *seventh*.

(3) In book i. c. 24, Theophilus observes rightly that in Hebrew the word *Eden* (עדן) signifies *delight*. This information, however, he may reasonably be supposed to have derived from others, as also the interpretation which he gives in book iii. c. 19, respecting the meaning of the name *Noah*, which he says in Hebrew signifies *rest*.[g]

(4) In book ii. c. 10, Theophilus writes thus: "First he named the 'beginning' and 'creation,' then he thus introduced God." This observation may imply that the writer was aware of the order observed in the Hebrew בראשית ברא אלהים. It is not conclusive proof, however, that such was the case, inasmuch as the order of the Greek is the same as that of the Hebrew, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός.

(5) In book ii. c. 21, Theophilus follows the LXX version of Gen. iii. 15, in reading *watch* instead of *bruise*. Upon the whole there seems *no* evidence that Theophilus was acquainted with Hebrew.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.—Clement of Alexandria was born about A.D. 150–160, but the place of his birth is uncertain, and his early history is involved in obscurity. Eusebius says that he became the scholar of Pantaenus (*Eccles. Hist.* book v. c. 11), who was the chief of the catechetical school at Alexandria, and that Origen was numbered amongst his scholars (*ib.* book vi. c. 6). He withdrew from Alexandria at the time of the persecution under Severus, A.D. 202–203, and it is thought that he visited Syria.

His quotations, both from the Old and New Testaments, appear to have been commonly made from memory, but it is evident that he used the version of the LXX, as, indeed, it would have been reasonable to anticipate from his residence at Alexandria. It will suffice, in proof of this statement, to refer to the following instances from the *Exhortation to the Heathen*, in the early chapters of which the citations from Scripture are not numerous.

(1) "For it was before the morning star," which is evidently taken from Ps. cx. 3, where the LXX read πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε (c. i.).

(2) In his quotation from Is. liv. 1, although evidently made from memory, Clement follows the LXX in the latter part of the verse verbally (c. i.).

(3) In c. iv. Clement quotes Ps. xxxiii. 6 and Ps. viii. 4, almost verbatim from the LXX.

(4) In c. vi. Clement quotes Deut. xxv. 13 almost verbatim from the LXX.

In the eighth chapter the quotations from the Prophets are numerous, and they adhere for the most part very closely to the version of the LXX, whilst, at the same time, the blending of different quotations, and the ascription of the words of Amos to Hosea, shew that Clement was quoting, for the most part, from memory. Amongst other proofs that Clement did not refer to the

[f] The reading of the LXX in the Roman edition is καὶ οἱ κατισχύοντες τοὺς λόγους μου, &c.

[g] It is well known that a diversity of opinion exists on this point, some deriving the name from the verb נוח and interpreting it as denoting *rest*, whilst others derive it from the verb נחם, and interpret it as denoting *consolation*.

Hebrew, the citation in this chapter from Ps. ii. 12, δράξασθε παιδείας, may be adduced, as also that in c. x. from Is. liv. 17, where, instead of "their righteousness is of (or from) Me," the LXX read καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι δίκαιοι.

The following instances shew that, although brought into contact with at least one, if not more, of the Hebrew race (*Miscellanies*, book i. c. 1), Clement did not possess any knowledge of the Hebrew language.

(1) In the *Paedagogus* (i. c. 7) he says that Jacob was called Israel "because he saw God the Lord," with evident allusion to the prevalent etymology of the word ישראל, *Israel*, as if derived from איש, a man, ראה, he saw, and אל, God. He refers to the same etymology in c. 9 of the same book, where he says "Israel means *he that sees God*." And again in the *Miscellanies* (book i. c. 5), he says that he who is "really endowed with the power of *seeing* is called *Israel*."

(2) In the place last quoted, Clement adopts Philo's etymology of the word *Isaac* as meaning *self-taught*; of *Jacob* as meaning *exerciser*; and of *Rebecca* as denoting *patience*.

(3) In book i. c. 21 of the *Stromateis*, Clement represents the prophet Isaiah as the son of the prophet *Amos*, not being aware that the name of the father of Isaiah was אמוץ, *Amoz*, whilst the name of the prophet was עמוס, *Amos*.

(4) In the same chapter he identifies יהויקים, *Jehoiakim* with יהויכין, *Jehoiachin*, and represents the latter as the *namesake* of the former.

(5) In the *Stromateis* (book v. c. 5) Clement explains the word *Cherubim* as meaning *much knowledge*; and the word κιβωτός (which not being aware, as it should seem, of the distinction between the Hebrew תֵּבָה and the Chaldaic תִּיבוּתָא, or תֵּיבוּתָא, he says is derived from the *Hebrew* word θηβωθα), as signifying ἓν ἀνθ' ἑνός πάντων τόπων.

It would be superfluous to adduce further evidence in support of the position that Clement was altogether ignorant of the Hebrew language.

ORIGEN.—Origen, who was born about the year A.D. 185, was remarkable in his early youth for his acquaintance with Holy Scripture, and his anxiety to attain to its inner meaning. His father Leonidas fell a victim to the persecution of the Christians which broke out at the beginning of the 3rd century. Whilst still a layman and very young, Origen was appointed by Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria, as the successor of Clement in the catechetical school of that city; and from this time he devoted his energies to the investigation and elucidation of the Scriptures. With a view to accomplish these objects more thoroughly, he is said to have entered upon the study of the Hebrew language —an undertaking which, as is implied in the terms in which it is mentioned by Eusebius and by Jerome (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. c. 16; Hieron. *Catal. Script. Eccles.*; and *Ep. ad Paulam super Obitu Blesillae*) was almost unknown in those times. Origen diligently pursued his biblical researches for some years in Palestine, whither he repaired for safety during the persecution which was raised against the Christians in Alexandria on the occasion of the visit of the emperor Caracalla in the year A.D. 216 · and his studies were renewed at a later period of his life with fresh vigour both at Caesarea in Palestine and at Caesarea in Cappadocia, after he had been degraded by the African bishops from the order of the priesthood into which he had been admitted by Theoctistus, bishop of Caesarea. It was at Caesarea in Cappadocia that Origen appears to have come into possession of some of the MSS. which had formerly belonged to Symmachus, the Ebionite translator of the Old Testament; but it is a matter of uncertainty at what time he commenced his *magnum opus*, the *Hexapla*, or how many years were occupied in its completion. The work itself may be briefly described as follows. It consisted of six columns, whence was derived the name of *Hexapla*. The first of these contained the Hebrew text in Hebrew characters; the second, the Hebrew text in Greek characters; the third, the text of Aquila, probably, as being the most literal version of the Hebrew; the fourth, that of Symmachus; the fifth, the Septuagint version; and the sixth, that of Theodotion. Two other anonymous versions called the fifth and the sixth, the extent of which is uncertain, were added to this work, and hence its name of *Octopla*;[h] whilst, on the other hand, the four Greek versions already mentioned constituted the *Tetrapla*, to which reference is made by Eusebius as a separate work.[i]

The critical value of this work, as it proceeded from the pen of Origen, consisted in the emendation of the Greek text of the Septuagint by the aid of the other versions. This was effected in the following manner. When Origen observed any omission in the text of the Septuagint, he supplied it, marking the place with an asterisk, and adding the initial letter of the translator from whose version the omission was supplied. When he observed any redundancy in the text of the Septuagint, he marked it by prefixing to it an obelisk. He added two points (:) in order to mark how far either an insertion or an omission extended. He also made use of some other signs, the object of which appears to have been to shew the extent of the coincidences between the version of the LXX and that of Theodotion, though Epiphanius gives a different and fanciful interpretation of them based upon the fabulous account of the composition of the Septuagint which was current in his time.

It is reasonable to suppose that the extreme jealousy which the Jews displayed towards the Christians, in regard to the acquisition of the Hebrew language in the time of Jerome was equally strong, and perhaps even stronger, in the time of Origen. His writings, however, afford evidence that he did not fail to avail himself of such opportunities as were afforded him of obtaining assistance from Jewish sources, as—*e. g.*, when he observes, in regard to the dimensions of the ark (*in Gen.* Hom. ii. 2), that he had obtained

[h] Such is the account of Epiphanius (*De Mensuris et Ponderibus*), but others make mention of three anonymous Greek versions.

[i] The term is probably used by Eusebius in a different sense from that in which it is used by Origen himself. The latter appears to have used it simply as descriptive of the four Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion. Cf. *Selecta in Genesim*, p. 126.

information on that subject from one of those who were held in repute among the Hebrews. Again, in his commentary on Psalm iii. 7,[k] in reference to the insertion of the word *ματαίωs* by the LXX, and the omission of any equivalent for לחי, *lehi*, *cheek-bone*, Origen observes that certain Jews said that the ancient copies differed from those which were then received[l]; whilst his references to one of their number, whom he describes as *ὁ Ἑβραῖος*, are frequent; but if we may judge from this Jew's interpretation of 1 Kings ii. 6, which he appears to have read without the word לא, *lo*, *not*,[m] the information which Origen derived from these sources, if correctly represented, appears to have been of very unequal value.

Although Origen acquired a high reputation as a scholar amongst his own contemporaries, and was held in equally high estimation by later writers, especially by Jerome, it needs but a slight acquaintance with his works to perceive that his Hebrew scholarship was rather of a traditional than of a critical character, and that he was indebted for the criticisms which he introduced into his writings rather to the information of others than to any original research.

This conclusion appears to be justified by the following considerations:—

I. The language employed by Origen when he had occasion to refer to persons who were conversant with the Hebrew language favours the inference that he did not reckon himself amongst that number. Thus *e.g.* if we may rely on the Latin version of the Fourteenth Homily on the book of Numbers, Origen says that the name of God is *said* to be differently written in Hebrew when the true God is denoted, and when a false god is intended; that when the tetragrammaton is found the reference is undoubtedly to the true God, but that in other places the reference is uncertain. He then proceeds to comment thus upon Numbers xxii. 12:—"Aiunt ergo, *qui hebraicas literas legunt*, in hoc loco *Deus*, non sub signo tetragrammati esse positum, *de quo qui potest, requirat*" (tom. vi. p. 393; Wirceburgi, 1783).

We meet with a similar passage in Origen's answer to Celsus (p. 27, cant. 1677), in which he alleges that the word עלמה *almah*, *a virgin*, occurs in Deut. xxii. 23, *ὥs φάσι*, in which place, and indeed throughout the whole of the Pentateuch, if we except Gen. xxiv. 43, and Ex. ii. 8, unless the copies extant in the time of Origen differed from the present Masoretic text, the word is not found, and consequently, Origen's informers must have misled him. It cannot but excite surprise in any case that in the interpretation of so important a passage as Isai. vii. 14, Origen should not have referred to Deut. xxii. 23 for himself, rather than have relied on the information of others. It is important to add that עלמה does not appear to have been found in the text of Deut. xxii. 23 in the time of Jerome, who, in his commentary on Isai. vii. 14, observes, in reference to this passage, "Sub puellae et adolescentulae nomine virgo intelligitur."

It can hardly be supposed that in thus writing upon a passage, which, as he informs us, he had carefully examined, Origen would have failed to refer to the Hebrew text, had he been accustomed so to do. It is equally difficult, on the supposition that he did consult the Hebrew text, to account for the language which he here employs, if his words are correctly represented in the Latin version which is now extant.

Another illustration of Origen's neglect, or inability to consult the Hebrew text, occurs in the same treatise (i. 55), where he appeals, in support of the Messianic reference of Isaiah liii., to the LXX rendering of v. 8, where they read למות *to death*, instead of למו *upon Him*, or *upon them*.[n]

Again, in his Twelfth Homily on Genesis, when explaining the supposed etymology of the name *Esau*, he acknowledges that his information was borrowed from others: "Ut aiunt qui Hebraea nomina interpretantur;" and again: "Ut aliis visum est." Moreover, *if the Latin version can be trusted*, he gives a very confused account of the information which he had received, inasmuch as he assigns as one etymology of *Esau* that of *Edom*, viz. "vel a *rubore*, vel a *terra*," whilst he assigns as the other, "*factura* dictus videtur"—an etymology which connects עשו, *Esau*, with עשה, *asah*, *fecit*. It is probable that Origen derived his information from one of the *Onomastica* which are still extant both in Greek and Latin. One of the latter gives *rubens* (ruddy) as one of the meanings of *Esau*, but it is probable that this meaning has arisen out of a confusion of *Esau* with Edom. Jerome says (*Quaest. Heb. in Gen.*), "Et dixit Esau Jacob, da mihi gustum de coctione rubeâ istâ, quia deficio: propterea vocatum est nomen ejus Edom." On the other hand, it is due to Origen to state that in his Sixth Homily on Exodus (tom. v. p. 400) he gives, according to the Latin version, *terrenus* as the interpretation of *Edom*. We have a similar instance of this confusion of etymologies, whether arising from ignorance or from carelessness, in Origen's explanation of the meaning of *Syria*, which he appears to confound with *Aram*, and explains as meaning *lofty*. (*Select. in Gen.* tom. v. p. 96.) It is unsafe, especially in regard to the works of writers of the

[k] *Selecta in Psalmos*, vii. 264, Wirceburgi, 1784.

[l] It is deserving of notice that, notwithstanding the high estimate which Origen formed of the Septuagint version, he observes on this passage that it is possible that the translators may have wished to avoid the use of so common a word as *cheek-bone* and so substituted *without cause* for it.

[m] *In Exodum Comment.* tom. v. p. 303. (Wirceburgi, 1873.)

[n] Gesenius, in his Commentary on Isaiah, remarks that both Symmachus and Theodotion read למו, and he observes that the reason why neither Origen nor Celsus referred to the difference between the reading of the Hebrew text and that adopted by the LXX was, without doubt, that the Alexandrian Jew understood as little Hebrew as Origen. "Allein der Grund liegt ohne Zweifel darin, dass dieser alexandrinische Jude so wenig hebräisch verstand als Origenes, wie dieses bey den alex. Juden gewöhnlich der Fall war, und von Origenes höchst wahrscheinlich ist." *Commentar über den Jesaia*, ii. 184, Leipzig, 1821. Cf. Gesenius, *Geschichte der heb. Sprache* p. 91, Leipzig, 1815. In exact accordance with the judgment of Gesenius, is that of Redepenning, who writes as follows: "Ob er (*i.e.* Origenes) ein gründlicher Kenner des Hebräischen oder nur oberflächlich unterrichtet war, darüber hat eine frühere Zeit ganz anders entschieden als fast einstimmig die unsrige." (*Origenes, Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre*, i. 367, Bonn, 1841.)

first four centuries, to attach too much importance to etymological errors. The following instances, however, when due allowance has been made for the misconceptions and misrepresentations of the editors of his works, will suffice to shew that Origen's Hebrew scholarship was of a very defective nature. In his *Selecta in Genesim* he explains קטורה, *Keturah*, as meaning *smaller*, *i.e.* he confounds it apparently with קטנה, *Ketannah*, although elsewhere he explains it as meaning *incense*. Again, he adopts Philo's explanation of חנוך, *Enoch*, as meaning *thy favour* (*Die hebräischen Worterklärungen des Philo*, von Dr. Carl Siegfried, p. 18, Magdeburg, 1863), and he explains אביזע, *Abidah*, as meaning *the height of my father*. He adopts Philo's derivation of *Israel*, a derivation accepted at one time, though afterwards rejected by Jerome, as if from איש *ish*, *vir*, ראה, *vidit*, and אל *Deus* (*ibid.* p. 24); and he gives an interpretation of the name *Samuel*, as if it were derived from שם, *sham*, *ibi*, הוא, *ipse*, and אל, *El*, Deus.

II. Other indications are not wanting of Origen's lack of a critical acquaintance with the Hebrew language. Thus *e. g.* in his *Selecta in Genesim*, he endeavours to explain the "solecism" which he finds in the Greek version of Gen. i. 11, *βοτάνην χόρτου σπεῖρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος*, by suggesting the insertion of a stop after *χόρτου*, and by continuing thus, *κατὰ γένος σπεῖρον σπέρμα*, a rendering which it is almost superfluous to observe that no one who had consulted the original would have thought of proposing.

Again, in his Commentary on Ps. ix., Origen follows Philo and the Greek interpreters in supposing that the change made in the name of *Sarai* consisted in the addition of a second *ρ*, *i.e.* in the change of Σαρα into Σαῤῥα.[o] It is true, indeed, that according to the Latin version of his sixth Homily on Genesis, he says, "Puto ergo Saram, quae interpretatur princeps vel principatum agens, formam tenere *ἀρετῆς*," but when the whole of his fanciful exposition of Gen. xxvi. 7 is taken into account it may well be doubted whether Origen was not one of those to whom St. Augustine referred when he wrote the following words: "Sicut aiunt qui scripserunt interpretationes nominum Hebraeorum, quae his litteris sacris continentur, Sarai (or, as some editions read, *Sara*), interpretatur *princeps mea*, Sara (or, as some editions read, *Sarra*), autem, *virtus*" (*De Civitate Dei*, lib. xvi. c. 28).

III. The opinion which has been here expressed as to the small amount of Hebrew scholarship possessed by Origen is confirmed by his servile adherence to the Greek versions, especially the Septuagint, when they widely differ from the Hebrew text. It is true, indeed, that Jerome draws a distinction between Origen's Homilies in which he follows the Greek text, and his more elaborate and scholarly works in which he is said to follow the Hebrew. Morever, Origen appears to have shared, to a certain extent, the opinion which prevailed during the early ages of the Christian church as to the co-ordinate authority of the Septuagint version, as *e.g.* in his commentary on the second Psalm, where his remarks upon the tenses employed in the prophecies of the Old Testament by "the Holy Spirit" appear to refer to the Greek version rather than to the Hebrew original. Independently, however, of the consideration that it was the object of Origen's great work, not to restore the text of the LXX to its *original* form, but rather to shew where, and how, it differed from the Hebrew, and by the aid of other versions to make it more conformable to it, it is almost impossible to suppose that anyone who recognised the authority of the Hebrew text, to the extent to which it is recognised by Origen in his letter to Africanus, in which he speaks of doing away with the Greek version then used in the churches, and procuring a genuine text from the Jews (tom. iv. p. 298), should, except from necessity, not only adopt the LXX as the basis of his commentaries, but should pass over in silence the most palpable divergences of the Greek versions from the Hebrew original, and, in regard to doubtful and obscure passages, should fail to have recourse to the latter for their true interpretation.

The following instances will suffice to illustrate what has been here advanced:—

(1) In his exposition of Gen. ii. 2 (tom. v. p. 70, Wirceburgi, 1783), Origen adopts the reading of the LXX, "the *sixth* day," without any reference to the Hebrew, which has "the *seventh* day;" and inasmuch as he adopts the same reading in two places when arguing against Celsus (lib. v. c. 59, and lib. vi. c. 61), it is obvious that the adoption of that reading was not the result of a concession on the part of Origen to the version commonly used by his hearers.

(2) In his homily on Exodus xx., and in his 'De Principiis,' i. 5. 2, Origen adopts the reading of the LXX in his allusion to Deut. xxxii. 8, "according to the number of the angels of God," instead of that of the Hebrew, "according to the number of the children of Israel," and he grounds the remarks which he makes on the passage upon the Greek version without reference to the Hebrew. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as Justin Martyr, in his *Dialogue* with Trypho (c. xxxi.), takes notice of the difference between the Hebrew text and the version of the LXX.

(3) In his Commentary upon Numbers xxiv. 17 (tom. vi. p. 449), he adduces, in proof of the proper humanity of Christ, the reading of the LXX, "And there shall arise a man" (*ἄνθρωπος*), an argument which it is scarcely probable that he would have used, especially if the passage be viewed in connexion with the context, in which he refers to the rejection of Christ by the Jews, had he been aware that the Hebrew is "And there shall arise a *sceptre*" (שבט, *shebet*).

(4) In Origen's Commentary on Jeremiah xi. 19 (tom. ix. p. 480), which appears to have been written subsequently to the year A.D. 245, he adopts as the basis of his remarks the rendering of the LXX, *ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ*, "let us cast wood into his bread," and takes no notice of the entire discrepancy of this rendering from the Hebrew text, נשחיתה

[o] The origin of this theory appears to have been that the Greek letter ρ stands for 100. Jerome exposes the fallacy of this etymology in the following words: "Nemo autem in alterâ linguâ quempiam vocans, etymologiam vocabuli sumit ex alterâ." (*Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* iv. p. 95 c.)

עץ בלחמו "let us destroy the tree with its fruit" (or bread).

(5) In his Commentary on St. Matt. cap. xi., Origen follows the version of the LXX in his quotation from Ps. lxxxi. 7, *αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κοφίνῳ ἐδουλευσαν*, where it is obvious that the LXX read תעברנה instead of תעברנה. It is worthy of observation that whereas in his version of the Psalms according to the LXX, Jerome renders the passage "manus ejus in cophino servierunt," in his version according to the Hebrew he renders it "manus ejus a cophino receperunt."

Once more, when discussing at some length the difference between the Greek and Latin renderings of Gen. xlv. 27 (tom. v. p. 266), it does not seem to have occurred to Origen to refer to the Hebrew text in order to ascertain which of the two versions more nearly accorded with it, whilst in one of the earlier Homilies on the same book, "On the Circumcision of Abraham" (tom. v. 179), where he has occasion, in combating the Ebionites, to compare the text used in the church with the Hebrew text which they (the Ebionites) said to be more correct ("quae veriora dicitis exemplaria"), he alleges that certain words occur in Exodus iv. 10, which are really found in the parallel passage in Exodus vi. 30.

Other indications of the same character, and leading to the same conclusion, are not wanting.

The following is an extract from Origen's Commentary on Ezekiel ix. 2-7, a work which, according to Eusebius (lib. vi. c. 32), was composed during his residence at Caesarea in Palestine, and was finished at Athens, *i.e.* between A.D. 235 and A.D. 240. "The Seventy say that the man who was clothed with a long robe was commanded to put a sign (*σημεῖον*) upon the foreheads of those who groaned and were in pain. But Aquila and Theodotion say that the mark of the letter Thau was placed upon their foreheads." Origen then proceeds to give the explanation of the import of this mark as he had received it from three Jews, the last of whom, one who had been converted to Christianity, said that "in the old alphabet the letter Thau resembled the figure of the cross" (tom. ix. p. 282).

Two observations naturally suggest themselves in connexion with this passage. (1) The rendering of Aquila and Theodotion, *καὶ σημειώσεις τὸ Θαῦ*,[p] is nothing but a simple transliteration of the Hebrew text והתוית תו, *v'hithwitha tav*, and hence had Origen referred to the Hebrew text he would hardly have quoted the version of Aquila and Theodotion. And (2) it is somewhat remarkable that Origen, who, in his Commentary on Ps. ii., refers to the change of Hebrew characters which is said to have been made by Ezra during the captivity (tom. vii. p. 226), should have been unacquainted with the well-known fact that the letter *Thau* or *Tav* bore the shape of a cross in the old Hebrew, as well as in other ancient alphabets.

Again, in Origen's letter to Africanus, in defence of the canonicity of the Story of Susanna, he refers to the authority of Aquila, not to the original text itself, in support of the assertion that the words, "Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonied and rose up in haste," &c., are found in Daniel iii. 24 (tom. iv. p. 295), whilst, in the same letter, he affirms that the words "From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it" (Job i. 7), are not found in the Hebrew copies of the book of Job, an assertion which, unless the text used by Origen greatly differed from the present Masoretic text, is utterly without foundation. Moreover, when in doubt as to the Hebrew equivalents of the Greek verbs *σχίζειν* and *πρίζειν*, both of which occur in the LXX (the former frequently), Origen speaks of consulting "not a few Jews," in order to obtain the information which he needed, but it does not seem to have occurred to him to have recourse to the Hebrew Bible, with a view to ascertain the point for himself; whilst the simplicity with which he relates the answer which he received from his Hebrew friends to a similar inquiry respecting the Hebrew equivalents of the trees, *σχῖνος* and *πρῖνος*, viz., that if Origen could tell them where those words were to be found in the Greek version of the Old Testament they could tell him of what Hebrew words they were the representatives, still further confirms the impression that it had not entered into Origen's head to institute such an examination for himself, or that he was conscious of his own inability to do so. One more specimen of Origen's critical skill, which is found in this letter, is too significant to be overlooked. One of the arguments justly urged by Africanus in proof that the story of Susanna and the Elders had no Hebrew original is the play upon the Greek words just mentioned, viz., *σχῖνος* and *σχίζειν* and *πρῖνος* and *πρίζειν*. Origen's answer to this argument is that the translators, either found this play upon the Hebrew words, which he vainly endeavoured to ascertain from his Jewish authorities, or that being unable to represent in Greek the play upon words which they found in the Hebrew, they adopted one nearly resembling it. He then illustrates his position by reference to Gen. ii. 23, which, in the Greek version, reads thus, *αὕτη κληθήσεται γυνή ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐλήφθη αὕτη*, "She shall be called woman because she was taken out of man." He observes upon this passage that the Jews say that a woman is called *ἐσσα*, אִשָּׁה, *isshah*. He then says that this word *ἐσσα* (we presume he means a word pronounced in the same manner), means *I took*, ἔλαβον, in proof of which he refers to Ps. cxvi. 13, which, in the Hebrew, reads thus, כּוֹס יְשׁוּעוֹת אֶשָּׂא, *kos yeshuoth essa*, and in the Greek, *ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι*, "I will *take* the cup of salvation," and thus, making the play upon words to consist in the double meaning of the word *ἐσσα*, he adduces this as an analogous case to the play of the Greek translators upon *σχῖνος* and *σχίζειν*, and *πρῖνος* and *πρίζειν*.[q] It would be easy to multiply indications of Origen's habitual disregard of the Hebrew text, of his constant recurrence to Jewish authority upon points on which it is difficult to account for such recurrence on the supposition that he was capable of pronouncing an

[p] Jerome says that Aquila and Symmachus as well as the LXX have *σημεῖον*, and that Theodotion only has the *Θαῦ*.

[q] Theodotion appears to have adopted the same etymology of the word; "*assumptio* quia ex viro sumpta est." (Hieron. *Quaest. in Gen.*).

ndependent opinion,[r] and of the singular errors into which he has fallen when he ventures into the domain of Hebrew criticism.

It may, indeed, be justly urged in opposition to the view here expressed of the extent of Origen's Hebrew scholarship that it is absolutely impossible that the blunders thus ascribed to him could have been committed by anyone who was capable of accomplishing the herculean task of copying out the whole of the Hebrew Bible, of transliterating the same into Greek characters, and of comparing the whole of the received Greek version, clause by clause, with the original and with the three (or five) other Greek translations. The force of this argument cannot be resisted if the premises are allowed. But if, after due allowance has been made for the errors which may have crept into the Greek text of Origen's writings, and after still greater allowance has been made for those of the Latin translator, there appears conclusive evidence that Origen's scholarship was utterly inadequate to the task of a just discrimination between a true and a false rendering of the Hebrew text, we are reduced to the consideration of the plausibility of any theory upon which we can account for the execution of a work involving such prodigious labour, and apparently executed with a considerable amount of learning, as well as with an almost incredible amount of industry, by one who does not appear to have possessed the requirements necessary for such an undertaking. Now the number and the nature of the allusions made by Origen to his Jewish instructors seem to justify the conclusion that he was more largely indebted to their aid than has been commonly supposed. There is no difficulty in the supposition that the first two columns of the Hexapla, containing the Hebrew text and the transliteration of the same in Greek characters may have been the exclusive work of Origen's Jewish amanuenses. Nor is there any insuperable difficulty, as it should seem, in the supposition that an extremely small amount of Hebrew scholarship may have sufficed for Origen's share in the correction of the text of the Septuagint by the aid of the other versions. An accomplished Hebrew scholar may well be supposed to have rendered the Hebrew text literally into Greek, whilst Origen compared the version of the LXX with that rendering, marking with the obelus those passages which had no corresponding words in the original, and in the case of omissions, inserting from one or other of the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, the words which most nearly corresponded with the oral version of the Jew. Some such theory as this appears to offer the most probable solution of the problem how a work of such immense labour and importance, as the Hexapla undoubtedly was, could have been the production of one whose critical scholarship appears to have been so unequal to the task.

This theory receives some confirmation from the fact that we have no sufficient evidence of the Hebrew scholarship of Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch, or of Hesychius, the Egyptian bishop, both of whom undertook to amend the text of the Septuagint about the beginning of the 4th century, and whose recensions are mentioned by Jerome in his second book against Rufinus, as being in common use in the countries to which they respectively belonged (iii. p. 102).

THE CLEMENTINE WRITINGS. — The arguments which have been adduced in support of the Eastern origin of the document to which the Clementine writings owe their existence entitle these works to a short notice in the present article. At the same time the uncertainty which exists as to their authorship, and as to the date of the composition of their respective portions, detracts in no small measure from the value of the results of any minute examination of their contents with a view to ascertain whether the writers did, or did not, possess any acquaintance with the Hebrew language.

THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES.—(1) In *Hom.* iii. c. xxv., we read that "*Cain* is interpreted both possession and envy." The reason assigned for the name in Gen. iv. 1 connects its etymology with the verb קנה, *Kanah*, which means to *acquire* or *possess*. The alternative etymology (which is adopted in c. xli.) connects it with קנא, *Kana*, which in the Piel signifies to be *envious* or *jealous*.

(2) In *Hom.* iii. c. xxvi. it is said that "without any ambiguity *Abel* is translated grief." It is obvious that the writer, if acquainted with Hebrew at all, identified הבל with אבל, and transferred to the former of these words the meaning which belongs to the latter.

(3) In *Hom.* iii. c. 45, the meaning of the place *Kibroth-hattaavah*, קברות התאוה (Num. xi. 34), is explained to be *βουνὸς ἐπιθυμιῶν*, to which explanation, if *designed as a literal rendering*, exception may be taken on the ground that the Hebrew word for *graves* is in the plural number, and the Hebrew word denoting *lust* is in the singular number.

(4) In *Hom.* iii. c. 47, the LXX version of Deut. xxxiv. 6, *ἐγγὺς οἴκου Φογώρ*, is adopted.

(5) In *Hom.* iii. c. 49, the LXX version of Gen. xlix. 10 is for the most part followed, but instead of *τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ*, we find *οὗ ἐστίν* as the rendering of שילה, *Shiloh*, as if equivalent to אשר לו.

(6) In *Hom.* viii. c. 5, the LXX version of Exodus xix. 9 is adopted almost *verbatim*.

(7) The quotation from Exodus xxii. 28, in *Hom.* xvi. c. 6, follows the LXX almost *verbatim*, but in the quotation from Deut. iv. 33 in the same chapter, the word *ἕτερος* is inserted before *Θεὸς* and reasoned on by Simon, and the insertion is not noticed in the following chapter by Peter.

There does not appear to be sufficient evidence that the writers of this work or of the *Recognitions* possessed any acquaintance with Hebrew.

EUSEBIUS, the father of Ecclesiastical History, was born in Palestine about A.D. 264, and became bishop of Caesarea A.D. 315. It might be anticipated from the country in which he lived, and from the subjects on which he wrote, as well as from his admiration of the learning of Origen, and his frequent references to the *Hexapla*, that

[r] It is easy to account for references to Jewish authority in certain cases in which a writer might have been capable of forming an independent judgment, especially at a time at which the knowledge of Hebrew was almost confined to one people. This consideration, however, does not suffice to account for many of Origen's references to information obtained from his Jewish authorities.

he would have acquired some acquaintance with Hebrew. A very slight examination of his writings, however, will suffice to shew that, in this respect, he was not in advance of the age in which he lived.

If, *e. g.*, we refer to his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (lib. xi. c. 6), we shall find an explanation of the meaning of many Hebrew words and proper names, from which we select the following particulars:—

(1) The Hebrew word אנוש, *enosh*, *man*, as distinguished from אדם, *adam*, *man*, is said to mean *forgetful*, and reference is made to Ps. viii. 4, by way of proof. "What is man (אנוש) that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man (אדם) that thou visitest him?"

(2) Eusebius says that Moses rightly called heaven στερέωμα, *firmament*, because it was a solid (στερεὸν) body, and one perceptible to the senses. How utterly remote the Hebrew word רקיע, *expanse*, is from the notion of solidity, is well known to everyone who is acquainted with its etymology.

(3) He explains *Israel* in common with Philo, Origen, Lactantius, and (at one time) Jerome, as *one who sees God, i.e.* as if derived from ראה איש, and אל (cf. lib. v. c. 11; *Demonst. Evangel.* lib. vi. c. 15).

Again, the remarks of Eusebius upon Habakkuk iii. 2 are scarcely reconcilable with the supposition that he was able to read the Hebrew text. Having first given the versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, all of whom appear to have translated from the present Masoretic text, he proceeds, apparently without being conscious that the LXX took the word שנים, *shanim*, *years*, for the numeral *shenaim*, *two*, and that they read the following word, חייהו, as if some form of the noun חיה, *life* or *beast*, to explain the passage in accordance with the version of the LXX (ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων), as having reference to the divine and human natures of Christ. In the same chapter Eusebius explains the proper name תימן, *Teman*, as meaning consummation, συντέλεια, as though derived from תמם; and once more, in the 18th chapter of the same work, he explains the meaning of the proper name אצל, *Azal* (Zech. xiv. 5), as understood by the Hebrews, to be *the work of God*, δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων φωνὴν ποίησιν Θεοῦ. It is true, as Eusebius observes, that the form of the word adopted by the LXX is Ἀσαήλ, which, according to the sound, would naturally suggest to the mind of anyone acquainted with Hebrew the two words עשה, *fecit*, and אל, *Deus*, and it is easy to imagine that, when thus pronounced, Eusebius may have received from a Jew the etymology which he has here recorded. It is difficult, however, to suppose that anyone who had consulted the Hebrew text, and who possessed a competent knowledge of the language, could have accepted such an explanation.

We will now adduce some other instances of the imperfect Hebrew scholarship of Eusebius, as we find them in his *Demonstratio Evangelica* (Parisiis, fol. 1628).

(1) In book vii. c. 2, in common with other early writers, Eusebius not only confounds *Nazarene* with *Nazirite*, but relying on the LXX version of Lev. xxi. 12, he takes *oil* to be the meaning of the Hebrew word נזר, *nezer*, Ps. l.

(2) In chap. i. of the same work, he confounds the word שילה, *Shiloh* (Gen. xlix. 10,) with שלח (or שילח), *Shiloah* (Is. viii. 6), and he does so, notwithstanding that he gives the correct meaning of the latter word, viz. *sent*, whilst he quotes the LXX version of the former, viz. ᾧ ἀπόκειται, *he for whom it is kept*.

(3) In his exposition of Jer. xxiii. 5 (lib. vii. c. 3), he transliterates the Hebrew words יהוה צדקנו by Ἰωσεδεκελμ, and explains the meaning to be οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ δίκαιοι, *the righteous ones of God*.

(4) When referring to the words of Ps. xxii. 1, as uttered by our Lord upon the cross, Eusebius speaks of them twice as if they were the very words of the Psalmist, not the Syro-Chaldaic version of them (lib. x. c. 8). It is remarkable that such an error should be committed by a resident in Palestine.

(5) At the end of the 8th book of the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Eusebius has occasion to cite Is. xix. 20. Having quoted the version of the LXX καὶ ἀποστελεῖ αὐτοῖς Κύριος ἄνθρωπον ὃς σώσει αὐτούς, he takes occasion to correct this rendering of מושיע, and observes that according to the Hebrew the passage is καὶ ἀποστελεῖ αὐτοῖς Κύριος Σωτῆρα ὃς σώσει αὐτούς, a rendering which is open to one or other of these objections, viz. that it either doubly translates מושיע, or that Eusebius failed to perceive that the second σώσει αὐτούς, which occurs in the LXX at the end of the verse, is the rendering not of מושיע, but of הצילם.

It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the imperfect Hebrew scholarship of Eusebius. It is due, however, to so eminent a man and so voluminous a writer, to notice the aid which his writings afford in the recovery of a portion of the great work of Origen, as will at once appear, even on the most cursory reference to Dr. Field's edition of the remains of the *Hexapla*.

EPHRAIM THE SYRIAN, or *Ephrem Syrus* (as he is commonly called), is said to have been born at Nisibis early in the 4th century, and he died about the year A.D. 370. He was born of Christian parents, and, according to some accounts, was instructed in Christianity by James, the bishop of Nisibis. He was ordained as a deacon by Basil the Great at Caesarea, but the greater part of his life was spent at Edessa, where he expounded the scriptures to a large number of scholars. He is commonly thought to have remained in deacon's orders throughout life, but he speaks of himself as having hidden the talent of the *priesthood* in the earth through idleness (tom. iii. p. 467; Assemani, Rom. 1732), and his refusal of the episcopate confirms his own statement that he had been admitted into the order of the priesthood. His works occupy six folio volumes, three of which contain his Syriac writings, and the remaining three the Greek writings commonly ascribed to him, and which are supposed to consist of translations from the Syriac. The former of these appear to have been considerably interpolated; and there is much doubt as to the genuineness of some of the latter, although we are told by Sozomen that some of the writings of Ephraim were translated into

Greek during the lifetime of the author, and we find references to them in the works of Chrysostom and other contemporary writers.

If any inference respecting Ephrem's knowledge of Hebrew may be drawn from the Greek works which are ascribed to him, that inference would be of an unfavourable character, as will appear from the following instances, taken from his *Paraenesis*, which might be indefinitely multiplied :—

(1) Ephrem adopts the reading of the LXX in Gen. v. 22, "*two* hundred" where the Hebrew and the Syriac Peshito read "*three* hundred" (Paraenesis xlix. p. 341 ; Ox. 1709).

(2) In his reference to Gen. xxii. 13, although Ephrem does not quote the words of the LXX, viz. *κατεχόμενος ἐν φυτῷ Σαβέκ*, he was evidently as much perplexed as to the meaning of the Hebrew word סבך *sebek* as were the LXX, and he appears to have regarded it as the name of some particular tree or shrub, *ἰδοὺ κριὸς δέδεται ἐν τῷ φυτῷ τοῦ σαβέκ* (*In Abraham et Isaac, Opp.* ii. p. 318 ; Romae, 1743).

(3) In the twenty-ninth Paraenesis (*ib.* p. 295), Ephrem, in opposition to the present punctuation and division of the Hebrew verses, and to the Peschito version, connects the word *Jerusalem* with v. 1 of Ps. cxxv. instead of v. 2, and reads *ὁ κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ*.

(4) In his quotation from Prov. ii. 13, in Paraenesis xl. (*ib.* p. 315), Ephrem departs both from the Hebrew and the Syriac, and adheres nearly to the LXX.

(5) In his quotation from Prov. xxviii. 1, Ephrem adds the words *ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ*, which are not found in the Hebrew, the Syriac, or the LXX, and which appear to be a free rendering of the Vulgate, "absque terrore erit." (Paraenesis xlviii. ; *ib.* p. 339.)

(6) In the fifteenth Paraenesis Ephrem adopts the LXX rendering of Isaiah xxxi. 9 ; *Μακάριος ὃς ἔχει ἐν Σιὼν σπέρμα καὶ οἰκείους ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ* (*ib.* p. 276), a rendering which entirely differs from the Hebrew and the Syriac, and concerning which Jerome writes thus: "Sic interpretari possumus ut dicamus praesentis loci sensui convenire."

(7) When quoting from Isaiah li. 8 in his forty-first Paraenesis (*ib.* p. 316), Ephrem follows the LXX, who seem to have read the word עת *time* instead of עש *moth*, where again he has no support from the Syriac.

(8) In his quotation from Habakkuk iii. 2, (Paraenesis xliii. ; *ib.* p. 328), where the LXX follow an entirely different reading from that of the present Masoretic text, Ephrem adopts the rendering of the LXX. The Peshito version in this place does not entirely follow the Masoretic text, but agrees much more closely with it than does that of the LXX.

(9) In the quotation in the same Paraenesis, from the 16th verse of the same chapter of Habakkuk, where, as Jerome observes, all the versions differ widely from the Hebrew, Ephrem follows the LXX (*ib.*).

He does not, however, invariably follow the LXX in his Greek writings, or rather in those works which now exist in Greek, as *e.g.* in his sermon on "The life-giving Cross of the Lord," where he adopts the interpolated words *from the tree*, which have the support neither of the Syriac nor of the LXX. On the other hand, in a quotation from Ps. xxxix. 4, Ephrem adopts the rendering of the Syriac, "If there is craft in my tongue," where the Hebrew has only מלה *word*, and where the LXX have *λόγος ἄδικος*.

It may fairly, however, be questioned whether the evidence here adduced does not point to the inaccuracy of the translation of Ephrem's Syriac works into Greek, inasmuch as it is, in the highest degree, improbable that Ephrem should habitually have followed the LXX, where that version differs as much from the Syriac as from the Hebrew.

The instances which follow are taken, for the most part, from his *Rhythms* (portions of which have been translated from the Syriac by Mr. Morris, and published at Oxford in 1847), and will suffice to shew that Ephrem in his Syriac works quotes habitually from the Peschito version, and that he does not appear to have made much use of the original Hebrew.

(1) In his quotation from Ps. lxxii. 17, Ephrem, in common with the Syriac and the Chaldee versions, regards the second member of the first clause of the verse as having reference to the past, and reads, "His name was before the sun," instead of reading, according to the present Masoretic text and the version of the LXX, "His name shall continue (or be continued) as long as (or before) the sun."[8]

(2) In his quotation from Gen. xlix. 10, 11 (*Rhythm against the Jews*, c. 18), Ephrem follows the Syriac in rendering מחקק, lawgiver (or staff of the ruler), by *expositor* or *interpreter*, but in the following verse he does not follow the Syriac and the LXX in regarding בני as a form of the construct-state of the noun, but translates it (perhaps accidentally) as if taken directly from the Hebrew *my son* ; whilst, on the other hand, in the twenty-seventh chapter of the same Rhythm he renders the same words, "the ass's foal."

(3) In his quotation from Amos vii. 7 (*ib.* c. 19) Ephrem follows the Syriac and the LXX in rendering אנך *adamant*.

(4) In his paraphrase of Is. xlix. 14, &c. (*ib.* c. 20), Ephrem follows the LXX against the Hebrew and the Syriac in making the walls the subject of the verb: "I have graven thy walls."

(5) In his fifty-third Rhythm Ephrem, with evident allusion to Deut. xxxi. 26, speaks of the words of chaste women as being placed *in* the ark. It is evident that he has here followed the Syriac version, which has "*in* the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord," instead of the Hebrew, which has מצד "*at* the side," and with which the LXX and the Chaldee agree.

(6) In his Commentary on 2 Kings ii. 9, Ephrem adopts the Peshito text, which does not retain (as the LXX has) the same rendering of the Hebrew פי שנים, which is found in the Syriac version of Deut. xxii. 17, and consequently overlooks the obvious reference to the elder son's portion of his father's goods, which is there denoted.

(7) A yet stronger proof of Ephrem's ignorance

[8] The introduction of the past tense instead of the future in the Syriac and Chaldee versions probably arose (as Mr. Morris suggests in his translation of the select works of Ephrem, p. 67, note) from the fact that some of the Jews regarded the word ינין or ינון as a proper name. "Before the sun His name was *Innon*."

or neglect of the Hebrew text is found in the argument which he derives from the alleged use of the plural verb in Gen. xi. 7, where the Syriac and the Chaldee have "Come ye," but where the Hebrew has the singular חבה. The LXX δεῦτε cannot be alleged on either side, inasmuch as it is used in conjunction both with singular and with plural verbs. It is possible, indeed, inasmuch as Ephrem occasionally refers to readings found in the Hebrew, that there may have been a different reading in this case, but no other reading is now known to exist.

Once more, amongst the extracts from the unprinted MS. containing Ephrem's Commentary on Jonah, Assemani gives the following: "Jonah began to enter into Nineveh a journey of three days, and he preached and said, 'Within, or yet, *forty* days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.' The Greek reads, 'There are yet *three* days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.'"[t] Ephrem endeavours to reconcile the discrepancy thus:—"Now both of these are true; for it is written in the Hebrew copies thus, 'Jonah began to enter into the city in forty days.'" He then proceeds to explain the *forty* days as dating from the time when Jonah escaped from the fish's belly and began his journey to Nineveh, and the *three* days as occupied in preaching in the city. It deserves to be noticed that whereas Ephrem in this place limits not only the preaching of Jonah, but also the period of reprieve assigned to the Ninevites to *three* days, the whole of this *Metrical Homily on the Repentance of Nineveh*, which has been translated, with an introduction and notes, by Dr. Burgess, proceeds on the view commonly entertained by the Syrians, in accordance with the Hebrew text, that the period of reprieve was not *three* but *forty* days. The object, however, for which the quotation from Ephrem's Commentary is here adduced is to shew that unless the Hebrew text of Jonah iii. 4, to which Ephrem refers, differed from the present Masoretic text, either Ephrem had never consulted it, or he was unable to comprehend it.

Upon the whole, it is clear that if Ephrem was able to consult the Hebrew text, he made but little use of the knowledge which he possessed, and that he relied mainly on the Peshito in his Syriac writings; and that the version of the LXX is, for the most part, adopted in those of his writings which are now extant only in Greek. Mr. Morris, indeed, refers, as a proof of Ephrem's acquaintance with the Hebrew, to the fact that he notices the various reading in 2 Kings viii. 10, לו, *to him* instead of לא *not*, as in the Masoretic text. The various reading is here obviously the correct one, and is adopted by the Vulgate, the Syriac, and the Chaldee, but Ephrem probably obtained his information from Jewish sources.[u]

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.—Amongst those early fathers of the church who might reasonably be expected to have been acquainted with Hebrew we must include Cyril, who was born about A.D. 315, probably in, or near Jerusalem, and who was bishop of that city about thirty-five years. We should the rather have expected to find indications of such knowledge in the writings of Cyril because, whilst they do not afford evidence of any great amount of ability or eloquence, they contain ample proof of the intimate acquaintance of the writer with the books both of the Old and of the New Testament.

We should not be justified in inferring that Cyril was altogether ignorant of Hebrew from the fact of his adherence to the Greek version of the Old Testament, even in passages in which it fails to represent the true meaning of the original,[v] (1) because in many cases these variations do not materially affect the general scope of the passage, or the argument of the writer, and therefore the version in common use amongst his hearers may have been employed just as the A.V. is by ourselves, even when the rendering is known to be not strictly accurate; and (2) because it appears from Lecture IV. c. 34, that Cyril was one of those who ascribed divine authority to the Septuagint version. His opinion on this point deserves notice. Having first related the traditional account of the verbal agreement of the translations independently made, as alleged, by the 72 interpreters, he continues thus: "For the matter was not one of witty invention, or a contrivance of man's cunning devices; but the interpretation of the divine Scriptures, spoken by the Holy Ghost, was, of the Holy Ghost, accomplished." (*Library of the Fathers*, ii. p. 50, Oxford, 1839.)

Independently, however, of the numerous citations which Cyril makes from the LXX,[w] in which that version differs very materially from the Hebrew, the following instances will suffice to show that he did not possess even a superficial acquaintance with the Hebrew language.

(1) In Lecture I. 14, Cyril writes thus: "That Samuel may come, and thy barren soul may hear the *salvation* of God who hears prayer; for this is the meaning of the word *Samuel*." Now it is quite true that different opinions exist as to the true derivation of the name *Samuel*; some deriving it from שֵׁם אֵל, *Shem El*, name of God, others from שָׁאוּל מֵאֵל, *Shaul me-El*, asked of God (Josephus renders it by the Greek name Theaetetus, Θεαίτητος), and others again, and, as we think, correctly from שְׁמוּעַ אֵל, *Shamuah El*, heard by (or of) God; but, unless Cyril has very imperfectly expressed his meaning, he has assigned to the name a derivation of which it is altogether incapable.

(2) In Lecture II. 9, Cyril writes thus in

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[t] The Peshito agrees in this place with the Hebrew; the Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris with the Greek.

[u] Cf. the article EPHRAIM THE SYRIAN (p. 137), in which Ephraim's knowledge of Hebrew is discussed at some length, the conclusions arrived at being substantially those of the present article.—EDD

[v] The following instances, which might be almost indefinitely multiplied, will suffice by way of illustration:—

(1) Ps. xxxii. 1,	as quoted in	Lect.	I. c. 15.
(2) Prov. xxiv. 32,	„	„	II. c. 13.
(3) Is. xxx. 15	„	„	II. c. 15.
(4) Ps. lxvii. 6	„	„	VII. c. 10.
(5) Job xl. 14	„	„	VIII. c. 4.
(6) Hag. ii. 8	„	„	VIII. c. 6.
(7) Is. xlv. 14, 15	„	„	XI. c. 16.

etc. etc.

[w] In his quotation from Micah v. 2, Cyril does not follow the Hebrew or the LXX, nor does he adopt the οὐδαμῶς of St. Matt. ii. 6, but inserts μὴ before ὀλιγοστός.

reference to Rahab: "And if thou wouldest receive a written witness that she was saved, thou hast it recorded in the Psalms, 'I will think upon Rahab and Babylon,' but with this added, 'with them that know me.' On men therefore, and likewise on women, is salvation, viz. that which is secured to us through repentance."[x] (*ib.* p. 18.) The Hebrew scholar will perceive that Cyril has been misled by the Greek version, which reads Ῥαάβ in Josh. ii. 1 and Ps. lxxxvii. 4, whereas the name of Rahab the harlot is in Hebrew רָחָב, *rachab*, *i.e.* wide, whilst the allegorical name of Egypt, in writings subsequent to Isaiah (cf. xxx. 7), is רַהַב, *rahab*, *i.e.* tumultuous violence, a word different in orthography as well as in meaning from the former.

(3) In Lecture X. c. 4 we read thus: "Fitly is He called Jesus deriving His name from His salutary medicine." This remark refers to the Greek word, Ἰησοῦς, and to its supposed derivation from ἰάομαι, as Cyril says in c. 13, "Jesus then means among the Hebrews 'a Saviour,' but in the Greek tongue 'a Healer' (ὁ ἰώμενος)." The fact that Cyril should seriously imagine that there is any connexion between Ἰησοῦς and ἰάομαι is somewhat remarkable. But, further, in the 11th chapter of the same Lecture we read thus: "And He has two names, Jesus Christ; Jesus because He saves, Christ because of His priesthood. And, knowing this, the inspired prophet Moses conferred these two titles on two most special men, changing the name of his own successor in the government, Auses, to Jesus, and surnaming his own brother Aaron, Christ, that by two special men he might represent at once the high-priesthood and the kingdom of Him who was to come, the One Jesus Christ." (*Ib.* p. 104.) The origin of the statement respecting Aaron is, we presume, the Greek rendering of Lev. iv. 5, where the Hebrew is הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ, *the anointed priest*, and the Greek ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ Χριστός. It is obvious that had Cyril been capable of referring to the Hebrew text he would not have made this singular statement.

(4) In Lecture X. c. 16, Cyril writes thus: "Your name was 'Jews' and 'Israelites' in the time of Moses and the other prophets, and after the return from Babylon, and up to the present time." This statement indicates something more than the lack of Hebrew knowledge on the part of Cyril. It is quite true that there are passages in the book of Jeremiah,[y] as well as in the later books of the Old Testament, in which the word "Jews" may be understood as comprising more than the subjects of the kingdom of Judah. But when Cyril speaks of the name "Jews" as being used in the days of Moses, he betrays not only ignorance of the use of the Hebrew word יְהוּדִים (*Yehudim*), but also of that of its Greek equivalent, Ἰουδαῖοι.

(5) In Lecture XIII. c. 9, Cyril says that "*Judas*" means confession." Now it is quite true that the Hebrew verb יָדָה (*Yadah*) from which Judas = Judah is derived, bears the meaning to *confess*, as well as to *praise*. There are two passages in Genesis in which reference is made to the meaning of the name, viz. chap. xxix. 35 and chap. xlix. 8. In the latter of these passages we read thus: "Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise;" where the LXX has αἰνέσουσιν or (according to another reading) αἰνέσαισαν. Cyril does not appear to have had this passage in his mind, but to have grounded his observation upon the LXX version of Gen. xxix. 35, where, instead of rendering the Hebrew verb by αἰνέω, as in xlix. 8, the LXX substitute ἐξομολογέομαι; and whereas we rightly read in the A.V. "Now will I praise the Lord," they read, Νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαι Κυρίῳ. It is possible indeed that this instance ought to be adduced, not so much as a proof of Cyril's ignorance of Hebrew, as of his blind adherence to the LXX. We think, however, that it may fairly be alleged as one amongst many proofs that Cyril derived his knowledge of the Old Testament solely from the Greek, inasmuch as the rendering of the LXX in this place can scarcely be regarded, in any just sense of the word, as a *translation* of the original.

(6) In Lecture XIII. c. 11, Cyril expends some labour on the attempt to prove that there is no discrepancy between the account contained in Zech. xi. 13, where, as he alleges, the prophet states that the thirty pieces of silver were cast into "the refining house," and that contained in St. Matthew xxvii. 7, which speaks of "the potter's field." It will be obvious (1) that Cyril does not touch upon the real difficulty involved in the interpretation of the words of Zechariah (xi. 13); and (2) that Cyril's difficulty arises altogether out of his ignorance that "the refining house" (τὸ χωνευτήριον) is not found in the Hebrew, which has, as the A.V. has rendered it, "to the potter" (אֶל הַיּוֹצֵר). It is worthy of observation that Jerome remarks upon the discrepancy between the translation of the LXX and the words of the Evangelist. He adds, however, "Sed et in Hebraeo eum sensus idem sit, verba praepostera sunt, et pene diversa" (*Ep. ad Pammachium*, iii. p. 167).[z]

(7) In Lecture XIII. c. 27, Cyril writes thus: "Esaias saith, 'Who is this that cometh from Edom? the redness of His garments is from Bosor;' (who is this who for a *dishonour* weareth purple? for Bosor hath in Hebrew this meaning)." The only key which we can discover to this extraordinary statement is that in Micah ii. 12, the LXX appear to have read בְּצָרָה (ἐν θλίψει), instead of בָּצְרָה. Jerome in his *Commentary on Micah* explains the word in the same way, "in tribulatione." Jerome's alternative explanation of the meaning of the word, viz. *flesh*, arises out of his view of the interchangeableness of the sibilants שׂ and ץ.

EPIPHANIUS.—Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia, the ancient Salamis of Cyprus, was born in

[x] The editor of the Oxford translation, in a footnote, vindicates Cyril's fanciful reasoning in the following words: "And as what is said of Hagar in Gen. xxi. 10 is meant of Jerusalem, so Rahab may really be named in this Psalm yet Egypt meant as its scope." This note has obviously escaped the eye of the learned Regius Professor of Hebrew whose name stands first amongst the editors of the *Library of the Fathers*.

[y] Thus, *e. g.* in Jer. xxxiv. 9, עִבְרִי *Hebrew*, and יְהוּדִי *Jew*, appear to be used as synonymous words.

[z] He rightly renders the Hebrew words אֶל הַיּוֹצֵר "ad statuarium."

the early part of the 4th century at Besandus, a village of Palestine, not far from Eleutheropolis, and was brought up by the monks of Palestine. He is said to have been of Jewish extraction, and to have been acquainted with the Hebrew, the Egyptian, the Greek, and to some extent, the Latin languages, in addition to his native tongue, the Syriac. The writings of Epiphanius bear witness to a certain amount of familiarity with the Hebrew language, as will appear from the following instances.

When speaking of the different names given to the Christians, he distinguishes between *Nazarenes* and *Nazirites; i.e.* between a word derived probably from נצר, *netzer*, a *shoot*, and a word derived from נזר, *nazar*, to *separate;* and he observes that our Lord was called a *Nazarene* after the name of the city *Nazareth*, in which he was brought up; whereas he explains *Nazirites* as persons sanctified or dedicated to God, as was Samson. (*Adversus Haereses*, lib. 1, tom. ii. c. 5. Haer. 29, tom. i. p. 121, fol. Colon. 1682.) It deserves notice that when speaking of the tenets of the heretical sect who assumed the name of Nazarenes, he says that they were admirably skilled in the Hebrew language, and that the books of the Old Testament were read by them in Hebrew as by the Jews. (*Ib.* p. 123.)

Again, when Epiphanius has occasion to refer to the words uttered by our Lord upon the cross, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani," he lays great stress upon the fact that this quotation from Ps. xxii. 1 does not accord with the Hebrew original, but that having pronounced the words "Eli, Eli," our Lord uttered the words which follow in the Syriac tongue (*ib.* p. 792). Now this statement is not entirely correct, inasmuch as the word *lama* (or as it is printed in Petavius's edition of Epiphanius, λημᾶ) does not accord with the Syriac *lemana*, but with the Hebrew *lama*. The verb, however, is, as Epiphanius observes, not the Hebrew word *azabtani*, but the Aramaic word *shebachtani*.

Again, when Epiphanius quotes the first verse of Psalm cxli., he does not adhere to the Hebrew, but, as if quoting from memory, he substitutes אליך קריתי for קראתיך; he inserts the words ישמע אל, *let God hear*, which do not occur in the original, and he substitutes for האזינה קולי the words Ἰεββιτὰ ἀκώλ, as they stand in the Greek text of Petavius, which probably represent the Hebrew words, יביט הקול *yabbit hakkol*, *let Him have regard to the voice* (tom. ii. p. 163). Other explanations may be given of these variations, but they are, at least, consistent with the theory that Epiphanius was familiar with Hebrew as a spoken language, and that, in quoting from memory, he readily substituted one form of expression for another, and whilst deviating, whether by insertion or by omission from the original, preserved the general sense of the passage which he designed to reproduce.

Once more, when referring to the words of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 3, Epiphanius points out the departure of the LXX from the Hebrew in rendering אל תותר *μὴ ἐκζέσῃς*, and he observes that the Hebrew words may be rendered *μὴ ἀνακάμψῃς* (*ib.* ii. p. 100), or *μὴ προστεθείῃς*, or *μὴ περισσεύσῃς*.

But whilst thus displaying a certain familiarity with Hebrew as a language which has many points of affinity to his native Syriac, Epiphanius, in common with the other early fathers who possessed some slight knowledge of Hebrew, shews that his knowledge was not of a critical character.

Thus, *e.g.*, whilst rightly explaining אל, *El*, as meaning *God*, he explains אלהים, *Elohim*, as meaning *God always*, or *for ever*, supposing probably that it was equivalent to אל עולם, *El olam*, 'the everlasting God' (Gen. xxi. 33), (i. p. 792).

Again he explains ישראל, *Israel*, as meaning God; יה, *Jah*, as meaning Lord, Κύριος; אדני, *Adonai*, as ὁ ὢν Κύριος; יהוה Ιαβὲ, *Yahveh*, as ὃς ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἀεὶ ὤν (tom. i. p. 296).

It is difficult to account for *three* out of these *four* explanations.

As another instance of false etymology we may refer to the derivation of מדה, *a measure*, from ידה, *yadah*, *confess*, and the somewhat amusing vindication of this etymology in the words πληρωθεὶς γὰρ ὁ μόδιος ὁμολογεῖ ὅτι πεπλήρωμαι (tom. ii. p. 181).

It is deserving of notice, moreover, that when Epiphanius has occasion to refer to Gen. i. 2, he adopts the Greek version of the passage, Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς πάντα ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, instead of following the Hebrew, which has the *seventh* day (tom. ii. p. 179).

JEROME.—Eusebius Hieronymus Sophronius, the son of Eusebius, a Christian, was born at Stridon in Dalmatia, as some say about the year A.D. 329, but, as seems more probable, about the year 346, and he died at Bethlehem on Sept. 30, A.D. 420. He was sent to Rome at the age of eighteen, and after a residence of some years in that city, during which he studied under the grammarian Donatus, he travelled in the East and in the West. In the desert of Chalcis, near Antioch, about the year A.D. 374, he devoted himself to the study of Hebrew. In A.D. 382 he returned to Rome, and after the death of pope Damasus he retired to Bethlehem (about A.D. 387), where he continued until his death, pursuing the study of Hebrew with renewed ardour. Up to this time Jerome's work in respect to biblical revision had been chiefly restricted to corrections of the old Latin version by the aid of the Greek. About A.D. 390 he began his new translations from the Hebrew, a work which appears to have extended over a period of about fifteen years, and, notwithstanding the numerous defects which exist in the version of Jerome, of some of which he was himself fully conscious, and which were almost inseparable from the imperfect scholarship of his age and the haste with which some portions of the work were executed, his *magnum opus*, commonly known as the *Vulgate*, will ever remain a noble and unique monument of the linguistic skill, as well as of the indomitable courage and perseverance of its highly-gifted author.

Whatever opinion may be formed of the philological accuracy of Jerome's Hebrew scholarship, his superiority in this respect to all the ecclesiastical writers who preceded him, and to all who for many centuries followed him, will be universally allowed. At the same time it is a task of considerable difficulty to determine

the precise nature and extent of Jerome's obligations to his Hebrew teachers (Barrabanus and others), and thus to discriminate accurately between those criticisms which were original, and those for which he was indebted to his Jewish instructors. Some idea of the extent to which Jerome was indebted to Jewish sources of information may be gathered from the comparison instituted by Rahmer, in his *Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus*, of the *Quaestiones in Genesim*, with the Hebrew traditions preserved in the Talmud and other Jewish writings. The following instances will suffice by way of example :—

1) In Gen. ii. 8, where the A.V. reads "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden," Jerome's translation is "Plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradisum in Eden, *a principio*." This interpretation of the Hebrew word מקדם is found in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, and in two of the Talmudical treatises (*Pesachim*, 54, a; *Nedarim*, 39). The Greek versions of Symmachus and Theodotion, moreover, appear to favour it in the renderings ἐκ πρώτης and ἐν πρώτοις.

(2) Jerome's explanation of Gen. vi. 3, "Yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years," is as follows: "Hoc est, habebunt centum viginti annos ad agendam poenitentiam. Non igitur humana vita, ut multi errant, in centum viginti annos contracta est." The Targum of Onkelos renders the passage thus: "A term will I give them, an hundred and twenty years, if they may be converted." In like manner the Targum of Jonathan: "Behold I will give them a prolongment of a hundred and twenty years, that they may work repentance, and not perish." The *Midrash* on Genesis explains the passage in the same manner.

(3) In his explanation of Gen. xi. 28, Jerome, in common with the *Midrash* and the Jerusalem Targum, explains the Hebrew word אור, which in the A.V. is regarded as a proper name, *Ur*, as denoting the furnace in which Haran was consumed, and from which Abraham was delivered. It is true, indeed, that Jerome speaks of the Jewish account as a fable (*fabula*), but when explaining the apparent discrepancy between the age of Abraham when he left Charran, viz. 75, and the statement that this event took place after the death of Terah who, if only seventy years of age at Abraham's birth, must have lived sixty years after his departure, Jerome refers to the Hebrew tradition as *true*, and explains the age of Abraham as dating not from his natural birth, but from the time of his renunciation of the idolatry of the Chaldeans.

(4) Jerome's explanation of Gen. xix. 14 appears to be borrowed from Jewish sources. He does not, indeed, accept the whole of the explanation which is found in the *Midrash* on that place, viz. that Lot had four daughters, of whom two were already married, and two were about to be married. But he adopts the Jewish interpretation of the words לקחי בנותיו, *qui accepturi erant filias ejus*, who were about to take his daughters in marriage, and rejects that of the LXX, τοὺς εἰληφότας τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ, "who had married his daughters."

(5) In his explanation of Gen. xxi. 14 Jerome remarks upon the difficulty of supposing that Ishmael at eighteen years of age should have been placed upon Hagar's shoulder. Accordingly he rejects the version of the LXX, καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον αὐτῆς τὸ παιδίον, "and he placed the child upon her shoulder," and instead of connecting the words ואת הילד, "and the child," with שם על־שכמה "he placed upon her shoulder," he connects them with the preceding verb ויתן "and he gave," and in conformity with the views of some of the old Jewish commentators, he explains the passage thus: "Et hoc facto, dedit puerum matri: hoc est, in manus ejus tradidit, commendavit, et ita emisit e domo."

The following criticism, for which it can scarcely be doubted that Jerome was indebted to his Jewish teachers,[a] exemplifies not only the extent to which he was in the habit of borrowing from others, but also the readiness with which he received and transmitted statements without investigation. In his Commentary on Galatians i. (tom. ix. p. 80) he states that when the Hebrew word עולם, *olam*, occurs with the letter *vau* it means *eternity*; but that when it occurs without the *vau* it means the fiftieth year, or year of *jubilee*, in support of which latter statement he refers to Exodus xxi. 6, where the word is written *without the vau*, and also to Deut. xxiii. 4, where the *vau is inserted*.

Our next inquiry must be into the direct evidence which exists respecting the amount of Hebrew scholarship possessed by Jerome. On this subject he sometimes speaks with much diffidence; and when we contrast with this diffidence the very different language which Jerome, not only in other places, but even in the very same treatises, adopts in reference to his other qualifications, it is reasonable to conclude that the language which he employs was not altogether the result of a proneness to underrate his own acquirements. Thus *e.g.* in his *Apologia adversus Rufinum* he writes thus: "Nos autem qui Hebraeae linguae saltem parvam habemus scientiam ... et de aliis magis possumus judicare, et ea quae ipsi intelligimus in nostrâ linguâ exprimere" (tom. iii. p. 103 B, Basil, 1516). And, again, in the same treatise, when speaking of his familiarity with the Latin grammarians, rhetoricians, and philosophers, he observes, "et Hebraeum sermonem ex parte didicimus" (*ib.* p. 103 c). And, once more, in his *Epitaphium Paulae matris* he says: "Hebraeam linguam, quam ego ab adolescentiâ, multo labore ac sudore ex parte didici, . . . discere voluit" (tom. i. p. 86). On the other hand it must not be overlooked that in this same treatise Jerome describes himself as "trilinguis," *i.e.* "Hebraeus, Graecus, Latinus," and that in his Preface to the Apocryphal Book of Tobit, he says that in one day he translated into Latin the version which

[a] Amongst other similar acknowledgments of this indebtedness we find the following statement in a letter addressed to St. Augustine (i. p. 298, Clark's edition). "It would have been but fair to have given me credit for the same fidelity (*i.e.* as that which he had shewn in the revision of the translation of the New Testament) in the Old Testament; for I have not followed my own imagination, but have rendered the divine words as I found them understood by those who speak the Hebrew language. If you have any doubt of this in any passage, ask the Jews what is the meaning of the original."

was made for him *vivâ voce* out of the Chaldee into Hebrew by one who was acquainted both with the Hebrew and Chaldee languages.[b]

The following examples, which might be almost indefinitely multiplied, will suffice to afford some idea of the deficiency of Jerome's critical scholarship, when tried by a standard applicable to that of the present day.

We shall refer, in the first instance, to his treatise on Hebrew proper names, one of the earliest of his productions, but one in the preface to which he observes that he had undertaken it at the request of those who thought that he had acquired some proficiency in the Hebrew language, "qui me putant aliquid in Hebraeae linguae noticiâ profecisse" (tom. iv. p. 136 D).

(1) Jerome regards the Hebrew gutturals א, ה, ח, and ע as interchangeable. Thus, in his explanation of the name *Abel*, הבל, he assigns as one of its meanings *luctus*, grief, identifying הבל with אבל. He assigns as one explanation of the proper name *Bera*, ברע *creatura, creature*, thus identifying ברע with ברא. He identifies *Elishah*, אלישה with *Elisha*, אלישע, and gives as an explanation of the former name *Dei mei salvatio*, and as an explanation of the latter *Dei mei salus*. He confounds חרב, *drought* or *desolation*, Zeph. ii. 14, with ערב, and renders the word by *corvus, raven*. He explains *Hur*, Heb. חור, as meaning *ignis, aut lumen*, thus identifying חור with אור. Again, after giving *happy* (*beatus*) as the explanation of the meaning of the proper name *Asher*, אשר, he observes that if written with ח and צ instead of א and ש it means *a court*, חצר, *hatzer, atrium*. In his *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* he regards אשר and עושר as interchangeable words; and whilst assigning the meaning *happy* to Asher, the son of Jacob and Leah, he observes, "Aser ergo non *divitiae*, sed *beatus* dicitur, duntaxat in praesenti loco. Nam in aliis *secundum ambiguitatem verbi* possunt et *divitiae* sic vocari." And, again, in his remarks upon Gen. iii. 14, in the *Quaestiones Hebraicae*, he regards עפר, *dust*, as convertible with אפר, ashes, and observes that the former word may be rendered *favilla*. And, once more, in his able and elaborate commentary upon Isaiah he regards the word אנסה as interchangeable with אנשא (Is. vii. 12), and observes that the meaning may be either *tempt* or *exalt*.[c]

The uncertainty which attaches to any attempt to determine the amount of scholarship possessed by early writers from their etymological conceits is increased in the case of Jerome by the undue deference which he attached to the views of his predecessors in this field of inquiry. Thus *e.g.* in his treatise on proper names he writes thus: "Israel est videre deum, sive vir, aut mens videns Deum," while in his *Quaest. Heb. in Genesim* (*ib.* p. 100) he says that when he gave the explanation of the name *Israel* as if derived from איש, ראה, and אל, he did so under the influence of names of great weight and authority; and instead of adhering to that view, he explains the meaning of the word, in accordance with the obvious import of Gen. xxxii. 28, as *princeps cum Deo*, or *princeps Dei*, *i.e.* as derived from שר (or שרה) and אל. Moreover in his later etymology of the word *Israel*, he seems to regard שָׂרִיתָ as a noun, and he transliterates it *sarith*, and explains it thus, *principem sonat;* whilst, in allusion, as it should seem, to yet another etymology, he adds: "sive *directus Dei*, hoc est εὐθύτατος Θεοῦ."

(2) After making ample allowance, however, for Jerome's undue respect for the opinions of earlier writers, and also for the wide field for speculation which is opened in all etymological researches, it is difficult for Hebrew scholars of the present time to understand how Jerome could have been satisfied with etymologies of which the following will suffice as specimens:—He explains the meaning of the word *Adullamite*, עדלמי (Gen. xxxviii. 1) as *the testimony of water, testimonium aquae*, as if it were derived from עד and מים. Again, he explains the word *Amraphel*, אמרפל, thus: *dixit ut caderet*, as if derived from אמר and נפל. He explains *Hadoram* הדורם (Gen. x. 27), by *generatio excelsa*, as if derived from דור and רם; *Arphaxad*, ארפכשד, by *sanans depopulationem*, apparently as if derived from רפא and שד; *Philistines*, פלשתים by *cadentes*, (as if from נפל), or *ruina poculi*, or *cadentes potione*, apparently as if from נפל and some form of שתה; and *Ramoth*, Heb. רמות, as *visio mortis*, as if from ראה and מות. Jerome's attempts to trace Egyptian words to a Hebrew source are of a somewhat singular character. Thus *e.g.* he explains the meaning of *Pharaoh*, Heb. פרעה, *dissipans sive discooperiens eum*, as if derived from the Hebrew word פרע; that of the word *Abrech* (Gen. xli. 43), as *tender or delicate father*, as if derived from אב and רך. Here, however, as in other instances, Jerome appears to have followed the guidance of earlier writers, for whereas in his *Quaestiones in Genesim* he considers the word אחו Achu (Gen. xli. 2) as a Hebrew word, and explains it by *palus*, in his Commentary on Isaiah xix. 7, he says that he was told by the learned that in the *Egyptian* tongue everything green that grows in marshes is called by this name. One more example of Jerome's etymological conceits may be cited from his epistle to Paulinus, *de Studio Scripturarum*, in which he assigns *iniquitas* as the meaning of the proper name *Haman*.

We shall now adduce a few illustrations of the lack of critical accuracy and discernment which pervades the writings of Jerome.

(1) In his remarks on Gen. iii. 17 in his *Quaest. Heb.* he translates and observes as follows: "Maledicta terra in operibus tuis. *Opera* hic non ruris colendi, ut plerique putant, sed *peccata*

[b] His words are these: "Et quia vicina est Chaldaeorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguae peritissimum loquacem reperiens, unius diei laborem arripui, et quidquid ille Hebraicis verbis expressit, hoc ego, accito notario, sermonibus Latinis exposui" (tom. iv. p. 92).

[c] Jerome's remark, however, upon בחם, which appears to have stood in the text which he used in Gen. xiv. 5, instead of בהם, proves that he did not regard the letters ה and ח as always convertible. (*Quaest. Heb.* p. 94.) His remarks upon the name Beersheba, באר שבע (*ib.* p. 98), shew that the letter ס, *samech*, was commonly used in place of שׂ, *sin*. Again in his *Comm.* on Is. iv. 7, he says that the word שבע, *Sheba*, may be interpreted "nunc *septem*, nunc *plures*, nunc *juramentum*."

significant; ut in Hebraeo habetur. Et Aquila non discordat dicens: Maledicta humus *propter te*. Et Theodotio, Maledicta *adama in transgressione tua*." We remark here (1) that Jerome appears to have read בעבודתך; or some other form of עבר, *operatus est*, instead of בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ; and (2) that he does not appear to have observed that Aquila read in accordance with the present Hebrew text בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ, or that Theodotion appears to have read בְּעֶבְרָתֵךְ or some other nominal form of עבר, *transgressus est*.

(2) Jerome's explanation of the LXX version of Gen. iv. 7, in which the words "thou shalt rule over him" are made to refer, as in the English version, to *Abel*, not to *sin*, is that in Greek the word ἁμαρτία, *sin*, is of the feminine gender, whereas in Hebrew the word חטאת is masculine. The inadequacy of the explanation is obvious, even had Jerome's statement as to the gender of חטאת been correct; but it seems to have escaped his notice (1) that the word ἁμαρτία is not found in the LXX in this verse; and (2) that in every other place in which חטאת occurs it is of the feminine gender.

Amongst other indications either of an imperfect acquaintance with Hebrew or of great carelessness, we may notice the following:—

(1) Jerome's rendering of מנגב, *minnegeb*, in Gen. xiii. 3, by the words *per austrum*. It may perhaps be inferred from this rendering that Jerome was not aware of the fact that *The South*, or *The Negeb*, was the name of a district of Judaea, and consequently that there was no difficulty in understanding the meaning of verse 1, in which it is stated that Abraham came up "*out of Egypt into the south*." This ignorance, however, furnishes no sufficient justification for rendering מנגב *minnegeb* "*through* the South."

(2) Jerome's rendering of צדקה ממני, Gen. xxxviii. 26, is "justior est ista quam ego." Not content, however, with this rendering, which is a correct version of the Hebrew, he proceeds to observe, "In Hebraeo habet *justificata est ex me*" (*Quaest. Heb.* 101 a).

(3) Jerome renders לישועתך קויתי יהוה, Gen. xlix. 18, *salvatorem tuum expectabo Domine*. This rendering is the more remarkable, inasmuch as that of the LXX is Τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου.

(4) Jerome appears to have been unable to give any account of the Septuagint version of Gen. xxvi. 32, where the Greek translators evidently read לא *not* for לו *to him* (*Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* p. 98 a).

(5) When noticing the obvious play upon the words משפט *mishpat* and משפח *mishpach*, and upon צדקה *zedakah* and צעקה *zehakah* in Is. v. 7, Jerome says, "volumus latinis insinuare auribus *quod ab hebraeis didicimus*;" and he then proceeds to give the meaning of each word, and to shew the difference which was caused in each case by the change of a single letter. It may, perhaps, be thought by some that Jerome wished to secure more implicit credence for his remarks by the statement that he was indebted for them to Jewish sources. It is scarcely probable, however, that a Hebrew scholar would have deemed it necessary to ascribe to his Jewish teachers information of so obvious a nature, and of which it is difficult to understand how any one who was tolerably versed in the Hebrew language could have been ignorant.

(6) Jerome's remarks on the word נוגי *afflicted*, the Nif. part. of the verb יגה, in its const. form, which he renders by the Latin word *nugae*, are as follows: "Sciamus in Hebraeo ipsum Latinum esse sermonem et propterea a nobis ita ut in Hebraeo erat positum: ut nosse possimus linguam Hebraicam omnium linguarum esse matricem." (Comment. in Zeph. iii. 18.)

(7) In his commentary on Is. ii. 16, Jerome gives it as the opinion of the Jews that תרשיש, *Tarshish*, is the Hebrew word for the *sea*, and that ים is a Syriac word.

(8) In his commentary on Habakkuk iii. 5, he renders רשף *fiery bolt*, or *pestilential fever*, by *diabolus*.

(9) Jerome's opinion that a portion of the book of Job was written in *hexameters* shews to how great an extent he relied upon the authority of Philo, Josephus, Origen, and Eusebius, not one of whom appears to have been competent to form any opinion upon the question, and either how little he relied on his own judgment, or how incompetent he was to arrive at any independent conclusion on such a subject.[d] In his treatise on proper names Jerome observes upon the words Hiram, Ira, Ishtob, and Ishbosheth as follows:—"Idcirco cum aspiratione haec nomina posuimus, quia et apud Graecos et apud Hebraeos per diphthongum scribuntur." It will suffice here (1) to call attention to the reason fallaciously assigned for the *aspiration* of these names, viz. that they begin with a *diphthong*; and (2) to present to the eye of the reader the four names in their Hebrew and in their Greek form—

(1) חִירָם, Χειρὰμ, *Hiram*.

(2) עִירָא, Ἰρὰς, *Ira*.

(3) אִישׁ טוֹב, Ἰστὼβ, *Ish-tob*.

(4) אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת, Ἰσβόσεθ, *Ish-bosheth*.

It would be an easy task to multiply to an almost indefinite extent the indications afforded in the writings of Jerome of his imperfect scholarship, of his unseemly haste,[e] and of his reliance upon sources of information which were not unfrequently fallacious. It is a more agreeable task, however, to direct attention to the very great value which his writings, especially his commentaries, possess (1) as laying the foundation, however imperfectly, of a sounder method of biblical exegesis than is to be found in the writings of any of his predecessors or contemporaries; (2) as preserving so much of the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion which would otherwise have been lost;

[d] *In Librum Job*, praef. tom. iv. p. 10.

[e] *E.g.* in his preface to the book of Proverbs, Solomon's Song and Ecclesiastes, Jerome writes thus: "Itaque longâ aegrotatione fractus, ne penitus hoc anno reticerem, et apud vos mutus essem, *tridui opus* nomini vestro consecravi, interpretationem videlicet trium Salomonis voluminum" (tom. iv. p. 10, 2). And again, at the end of his commentary on Obadiah, he excuses himself thus, "Aliud est, mi Pammachi, saepe stilum vertere, et quae memoriâ digna sunt scribere. Aliud notariorum articulis praeparatis pudore reticendi dictare quodcunque in buccam venerit." He adds, "In hoc prophetâ et adolescentuli lusimus et senes praesumpsimus."

and (3) as pointing out, in many instances, the superiority of those versions over that of the LXX, which was commonly regarded as an inspired work, and to which Jerome himself at times was led to assign an authority which at other times he refused to recognise,[f] and also over the old Latin version which was based upon it, and which, notwithstanding all the opposition which it had to encounter, the great work of Jerome ultimately superseded.

The most cursory comparison of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, first with the version of the LXX, and then with that of Jerome, will suffice to establish the vast superiority of the latter over the former. A few instances taken from the first chapter of the Book of Amos will serve by way of illustration.

(1) In v. 1 the LXX treat נקדים, *herdsmen*, as a proper name, *Accarim;* they represent the words of the prophet as being uttered in that place, not the prophet himself as being in it, although the verb היה is in the singular number; and they translate the word ישראל, *Israel*, by Jerusalem, thus misrepresenting in a very important point the main drift of the prophecy. Well might Jerome say in his preface to this book, "Septuaginta autem, *nescio quid volentes*, interpretati sunt, 'Sermones Amos qui facti sunt in Acharim de Thecne quos vidit pro Hierusalem.'" On the other hand, Jerome renders the verse thus from the Hebrew: "Verba Amos qui fuit in pastoralibus (*or* pastoribus) Thecnae quae vidit super Israel."

(2) In vv. 6 and 9, where the adjective שלמה, *shelemah*, *whole* or *entire*, occurs as qualifying the captivity spoken of, the LXX render it as a proper name, *αἰχμαλωσία τοῦ Σαλωμών*, whilst Jerome renders it correctly as an adjective, "captivitas *perfecta*."

(3) In v. 11, whilst the LXX render ושחת רחמיו by *καὶ ἐλυμήνατο μήτραν ἐπὶ γῆς* and assign to עד the abstract meaning of עד, *μαρτύριον*, *witness*, Jerome rightly renders the former phrase, "violaverit misericordiam ejus," and לעד, "usque in finem."

It would be easy to multiply illustrations in proof of the superiority of Jerome's work over the LXX, but any elaborate comparison of the two versions would unduly increase the length of the present article.

It will be obvious from what has been here alleged that it is by no means an easy task either, in the first instance, to form a correct judgment of the extent of Jerome's Hebrew scholarship, or, when that judgment has been formed, to convey to readers of the 19th century a just estimate of the excellences and the defects of that scholarship as compared with the more critical and exact scholarship of the present day. If any credence is to be given to words which breathe no spirit of arrogance or of intentional exaggeration, it will follow from Jerome's account of his version of the book of Tobit, to which allusion has already been made, that however defective may have been the amount of his *critical* scholarship, Jerome must have acquired a very considerable amount of practical acquaintance with the Hebrew language, and a generally correct apprehension of the signification of Hebrew words and phrases. The same conclusion may be gathered from the success which crowned his labours as a teacher, as may be seen by reference to letters which he addressed to Paula and to Eustochium, her daughter (cf. *Hieronymus, sein Leben und Werken* von Otto Zöckler, p. 155, Gotha, 1865), who appear to have acquired by his aid a sufficient amount of acquaintance with Hebrew to enable them to have recourse to it for the better understanding of the Old Testament Scriptures.

THEODORET.—Theodoret was born at Antioch towards the close of the 4th century, and was made bishop of Cyrus, a small town of Syria, near the Euphrates, about the year A.D. 420, from which office he was deposed in the year A.D. 449, as a partisan of Nestorius. In addition to his History of the Church, and several controversial treatises, he has left behind him commentaries on a large portion of the Old Testament and on the Epistles of St. Paul.

These writings prove that Theodoret possessed a certain amount of acquaintance with Hebrew as well as with Syriac; and he appears to have had also the advantage of personal intercourse with learned Jews. Thus, *e.g.*, in his *Quaestiones in Exodum* (Inter. xv.), he observes that the Samaritans pronounced the sacred tetragrammaton as Ἰαβὲ (*Yahveh*), but the Jews as Ἀϊά. His remarks upon the Hebrew language (*Quaest. in Gen.* Inter. lxi.) are of a somewhat singular character. He observes, in proof that Hebrew is a sacred language and the direct gift of God, that whereas children commonly speak the language of the nation to which they belong, the children of Jews do not at once speak Hebrew, but the language of those *amongst whom they are born:* and he appeals to Ps. lxxx. 5, as it is rendered by the LXX, *γλῶσσαν ἣν οὐκ ἔγνω ἤκουσεν.* He proceeds to state his own views as to the derivation of the word *Hebrew*. After noticing the opinions of those who derive it from *Eber*, which he rejects, he expresses his belief that it is derived from the circumstance that Abraham crossed (עבר) the Euphrates. He observes that the Syriac for *περάτης*, which is used by the LXX in Gen. xiv. 13, as the equivalent of עברי, *Hebrew*, is *Hebra*, and that he himself found that in the Hebrew the word was *Hebri*, and that the Greek word corresponding to the Hebrew *Hebri* is Ἑβραῖος, in support of which assertion he appeals to Gen. xxxix. 14, where the LXX have Ἑβραῖος as the equivalent of עברי.

Again, in his Commentary on Ps. xciv. 20, where the LXX render the Hebrew verb חבר by *συμπρόσειμι*, Theodoret observes that Symmachus renders it more clearly by *conjungor*. Thus also in his Commentary on Ps. lxxxi. 15, he notices the fact that Symmachus renders ויהי by ἀλλ'

[f] Thus, *e.g.*, in his preface to the *Books of Chronicles* (tom. iv. p. 82) Jerome speaks of the LXX as "full of the Holy Spirit," "Spiritu Sancto pleni;" and of the additions of the LXX which he has inserted, "vel ob decoris gratiam, vel ob Spiritus sancti authoritatem," whilst in other places, as *e.g.* in the preface to the *Books of Chronicles* dedicated to Chromatius, and in his *Apol. adversus Rufinum* (tom. iii. p. 102 c) he rejects the current legend respecting the composition of the Septuagint, and in the former place distinguishes between the office of the prophet and that of the interpreter in these words, "Ibi Spiritus ventura praedicit; hic eruditio et verborum copia, ea quae intelligit transfert."

ἔσται and not καὶ ἔσται, as the LXX and he explains the word עת, *eth καιρός*, not as a time of prosperity promised to the righteous, but as a time of adversity for the wicked, a use of the word עת which is common, as he alleges, in Hebrew and in Syriac, in support of which statement he might have appealed to Is. xiii. 22, and to Jer. xxvii. 7.

Again, in his Commentary on Ps. civ. 16, Theodoret observes that whereas the LXX have τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πεδίου, the Hebrew has "*the trees of the Lord.*" On the twenty-fifth verse of the same Psalm, he observes upon the words ἐμπαίζειν αὐτῷ that αὐτῷ stands for αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, and that the masculine gender is used because in the Hebrew and Syriac the word for *sea* is of that gender. And so, once more, in his Commentary on Ps. cvi. 48, he observes that the double γένοιτο of the Greek stands as the representative of the double *Amen* of the Hebrew, in which instance, however, he appears to have trusted to his memory, inasmuch as the אמן, *Amen*, is not repeated.

Whilst, however, Theodoret displays a certain amount of acquaintance with the Hebrew, as well as with the Syriac language, his grammatical attainments seem to have been of a very superficial character. Thus, *e.g.*, he observes, in reference to 2 Kings xxiii. 6 (*Quæst. in iv. Reg.* Inter. lv.), that, in place of the word ἄλσος, a *grove*, which the LXX use here as the equivalent of אשרה, *Asherah*, the other interpreters use the word Ἀσηρὼθ or Ἀσταρὼθ. He adds that this was the name of Venus, who was called Astarte. In making this remark Theodoret seems to have overlooked the fact that Ἀσηρὼθ is the Greek form, not of the singular אשרה, *Asherah*, an image pillar of *Asherah*, or Astarte, but of the plural אשרות, *Asheroth*, whilst it must be presumed that Ἀσταρῶθ was designed by him to represent the Greek form of עשתרת, *Ashtoreth*, 1 Kings xi. 5, where the LXX have Ἀστάρτη Astarte.

Again, in his Commentary on Ps. cxiii. 1, whilst he observes in reference to the παῖδες of the LXX that the Hebrew and Syriac have *servants*, and therefore that the word does not denote young men, he takes no notice of the fact that the Hebrew word for servants עבדי, *abde*, is in the construct form, and that the true rendering is not "Praise the Lord, O ye servants," but "Praise, O ye servants of the Lord." It is due, however, to Theodoret, that it should be observed that in adopting the version of the LXX, he is supported by Aquila and Symmachus, and, consequently, that it is probable that, in common with them, he may have been content with a free rendering of the passage. As another illustration of his dependence on the versions, rather than on the original, it may be noticed, that in his Commentary on 2 Kings ii. 14, Theodoret, in common with the LXX and other Greek versions, has taken the two Hebrew words, אף הוא, *even He*, as one word, ἀφφώ, and that he explains the meaning as ὁ κρύφιος, *occultus*.

Again in his explanation of the meaning of Zoar, Σηγὼρ, as κατάπωσις (*Quæst. in Gen.* Inter. 70), it is obvious that Theodoret has confounded *Zoar* with *Bela*, בלע, its former name (Gen. xiv. 2).

Another indication of Theodoret's reliance upon the Greek versions is found in his Commentary on 1 Kings i. 33, where David commands Solomon to be taken to *Gihon*. Theodoret observes upon this passage that the Nile is called *Gihon*; and he refers to Jer. ii. 18, where the LXX read Γηὼν as the equivalent of שחור, *Shihor*.

The use of ו conversive appears to have been unknown to Theodoret, for he observes on Ps. xcii. 11, where the LXX has Καὶ ἐπεῖδεν as the rendering of וַתַּבֵּט, that Symmachus, Theodotius, and the *Hebrew itself*, have ἐπόψεται, thus shewing that Theodoret regarded it as equivalent to וְתִבִּיט

Again, Theodoret's remarks upon the derivation of the proper name ידידיה, Jedidiah, 2 Sam. xii. 25 (*Quæst. in II. Reg.* Int. 26), seem to denote that he did not rightly understand the derivation of the word, or perceive the drift of the comments of Aquila and of Symmachus. The version of the LXX is as follows. Καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰεδιδιὰ ἕνεκεν Κυρίου, on which Theodoret observes, "Aquila interpreted the word ἕνεκεν Κυρίου *on account of the Lord*, but Symmachus εἰς βασιλέα ἀφωρισμένον, *set apart as a king.*"

Once more, while Theodoret appears to have diligently compared the versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion with that of the LXX, and has recorded the variations in many instances, he does not appear to have been fully sensible of the linguistic grounds on which these variations rested, or he did not consider that they would be appreciated by those for whom he wrote. Thus *e.g.* in his Commentary on Ps. xxvii. 11, he observes, that, whereas the LXX render הורני νομοθέτησον με, *teach me*, Aquila[g] and Theodotion render the same word *enlighten me*, φώτισον, but he does not allude to the fact that these interpreters, in common with the LXX in other places (as *e.g.* 2 Kings xii. 3), confounded the Hiphil form of the verb ירה and of the verb אור, *i.e.* הורה and האיר.

And once more in his Commentary on Ps. xc. 14, 15, when pointing out in support of his statement that the time denoted in the verses has been changed in the LXX, he appeals only to the versions of Aquila and the other Greek interpreters by whom the words שבענו, *satisfy us*, and שמחנו, *make us glad*, are correctly rendered in the imperative mood, and not in the past tense as by the LXX and in the Vulgate.

Upon the whole, whilst the writings of Theodoret display a considerable amount of careful research, and have preserved many of the readings of the Greek interpreters, it seems that his acquaintance with Hebrew was rather such a superficial acquaintance as one living in Syria would have acquired by intercourse with those who spoke a cognate language, than such a grammatical acquaintance with it as would have qualified him for the task of an original interpreter or commentator.

There are other writers, as *e.g.* Lucian a disciple of Macarius of Edessa, about the end of the 3rd century, and Dorotheus, a presbyter of Tyre or of Antioch, and a contemporary of Eusebius of Caesarea, who are said to have possessed some

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g There is some doubt whether this is the reading of Aquila. See Dr. Field's note in loc. in his edition of Origen's *Hexapla*.

knowledge of Hebrew. Eusebius says that Dorotheus was "devoted to the study of Hebrew, and that he read the Hebrew Scriptures with great facility" (*Hist. Eccles.* vii. 32). Eusebius of Emessa, moreover, if the works ascribed to him be genuine, seems to have used the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, as well as the Peshito version, in the commentaries which bear his name, on Genesis and on some of the Psalms. Little, however, remains of the genuine writings of these and of other authors of the first five centuries who are said to have been acquainted with the Hebrew language, and a minute examination of their reputed works would unduly increase the length of the present article. We have already briefly examined the works of the most distinguished writers of the church of the first four centuries who possessed, or who might reasonably be supposed to have possessed, any acquaintance with the Hebrew language. It would be a useless task to examine at length the works of those writers who neither possessed, nor professed to have, any knowledge of Hebrew. A few references, however, to the works of St. Chrysostom and of St. Augustine will not be devoid of interest as illustrating the general neglect of Hebrew which prevailed alike in the East and in the West.

The most cursory examination of the writings of Chrysostom will suffice to shew his ignorance of Hebrew. Thus, *e.g.*, in his Fourth Homily on Genesis i. he tells his hearers that those who are well skilled in Hebrew (*οἱ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκείνην ἀκριβῶς ἠσκημένοι*) say that in that language the word denoting *heaven* is of the plural number, and he informs them further that it is the custom of the Hebrew language to use the plural number to denote a single object. He not only adopts the LXX version as the groundwork of his commentary, but he reasons from the use of the same *Greek* words in different places, without regard to the fact that the corresponding Hebrew words are different; *e.g.* *ἔθετο*, which answers to the Hebrew verb נתן, *nathan*, as in Gen. i. 17, compared with Gen. ii. 8, where the same verb corresponds with the verb שום, *sum*, whilst Chrysostom affirms that "sacred Scripture uses the same word in both places." Again, Chrysostom comments on Gen. ii. 2 in apparent ignorance that the Hebrew has "the *seventh* day," where the Greek has "the *sixth*." When explaining the meaning of the name *Abraham* in the Thirty-ninth homily on Genesis, Chrysostom adopts the erroneous etymology which connects it with עבר, *transivit*, and observes that "they know this who are skilled in the Hebrew tongue;" whilst in the following homily he adopts the common error of supposing that the change in the name of *Sarah* consisted in the addition of a second ρ, (*r*) *i.e.* in the change from Σάρα to Σάῤῥα, as he found the words transliterated in the Greek version.

In regard to the writings of St. Augustine we find several allusions to his own ignorance of that language, of which the following will suffice. In the 11th book of his *Confessions* Augustine writes thus: "Et si Hebraeâ voce loqueretur, frustra pulsaret sensum meum . . . . si autem Latine, scirem quid diceret" (xi. 5). And again, in his *De Doctrinâ Christianâ* (ii. c. 16) he not only implies his own ignorance of Hebrew, but also the prevailing neglect of that language, when he expresses his conviction that "if anyone could interpret the meaning of the Hebrew names, he would be of great value and service in solving the enigmas of Scripture." It would obviously be useless to multiply proofs of the truth of Augustine's statement in regard to his own acquirements. It will serve, however, to illustrate still further the prevailing ignorance of Hebrew in his days if we refer to the eleventh chapter of his second book on Christian doctrine, where he adduces the two "*Hebrew*" words *Racha* and *Hosanna* as instances of words which cannot be translated into another language. It will suffice to observe that the former of these words is Aramaic or Syro-Chaldaic, not Hebrew, and although some difference of opinion exists as to the *precise* import of this word, which is one of common occurrence in post-Biblical Hebrew, it is difficult to understand how it was that those who were not only able (to use Augustine's words) "to mark and to *ask about them*," but who had access to the Greek and Latin versions of Ps. cxviii. 25, *Ὡ κύριε, σῶσον δή, O Domine salvum me fac*, should not have obtained from those versions some idea of the meaning of the word *Hosanna*.[h]

Socrates, in his *Ecclesiastical History* (vii. 5, A.D. 409), makes mention of one George, a presbyter belonging to the Arian faction, who devoted himself to the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and who "evinced in his public expositions of the Old Testament no inconsiderable acquaintance with the Hebrew language."

It deserves notice that Gildas, in the preface to his declamatory *Epistle*, refers to the fact that the fourfold Lamentations of Jeremiah are written in alphabetic order. It is indeed possible that this information was not given by Gildas as the result of his own examination of the Hebrew text. It is, however, quite correct; for whilst the first four chapters of the Lamentations are written in alphabetic order, the first, second, and fourth chapters, consisting of twenty-two

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[h] One amongst numerous illustrations of the extent to which the value of the original text of the Old Testament was depreciated and the study of Hebrew neglected, in the time of St. Augustine, occurs in a letter addressed to St. Jerome (i. p. 262, Clarke's edition), in which he urges the following considerations in favour of a translation into Latin from the LXX rather than from the Hebrew. "For if your translation begins to be more generally read in many churches, it will be a grievous thing that, in the reading of Scripture, differences must arise between the Latin churches and the Greek churches, especially seeing that the discrepancy is easily condemned in a Latin version by the production of the original in Greek, which is a language very widely known; whereas, if any one has been disturbed by the occurrence of something to which he was not accustomed in the translation taken from the Hebrew, and alleges that the new translation is wrong, *it will be found difficult, if not impossible, to get at the Hebrew documents*, by which the version to which exception is taken may be defended. *And when they are obtained, who will submit to have so many Latin and Greek authorities pronounced to be in the wrong?* Besides all this, Jews, if consulted as to the meaning of the Hebrew text, may give a different opinion from yours: in which case it will seem as if your presence were indispensable, *as being the only one who could refute their view; and it would be a miracle if one could be found capable of acting as arbiter between you and them.*"

verses each, alphabetically arranged, and the third chapter of sixty-six verses (three verses consecutively beginning with the same letter), the fifth chapter is not composed in alphabetic order.

Fabricius, one of the biographers of Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborn, who died about A.D. 709, speaks thus of his familiarity with the Hebrew language: Prophetarum exempla, Davidis Psalmos, Salomonis tria volumina, Hebraicis literis bene novit, et legem Mosaicam." (Aldh. *Opp.* ed. Giles, p. 357.)

There is one writer, however, of the Western church, whose works, though belonging to a later period, seem to demand a special notice, viz. the Venerable Bede.

BEDA, or VENERABLE BEDE, as he is commonly designated, was born between the years A.D. 672 and A.D. 674, in the immediate neighbourhood of the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. He was educated at one or both of these places under the care of Abbat Benedict, and was instructed in the Holy Scriptures, as he tells us in his *Ecclesiastical History* (iv. 4), by Trumbert, a monk who had been educated under Ceadda, bishop of Lichfield. Bede possessed considerable knowledge of Greek as well as of Latin, and appears to have had some acquaintance with Hebrew, as may be gathered from his commentaries, which were confessedly, for the most part, compilations from earlier works, particularly from those of Basil, Ambrose, and Augustine, none of whom appear to have been acquainted with the Old Testament in its original tongue.

It is quite clear, indeed, that Bede, in common with other early expositors of the Old Testament, was indebted for some of his Hebrew criticisms to the learning of others. There is undoubted evidence that the works of Jerome were familiar to him. At the same time, when the state of learning in the age and country in which Bede lived is taken into account, there is less probability than in the case of most of his predecessors that he was able to have recourse for aid to those who were familiar with the Hebrew language, and consequently in those cases in which his information does not appear to have been derived from Jerome, there is the greater probability that he was in the habit of consulting the Hebrew Scriptures for himself.

The following instances from the Commentary on Genesis, in which Bede generally adopts the Vulgate as the basis of his remarks, but occasionally refers to an older translation, will suffice as illustrations of Bede's mode of reference to the Hebrew.

(1) In his notice of the account of the second day's work of creation, Bede observes that in this case only the words are not added, "And God saw that it was good." Now, when it is remembered that these words are found in the LXX it is scarcely probable that Bede would have made this statement on the authority of the Vulgate without reference to the original.[1]

(2) In his Commentary on Gen. ii. 2, Bede notices the variation of the Vulgate from the LXX, which latter version reads "sixth" instead of "seventh," and observes concerning the Latin version "quae de Hebraicae veritatis fonte descendit" (*ib.* vii. p. 29).

(3) In his Commentary on Gen. ii. 8, Bede notices the difference between the Greek and the Latin renderings of מִקֶּדֶם, which is rendered in the LXX κατὰ ἀνατολάς, *ad orientem*, and in the Latin, *a principio*, and he remarks concerning the latter version "quae de Hebraicâ veritate translata est." It is deserving of notice that Bede alludes to the opinion of certain persons that the site of the garden of Eden was far removed from all the regions of the earth which were inhabited by the human race, and that the waters of the flood which covered the surface of our world could not reach it. "Unde nec aquae diluvii, quae totam nostri orbis superficiem altissime cooperuerunt, ad eum pervenire potuerunt" (*ib.* p. 42).

(4) In his Commentary on Gen. ii. 19, Bede observes in proof that Hebrew was the original language of the whole human race, that all the names which are found in the Book of Genesis up to the division of tongues, appear to belong to it (*ib.* p. 51).

(5) In his Commentary on Gen. ii. 23, Bede compares the etymology of the Hebrew words אִישׁ, *homo*, and אִשָּׁה, *mulier*, with that of the words *vir* and *virago*, and he refers, by way of illustration, to the commonly received etymology of the word *Israel*, as if derived from אִישׁ, רָאָה, and אֵל, *vir videns Dominum* (*ib.* p. 52). It will be observed that here as elsewhere, *e.g.* in his etymology of Abel, "luctus sive miserabilis" (*ib.* p. 67), Bede follows Jerome.

(6) Bede's Commentary on Gen. iv. 7 is as follows, "Juxta idioma linguae Hebraicae indicativum modum pro imperativo posuit, qualia habes innumera." Now although it is evident that Bede had the *Quaestiones in Genesim* before him, and that he adopted some of the very words of Jerome (as *e.g.* "quia liberi arbitrii es, moneo"), nevertheless these words shew that Bede was capable of examining the Hebrew text for himself. It is true that Jerome uses the words "sed tu magis dominare ejus," but it is extremely improbable that Bede should, on the strength of these words, have inferred that here, as elsewhere (*e.g.* in the Decalogue to which he here refers) the future tense is used in the Hebrew, not the imperative mood. On the other hand it is strange that Bede should insert in the text, and comment upon the words, "Egrediamur in agrum," corresponding to the Greek Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, and to the Vulgate, "egrediamur foras," without noticing the fact that they are an interpolation, a fact, however, of which he could not have been ignorant, if the *Quaestiones* of Jerome were before him, inasmuch as the following words occur there: "Superfluum ergo est quod in Samaritanorum, et nostro volumine reperitur; *transeamus in campum.*" It should be observed, moreover, that whilst we have evidence, both direct and indirect, of the use which Bede made of the writings of Jerome, he appears to have exercised his own judgment upon the information thus derived. Thus, *e.g.* in his Commentary on Gen. iv. 16, where Jerome, in his *Quaestiones in Genesim*, rejects altogether the view that *Nod* was the name of a country, and understands the word as denoting the wandering

[1] Venerabilis Bedae *Opera* quae supersunt omnia, vii. p. 11.

life of Cain, Bede writes thus, "Naid autem in profugum, sive, *ut in libro Hebraeorum nominum invenimus*, instabilem motum et fluctuationem vertitur, quod nonnulli, quibus et Josephus consentit, locum esse, in quo habitaverit Cain, autumant" (*ib.* p. 78).

(7) In his Commentary on Gen. iv. 18 and iv. 23, Bede shews that he was acquainted with the Jewish tradition respecting the death of Cain at the hands of Lamech, but not, as it should seem, through Jewish sources, but from the writings of Jerome: "sicut Hieronymus in quodam Hebraeo volumine scriptum esse testatur" (*ib.* p. 82).[j]

(8) In his Commentary upon Gen. v. 3, Bede gives a full account of the discrepancies between the Hebrew text and the version of the LXX.

(9) In his Commentary on Gen. vi. 4, Bede refers, by way of illustration, to Ps. xix. 6, where the LXX have *ὡς γίγας*, and the Vulgate "ut gigas." He is, aware, however, of the fact that the Hebrew word there used is גִּבּוֹר, and he writes thus: "Quamvis in Hebraicâ veritate memoratus psalmi versiculus ita scriptus sit: exultavit ut potens ad currendam viam" (*ib.* p. 93).

(10) In his Commentary on Gen. x. 13, Bede observes in regard to the names which occur in that verse that they seem to belong to nations rather than to individuals: "Nam et cuncta in *im* desinunt; quod est proprium numeri pluralis apud Hebraeos in genere masculino." In his Commentary on Habakkuk, Bede follows one of the ancient Latin versions, probably the *Itala*, which agrees for the most part with the LXX, but differs greatly from the Hebrew and the Vulgate. He is not, however, altogether unmindful of the Hebrew original. Thus, *e.g.*, whilst adopting as the rendering of the beginning of v. 3, *Deus a Libano veniet*, where the LXX read Ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ Θαιμὰν ἥξει, and the Vulgate has, *Deus ab Austro veniet*, Bede remarks as follows: "Notandum autem quod hic versus in Hebraicâ veritate ita habetur, Deus a Thaeman, id est, ab austro veniet" (tom. ix. p. 408).

(11) Lastly, in regard to Bede's etymologies of proper names, we may observe that they are for the most part adopted *verbatim*, or with slight alteration from Jerome's *Quaestiones in Genesim*, or from his *Treatise on Proper Names and Places*. Thus, *e.g.*, whereas Jerome gives *Auditio Dei* as the meaning of Ishmael, Bede gives *Exauditio Dei* as its rightful interpretation (Comment. in Gen. xvi. *ib.* p. 184). His explanation of the meaning of the change from Sarai to Sarah is almost identical with that of Jerome in his *Quaestiones* (*ib.* p. 191). His explanation of the meaning of *Bela* is the same as that of Jerome, *devoratio*. Bede's explanation of the meaning of *Kadesh* is *Sancta, sive Commutata* (*ib.* p. 213), the former of which is that of Jerome. And lastly, his interpretation of the meaning of *Samuel* is *Ibi ipse Deus*, sive *Nomen ejus Deus*,[k] the latter of which is that of Jerome in his *De Nominibus Hebraicis*; and his Interpretation of *Jonathan* is *Columbae donum* (*ib.* tom. viii. p. 51), which is derived from the same source. Upon the whole the inference from the above premises seems to be that whilst Bede's knowledge of Hebrew was very superficial it was sufficient to enable him to consult the original text of the Old Testament for himself, and to appreciate, at least, the value of the researches of his predecessors.

The results of this inquiry may be summed up in few words. With the exception of Jerome, and perhaps of Origen, none of the early Christian writers appear to have possessed any knowledge of Hebrew which was worthy of the name. The knowledge possessed by Epiphanius, to whom we may perhaps add Eusebius and Theodoret, was of an extremely superficial character, and served only, if indeed it extended so far, as to enable them to appreciate the value of the great work of Origen. Origen's scholarship was also very rude and elementary; and it yet remains to be ascertained to what extent the Hexapla represented the fruit of his own investigations, or the results of his wise and laborious appreciation of the knowledge of others. The name of Jerome stands out conspicuously alike upon the roll of his predecessors and of his successors until the time of the Reformation as by far the most distinguished, perhaps the only Christian writer of antiquity who was qualified to make an independent use of his Hebrew acquirements, and to whom the whole Christian church will ever owe an inestimable debt of gratitude for the preservation of so large a portion of the results of Origen's labours, and still more for that unrivalled and imperishable work which has been not inaptly described as having "remained for eight centuries the bulwark of Western Christianity" (see Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "The Vulgate," iii. p. 1701). [C. J. E.]

HECA, bishop of Dunwich. [ETTI.]

HECATE, in the system of PISTIS SOPHIA, one of the five great archons presiding over the punishments of the "middle region." She has three faces, and has under her twenty-seven demons, which entering into men cause them to lie, perjure themselves, and covet what is not theirs. Such guilty souls are delivered over to her demons to be tortured by the dark smoke and wicked heat for 115½ years, after which they are sent back into the sphere. (*Pistis Sophia*, p. 368.) [G. S.]

HECBURCH (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1379, in *M. H. B.* 781), king of Kent, son of Erchenbert. [EGBERT (1).] [C. H.]

HECCA (ECCA, ACCA), the seventh bishop of Hereford. (*M. H. B.* 621.) His name once occurs in a charter (Kemble, *C. D.* 193) which belongs to the year 758, and contains a grant of Cynewulf, king of Wessex, to the monastery of Bath. His predecessor Podda appears last in 747, and his successor Ceadda possibly in 770; his date cannot be more nearly approximated to. (Will. Malmesb. *G. P.* ed. Hamilton, p. 288.) The interpolated dates assigned in one MS. of Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B.* 546, 548), viz. 786 and 826, are arbitrary inventions. [S.]

HECCE (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1461, in *M. H. B.* 782), bishop of Lindsey. [EADHED.] [C. H.]

HECDICIUS, son of Avitus. [ECDICIUS (5).]

HECEBOLIUS or HECEBOLUS, a rhetor in the reigns of the emperors Con-

[j] Hieronymus Damaso, tom. iv. p. 142, Basil. 1516.

[k] Allegorica Expositio in Lib. 1 Sam. cap. 1 (*ib.* p. 179).

stantius, Julian, and Jovian. Under Constantius he practised at Constantinople, and professed himself to be a "fervent" Christian (*διαπύρως χριστιανίζειν ὑπεκρίνατο*); on which account he was selected by that emperor as one of the teachers of Julian, he being afraid that, if the young prince came under the influence of a pagan, he might be seduced to heathenism. (Socrates, iii. 1, 13.) After the death of Constantius, however, he followed the example of his former pupil, and became a "fierce pagan" (*γοργὸς Ἕλλην*; Socr. *u. s.* 13). He was in great favour with Julian, and appears to have been one of his familiar correspondents. (Julian, *Ep.* 19, ed. Heyler, p. 23; *Ἐκηβόλῳ.*) Under that emperor, Hecebolius also seems to have had some civil office at Edessa. The Arians of that city, "in the insolence of wealth," had violently attacked the Valentinians there. Julian wrote to Hecebolius to say, that, "since they had done what could not be allowed in any well-governed city," "in order to help the men the more easily to enter the kingdom of heaven as it was prescribed," by their "most wonderful law, he had commanded all moneys to be taken away from the church of the Edessenes, that they might be distributed among the soldiers, and that its property should be confiscated to his private treasury; that being poor they might become wise and not lose the kingdom of heaven which they hoped for." (Julian, *Ep.* 43, ed. Heyler, p. 82; Baronius, s. a. 362, xiii.; Soz. vi. 1.) Such appropriation of church property was one of the great crimes of which Julian was accused after his death. (Greg. Naz. *adv. Jul. Orat.* iii.) The emperor adds that he had charged the inhabitants of Edessa to abstain from "riot and strife," lest "they themselves" should suffer "the sword, exile, and fire." The last sentence in the letter appears to intimate that he would hold Hecebolius personally responsible for the future good conduct of the city. After the death of Julian, and the reversal of the imperial policy, which immediately followed, Hecebolius ostentatiously professed extreme penitence for his apostasy, and on one occasion prostrated himself at the church door, and cried to all that entered, "Trample upon me—the salt that has lost its savour" (*πατήσατε με . . . τὸ ἅλας τὸ ἀναίσθητον*; Socrates, iii. 13; Baronius, *u. s.* = Matt. v. 13.) Baronius assumes the identity of the magistrate of Edessa with the "rhetor" of Constantinople (*s. a.* 362, xiii. xiv.) but Tillemont regards them as different persons (*Mém.* vii. 331, 332). Libanius also mentions a Hecebolius, but gives us no clue to his history. (*Ep.* 309.) [T. W. D.]

HECFERD (Gaimar, *Estorie*, v. 1466, in *M. H. B.* 782), king of Northumbria, son of Oswy. [EGFRID (1).] [C. H.]

HECHBERACTUS, April 24, an English saint supposed by the Bollandist (*Acta SS.* April, iii. 291) to have been the same as Hechbertus or Egbert, archbishop of York. [EGBERT (6).] [G. T. S.]

HECHERIUS, eleventh bishop of Nevers, between Leodebaudus and St. Deodatus, in the lists of the *Gallia Christiana* and Gams, but omitted altogether from Coquille's series. He subscribed the charter of Emmo, archbishop of Sens, for the monastery of St. Peter in that diocese (St. Pierre le vif) in A.D. 659. As his predecessor subscribed a *præceptum* of Emmo dated in the same year, Hecherius's episcopate must have commenced in 659. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1171–4; Coquille, *Hist. du Nivernois*, sub fin. Paris, 1612; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 627; Gams, *Series Episc.* 584.) [S. A. B.]

HECHTACH, virgin. [ECHTACH.]

HECTOR, as bishop of Cartagena, subscribes the acts of the council of Tarragona, A.D. 516 (*Coleccion de Canones de la Iglesia Española*, ii. 115; Gams, *Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 444). [F. D.]

HED ABBUS. [EWAIN.]

HEDDA (1) (HAEDDI, HEADDI, see AETLA), fifth bishop of the Gewissi, or West Saxons (*M. H. B.* 619). He was appointed, according to Bede, to succeed Leutherius, during the time of the West Saxon anarchy, in or about 676, and was consecrated at London (*H. E.* iv. 12). If he was identical with the pupil of St. Hilda, whom Bede calls Aetla, and makes bishop of Dorchester (*H. E.* iv. 23), he must from the beginning have had the two sees of Dorchester and Winchester as his predecessor had held them; if they were two different persons, Aetla must be supposed to have had but a short tenure of Dorchester, and then to have made room for Hedda. One of the most important acts of his administration must have been the final fixing of his see at Winchester, a measure which was completed by the translation of the body of St. Birinus (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 7). This event is placed in the Winchester Annals in the year 683 (*Ang. Sac.* i. 193), but the authority is slight, and the chronological signs discordant. Rudburn, the later Winchester annalist, has preserved a curious fragment of archbishop Theodore's legislation, which helps, if genuine, to shew that Hedda was opposed to the subdivision of the West-Saxon diocese, which was thus deferred until after his death. The subdivision of dioceses generally had been mooted at the synod of Hertford in 673, but passed over, no doubt in consequence of the difficulties of the times (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 5). Leutherius was then bishop of Wessex, and Bede mentions, as something special, that he held the two sees by synodal decree. The attempt was renewed by Theodore in 679, when he succeeded in dividing the Mercian dioceses, and may have so far succeeded in Wessex as to appoint Aetla to Dorchester. According to the decree preserved by Rudburn (*Ang. Sac.* i. 193; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 126, 127), the archbishop determined that as Hedda had by the translation of St. Birinus, at the command of pope Agatho, added so greatly to the honours of Winchester, his diocese should not be diminished so long as he lived. Nothing certain, however, can be affirmed about this transaction. Hedda's opposition to the division of his diocese continued as long as he lived. In the year 704, a synod was held in which the West Saxons were excluded from communion unless they would obey archbishop Brihtwald's injunction, 'in ordinatione episcoporum.' They were still contumacious in 705; but the measure was adopted as soon as Hedda died. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 269, 275.) More satisfactory is the evidence of Bede as to this prelate's character;

"he was a good man and just, and practised the life and learning of a bishop rather by the instruction of his own innate love of virtue than by lessons (lectionibus)"; from which we may infer that he was not a great scholar, another point in which a distinction between him and Aetla, the pupil of St. Hilda, might be discerned (*H. E.* v. 18). He was a close ally of Theodore; and the verses found at the end of Theodore's Penitential shew that he had influence with him. They are supposed to be written by a transcriber, but might be translated so as to appear the words of Theodore himself:

> "Te nunc sancte speculator
> Verbi Dei digne dator
> Haeddi pie praesul precor,
> Pontificum ditum decor,
> Pro me peregrino,
> Preces funde Theodoro."—
> Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 263.

With Ine also Hedda was closely associated, and his name appears in the preamble of the laws of that king as one of the counsellors and advisers by whose help he was legislating; (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, p. 45; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 214, 218.)

It can hardly be questioned, the inference from Bede's words being so clear, and the coincidence in time being significant, that Hedda opposed the division of Wessex into dioceses. The reason for this must be sought in the distracted condition in which he found the kingdom at the beginning of his episcopate. In 676 Wessex was divided among its ealdormen; that year Centwine succeeded in establishing his power, but on no very certain basis; he reigned until 685, when Caedwalla took the kingdom; his whole reign was devoted to war; Ine succeeded in 688; but by that time it was tolerably clear that if the West Saxons were to remain one kingdom, they must remain one diocese; after fifteen years of good government it was different, and a subdivision impossible in 679 was quite practicable in 705. Wessex was passing, moreover, through the first stage of monastic and missionary fervour; and the foundation of the abbeys of Malmesbury, Glastonbury, and Abingdon, with other smaller houses, such as those at Tisbury and Nursling, no doubt dates from the episcopate of Hedda. Hence his name frequently appears in charters, whether spurious or genuine. Thus in 680 he attests a grant of Caedwalla (whose proper reign began in 685) to Wilfrid (Kemble, *C. D.* 18); the same year he himself appears as granting three cassates at Lantocal to Hemgisl, abbat of Glastonbury (Kemble, *C. D.* 19; *Mon. Angl.* i. 47), in 681 he consents to a grant by a king Baldred to Glastonbury (Kemble, *C. D.* 20; *Mon. Angl.* i. 48); in 682 he attests a grant of Caedwalha to Malmesbury (Kemble, *C. D.* 24; *Mon. Angl.* i. 258); in 688, a grant of Baldred to Malmesbury (Kemble, *C. D.* 28; W. Malmesb. *G. P.* lib. v.); in 692 the grant of Oethilred to Barking (Kemble, *C. D.* 35), and in 695 a grant of Erkenwald to the same house (Kemble, *C. D.* 38); in 701 he attests Ine's charter to Malmesbury (Kemble, *C. D.* 48; *Ang. Sac.* ii. 12); in 702 a grant to Glastonbury (*ib.* 49; *Mon. Angl.* i. 48). Bede places the death of Hedda at the beginning of the reign of Osred of Northumbria, whose reign commenced in 705: his memory was observed on the 30th of July. (Smith's note on Bede, *H. E.* v. 18.) The venerable historian had heard from Pecthelm, who served St. Aldhelm as deacon, that miracles were wrought at his grave, and that a deep ditch was made in the place by the practice of visitors carrying off portions of the dust, which possessed miraculous powers of healing.

William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* lib. ii. § 75) adds some particulars to Bede's account; asserting that Hedda, before he was bishop, had been a monk and abbat; and his name as abbat is appended to a charter of Leutherius (spurious), K. *C. D.* 11; the abbacy is generally supposed to have been Whitby (Rudburn, *Ang. Sacr.* i. 192), but this seems to depend on the identification with Aetla; and Whitby was properly ruled by an abbess. William of Malmesbury also asserts that he had read letters of Hedda to Aldhelm, "non nimis indocte compositas," and therefore doubts Bede's assertion about him. He has, however, preserved no letter of Hedda, although (*G. P.* lib. v. § 195) he gives a letter of Aldhelm to him, in which he gives an account of his studies (Aldh. *Opp.* ed. Giles, *Ep.* 5, p. 96; *Mon. Moguntina*, ed. Jaffé, p. 32). The same historian found his name on one of the ancient illegible 'pyramids' at Glastonbury (*Antt. Glast.* ed. Gale, p. 306).

[S.]

HEDDA (2), eighth bishop of the Mercians, holding a see at Lichfield (*M. H. B.* 623). Very little is known about Hedda, except that he fills a place among the bishops of Mercia, which would otherwise be vacant. We learn from Eddius (*V. Wilfr.* c. 44, ed. Gale, p. 75) that when Wilfrid in 692 was driven by king Aldfrith into Mercia, he found that Saxulf, who was bishop there, was lately dead, and undertook the administration of his see. Saxulf appears to have united the dioceses of Leicester and Lichfield after the death of Cuthwin: and on his death Wilfrid is enumerated among the bishops of Leicester, Hedda taking the same place among those of Lichfield. (*M. H. B.* 623, 624; Will. Malmesb. *G. P.* lib. iv. § 172, ed. Hamilton, p. 307.) When Wilfrid returned to Northumbria, Hedda reunited the sees (*ibid.*). Although this evidence is comparatively late, it rests on the foundation of the ancient lists, and has some confirmation from charters and tradition. According to the Lichfield History (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 428), Hedda built the church of Lichfield, which was dedicated Dec. 31 (or 24) 700; and translated the bones of St. Chad; dying in the year 721. His name appears among the attestations to the act of the council of Clovesho in 716 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 300) in company with that of his successor Wor, a difficulty which may be explained by supposing one to have sat at Leicester and the other at Lichfield. In some other documents there is a difficulty in distinguishing the signature of Hedda of Lichfield from those of his contemporary and namesake Hedda of Dorchester and Winchester, but the following probably belong to the former: a charter of Ethelred of Mercia to bishop Oftfor of Worcester in 691 or 692 (Kemble, *C. D.* 32; *Mon. Angl.* i. 584), two spurious charters granted to Worcester by the same king (K. *C. D.* 33, 34), a charter of Oshere (K. *C. D.* 36; *Mon. Angl.* i. 585), a grant of Suebraed of Essex to Waldhere bishop of London, dated June 13, 704 (Kemble,

C. D. 52). As all these fall between 676 and 705, they may possibly belong to the West Saxon bishop, but as they are connected more or less closely with Mercia, it seems more natural to refer them to the bishop of Lichfield. The Hedda who attests the charter of Osric in 676 (K. *C. D.* 12) is not Hedda of Winchester, for Leutherius also signs: Hedda and Saxulf sign together, so that if the charter be genuine, Hedda must have been already consecrated. (Canon. Lichf. *Ang. Sac.* i. 427, 428.) It is curious that this prelate is not even mentioned by Bede.

A story is told in the life of St. Guthlac (Mab. *Acta SS. O. S. B.* saec. iii. pl. 1, p. 270) in which bishop Hedda is mentioned. The bishop was on his way to visit Guthlac; his attendants were discussing the stories of his sanctity; one of them, Wigferth or Wilferth, declared that he could distinguish by certain signs between a true and a false anchoret. On arriving at Crowland Hedda prevailed on Guthlac to be ordained priest, and to accept an invitation to dine. At dinner Guthlac looked at Wigferth, and asked him what he thought of the clerk whom he had undertaken to judge. Mabillon supposes this Hedda to be the bishop of Winchester, but it is much more reasonable to refer the story to the bishop of Lichfield, in whose diocese Crowland would probably be at the time. [S.]

HEDDE (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 1009, charter of Osmund king of Sussex, A.D. 770; *ib.* 1018, spurious charter of archbishop Ethelhard, A.D. 798), bishop; perhaps Ceadda bishop of Hereford, as suggested by Stubbs, *Regist. Sacr.* p. 7. [C. H.]

HEDDIUS, historian. [EDDIUS.]

HEDDO, bishop of Strasburg. [ETHO.]

HEDESIUS, martyr. [AEDESIUS.]

HEDIBIA (EDIBIA), a lady in Gaul, who corresponded with St. Jerome (then at Bethlehem) about A.D. 405. She was of a remarkable family, descended from the Druids, and holding the hereditary office of priests of Belen, who was identified with Apollo, at Bayeux. Her grandfather and father (if *majores* is to be taken strictly) Patera and Delphidius (the names being in each case derived from their office) were remarkable men. Of Patera, Jerome says in his *Chronicle*, at the year 339, "Patera rhetor Romae gloriosissime docet." Delphidius was a writer in prose and verse, and also a celebrated advocate, as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (xviii. 1), who tells a story of his pleading before the emperor Julian. They each in turn became professors at Bordeaux, and as such are celebrated by Ausonius (*Carmen*, Prof. Burd. iv. and v.) in two short poems, from which the details above given are derived. The wife and daughter of Delphidius became entangled in the Zoroastrian teaching of Priscillian, and suffered death in the persecution of his followers (Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sac.* ii. 63, 64; Prosper Aquit. *Chron.*; Auson. *Carmen*, v.).

Hedibia was a diligent student of Scripture, and, finding no one in her neighbourhood who could assist her, she sent, by the hand of her friend Apodemius, a list of questions to Jerome, begging him to answer them. He did so in a long letter (ep. 120, ed. Vall.). We hear of her again as a friend of Artemia, wife of Rusticus, (*q. v.*), on whose account she again wrote to Jerome (ep. 122, ed. Vall.). [W. H. F.]

HEDILBURGA (Kemble, *C. D.* 35), abbess of Beddanhaam. [ETHELBURGA (3).] [C. H.]

HEDISTIUS (EDISTIUS)—Oct. 12. Martyr at Ravenna. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adon. Usuard., Wandalbert, Notker.) [G. T. S.]

HEDISTUS (1), Nov. 13, martyr at a place called Perinthus or Pdinthus (Wright, *Syr. Mart.* in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 431). [G. T. S.]

HEDISTUS (2), bishop of Cius in Bithynia, at the synod of Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1143; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 633.) [L. D.]

HEDONE, an Aeon in the system of VALENTINUS, the consort of Autophyes, according to the account of Irenaeus (I. i. p. 6; II. xiv. p. 135), but of Acinetus according to that of Epiphanius (*Haer.* 31, p. 169). Some light is thrown on the introduction of the name into the system by the phrase in the Valentinian fragment, Epiph. *Haer.* 31, p. 170: ἡ Ὀγδοὰς συνῆλθε μετὰ ἡδονῆς ἀγηράτου καὶ ἀφθάρτου μίξεως. [G. S.]

HEGEMONIUS, a writer said by Photius (cod. 85) to have written out (ἀναγράψαντα, perscripsit) the disputation of Archelaus against Manes. Ceillier (ii. 455) thinks that Hegemonius may have translated Archelaus's work into Greek, or have re-edited it with additions. [C. H.]

HEGESIPPUS (1), commonly known as the father of Church history, although his works, with the exception of a few fragments which will be found collected in Routh (*Rel. Sacr.* i. pp. 207–219), and in Grabe (*Spicilegium*, ii. 203–214), have perished. Nothing positive is known of his birth or of the early circumstances of his life. From his use of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, written in the Syro-Chaldaic language of Palestine, his insertion in his history of words in the Hebrew dialect, and his mention of unwritten traditions of the Jews, Eusebius infers that he was by birth a Hebrew (*E. H.* iv. 22). The inference appears to be correct, although it is possible, as conjectured by Weizsäcker (Herzog, *Encyc.* v. 647), that Eusebius, by the mention of these particulars, may only intend to confirm a fact which he had ascertained from other sources. The Jewish birth of Hegesippus, however, and his conversion from Judaism to Christianity afford no sufficient ground for the conclusion that he belonged in after life to the Judaizing rather than the Catholic section of the Christian church. Many Christians, Jews by birth, were in the second century entirely free from Judaizing tendencies. We owe whatever information we possess as to the time at which Hegesippus flourished to a statement of his own preserved by Eusebius (iv. 22), who quotes him as saying that he made a voyage to Rome, spending many happy days at Corinth by the way. Hegesippus then adds, γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαδοχὴν ἐποιησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικήτου, οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεύθερος, which is understood to mean that when at Rome he compiled a succession of the bishops of the Roman see to the time of

Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus. After this statement Hegesippus is represented as adding, "and to Anicetus succeeds Soter, after whom Eleutherus." Much as the meaning of these words, in their connexion with those preceding them, has been disputed, it does not seem difficult to gather the sense. Hegesippus means that the list of bishops compiled by him at Rome was drawn from the authentic records of the church there. That list closed with Anicetus. He was afterwards able, either from his own knowledge or through information gained from other sources, to add the names of Soter and Eleutherus. It thus appears that he was at Rome in the days of Anicetus, and that he made his inquiries then, although he did not publish them till a considerably later date. But Anicetus, according to the careful calculations of Lipsius (*Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe*), was bishop of Rome from A.D. 156 to A.D. 167. Eleutherus again presided over the see from A.D. 175 to A.D. 189. We are thus furnished with two dates on which it seems possible to rely. Hegesippus had written much of his history previous to A.D. 167. He published it in the time of Eleutherus, and perhaps early in his episcopate. Any difficulty in accepting these dates has been occasioned by the rendering given to another passage of Eusebius (iv. 8), where he again quotes Hegesippus as speaking of certain games (ἀγών) instituted in honour of Antinous, a slave of the emperor Hadrian, of which he says ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενος (a better established reading than γινόμενος). But the meaning of these words seems simply to be that the games referred to had been instituted in his own time, thus illustrating the μέχρι νῦν of the preceding sentence. Hadrian possessed the throne from A.D. 117 to A.D. 138, so that if Hegesippus published about A.D. 180, being then well advanced in life, he might well remember the times of that emperor. What has been said derives confirmation from a statement of Jerome, generally regarded as somewhat extravagant, that the life of Hegesippus had bordered on the apostolic age (vicinus apostolicorum temporum. *De Vir. Ill.* c. 22). But there is no extravagance in the remark. If Hegesippus was born about A.D. 120, and he might have been born considerably earlier without being too old to publish in A.D. 180, he may well be described as having lived near the times of St. John, to whose death, close upon the end of the first century, the apostolic age continued. It appears then that all our information hangs well together, and that we shall not be far wrong, if we fix the bloom of Hegesippus's life about the middle of the 2nd century.

The work of which we have spoken as containing the list of the Roman bishops was by no means confined to this, or to particulars connected with it. It was entitled πέντε ὑπομνήματα ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραξέων, and it embraced, so far as we may judge from its fragments, numerous miscellaneous observations, recollections, and traditions, arranged without any regard to order, and jotted down just as they might have occurred to its author, or come under his notice during his travels. This must be the meaning of Jerome when he tells us that the work contained the events of the church from Palestine to Rome, and from the death of Christ to the writer's own day. Anything like a regular history of the church is not to be thought of, Weizsäcker well remarking that, in that case, the story of James the Just ought to have been found in the first book, not in the last.

The general style of the work was thought plain and unpretending, *sermone simplici*, says Jerome, *ut quorum vitam sectabatur dicendi quoque exprimeret characterem.* With this description what remains of it sufficiently agrees. The question as to its trustworthiness is of greater moment, for the account given in it of James the head of the church in Jerusalem must, according to the degree of credibility we attach to it, greatly affect our view both of that distinguished man and of the relations subsisting between Judaism and Christianity in the period immediately following the crucifixion of our Lord. That account has led to many charges against Hegesippus as not having been careful enough to prove what he relates, and as having followed too readily the wonderful stories which could not fail to spring up and circulate in the infant church with regard to its apostles and martyrs. In particular it has been thought to be contradicted by Josephus, who tells us that "Ananus, the high-priest, assembled the Sanhedrin of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others. And, when he had formed an accusation against them, he delivered them to be stoned." (*Antiq.* xx. 9, 1.) We may be permitted to doubt, however, whether the sentence thus referred to was carried out, for not only was it unlawful for the Sanhedrin to inflict the punishment of death without consent of the Roman authorities, but Josephus informs us in the immediately following portion of his narrative that, when the most equitable of the citizens complained to the Procurator of what had been done, their charge against Ananus was, that it was not lawful for him to assemble a Sanhedrin without the Procurator's assent. Nothing is said of the stoning to death. When we add both that Eusebius, who has preserved the narrative, together with the other early fathers who allude to it, appear to have placed in it implicit confidence, and that there is nothing improbable in most, if not even in all, of the particulars mentioned, we may be permitted to doubt whether the charges against Hegesippus founded upon this passage are substantiated. In no other passage of our author's writings that has come down to us is there any evidence of a too easy credulity, or of a love of the marvellous that might throw suspicion upon the general accuracy of his statements. It is clear that Eusebius had a high opinion of him. He both speaks of him in the most commendatory terms, and quotes him on numerous occasions (see *E. H.* ii. 23; iii. 11, 16, 20, 32; iv. 8, 11, 22), illustrating his own words in iv. 8, πλείσταις κεχρήμεθα φωναῖς. Such confidence appears to have been deserved. Hegesippus was possessed of an inquiring mind; as we have already seen he travelled much; he endeavoured in the course of his journeys to learn all that he could both of the past and present state of the churches that he visited; at Corinth the first epistle of Clement excited his curiosity; at Rome the history of its early bishops. Combine with all this his unpretending and unexaggerated style, and we are entitled to

infer that he was very far indeed from being either a hasty observer or a credulous chronicler.

An important question relative to Hegesippus remains to be considered. What were his views of Christian truth? Was he of the Judaizing Christian party, or was he not? The question bears closely upon the estimate to be formed by us of the prevailing element in the Christian church of the first half of the 2nd century.

Baur has expressed himself strongly upon this point, looking upon Hegesippus as a representative of the narrowest section of the Jewish Christians of the time, as even one of the most declared enemies of the apostle Paul, and describing him as travelling like a commissioned agent in the interest of the Judaizers. (*K. G.* i. p. 84.) The same view has been advocated by Schwegler (*Nachap. Zeit*, i. p. 342, &c.). It is founded mainly upon an extract from his works, preserved in Photius (see in Routh, *R. S.* i. p. 219), where he is quoted as saying in reference to the words, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for the just," "Such words are spoken in vain, and those who use them lie against the Holy Scriptures and the Lord who says, 'Blessed are your eyes for they see, and your ears for they hear.'" As the same, or nearly the same, quotation is found in 1 Cor. ii. 9, it is argued that in this extract from Hegesippus we have a direct attack upon the apostle Paul, an attack made in a still more covert manner when, in another passage, the historian says that those whose aim was to destroy the sound rule of the doctrine of salvation as yet hid themselves in holes of darkness (in Euseb. *E. H.* iii. 32). Thus fiercely opposed to St. Paul, the inference is that Hegesippus was keenly Judaic; and, inasmuch as he speaks (in his history) of the church of Christ having remained till the time at which he was writing a pure and uncorrupted virgin, the conclusion is easy that the churches of Corinth and Rome, and indeed generally, must have been strongly pervaded in the middle of the 2nd century by the Judaic element, and that they cannot have been as yet catholic in spirit. The point deserves a few moments' consideration.

And (1) it may be noticed that in the extract preserved in Photius there is no mention of, or express reference to, the apostle Paul. (2) That the writer speaks distinctly not of one person but of many, or at least of several. He uses the plural number, "those who say," thus making it probable that he refers to more than one, if it can be shewn from independent sources that more than one then existed by whom the words were used. (3) There were such persons. We know that the Gnostics were in the habit of so using the words, and that they described by means of them the very essence of that spiritual insight which the neophyte who had just sworn the oath of allegiance to them received, "And when he (*i.e.* he who is about to be initiated) has sworn this oath, he goes on to the Good One, and beholds 'whatever things eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and which have not entered into the heart of man'" (Hippolytus, *Ref. of all Heresies*, i. p. 193, T. and T. Clark). By much the more probable inference, therefore, is that Hegesippus refers to this Gnostic misinterpretation of the words and not to the apostle Paul (comp. Routh, *R. S.* i. p. 281; Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der Altk. Kirche*, p. 267; Hilgenfeld, *Die Apost. Väter*, p. 102). (4) The words quoted are not given in the form in which they appear in 1 Cor. ii. 9, where instead of "the just" we have "them that love Him." The substitution of the one expression for the other suggests at once that Gnostic arrogance which so often sought satisfaction in titles of that kind. (5) The inference now drawn as to the object of the first quotation is rendered still more probable by the fact that it is impossible to apply to St. Paul the words of the second quotation spoken of above. To describe that apostle as hiding himself in a hole of darkness is to present him in a light the very opposite of that which is most prominent in his whole character and life and labours. (6) The probability that Hegesippus had Gnostics and not St. Paul in view, is still further increased when we consider that Eusebius, who had his whole work before him, speaks in decided language of his soundness in the faith, and of his having recorded the pure tradition of apostolic preaching (iv. 8), language that he would certainly not have used had he not had ample evidence that the opinions of his author were in accordance with catholic truth. Besides this, he tells us that Hegesippus had in his work given the "fullest testimony as to his own opinions" (*E. H.* iv. 22). He was not, therefore, judging hastily. (7) Hegesippus himself, when relating what he had found in each succession of bishops examined and in each city visited by him, declares that he found all things in a condition conformable to what was required by "the law and the prophets and the Lord," authorities which Ritschl (*u. s.* p. 268) has shewn to be precisely those of the Catholic church of the time, to which it made its appeal, and in which it instructed its catechumens. (8) If Neander be right in thinking (*Ch. Hist.* ii. p. 464, T. and T. Clark) that the mode in which Hegesippus speaks of the first epistle of Clement shews that he believed himself to find in it the pure doctrine of Christ, the conclusion to which all these remarks lead may be considered incontrovertible, for the Pauline colouring of Clement's epistle is denied by no one. (9) It may still further be noticed, as not without a bearing upon the point before us, that Hegesippus, who approved of the epistle of Clement, must have known that this father quotes in Ch. xxxiv., and for a purpose precisely similar to that of the apostle, the very passage in question, though with a slight variation in the words. How, then, was it possible that he should hold the very contrary opinion as to the use made of it by St. Paul? It is obviously a *particular application* of the passage, different from that of the apostle, that he has in view.

In the light of all these considerations it is not too much to say that Hegesippus appears to have been not a Judaizing but a Catholic Christian; and, if so, he becomes a witness not only for the catholicity in the main of the Christian church of the 2nd century, but for the extent to which Catholic truth prevailed in it, and for the hold which that truth had acquired over the minds of its members. It ought not to be forgotten throughout this whole controversy that, whatever Hegesippus witnesses for, his evidence has reference to the condition of the

church upon a large scale. It is of no small corner that he speaks, but of a very large, and that probably the most active, portion of it. Either, therefore, over this wide extent the church was marked by a narrow Judaic spirit with some members perhaps, yet not worthy of mention, of a freer and a better one, or over the same wide extent the church was catholic in spirit, with heretical sects struggling to corrupt its faith. Which of the two views is most in correspondence with all that we know of the first half of the 2nd century, the reader may be safely left to say. If his verdict be in favour of the latter, it becomes impossible to look at Hegesippus in the light in which he has been presented by the Tübingen school. We must regard him as a Catholic, not as a Judaizing Christian, and his statements as to the condition of the church in his day become a powerful argument against, rather than in favour of, the conclusions of that school. [W. M.]

HEGESIPPUS (2) (EGESIPPUS), the alleged author of a work of which a translation from Greek into Latin, or what purported to be such, appeared somewhere about A.D. 400, and is commonly referred to under one of the titles *De Bello Judaico, De Excidio Urbis Hierosolymitanae.* The work is in five books, the first four of which are taken from the corresponding ones of the *Wars* of Josephus; and the fifth in great part from the sixth and seventh books of the same. It is not a translation, properly so called. The translator freely adds to his author, sometimes from the later books of the *Antiquities* of Josephus, sometimes from the Roman historians and other sources. He also freely composes speeches for the actors in the scenes which he narrates.

It is clear that the author was a Christian, from the language in which he speaks of the death of our Lord and the subsequent persecution of His disciples by the Jews (ii. 12, p. 151); of Simon, and of the apostles Peter and Paul (iii. 2, pp. 170–173); and of Judaism (iv. 5, p. 230). The entire work indeed is that of one who was an earnest defender of the Christian faith. An approximation to his date is supplied by several passages; as when he speaks of Constantinople having long become the second city of the Roman empire (iii. 5, p. 179), and of Antioch, once the metropolis of the Persians, being in his time the defence of the Byzantines against that people. He also speaks of the triumphs of the Romans in "Scotia" and in "Saxonia," using language strikingly similar to that of Claudian (c. A.D. 398) on the subject (v. 18, p. 299; Claud. *De iv. Cons. Honor.* 31–34).

The work early acquired a considerable reputation. It may possibly be referred to by Cassiodorus towards the close of the 5th century, who, when speaking of the writings of Josephus, says that their translation has been attributed to Jerome, to Ambrose, and to Rufinus (Cassiod. *de Inst. Div. Literar.* in Migne, Patrol. Lat. lxx. 1132). It was certainly made use of by Isidore of Seville (599–636), whose language in reference to the Dead Sea, the lake of Gennesaret, the Orontes, and other subjects, is often a literal translation from Hegesippus.

A MS. of the work ascribed to Hegesippus, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and of about the 7th century, has at the close of the first book "Egesippi liber primus explicit," and at the commencement of the second "Ambrosius Episcopus de Graeco transtulit in Latinum" (Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* p. 13). Other manuscripts likewise ascribed the translation to Ambrose, while some attribute the original itself to that father; and these are followed by the editio princeps (Jodoc. Ascens. Paris, 1511). The Benedictines, however, strongly reject the Ambrosian authorship, asserting that the work contains nothing whatever in Ambrose's style; while Galland earnestly contends for it, and reprints an elaborate dissertation of Mazochius, which he regards as conclusive (Galland. *Biblioth. Patr.* vii. prolegom. p. xxix.). The editors of the *Patrologia* incline to the decision of the Benedictines, but print the work among the writings of Ambrose (xv. 1962). The latest and most correct edition (Marburg, 1858, 1864, 4to) is that which was commenced by professor C. F. Weber of Marburg, and completed after his death by professor Julius Caesar, who has elaborately discussed the question of the authorship and date (pp. 389–399). It is at least possible that Hegesippus was a misreading of an early copyist, who had before him Ex Josippo (Gronov. *Observ. in Script. Eccl. Monobiblos.* 1651, 1–20).

This work has been frequently translated; into Italian by P. Lauro, A.D. 1544, into French by J. Millet, A.D. 1556, into Dutch anonymously A.D. 1711, and A.D. 1722. [T. W. D.]

HEIMARMENE, *εἱμαρμένη.* According to the account given in PISTIS SOPHIA of the constitution of the universe, above this world lies the firmament (*στερέωμα*); above that the first sphere, that of the Zodiac, and above that again the second sphere, *εἱμαρμένη*, the light of which is forty-nine times greater than that of the first sphere, and whose archons rule the earthly world. They again are subject to the twelve aeons who dwell in the next highest region. Seen from the sphere *εἱμαρμένη*, this world appears but as a speck of dust, and its light as utter darkness; but equally insignificant is the appearance of the sphere *εἱμαρμένη* as seen from the region of the twelve aeons. (*Pistis Sophia*, pp. 22, 184.) [G. S.]

HEINIF, clerical witness to the grant of the village of Bertus by king Ithael of Glamorgan to bishop Berthgwyn and the see of Llandaff, late in the 6th or early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 181, 441.) [J. G.]

HEINYN, bard of Maelgwn and Gwynedd and belonging to the college of Llanveithyn, flourished between A.D. 520 and 560. In the *Myv. Archaiology of Wales* (i. 552) there is printed a prediction of his addressed to Maelgwn, and according to the *Chwedleu y Doethion* his characteristic saying was, "The brave are never cruel." (E. Williams, *Iolo MSS.* 252; R. Williams, *Emin. Welshm.* 213.) [J. G.]

HEIRA, sister of pope Damasus. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 21 Feb. iii. 244–5.) [IRENE.] [J. G.]

HEISE (HASSEA), of Airidh-foda, commemorated Feb. 24. Her place was perhaps Ard-Fothadh, a fort on a hill near Ballymagrorty, in

the barony of Tirhugh, co. Donegal. (*Mart Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 57; *Four Mast.* by O'Donovan, i. 256, n. e; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, ii. 695.) *Mart. Tall.*, Feb. 24 (in Kelly, *Cal. Ir. SS.* xvi.), has a mangled reading, "Ciaran h-mesa, I. Airdfota," and the Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 24 Feb. iii. 435) mention Hassea among their praetermissi. [J. G.]

HEISTULFUS (Astulphus, Hastulphus), apparently a Lombard, to whom Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, wrote a letter from Frankfort, A.D. 794, severely reprimanding him for his barbarous treatment of his wife, whom he had murdered, on a probably false charge of infidelity which had been brought against her by one person only, a man of most disreputable character. Paulinus offered him the choice of retirement to a monastery, or a lifetime of penitential discipline, which he describes at some length. The letter early passed into the Canon Law, circ. A.D. 866. Wulfadus archbishop of Bourges prayed Hincmar archbishop of Rheims, the great canonist of his age, to send him a copy of it, as he needed its guidance in a similar case, which appears to have arisen in his own jurisdiction (Flodoard. *Hist. Eccl. Remens.* iii. 21, in Patrol. Lat. cxxxv. 204). In the early part of the 11th century Burchardus bishop of Worms adopted it as authoritative in his *Decreta* (vi. 40, *Ep. Paulin. . . . ad Heistulf.* in Patr. Lat. cxl. 774). Towards the close of that century Ivo bishop of Chartres similarly adopted it both in his *Decretum* and his *Panormia*. He, however, ascribes the letter to pope Stephen V. A.D. 816–817 (*Decr.* viii. 126, *Hastulpho*, in Patr. Lat. clxi. 610, *Panorm.* vii. 16, *Astulpho* in Patr. Lat. *ib.* 1283.) Gratian also adopts it in his *Decretum*, but like Ivo ascribes it to Stephen V. (cxxxiii. 9, ii. c. 8, *Hastulpho* in Patr. Lat. clxxxvii. 1512). Labbe published the letter from a Rheims MS., which seems to confirm Burchardus both as to the orthography of the inscription and as to the authorship of the letter (*Concil.* vii. 1064; Migne, Patr. Lat. xcix. 186). [T. W. D.]

HEITO, bishop of Basle. [Hetto.]

HEIU, a Northumbrian lady, the first person in that province who took the veil, which she received at the hands of bishop Aidan. She founded a nunnery at Hereteu, or Hartlepool, in the county of Durham, over which Hilda subsequently presided. The burial-ground of this ancient house of religion was discovered in 1838, and some remarkable slabs were found bearing crosses and inscriptions in Latin or Runes. After a short residence at Hartlepool Heiu retired to Calcaria, where she established another house of devotion. The Roman Calcaria is the English Kaelcacaestir, and is generally considered to be the modern Tadcaster, a small country town about six miles to the south-west of York. It is possible that the neighbouring village of Healaugh means Heiu's laeg, or lee, and that her residence was there. In the cemetery of that place Mr. D. H. Haigh detected an ancient gravestone bearing Heiu's name. The sole authority for the events of Heiu's life is Bede, *H. E.* iv. 23.

The author of the *Life and Miracles of St. Bega*, who wrote in the 12th century, identified her with Heiu, making her reside on the Cumbrian headland which bears her name before she settled at Hereteu. He also brings Bega to Hackness as the Begu whom Bede mentions as one of the companions of Hilda in that place. There is no authority whatever for these appropriations; Leland, and others after him, have quoted the assertions of the biographer of St. Bega (*Vitae et Mirac. S. Begae*, ed. Tomlinson, 1842; Smith's note to Bede, *H. E.* iv. 23).

In the *Transactions of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society*, parts xi. and xii. pp. 349–91, is a paper by Mr. D. H. Haigh, on 'The Monasteries of St. Heiu and St. Hild,' with engravings of the inscribed stones at Hartlepool and Helaugh; see also *Archaeologia*, xxvi. p. 479 et seqq.; Stephens, *Runic Monuments*, 392, &c.; Hübner's *Inscrr. Brit. Christianae*, pp. 63, 69–70. [J. R.]

HELAIR, HELARIUS, Irish saint of Inis Locha-Cre (*Mart. Doneg.* by Todd and Reeves, 239, 427.) [Elair.] [J. G.]

HELAN (1), a priest in the district of Rheims, in the 6th century. He is said to have come from Ireland soon after Clovis was converted to Christianity (A.D. 496), together with six brothers, of whom he was the second in age, the eldest being St. Gilrianus (May 8), and a younger St. Tressan (Feb. 7), and three sisters. Presenting themselves to St. Remigius, archbishop of Rheims, "the father of the stranger," they were received by him with kindness. They lived in part by the generosity of others, but principally by the labour of their own hands. At their desire Remigius settled them upon the banks of the Marne, at no great distance from each other. To Helanus's lot fell a spot called Buxiolum, where he passed his life in soberness, piety and justice, instructing his neighbours in religion, and at length happily died. Another account places their date in the 7th century. Nothing trustworthy is known of them. Helanus's name appears in late martyrologies on Oct. 7. (Molanus, *Auct. ad Usuardum*, Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv. 552; Boll. *Acta SS.* Oct. iii. 903–5; Flodoard, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.* iv. 9; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, cap. xvi. vol. ii. 488–490.) [S. A. B.]

HELAN (2). Another Helan is mentioned by Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 340), referring to Colgan. He was probably an Irishman, and accompanied St. Eloquius (Dec. 3) into Gaul and Belgium where, according to Molanus and Miraeus, he was honoured as patron of Solemniacus in Gaul and of Iesegemius in Belgium. He died in the monastery of Vassor, near the Meuse, in Namur (Walciodorensi coenobio), and is commemorated on Jan. 7, having flourished in the middle of the 7th century. (Colgan, *Acta SS.* 96 c. 6, among the disciples and companions of St. Fursey; O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i. 285, ii. 377, 379.) [J. G.]

HELARIANUS, third bishop of Oleron in Gams's *Series* (p. 590), succeeding Licerius, and followed by Artemon, was sitting in A.D. 614. He is omitted from the list of the *Gallia Christiana* (i. 1264), and it is very doubtful whether he is to be ascribed to this see. [S. A. B.]

HELARUS of Aquileia. [Hilarius.]

HELCESIANI (Josèppus, *Memorialis Libellus*, cap. 140, num. 38, ap. Galland. *Bibl. Patr.* xiv. 69). [Elkesai.] [T. W. D.]

HELDAN, alternative name of ELDAD.

HELDOALDUS of Meaux. [EDOLDUS.]

HELEBICIUS. [ELLEBICHUS (2).]

HELENA (1), said to have been the companion of SIMON Magus. According to Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 26) and Irenaeus (i. 23, p. 99), who possibly makes use of a lost work of Justin's, she was a prostitute whom Simon had purchased from a brothel at Tyre, and whom he led about with him, holding her up to the veneration of his disciples. Giving himself out to be the Supreme Power and the Father above all, he taught, says Irenaeus, that "she was the first conception of his mind, the mother of all things, by whom in the beginning he conceived the thought of making the angels and archangels; for that this Conception [ENNOEA] proceeded forth from him and, knowing her father's wishes, descended to the lower world, and produced the angels and powers, by whom also he said that this world was made. But after she had produced them, she was detained by them through envy, since they were unwilling to be considered the offspring of any other being; for he himself was entirely unknown by them; but his Conception was detained by those powers and angels which were put forth from her, and suffered every insult from them that she might not return upward to her father; and this went so far that she was even confined in a human body, and for ages passed into other female bodies, as if from one vessel into another. He said, also, that she was that Helen on account of whom the Trojan war was fought; for reviling of whom by his verses, Stesichorus was struck blind, and afterwards, on account of his penitence and palinode, restored to sight; that after passing from one body to another, and constantly meeting with insult, at last she became a public prostitute, and that she was 'the lost sheep.' On this account he had come that he might first of all reclaim her and free her from her chains, and then give salvation to men through the knowledge of himself." The same story is told by Hippolytus (*Ref.* vi. 19, p. 174); Tertullian (*de Anima*, 34); Epiphanius (*Haer.* 21); Philaster (*Haer.* 29); Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 1). Tertullian evidently knows no more than he read in Irenaeus, but Hippolytus, who himself read the Μεγάλη Ἀποφάσις, gives some additional particulars, as for instance, that Simon allegorized the story of the wooden horse and of Helen and her torch. The wooden horse must also have been mentioned in the earlier treatise against heresies, used by Epiphanius and Philaster, both of whom state that Simon expounded it as representing the ignorance of the nations. Epiphanius, then, it may be believed, did not invent some other particulars, in which he differs from or goes beyond Irenaeus. He states that Simon gave to this Ennoea of his, the names Prunicus and Holy Spirit; and he gives a different account, in some respects, of the reasons for her descent into the lower world. According to this account, she was *sent* in order to rob the Archons, the framers of this world, of their power, by enticing them to desire her beauty, and setting them in hostility to one another.

The honour paid to Helena by the followers of Simon was known to Celsus, who tells (v. 62) that certain of the Simonians were also called Heleniani, from Helena, or else from a teacher Helenus. We are told, in addition, by Irenaeus and Hippolytus, that the Simonians had an image of Simon in the form of Jupiter, and of Helen in that of Minerva, and that they honoured them, calling the former lord, the latter lady. This adaptation of the myth of Athene springing from the head of Zeus to the alleged relation of Ennoea to the first Father, is of a piece with the appropriation of other Grecian myths by these heretics.

The doctrine attributed to Simon in these representations, has close affinity with that of other Gnostic systems, more especially with the Ophite system, described at the end of the first book of Irenaeus, except that in the Simonian system, one female personage fills parts which in other systems are distributed among more than one. But in several systems we have the association with the First Cause of a female principle, his thought or conception; and we have (see, for instance, PISTIS SOPHIA) the myth of the descent of a Sophia into the lower material regions, her sufferings from the hostility of the powers who rule there, her struggles with them, and her ultimate redemption. What is peculiar to Simon is his doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and his identification, by means of it, of himself and his female companion with the two principal personages of the Gnostic mythology. The fictions that have been invented concerning other founders of heresies do not at all resemble this story, for Simon persuaded his followers not only to condone his connexion with a degraded person, but to accept the fact of her degradation fully admitted as only a greater proof of his redemptive power. And we find it easier to believe, therefore, that the story had a foundation in fact, than that it was imagined without any. On the other hand, it does not seem likely that the hero of this story could have been the first Gnostic, it being more credible that he turned to his account a mythology already current, than that he could have obtained acceptance for his tale of Ennoea, if invented for the first time for his own justification.

Baur has suggested (*Christliche Gnosis*, p. 308) that Justin in his account of the honours paid at Samaria to Simon and Helena may have been misled by the honours there paid to Phoenician sun and moon divinities of similar names. On this and other questions connected with the subject of this article, see SIMON. Suffice it here to say that one strong fact in support of his theory, viz. that in the Clementine Recognitions (ii. 14, preserved in the Latin of Rufinus) the companion of Simon is called Luna, may possibly have originated in an early error of transcription. She is Helena in the corresponding passage of the Clementine Homilies, ii. 23; and we find elsewhere the false reading Selene for Helene, as for instance in Augustine (*de Haer.* 1). We attach little weight in this argument to the statement of the Clementine Homilist already quoted under DOSITHEUS, Vol. I. p. 902, that as Jesus, the Sun, had twelve apostles corresponding to the twelve months of the year, so John the Baptist, the Moon, corresponding to the twenty-nine and a half days

of the month, had in his circle twenty-nine men and this woman. [G. S.]

HELENA (2), ST., or FLAVIA JULIA HELENA AUGUSTA, first wife of Constantius Chlorus, and mother of Constantine the Great, born about A.D. 248, died about 327.

1. *Life.*
2. *Invention of the Cross.*

1. *Life.*

Little is known for certain of the life of St. Helena beyond the two facts that she was mother of Constantine the Great and that at the age of about eighty years she undertook a remarkable pilgrimage to Palestine, which resulted in the adornment and increased veneration of the holy places in that country.

The date of her birth is only arrived at by inference from her age at the time when she undertook this pilgrimage. The place where she was born is also doubtful; but the most probable of those which are mentioned is Drepanum in Bithynia, which Constantine is said to have called Helenopolis in her honour (Procopius, *de Aedificiis*, v. 2, vol. iii. p. 311, ed. Bonn; *Chron. Pasch.*). The story that she was daughter of a British prince, Coel, and born at York, Colchester or London, is merely a portion of the legend which afterwards arose connecting the origin of her famous son with Britain. [CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, Vol. I. p. 625.]

She was doubtless of humble parentage, being, according to one story, the daughter of an innkeeper (Anon. Valesii 2, 2, "matre vilissima," St. Ambros. *de Obitu Theodosii*, § 42, p. 295, "Stabulariam hanc primo fuisse adserunt, sic cognitam Constantio seniori, qui postea regnum adeptus est. Bona stabularia quae tam diligenter praesepe Domini requisivit," etc.). Constantius at the time when he made her acquaintance was a young officer in the army, of good family and position, nearly related, by the female line, to the emperor Claudius, and he appears to have at first united her to himself by the looser tie which was then customary between persons of such different conditions (St. Hieron. *Chron.* anno 2322; Orosius, vii. 25; *Chron. Pasch.* A.D. 304, vol. i. p. 516, ed. Bonn; Zos. ii. 8). The relation of "concubinatus" might be a life-long one, and did not necessarily imply anything of immorality. In outward appearance it differed nothing from the ordinary civil marriage by mutual consent of the parties to live together, and was sometimes called "conjugium inaequale."[a]

Her son Constantine, who was also apparently her only child, was born probably in the year 274, at Naissus in Dardania, the country where his father's family had for some time been settled (Nish, recently acquired by Servia). After his birth it is probable that Constantius advanced Helena to the position of a lawful wife. That she had this position is expressly stated by some of our authorities, but the very emphasis of their assertion implies that there was something peculiar about the case (Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 13, 12, παῖδα γνήσιον . . . καταλιπών and the inscription from Salerno given below). Respect for Constantine would naturally prevent the writers who lived in his reign from stating the circumstances in detail. It may be conjectured, however, that the law to legitimate the children of a concubine "per subsequens matrimonium" was suggested to that emperor by his mother's experience.[b]

After living with Constantius some twenty years Helena was divorced by him on the occasion of his elevation to the dignity of Caesar in 292. The Augustus Maximian, in choosing him for his colleague, required him to take this step, as a matter of policy, in order that he might marry his own step-daughter, Theodora, and Galerius was obliged to do the like by Diocletian (Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 22; Victor, *de Caesaribus*, 39; *Epitome*, 54). Such a proceeding has its parallels, especially in Roman history, *e.g.* Valentinian similarly repudiated Marina Severa, the mother of Gratian. The looseness of the marriage tie among the Romans is quite a sufficient explanation of these acts, without supposing any offence or misconduct on the part of the wife, or any special heartlessness on that of the husband. We know nothing of her life during the remainder of her husband's reign. When Constantine succeeded him in 306, it would seem probable that he recalled his mother to the court, but direct evidence on this point is wanting. We have a coin stamped HELENA.N.F. *i.e. nobilissima femina*, with a head on one side and a star in a laurel crown upon the other, which may have been struck in her honour whilst Constantine was still Caesar.[c]

The statement of Eusebius that Constantine paid his mother great honours, and caused her to be proclaimed Augusta to all the troops, and struck her image on gold coins, is no doubt generally quite correct, but it is unfortunately unaccompanied with any dates (*Vita Const.* iii. 47). Silver and copper coins are found with the name *Flavia Helena Augusta*, struck in her lifetime. Others with the remarkable epigraph *Fl. Jul. Helenae Aug.* were struck at Constantinople and Treves as memorials after her death, and at the same time Theodora was commemorated in like manner, to mark the reconcilia-

[a] *Cod. Just.* "de liberis naturalibus," v. 27, 3, a law of Theodosius and Valentinian II. Cf. the section "de concubinis" in the *Digest*, xxv. 7, especially § 3, "in concubinatu potest esse et aliena liberta et ingenua, sed maxime ea quae obscuro loco nata est." This is very like Eutropius's "obscurius matrimonium." See, for further details, DICT. CHRIST. ANT. *s.v.* "Concubinage;" Herzog, *Theol. Encycl.* s.v. "Concubinat." iii. p. 105, foll.; and Puchta, *Institut.* iii. § 287.

[b] See *Cod. Just.* v. 27. 5. and Godefroi's note *Cod. Theod.* iv. 6. 1. It seems likely that Constantine's abridgment of the rights of inheritance possessed by natural children was intended to induce their parents to marry.

[c] Eckhel, vol. viii. pp. 143, 145, conjectures it to belong to a wife of Crispus, cf. p. 102, and so does Banduri. But Helena, wife of Crispus, is herself only a conjecture from the law of Constantine, *Cod. Theod.* ix. 38, 1, addressed to Maximus, prefect of Rome in 322, "propter Crispi atque Helenae partum omnibus indulgemus praeter veneficos, homicidas, adulteros:" and Godefroi very plausibly emends "partum" into "paratum" or "apparatum," and refers it to a *journey* to Rome. The late Count J. F. W. de Salis was of opinion that there was no evidence from coins in favour of the existence of such a person as Helena, wife of Crispus; see CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, Vol. I. p. 649, and the following article.

tion of the two branches of the family. But as yet none of gold have come to light. She is also styled Augusta in inscriptions, but in none I believe necessarily earlier than 320. (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* 106, given below; *Inscr. Urbis Romae, C. I. L.* vol. v. 1134–1136.)

Eusebius also tells us that it was through Constantine that she became a Christian (*V. C.* iii. 57). His authority on such a point is good, and it is supported (whatever the support may be worth) by the probably spurious letters preserved in the acts of St. Silvester (see CONSTANTINE, p. 646). We must therefore reject the other story which ascribes his conversion to his mother's influence (Theodoret. i. 18, *τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτῷ προσενεγκοῦσα τροφήν*, and the late and fabulous Eutychius Alexandrinus, pp. 408, 456, ed. Oxon.).

In the year 322, according to Godefroy's probable emendation of the law in the Theodosian code, Constantine granted a release of prisoners on account of a journey of Crispus and Helena to Rome (*Cod. Theod.* ix. 38, 1). This is one of several indications of the close tie existing between the aged empress and her eldest grandson, with whom she naturally took part rather than with the children of Fausta, half-sister of her rival Theodora. The following inscription from Salerno belongs to one of the next years and marks the power of Helena in her son's court. It must have been set up after the younger Constantius was appointed Caesar, Nov. 8, 323, and before the death of Crispus, whose name was afterwards erased (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neapol.* 106, Orell. 1074, Wilmanns 1079).

DOMINAE NOSTRAE FLAVIAE AVGVSTAE
HELENAE · DIVI · CONSTANTI · CASTISSIMAE
CONIVGI PROCREATRICI D·N·CONSTANTINI
MAXIMI · PIISSIMI · AC · VICTORIS · AVGVSTI
AVIAE DOMINORVM NOSTRORVM *crispi*
et CONSTANTINI · ET · CONSTANTI · BEATISSI
MORVM · AC · FELICIVM · CAESARVM
ALDINIVS MAGNVS V·C·CORR·LVCANIAE·ET
IBRITTIORVM·STATVIT·DEVOTVS·EXCELLEN
TIAE · PIETATIQVE · EIVS.

i.e. "To our sovereign lady Flavia Augusta Helena, the most chaste wife of the divine Constantius, the mother of our Lord Constantine, the greatest, most pious and victorious Augustus, the grandmother of our Lords *Crispus and* Constantine and Constantius, the most blessed and fortunate Caesars, this is erected by Alpinius Magnus, vir clarissimus, corrector of Lucania and Bruttii, devoted to her excellence and piety."

In the year 326 Crispus was put to death on an obscure charge by his father's orders [see CONSTANTINE, p. 630]. Tradition connects this dark act with the name of Fausta; and Helena's bitter complaints about her grandson's death are said to have irritated Constantine to execute his wife by way of retribution (Victor, *Epit.* 41, Fausta coniuge ut putant suggerente Crispum filium necari iussit. Dehinc uxorem suam Faustam in balneas ardentes coniectam interemit, cum eum mater Helena dolore nimio nepotis increparet).

We may fairly suppose that it was as much distress and penitence for these tragic and cruel acts, as thankfulness for the success of the Nicene council, that roused Constantine to found and endow a number of churches at this time, and to give other material advantages to the Christian church. Helena no doubt shared in her degree in the same feelings, and made a vow to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (Eus. *V. C.* iii. 42).

The details of her journey, as regards the holy places, are given in the next section. Eusebius speaks strongly of her youthful spirit, notwithstanding her great age, nearly eighty years (*V. C.* iii. 42, *ἦκε δὴ σπεύδουσα νεανικῶς ἡ πρέσβυς*, cf. ch. 46). She received almost unlimited supplies of money from her son and spent it in royal charities to the poor and bounties to the soldiery; as well as using her power to free prisoners and criminals condemned to the mines and to recall persons from exile (*ib.* 44). She was a frequent attendant at the church services, and adorned the buildings with costly offerings (*ib.* 45). The date of the death of Helena is uncertain, but it cannot have been earlier than 327, because she did not take her journey to Palestine until after the death of Crispus. Tillemont therefore puts it in 328, and it may have been later. (See further in Clinton, *F. R.* ii. 80, 81.) Her body was carried with great pomp to 'the imperial city,' that is probably to Constantinople (Eus. *V. C.* iii. 47; Socrates, i. 17, thus glosses the phrase—*εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν νέαν Ρώμην*: see CONSTANTINE, p. 632). It was believed however in the Western church that she was buried at Rome, and there is a tradition that in the year 480 her body was stolen from thence by a monk Theogisus and brought to Hautvilliers, in the diocese of Rheims. Others say that it is still in the porphyry vase in the church of Ara Coeli (Tillemont, *Mém. Hist. Eccl.* tom. vii. note 7).

The place too of her death is strangely uncertain. Eusebius's silence would lead us to conclude that she died in Palestine; but if the traditions of her bounty to the people and church of Cyprus on her way home are of any value it must have been somewhere nearer Rome or Constantinople. These traditions may be seen in M. de Mas Letrie's *Histoire de l'Ile de Chypre sous les Lusignan*, Paris, 1852–1861; *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. vii. p. 186 foll.

[J. W.]

Invention of the Cross.—It is in connexion with this famous story that the name of Helena is especially interesting to the student of church history. Its truth has been much discussed, and in order to enable the reader to form a dispassionate judgment, the best course will be to summarize briefly the evidence of our ancient authorities, noticing the points on which they agree and those on which they differ.

1. In the very interesting itinerary of the anonymous Pilgrim from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, which is generally referred to the year 333, seven years after the date assigned to the finding of the cross (Migne, Patr. xiii. 771), we have a description of the city, and many traditional sites of events both in the Old and New Testament are mentioned. Among these are the house of Caiaphas, with the pillar at which our Lord was scourged, the praetorium of Pontius Pilate, the little hill (monticulus) of Golgotha, and, a stone's throw from it, the cave of the Resurrection. On the latter spot a beautiful

basilica erected by Constantine is noticed, as also on Mount Olivet and at Bethlehem. Yet there is no allusion to the cross or any part of it, nor is the name of Helena once mentioned.

2. Our second authority is Eusebius, whose life of Constantine was written probably in 338, five years after the visit of the Bordeaux Pilgrim. He records the visit of Helena to Jerusalem, but does not connect her name in any way with the place of Crucifixion, nor with the Holy Sepulchre.

He tells us that Constantine built a house of prayer on the site of the Resurrection, and that he also beautified the two other caves connected respectively with our Lord's birth and His Ascension, and that he did so in honour of his mother's memory, who went to Palestine and built two churches, one at Bethlehem, the other on the Mount of Ascension. We therefore have this remarkable fact, that, of the three famous caves, Eusebius connects Helena not with that of the Resurrection, but only with the other two. It is true that he says afterwards that these were not the only churches which she built, but it is hardly conceivable that he should have left the one on the site of the Resurrection unspecified.

The original motive of her journey, he says, was to return thanks to God for His peculiar mercies to her family, and to enquire as to the welfare of the people of the country. His account of the discovery of the tomb by Constantine is not free from difficulty. It is not easy to say whether he represents the discovery of the sepulchre as being before or after the death of Helena. His language is quite general, but the presumption, as has been said, is that, if it had been before it, her name would have been connected with the event.

He does not imply that any difficulty was experienced in finding the site of the tomb, but there is nothing as to the cross. All the words which he uses in his minute description bear upon the Resurrection, not the Passion, of our Lord. But in Constantine's letter to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, which he inserts, there are one or two expressions of which the same cannot be said. Allowing for the excesses of hyperbolical language, it is still hard to understand the words that, "when the cave was opened, the sight which met the eyes excelled all possible eulogy, as much as heavenly things excel earthly," unless some kind of memorial other than the tomb itself was discovered; and immediately afterwards we have two expressions referring definitely to our Lord's passion. The first is, *τὸ γὰρ γνώρισμα τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐκείνου πάθους ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ πάλαι κρυπτόμενον*, and the second, *ἀφ' οὗ* (since) *τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους πίστιν εἰς φῶς προήγαγεν* (sc. the tomb). At the same time it is difficult to believe that, had the cross or any part of it been discovered, it should not have been more exactly described, and the most probable explanation is that *πάθος* is used to describe the whole scene of Redemption, of which the Resurrection was a part (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 26–42, Patr. Gr. xx. 1086). The fact that the place very soon came to be venerated is proved by Eusebius's own statement in his *Commentary on Ps.* lxxxvii. 18, that marvels (*θαύματα*) were even then wrought at the tomb of Christ.

3. Our next authority is St. Cyril of Jerusalem, whose catechetical lectures were delivered, he says, upon the very spot where our Lord was crucified, and, as we know from other sources, not more than twenty years after the alleged discovery (viz. in 346). In these there are three allusions to the wood of the cross (iv. 10, x. 19, xiii. 4). The most definite is in x. 19, where he describes it as "until to-day visible amongst us" (*μεχρὶ σήμερον παρ' ἡμῖν φαινόμενον*), "and now filling nearly the whole world by means of those who in faith take from it." In his letter to Constantius, which, however, is of doubtful authenticity [CYRIL], it is distinctly stated that the cross was discovered in the reign of Constantine (cap. 3). The first quotations are quite sufficient to prove the existence of a belief in his day that the real wood of our Lord's cross had been discovered, but they do no more than this. They do not give us the grounds of the belief. We know how credulous many were in the matter of relics, and there is nothing to shew us that St. Cyril was more discriminating than his contemporaries, and we must not forget that the name of Cyril is not free in another matter from the suspicion of insincerity and unscrupulousness in the use of means to attain what he regarded as a good end. [CYRIL.] Nor, though he speaks of the cross, does he connect it with the name of Helena. The context certainly does not require it, since the fact of the discovery, and not the author of it, is what he is insisting upon. Still, as regards Helena herself, it remains true that none of our three earliest authorities speak of her as the discoverer.

4. St. Chrysostom, writing probably before the year 387, speaks of the wood of the true cross and of the anxiety felt by many to procure a piece of it (*Quod Christus sit Deus*, cap. x., Patr. Gr. xlviii. 826).

5. Sulpicius Severus, who must probably be placed next in order (circ. 395), tells us that Helena built three basilicas (not two, as in Eusebius), one on each of the great sites of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension. No other writer, except Paulinus, mentions separate churches of the Passion and Resurrection. The site of the passion, he says, was discovered by Helena, but he does not add that it was by supernatural help. At the Mount of Ascension were found the footsteps of Christ, and the ground by its hardness resisted all attempts to pave it. Three crosses were discovered, and the right one ascertained by the miraculous restoration to life of a dead body. (*Hist. Sacr.* i. 33, Patr. Gr. xx. 148.)

6. St. Ambrose, writing in 395, agrees with Eusebius that the main object of Helena's visit was to pray for the prosperity of her son, but adds that on her arrival she was inspired by the Spirit with the desire to search for the cross, that she distinguished the true cross by its title (thus differing from Sulpicius and all later writers), that two of the nails were used by the emperor, one being fixed in his crown and the other employed as a bit for his bridle (*de Obitu Theodosii*, cap. 41 foll., Patr. Gr. xvi. 1399).

7. Rufinus (writing in 400, according to the Life in Migne's edition) tells us further that not only was the journey inspired by God, but that the place of the Passion was miraculously revealed; that the three crosses were found "confuso ordine," and the title separately;

that the true cross was discovered by the miraculous healing of a sick lady (not the revival of a corpse, as above); that part of the wood was sent to Constantine, and part left at Jerusalem in a silver casket (cf. *μεχρὶ σήμερον φαινόμενον* in Cyril's description above). (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 7, 8, Patr. Gr. xxi. 475.)

8. Paulinus of Nola, writing about 403, to Sulpicius Severus, and sending him a piece, as he says, of the true cross brought from Jerusalem by Benedicta Melanius, adds an account of its original discovery, because, as he says, it is so difficult to credit. He says that Helena went for the purpose of rescuing the holy places, that she adorned the site of our Lord's birth in addition to the other three sites, and that she discovered the place of the Passion by the concurrent testimony of many inhabitants of the city, both Jewish and Christian. He also adds that, though pieces were frequently taken from the cross, its original bulk was miraculously preserved. (*Ep.* xxxi. 4, Patr. Gr. lxi. 325.)

9. St. Jerome, in his *Commentary on Zech.* xiv. 20 (Patr. xxv. 1540), which probably was written A.D. 406, mentions the nail from the cross which was used for the emperor's bridle, according to the story which we find in many other writers, and also in *Ep.* lviii. (Patr. xxii. 581), speaks of the image of Jove which stood until the time of Constantine on the site of the Resurrection, and that of Venus on the site of the Passion.

10. St. Cyril of Alexandria (about 420), mentions as a report (*φασί*) that the wood of the cross had been found at different times (*κατὰ καιρούς*) with the nails still fixed in it (*Comm. on Zech.* xiv. 20, Patr. Gr. lxxii. 271).

11. Socrates (about 430) informs us that Helena was told in a night vision to go to Jerusalem; that she found the site of the Passion with difficulty, though he alludes to no supernatural aid; that Macarius suggested the means of distinguishing the true cross, viz. by applying it to a woman on the point of death; that the empress erected "new Jerusalem" on the site (a phrase evidently taken from Eusebius); and that one of the nails was put by the emperor on his statue at Constantinople, a fact witnessed to by many inhabitants (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 17, Patr. Gr. lxvii. 118).

12. Sozomen, about the same date, claims good authority for his account, and states that Constantine, in gratitude for the council of Nicaea, wished to build a church on Golgotha; that Helena about the same time went to Palestine to pray and to look for the sacred sites. He does not, however, mention any divine impulse. The difficulty of discovery was caused, he says, by the Greeks, who had defiled them, in order to put a stop to the growing *θρησκεία*; the site of the sepulchre was made known, as some say, by a Hebrew living in the East, from documentary evidence, but more probably by signs and dreams from God. He says further that the crosses were found near the same spot (*ἑτέρωθι περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον*) as they had been left by the soldiers, and therefore naturally in confused order, and that the tablet had its inscription still remaining. He mentions two miracles: one the healing of a woman with an incurable disease, the other the raising of a corpse, combining the other accounts; adding that the greater part of the cross was still preserved at Jerusalem. (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 1, 2, Patr. Gr. lxvii. 929.)

13. Theodoret (about 448) inserts the letter of Constantine to Macarius, and follows the order of Eusebius, representing, however, Helena's journey more definitely than Eusebius does, as consequent upon the finding of the sepulchre by Constantine. Yet immediately afterwards he speaks of her as bringing the spot to light; so that his account seems inconsistent with itself. The crosses, he says, were found *near* the Lord's tomb—*παρὰ τὸ μνῆμα τὸ Δεσποτικὸν* (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 16, 17, Patr. Gr. lxxxii. 955).

14. St. Leo (454), in writing to Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, speaks of the constant witness borne at Jerusalem to the reality of Christ's Passion by the existence of the cross (*Ep.* cxxxix. 2, Patr. liv. 1106).

15. St. Gregory of Tours (died 595) adds the following details: that the date of the discovery was May 3, 326; that during a great storm which occurred soon after Helena put one of the nails into the sea, which was at once calmed; that two more were used for the emperor's bridle, and the fourth placed on the head of his statue; that the lance, crown of thorns, and pillar of scourging were also preserved, and were effectual in working miracles (*Liber Mirac.* i. 5, Patr. lxxi. 709); and that the cross was found by the aid of a Jew, afterwards baptized as Quiriacus (*Hist. Franc.* i. 34, Patr. lxxi. 179).

So much then for our authorities. We observe that no detailed story is found until nearly seventy years after the event, and then not in the East, but in the West. The vagueness of tone in St. Cyril of Alexandria is particularly observable. Small differences of detail have been noticed, and the last author cited adds several particulars not included in the other accounts. There are many features in the story which look like invention or exaggeration, *e.g.* the fact that in the process of discovering the true cross the other two are almost invariably said to have been first applied in vain, just such a detail as is added in a fable to give it completeness. On the whole, considering what has been already noticed, that our earliest authorities do not represent Helena as the discoverer, and that the story gradually grows as time goes on, it seems most probable that she had no part in the discovery at all, even if it took place, which itself seems exceedingly doubtful. That the site of the Holy Sepulchre was discovered, or supposed to be discovered, in the reign of Constantine, there seems every reason to believe; and considering the temper of the times, it is easy to understand how marvels would grow up around it. One of the objections to the story is the vagueness of the topographical touches. The Bordeaux Pilgrim alone is definite, describing the tomb as a stone's throw from Calvary. Most of the other writers confound the two, the crosses being represented as found in the tomb and yet in confused order just as they fell. It may easily have happened that, after the discovery of the tomb, some devout person may have fancied that he had found a piece of the cross, and persuaded others to believe it too; and when once this had been done, the assigning, as time went on, of the discovery to the royal pilgrim Helena

is perfectly natural, and an instance of an exceedingly common tendency. [M. F. A.]

HELENA (3) CRISPI. A Helena, wife of Crispus eldest son of Constantine the Great, has been imagined by some historians on account of the following text of the *Theodosian Code*, ix. 38, 1:—"*Imp. Constantinus A. ad Maximum P*[*rae*] *f*[*ectum*] *p*[*raetorio*] Propter Crispi atque Helenae partum omnibus indulgemus, praeter veneficos, homicidas, adulteros . *acc*[*eptum*] III *kal. Nov. Romae Probiano et Juliano coss.*" (322). Godefroy, in his commentary on this passage, emends "propter Crispi atque Helenae *paratum*" or "*apparatum*," that is to say, "preparations for their journey to Rome," the persons being in that case Crispus and his grandmother, not Crispus and his wife. This seems more probable than that there should be an utterly unknown Helena, mentioned in this public manner, especially as nothing is elsewhere recorded of Crispus's children. Banduri assigns to this supposed Helena the coin with the epigraph *Helena n*[*obilissima*] *f*[*emina*], and Eckhel is inclined to follow him (*Doct. Num. Vet.* viii. pp. 102, 145). But this is probably an early coin of the mother of Constantine; see the preceding article.

Constantine's *daughter* Helena was born perhaps about the date of this law (see next article); but even if *partus Helenae* could mean the "birth of Helena," *Crispi partus* is inexplicable.

[J. W.]

HELENA (4) JULIANI, daughter of Constantine the Great and Fausta. Historians sometimes give Constantine three daughters: Constantina, wife in turn of Hannibalian and Gallus; Constantia, a virgin and a saint; and Helena. But Tillemont has shewn that the second of these is probably a legendary person (*Empereurs*, vol. iv. p. 624, note 18 to Constantine). Constantina was called Augusta by her father, according to Philostorgius, iii. 22, 28, and so we may probably suppose was Helena (Eckhel, *Num. Vet.* viii. p. 142). She was thirty-one or thirty-two years old, according to the account of Ducange, when she was married by her brother Constantius (on the advice of his wife Eusebia) to her cousin Julian, in Nov. 355; but it is not easy to discover the authority for this statement of her age, which *may* merely be a hazardous inference from the Theodosian Code quoted in the preceding article (*Fam. Byzantinae*, p. 51). If this date however is correct, she must have been born about the year 323, and her husband was about eight years younger than herself. It is not improbable that he cared very little about her, viewing her rather as part of the family compact which he made with her brother. He refers to her several times, but without expressing any feeling of attachment or dislike, whereas he speaks with great regard of Eusebia, his cousin's wife (*ad Ath.* p. 248 B; cp. *Or.* iii. *Laudes Eusebiae*, p. 123 D, esp. the phrase, ὅπως δὲ ἐμοὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν γάμον ἥρμοσεν [Εὐσεβία], as if the marriage was merely a matter of policy).

Julian and Helena had one child born in Gaul, but it died directly after birth, through the unskilfulness or malice of the midwife. Ammianus, who reports this fact, tells us further that Helena was afterwards taken by Eusebia with her to Rome, under the pretext of affection, and there given poison by her sister-in-law to cause her miscarriage. (Amm. xvi. 10, 18; cp. Cedrenus, vol. i. p. 529, ed. Bonn, who says of Eusebia, τῷ τῆς μητρομανίας περιέπεσε πάθει.) The motive of this cruel act is supposed to have been jealousy, as Eusebia herself was barren; but it is not necessary to believe the story, which is just the kind of scandal that is capable neither of proof nor disproof. Ammianus, it may be remarked, says nothing of it in his laudatory character of Eusebia in recording her death (xxi. 6, 4).

The date of Helena's journey to Rome may have been 356, when we know that Eusebia visited Rome, whilst her husband was engaged with the barbarians from beyond the Rhine (Jul. *Orat.* iii. p. 129 B, C; cp. Amm. xvi. 12. 15, 16; Clinton, *F. R.* i. p. 437). Or it may have been in the following year, 357, when Constantius and his wife spent the month of May in the city, and this is what we should gather from Ammianus as most probable (Amm. xvi. 10. 13 18; cp. Clinton, *F. R.* i. p. 434).

Helena was still alive when Julian was proclaimed Augustus by the troops at Paris in the spring of 360 (Jul. *ad Ath.* p. 248 B). She died in the autumn of the same year, just about the time when her husband was celebrating his *quinquennalia*, the fifth anniversary of his appointment as Caesar and their marriage. Julian sent her body to Rome to be buried beside her sister's — "in suburbano viae Nomentanae condenda, ubi uxor quoque Galli quondam, soror eius, sepulta est Constantina" (Amm. xxi. 1, 5).

We know nothing whatever of her character, which is remarkable considering her connexion with Julian, of whom we know so much.

Some antiquaries suppose that this Helena appears as Augusta on coins, but this cannot be considered as by any means proved, and was denied by the late Count J. F. W. de Salis, whose authority is entitled to great weight (cp. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* viii. pp. 142–145).

More difficult is the question of the coins with the epigraph *Isis Faria*. It is discussed in the article on Julian, in the section on the coins. Whether they refer to her or not, it is probable that they were struck after her death.

[J. W.]

HELENA (5), virgin of Auxerre, commemorated May 22. She is named in the acts of St. Amator as having been present at his death, witnessing the miracles which attended the event. St. Amator died in 418; how long afterwards Helena may have survived is uncertain. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. v. 152.) [R. T. S.]

HELENA (6), virgin of Troyes, commemorated May 4. The inhabitants of Troyes in the 13th century believed that they possessed the undecayed remains of Helena a Corinthian martyr, which had been brought from Greece by a warrior who had taken part in the fourth crusade. Some held that she was Helena, the mother of Constantine. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. i. 530.) [R. T. S.]

HELENIANI, followers of Simon Magus. [HELENA (1).]

HELENUS (1) (ELENUS), bishop of Alexandria (*Scandaret, Iskenderun*) in Cilicia, mentioned in the *Menologium Graecorum* Dec. 24, (Canisius, *Thesaur. Monum.* iii. 498), as having baptized the martyr Eugenia in the reign of Commodus. (Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 903.) [J. de S.]

HELENUS (2), bishop of Heliopolis in Egypt. He is mentioned in the Martyrologies (cf. Lipomani *de Vitis SS.* ed. Surius, December 25) as the companion of St. Eugenia. But so many inconsistencies appear in the narrative that Le Quien seems fully justified in regarding it as almost wholly mythical. (*Or. Christ.* ii. 563.) [J. de S.]

HELENUS (3), bishop of Tarsus and metropolitan. He was involved in the controversy as to rebaptism, and we learn from a letter of Dionysius of Alexandria (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 5) that, during the dispute between Cyprian and Stephen of Rome, A.D. 256, Stephen renounced commution with him and Firmilian, together with the bishops of Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Galatia, because they insisted on rebaptizing those who had been baptized by heretics. He attended the two synods held at Antioch on the heretical views of Paul of Samosata, A.D. 265 and 272. Before the opening of the former synod, Helenus, with the other leading bishops, wrote to request the venerable Dionysius of Alexandria to give them the benefit of his theological learning and practical wisdom. The advanced age of Dionysius prevented him from complying with the request, but he wrote a letter giving his judgment on the points in controversy (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 46, vii. 27, 28). On the assembling of the second synod in 272, Firmilian of the Cappadocian Caesarea, the former president, being dead, Helenus presided over the meeting, which is expressly termed in the *Libellus Synodicus* "Synodus Heleni" (Labbe, *Concil.* i. 893, 901; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 870.) [E. V.]

HELERIUS—July 16. A reputed martyr in Jersey at the hands of the Vandals. His acts are corrupt and legendary. (*Acta SS.* Boll. Jul. iv. 145–152.) [G. T. S.]

HELI, martyr with Zoticus and Lucianus in Scythia, in the reign of Licinius; commemorated on Sept. 13. (Basil. *Menol.* i. 35.) [C. H.]

HELIADES, bishop of Zeugma on the Euphrates, in the province of Commagene, one of the Easterns who accompanied John of Antioch to the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, where he signed the letters and decrees of the rival council of John, and was consequently cut off from the communion of the orthodox (Mansi, iv. 1270, 1426, v. 776). It appears that Heliades did not persist in his obstinacy, as his name is not found in the list of fourteen bishops who were ultimately ejected from their sees. (Mansi, v. 965; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 942.) [L. D.]

HELIANUS (1) (ELIANUS), one of the forty martyrs of Sebaste. His relics were said to have been transferred to Beneventum in 763. (Borgia, *Mem. Istor. della Pontif. Cit. di Benevento*, i. 199.) [FORTY MARTYRS.] [C. H.]

HELIANUS (2), a bishop in Palestine, one of those to whom the letter of Theophilus patriarch of Alexandria, in condemnation of Origen in the year 400, was addressed. (Jerome, ep. 92, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

HELIAS (ELIAS), bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, deposed by the emperor Anastasius I. before 512. On the accession of Justin I., Hormisdas bishop of Rome pleaded with him for the restoration of Elias to his see, which had long being occupied by Soterichus. At the same time he wrote to the empress Euphemia, to Justinian, whose influence with his uncle was already paramount, to Germanus, a Vir Illustrissimus, to his own legates Germanus bishop of Capua and Blandus a presbyter, to solicit their intercession in his behalf, and to Helias, and two of his fellow sufferers, to inform them of what he had done (Hormisd. Pap. Epp. 57–60; in Pat. Lat. lxiii. 486; Mansi, viii. 471; Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.* pp. 68, 69). He only succeeded, however, in obtaining a promise that on the death of Soterichus Helias should be his successor. Soterichus was still bishop A.D. 536 (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 377), and it may be inferred that Helias died before him. The letters of Hormisdas are not dated, but as the reply of Justinian was written on June 7 in the consulship of Vitalian, *i.e.* A.D. 520 (*Chron. Pasch.* Ol. cccxxv.) they must have been sent from Rome A.D. 519 (Baronius, ann. 519, cxxxiv.) [T. W. D.]

HELIC, ST., one of the children assigned to king Brychan of Brecknock. He is said to have settled on the Cornish coast, giving his name to the parish of Eglos-hayle (William of Worc. *Itin.* 130). Cornwall, Devon, and the opposite coast of Wales seem to have been under the same rulers of the old Celtic race even after Ceawlin's victories had severed the connexion by land, which led the way to the occupation of Bristol, perhaps in the time of Ethelbald of Mercia (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 160; Kerslake, *St. Ewen, Bristol, and the Welsh Border*, 1874; Freeman *on King Ine*, pp. 47, 53). [C. W. B.]

HELICON, a sophist or professor of rhetoric at Constantinople, who composed in ten books an Abstract of Chronology and History from Adam to the reign of Theodosius the Great, taking it down to 395 (Suidas, *s. v.*). Simlerus and Vossius state that the work still exists in manuscript in Italy. (Simlerus, *Bibliotheca*, p. 270; Vossius, *de Historicis Graecis*, ii. 19, p. 256; Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* v. 90; vii. 446; viii. 82; xi. 633; Ceillier, vi. 290.) [W. M. S.]

HELICONIA (Bas. *Men.*), **HELICONIS** (*Rom. Mart.*)—May 28. A native of Thessalonica martyred at Corinth, under the proconsul Perennius, during the reign of Gordian and Philip, A.D. 243. Her acts are preserved in Greek and Latin with a pretended edict of Gordian for a general persecution. (Dodwell, *Dissert. Cyprian* xi.; *Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. vi. 736–744.) [G. T. S.]

HELIG FOEL, Welsh saint, without any known church dedication, descended from Caradog Fraichfras. He owned a low-lying tract of land on the coast of Carnarvonshire, which became

submerged in the 7th century, and now forms the Lafan Sands in Beaumaris Bay. In the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (iii. 39–48) there is a translation of the *Hanes of Helig ab Glanawg*, with an account of his lands which were lost, his sons who were saints, and his other descendants. (*Myv. Arch.* ii. 45; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 298, 301–2; Williams, *Emin. Welshm.* 213.) [J. G.]

HELIGWYDD (HELIGUID), clerical witness to a grant of Ithael ab Morgan king of Glamorgan, late in the 6th or early in the 7th century. (*Lib. Landav.* by Rees, 186, 446–8.) [J. G.]

HELIMENAS (HELENAS, ELIMENES), presbyter and martyr with the presbyters Parmenius and Chrysotelus, at Cordula; commemorated on Ap. 22. (*Mart.*, Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom.* Wand., Notker.) [C. H.]

HELINGAUDUS. [HELMGAUDUS.]

HELIO (1) (Ἥλιων), a civil officer of high rank under the emperor Theodosius II. It was by him that Theodosius sent the diadem to his nephew Valentinian, A.D. 424. Helio was then patricius and magister officiorum (Olympiodor. *ap.* Phot. *Biblioth.* cod. lxxx. p. 63 B, Migne, Patr. Gr. ciii. 280 C, in the Latin version Helicon; Socr. *H. E.* vii. 24). Some years afterwards he was sent by Theodosius to conclude a peace with the Persians, one result of which was that the persecution, which the Christians of that country had long suffered, ceased (Socr. *H. E.* vii. 20; Theophanes, *Chron.* s. a. 421, Migne, Patr. Gr. cviii. 234). [T. W. D.]

HELIO (2) (Ἥλιων), addressed by Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who expresses his delight in writing to him, and his desire that he will return the favour (Firm. Epist. 28). [E. V.]

HELIODORUS (1), bishop of Laodicea (Latakieh) in Syria. The only mention of his name is by Dionysius of Alexandria, who relates that he succeeded Thelymidres. (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 5; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 791.) [J. de S.]

HELIODORUS (2), bishop of Zabulon in Palestine, present at the first general council at Nicaea, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 693; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 673.) [J. de S.]

HELIODORUS (3), bishop of Nicopolis, the metropolis of Vetus Epirus, subscribed the council of Sardica, A.D. 347. (Mansi, iii. 39; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 133.) [L. D.]

HELIODORUS (4), Arian bishop of Sozysa in Libya Prima, on the coast of the Mediterranean. He signed the declarations of the Seleucian council, A.D. 359. He was deposed, together with other semi-Arian bishops, in the following year. (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 28; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 617.) [J. de S.]

HELIODORUS (5)—April 9. Martyr at the hands of Sapor II. king of the Persians. He was bishop of Bezabde, a town on the banks of the Tigris. In 362 Sapor invaded Mesopotamia and swept away a vast number of exiles, including Heliodorus, who fell sick after his capture and died. Before his death he consecrated as bishop a priest variously named Desas, Dosas, and Dausas, and delivered to him the portable altar which Eastern bishops when travelling carried with them. (Asseman. *Acta Mart.* i. 134; Basil. *Men.* iii. 49, in Migne, Patr. Gr. cxvii.; Sirlet's *Menolog. Graec.* Ap. 9.) [G. T. S.]

HELIODORUS (6), bishop of Tricca in Thessaly. He introduced into Thessaly the custom of episcopal marriage, and was the author of certain erotic books called *Aethiopica* (Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22). Though these works were written in his youth, yet so great was the scandal caused by them that Heliodorus was deprived of his bishopric by the provincial synod (Nicephorus Callist. *H. E.* xii. 34). He must have lived before the 5th century. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 117; Migne, Patr. Gr. cxlvi. 296.) Photius, who describes the *Aethiopica* (cod. 75), states that the author was of Phoenician origin, and was said to have become a bishop. Valesius disbelieves in the author being the bishop of Tricca, while Reading identifies the writer with the Heliodorus of Jerome's epistles. (Vales. and *Varior.* notes on Soc.) [L. D.]

HELIODORUS (7), bishop of Altinum near Aquileia, cir. 400. He had served originally as a soldier (derelictâ militiâ—Jerome, ep. xiv. 6, ed. Vall.), but had left that calling and been ordained before the time when we first hear of him. He formed one of the band of friends who were drawn together at Aquileia, about the year 372, for the study of Scripture and the practice of asceticism, which included St. Jerome, Evagrius afterwards bishop of Antioch, Rufinus, Bonosus, and Chromatius afterwards bishop of Aquileia. The passion for asceticism and the troubles which arose about Jerome made the companions resolve, under the guidance of Evagrius, to go to Syria. They went by land, probably passing Constantinople, and going through Asia Minor to Antioch (Jerome, ep. iii. 3. ed. Vall.). There they stayed some time. Heliodorus went to Jerusalem, where he enjoyed the hospitality of Florentius, who, having devoted himself to the ascetic life, employed his wealth in the entertainment of pilgrims (Jerome, ep. iv. ed. Vall.). He there heard that Rufinus had arrived in Egypt with Melania (Jer. ep. iii. 2). Returning to Antioch he found Jerome, who had been ill, resolved to go into the solitude of the desert of Chalcis. But he determined not to go with him. He was himself a presbyter and had a call for the pastoral life, and he had a sister and a nephew, who were dependent on him (Jerome, ep. lx. 9, ed. Vall.). He therefore determined, with regret, to return to his native place, Aquileia, holding out to his friend some hopes that he might rejoin him one day in the desert (*ibid.*). Jerome wrote to him on his return to Italy (ep. 14) a letter which afterwards had a great effect in furthering the cause of asceticism, and became so celebrated that a Roman lady, Fabiola, knew it by heart (Jerome, ep. lxxvii. 9, ed. Vall.). It was a remonstrance to Heliodorus on his having gone back from that which alone Jerome believed at that time to be the way of the perfect life, and it reproached him with turning his back upon the

higher service of Christ, and bade him think of the account he must render for this at the day of judgment (ep. xiv. 11). At other times Jerome charged himself with having by his sins driven his friend away (ep. vi.). But their friendship was never broken. Heliodorus continued in the pastoral office, and not long afterwards became bishop of Altinum. His nephew Nepotianus, like himself, was brought up for a military career, but was afterwards ordained; and Jerome, writing to him in the year 394 (ep. lii.), bids him take his uncle as a model of a Christian pastor. Heliodorus was present in 381 as a bishop at the council of Aquileia. In after years he was closely allied with Chromatius bishop of Aquileia, and in common with him kept up a communication with their former friend Jerome, then residing at Bethlehem. On the death of Nepotianus in 396, Jerome wrote to Heliodorus a letter of consolation, in which all the affection of the friend is expressed. Heliodorus on his side took a warm interest in Jerome's translation of the Scriptures. He, with Chromatius, frequently wrote to him, exhorting him to complete the work, which was for a long time delayed. They supported amanuenses to assist him; and by the grateful mention of their aid in the prefaces to the books last translated, their names are for ever associated with the great work of the Vulgate. ("Preface to the Books of Solomon and to Tobit," Jerome's *Works*, vol. ix. 1305, x. 26; Migne's edition of Vallarsi's *Jerome*). Cappelletti (*Le Chiese d'Italia*, v. 516, 610) reckons his successor in the see of Altinum to have been Ambrosius, A.D. 407. [W. H. F.]

HELIODORUS (8), bishop of Amathus in Cyprus, subscribed the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, by Soter bishop of Theodosiana. (Mansi, vii. 160; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1064.) [L. D.]

HELIODORUS (9), bishop of Pinara in Lycia. His name was subscribed to the synodal letter of his province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458, by archdeacon Nicolaus, where Narensis is an evident error for Pinarensis. (Mansi, vii. 580; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 975.) [L. D.]

HELIODORUS (10), bishop of Cufruta in Byzacene, banished by Hunneric, A.D. 484. (Victor Vit. *Notit.* p. 58; Morcelli, *Afr. Christ.* i. 147.) [R. S. G.]

HELIODORUS (11), 12th bishop of Sedunum (Sion), between Agricola and Honorius, represented at the second council of Mâcon in A.D. 585 (Mansi, ix. 958; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 735). [S. A. B.]

HELIODORUS (12), one of the solitaries of Nazianzus, lauded in a poem by Gregory Nazianzen. (In *Opp.* ed. Bill. tom. ii. p. 100, carm. 47; in Migne, *Poemat.* lib. ii. sec. 2, poem i. ver. 203. Patr. Gr. xxxvii. 1466 A.) [E. V.]

HELIODORUS (13), presbyter, a friend of St. Hilary of Poitiers. It appears that Hilary was in the habit of seeking from Heliodorus explanations of those points which he could not understand in Origen's commentaries. (Hieron. ep. 34, al. 141, ad Marcellam, § 5.) [J. G. C.]

HELIODORUS (14), presbyter, commemorated by Gennadius. He wrote a work against the Manichaeans, entitled, *De Natura Rerum Exordialium*, proving that the universe and all things in it had one only Creator, and refuting the idea of a coeternal power who was the author of evil. (Gennad. *de Scriptor.* c. 6; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 208.) [E. V.]

HELIODORUS (15), presbyter of Antioch c. 440, who is mentioned by Gennadius as the author of an excellent treatise *De Virginitate*, well furnished with Scripture proofs. (Gennad. *de Scriptor.* c. 29; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 430.) [E. V.]

HELIODORUS (16), a monk addressed by Nilus, who cautions him that his temperament being of so warm a nature in respect of the female sex, his only safe course is to avoid all converse with women, never even to behold them without absolute necessity, whether they might be living under monastic rule or otherwise. (Nil. *Epp.* lib. ii. ep. 46, p. 138, in Patr. Gr. lxxix. 208.) [C. H.]

HELIODORUS (17), martyr with Dosa, perhaps under Constantine Copronymus; commemorated by the Greeks on Aug. 20. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 96.) [C. H.]

HELIODORUS (18), martyr at Antioch in Pisidia with Marcus, Nico, Neo, and others, under Diocletian; commemorated on Sept. 28. (Bas. *Men.* i. 74.) [C. H.]

HELIOGABALUS. [ELAGABALUS.]

HELIOTROPITAE (Ἡλιοτροπῖται), according to Joannes Damascenus, a heretical sect who worshipped the plant heliotrope, which they conceived to turn round towards the sun in virtue of a divine power which dwelt in it. Damascenus speaks of the Heliotropitae as having arisen between the reigns of the emperors Marcian and Heraclius (Jo. Damas. *de Haeres.* cap. iv. § 89, p. 108 in Migne, Patr. Gr. xciv. 738, 758, 762). [T. W. D.]

HELIUS, a deacon, present at the time when Silvanus committed the act of tradition of which he was afterwards convicted. [SILVANUS.] (*Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 170, ed. Oberthür.) [H. W. P.]

HELIX (HELICO), a heretic, the evidence for whose existence consists in the fact that Anastasius in the 7th century gives passages which purport to be extracts from a work of Hippolytus against Beron and Helix. In the article HIPPOLYTUS the reasons are given for thinking this tract not to be a work of that father; and if it be a forgery of the time of the Monophysite controversies, Beron and Helix, who are heard of nowhere else, are likely to be imaginary personages. Fabricius got rid of the name Helix altogether, conjecturing, but apparently without sufficient reason, that the true reading was κατὰ Βήρωνος καὶ ἡλικιωτῶν αἱρετικῶν. [G. S.]

HELLADIUS (1) (ELLADIUS), 4th bishop of Auxerre, between Valerianus and Amator. He was present at the synod of Valence, 374, died

in 387, and was commemorated on May 8. (Mansi, tom. iii. p. 491; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. ii. 300; *Gall. Chr.* xii. 261.) [R. T. S.]

HELLADIUS (2), bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who succeeded Basil the Great in that see A.D. 379. We appear to know nothing of Helladius's history before he attained the episcopate, beyond the fact of his marriage; and our only authorities for his conduct in the fulfilment of his office are the two Gregories, who can hardly be considered unprejudiced witnesses. His relations with both of them were on more than one occasion of an unfriendly nature, and he can hardly be acquitted of having treated Gregory Nyssen with great rudeness (Greg. Nyss. *ad Flavian.* vol. iii. p. 645). [GREGORY NYSSEN.] The step he took in removing Sacerdos from his office as governor of the hospital founded by Basil at Caesarea gave umbrage to Basil's friends, and especially to Gregory Nazianzen, who wrote several letters on the subject to Helladius, in which he uses some very hard language (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 216, 217). He also gave Gregory Nazianzen great offence by the opposition he shewed to his resignation of his office as bishop of Nazianzus, and the consecration of his successsor Eulalius (*ibid.* 225). Gregory Nazianzen, however, on more than one occasion, had recourse to his good offices in behalf of his relatives, Nicobulus, and his son Nicobulus the younger (*ibid.* 218). Helladius got considerable discredit by ordaining (Soz. viii. 6) Gerontius bishop of Nicomedia, in return, it was said, for his good offices in obtaining by his court influence a high military office for his son. [GERONTIUS (7).] He attended the oecumenical council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, and was declared by the emperor, together with Otreius of Melitene and Gregory Nyssen, a centre of Catholic communion for Pontus and Bithynia (Theod. *H. E.* v. 8; Soz. *H. E.* vii. 9; Soc. v. 8; Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 956; Mansi, iii. 569). He was again at Constantinople in 394, at the synod held at the time of the consecration of Rufinus's church, to decide the rival claims of Agapius and Bagadius to the see of Bostra (Labbe, ii. 1151, Palladius being a manifest error for Helladius). A biography of his great predecessor Basil is erroneously ascribed to Helladius by Joannes Damascenus (*de Imagin.* lib. i. p. 59). (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 373; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 267; Fabric. *Biblioth. Graec.* vol. iv. p. 293.) [E. V.]

HELLADIUS (3), a Cappadocian bishop addressed by Gregory Nazianzen, perhaps to be distinguished from Helladius of Caesarea, the subject of the preceding article. Gregory wrote him his thanks after Easter, 382, for a paschal present and letter. Gregory wishes Helladius a long life, but for himself a speedy death; Helladius could confer on him no greater boon than were he and his comprovincial bishops to appoint a bishop to Nazianzus. (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 172 in Patr. Gr. xxxvii. 282; Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* ix. "Grég. de Naz." note lvi.) [E. V.]

HELLADIUS (4), bishop of Tarsus c. 430. He was a disciple of St. Theodosius of Antioch, and after his death (c. A.D. 412) presided over the monastery he had founded near Rhosus in Cilicia. Having spent sixty years in monastic life, he was raised to the episcopate as successor to Marianus bishop of the metropolitan see of Tarsus (Theod. *Vit. Patr.* c. 10). His episcopate illustrates the stormy period of the council of Ephesus. He was one of those who protested against commencing the council before the arrival of John of Antioch and the oriental bishops (Baluz. *Nov. Concil. Coll.* p. 697), and he joined the opposition council, conciliabulum, presided over by John upon his arrival. He supported the counter-remonstrances addressed to the emperors by Nestorius (*ibid.* 703). His name is also appended to the synodal letter to the clergy and laity of Hierapolis (*ibid.* 705), and to that to John of Antioch and Theodoret and the other members of the Oriental deputation to Theodosius (*ibid.* 725). Helladius steadily ignored the deposition of Nestorius, and withheld all recognition of Maximian as his successor. John of Antioch wrote, commending him for what he had done (*ibid.* 752, c. 48). When the leaders of the rival parties were taking steps for the restoration of peace, Helladius kept aloof, and on the receipt of the six articles drawn up by John at a council held at Antioch, which ultimately opened the way for reconciliation, he united with Alexander of Hierapolis in his rejection of the terms, and spurned all thought of communion with Cyril. He wrote to Alexander that, wearied out by the struggle and sick at heart at the defection of those who had once been his fellow combatants, he longed to retire to a monastery, and that nothing kept him back but his care for his flock (*ibid.* 770, c. 68). So passed the summer of 432. The year 433 saw the concordat between Cyril and John confirmed, to the indignation of the irreconcilable party. A synod held by Helladius at Tarsus indignantly repudiated the "execrable agreement" made with Cyril, and declared that the condemnation could not be removed from "the Egyptian" until he had "anathematized his own anathematisms." The firmness of Helladius rejoiced Alexander, who wrote back that he intended to hold a synod himself, begging Helladius, whom he regarded as the leader he was resolved to follow, to attend it and sign its decrees (*ibid.* 713, c. 110; 814, c. 111; 815, c. 114). The next step taken by Helladius in conjunction with Eutherius of Tyana was to draw up a long letter to pope Sixtus, giving their account of the proceedings of the council of Ephesus, and begging him as a new Moses to save the true Israel from the persecution of the Egyptians. This letter was sent round to obtain the signatures of other bishops (*ibid.* 817 sqq. c. 117). At this period we have a letter from Theodoret, complaining that Helladius refused to answer him, and seemed to regard him as a deserter. Theodoret had accepted Cyril's letter because he found it orthodox, but he would never desert Nestorius (*ibid.* 813, c. 110). From this point the resolution of Helladius began to break down. The concordat was accepted by an increasing number of the Oriental prelates, and he found himself left more and more alone. John wrote to complain of his obstinacy (*ibid.* 842, c. 140). Theodosius felt that it was impossible to allow his imperial authority to be any longer set at nought, and threatened to put the civil power in motion against him and the other recusants. Helladius, together with Alexander, Theodoret, and

Maximian, were ordered to accept the concordat or resign their sees. All eventually yielded but the stubborn old bishop of Hierapolis. The quaestor Domitian, who was entrusted with the execution of the imperial decree, exhorted Helladius to consult the peace of the church, and resume communion with John and consequently with Cyril (*ibid.* 829, c. 125). Theodoret also wrote to his old friend, telling him that he and John had found Cyril's letter orthodox, entreating him not by his obstinacy to destroy his flock (*ibid.* 859, c. 160). The path was much cleared by the death of Maximian, April 12, 434, and the succession of the saintly Proclus (Socr. *H. E.* vii. 41). The orthodoxy of the new bishop of Constantinople was readily acknowledged by Helladius, who was evidently glad to be helped out of his dilemma by the removal of the first intrusive occupant of Nestorius's see (*ibid.* 850, c. 148). Having determined on yielding, Helladius wrote to Alexander to explain his conduct. The bishops of Cilicia Secunda had resumed communion with John and Cyril, and he was compelled by the urgency of the bishops and clergy of his own province to follow their example to avoid worse evils (*ibid.* 862, c. 164). Alexander bitterly reproached Helladius with his weakness (*ibid.* 863, c. 164). Helladius, however, lost no time in convoking the bishops of his province, whose synodical letters were drawn up and despatched to Theodosius, declaring in the most decided language their complete acceptance of all that was required of them: admission of the decrees of the council of Ephesus, communion with Cyril, the ratification of Nestorius's sentence of deposition, and the anathematization of him and his adherents (*ibid.* 887, c. 192). Helladius had saved himself from deposition and exile at the expense of consistency. He had now to justify his conduct to Nestorius, whom he had repeatedly promised never to forsake. The task was no easy one; nor can we say that he fulfilled it with any honour to himself. He wrote Nestorius a short letter to the effect that though through men's evil deeds everything from beginning to end had turned out directly contrary to his prayers, his feeling towards him remained unchanged, and that as he knew he was still struggling for true piety, he believed that he would joyfully endure all that was laid upon him, and that he hoped he might be reckoned with him at the last judgment, when his soul, tried by so many and great temptations, would shine forth. He excuses himself for joining Theodoret and those who with him had accepted the concordat, on the ground that the letters produced from Cyril were in perfect harmony with apostolical traditions (*ibid.* 888, c. 193). At this period Helladius passes off the stage, and we know no more of him. The letters are printed by Chr. Lupus in his *Epistolae Ephesinae*, No. 68, 111, 114, 144, 154, 193. They are also given by Baluze, *Concil. Nov. Collect.* in the *Tragoedia Irenaei*, c. 68, 111, 114, 117, 130, 164, 192, 193. (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. xiv.; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* tom. ii. p. 874; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 418.) [E. V.]

HELLADIUS (5), a bishop identified by Muratori with the bishop of Tarsus of this name. Firmus of Caesarea wrote to warn him of a woman who having devoted herself to a religious life had fallen into gross licentiousness, and with the aid of her paramour had plundered another lady of her property, and carried off her slaves, and had fled to the city of which Helladius was bishop. Firmus desires Helladius to punish her as she deserves, and pronounce excommunication upon her, if not perpetual, at least until she repents and reforms (Firm. Ep. 41, and Muratori's note). [E. V.]

HELLADIUS (6), bishop of Ptolemais (Acre) in Phoenicia, present at the third general council at Ephesus, A.D. 431, taking part with the Orientals in opposition to its conclusions. (Mansi, iv. 1269; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 815.) [J. de S.]

HELLADIUS (7), bishop of Adramyttium, present at the council of Ephesus, 431. (Mansi, v. 612; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 701.) [L. D.]

HELLADIUS (8), a Gallic bishop who signed the synodical epistle of Ravennius archbishop of Arles to pope Leo the Great in 451 (Leo. Mag. ep. 99 in Pat. Lat. liv. 966 B), and was addressed among the rest by Leo in reply (id. ep. 101, ib. 985 A). [C. H.]

HELLADIUS (9), bishop of Stectorium, in Phrygia Salutaris. At the sixth session of the council of Chalcedon his name was subscribed in his absence to the definition of faith read before the emperor Marcian by Marianus of Synnada, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 164, where Tectorii should be altered to Stectorii; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 849.) [L. D.]

HELLADIUS (10), bishop of Panemotichus in Pamphylia, present at the synod of Constantinople under Mennas, A.D. 536. (Mansi, viii. 1147; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1034.) [L. D.]

HELLADIUS (11), bishop and martyr in the east, ἱερομάρτυς, commemorated on May 28, a zealous and successful preacher among the pagans (Basil. *Menol.* iii. 116). According to others his day was May 27, and his period perhaps the 6th or 7th century. (*Cal. Byzant.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mai. vi. 711 C.) [C. H.]

HELLADIUS (12), ST., archbishop of Toledo, 615–633. He was the son of Helladius, a cousin of the kings Liuva and Leovigild, and held in his youth a high office at court, but his worldly habit disguised the vows and works of a monk. Even before he took the vows, he used when he was travelling on business to stop at the monastery of Agali, near Toledo, and join the monks in gathering sticks for the oven. He is said to have attended the third council of Toledo in A.D. 589 as the king's representative. He became a monk of the monastery of Agali about A.D. 602, abbat in A.D. 605, and was made archbishop in A.D. 615. He died in A.D. 633 on Feb. 18, on which day he is commemorated (Boll. *AA. SS.* Feb. iii. 79; Ceillier, xi. 699; St. Ildefonsus, *de Vir. Illust.* c. 7, in Migne, Patr. Lat. xcvi. 202). [F. D.]

HELLADIUS (13), a member of the household of the prefect of Cappadocia, much esteemed by Basil for his Christian virtues. Basil wrote to him in 372 in behalf of a widow lady named Julitta, begging him to make interest for her

with the prefect, with whom he knows Helladius has considerable influence. (Basil. *Epist.* 107 [287], 109 [422].) [E. V.]

HELLADIUS (14), cousin of Gregory Nazianzen, and brother of Eulalius bishop of Nazianzus, with the latter of whom he embraced an ascetic life. He was dead before A.D. 372. [EULALIUS (10).] [E. V.]

HELLADIUS (15), pagan grammarian, a priest of Jupiter. He was distinguished as a professor at Alexandria until A.D. 389, when the demolition of pagan temples under Theodosius made him retire to Constantinople, and there Socrates the historian, then a very young man, received instructions from him. (Soc. *H. E.* v. 16.) In 425 Theodosius II., by an edict conferred upon him and other public professors at Constantinople the rank enjoyed by ex-vicarii (*Cod. Theod.* VI. xxi.) Besides other works Helladius compiled a Greek Lexicon described by Photius as λέξεως παντοίας χρῆσις κατὰ στοιχεῖον (cod. 165), and τῶν λέξεων συλλογή (cod. 158, sub fin.), to which work Suidas was indebted, as appears from the mention of Helladius among the authors at the commencement of his *Lexicon*. See also the *Index Scriptorum de quibus Suidas* (Migne, Pat. Gr. cxvii. 1269). [T. W. D.]

HELLADIUS (16), a Luciferian, interlocutor with "Orthodoxus" in Jerome's *Dialogus contra Luciferianos* (Hieron. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 171, in Pat. Lat. xxiii. 156 A). [C. H.]

HELLADIUS (17), a layman of rank, occupying a high official position at Caesarea in Cappadocia, addressed by Firmus, who congratulated him on having escaped the dangers of a tempestuous voyage and reached Caesarea in safety, begging him to do what he could to relieve the famine under which the city was labouring, and lessen the burdens caused by the presence of the troops and their frequent transit. In a second letter Firmus thanks him for the proofs of his friendship and promises him his prayers. (Firm. epp. 12, 26.) [E. V.]

HELLADIUS (18) (ELLADIUS), a cleric attached to the Byzantine court, styled by Palladius "Presbyter of the Palace," who suffered in the persecution after Chrysostom's exile, and had to take refuge on a small estate of his in Bithynia (Pallad. c. 20). Chrysostom had great confidence in his discretion and intelligence, and begged Olympias to send some important letters to Hilarius by him (Chrys. *Epist.* 14, ad fin.). [E. V.]

HELLADIUS (19), one of the friends made by Chrysostom during his stay at Caesarea on his way to Cucusus, to whom he wrote on his arrival, acquainting him with his comfortable condition, and begging him to write to him often. (Chrys. *Epist.* 172.) [E. V.]

HELLADIUS (20), an anchoret, afterwards bishop, to whom Cassian addressed the first ten books of his *Collationes* or treatises on the monastic life, about the year A.D. 423. (Jo. Cassian. *Collat.* praef., in Patr. Lat. xlix. 478, 479 A.) [I. G. S.]

HELLADIUS (21), a presbyter, who with his son Lucianus restored the walls of Assos in Mysia. Their names are recorded in an inscription on the walls of the city copied by Boeckh (*Corp. Inscript.* iv. 8838), who fixes the date about the time of Justinian, and by Fellows (*Asia Minor*, p. 50). To his exertions it may be due that the wall is still perfect on the west side, and that, as Leake observes (*Asia Minor*, p. 128), the whole gives the most perfect idea of a Greek city which anywhere exists. [G. T. S.]

HELLANICUS (1), bishop of Tripolis in Phoenicia. He was present at the first general council at Nicaea, A.D. 325, and was subsequently driven from his see through Arian influence, according to the statement of Athanasius. (*Hist. Arian. ad Monachos*, § 5; Patrol. Gr. xxv. 700; Mansi, ii. 693; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 823.) [J. de S.]

HELLANICUS (2), bishop of Rhodes, the metropolis of the province of the Cyclades, sat and subscribed amongst the metropolitans at the oecumenical council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Mansi, v. 612; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 924.) [L. D.]

HELLEBICHUS or HELLEBICIUS. [HELEBECHUS.]

HELLENIUS, surveyor of customs at Nazianzus, the confidential friend both of Basil and Gregory Nazianzen. He was an Armenian by birth, was married and the father of a family, and, together with his brother, who, like himself, had acquired reputation by his eloquence, was employed in the administration of justice (Greg. Naz. carm. 47, *Opp.* t. ii. p. 106, ed. Bill., or in Migne, Pat. Gr. xxxvii. 1451, *Carm.* lib. ii. sec. 2, p. 995). We find him in 371 conveying a letter from Gregory to Basil (Basil. *Epist.* 71 [33]), and in 372 a message from the bishops of Lesser Armenia (*ibid.* 98 [259]). Having asked Gregory to send him a homily, he received in 372 the above poem instead, in praise of the solitaries of his district. [E. V.]

HELMGAUDUS (ELMGAUDUS, HELINGAUDUS, HELMENGAUDUS, the spelling is very uncertain) was an officer (comes) of Charlemagne sent on an embassy along with the bishop of Amiens to the court of the Greek emperor in 802. (Einhardi *Annales* sub anno; *Monum. Carolina*, ed. Jaffé, pp. 309–312, 315.) [T. R. B.]

HELOGARUS, fifth bishop of St. Malo, succeeding St. Armaelus, and followed by Emmorus, was abbat of St. Mevennius (Méen) at the same time, as we learn from a charter of Louis the Pious, dated in 817, which confirms concessions granted to that monastery by Charles the Great (Migne, Patr. Lat. civ. 1042; *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 997). [S. A. B.]

HELPIDIUS. See also ELPIDIUS.

HELPIDIUS (1), Donatist bishop of the place whose name is variously written Thusdrus, Tusdrus, Tisdrus, Tisdra, Tysdrus, and later, Turdus, and perhaps Dydris, a town of Byzacene, about thirty-two miles equidistant from Leptis Minor and Usula [El Jemme] (Ant. *Itin.* 59, 1; Hirt. *Bell. Afr.* 76; Shaw, p. 157), present at the Maximianist council of Cabarsussis, A.D. 394; Aug. *En. in Ps.* xxxvi. 30; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 258, ed. Oberthür). [H. W. P.]

HELPIDIUS (2), a bishop of Cyprus at the close of the 4th century. To him and the other suffragans of Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, the letter condemning Origen was addressed by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, in the year 400. The letter was translated by Jerome. (*Ep.* 92, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

HELPIDIUS (3), bishop of Aquae, a town of Mauritania Caesariensis, thirty-five miles south-east of Caesarea [Hammam Mrid-ja] (Ant. *Itin.* 31, 4), present at Carth. Conf. A.D. 411 (Labbe, *Concilia*, ii. 1335; *Mon. Vet. Don.* p. 432, ed. Oberthür). [H. W. P.]

HELPIS, wife of Boethius. [ELPIS (2).]

HELVAEUS, HELVACUS (ELUEUS, ELUIUS), bishop of Menevia. [AILFYW.] His name is inserted in the second edition of Wilson's *English Martyrology*, and in the *Sarum Brev.* at March 1. The Bollandists (*Acta SS.* 27 Feb. iii. 678) identify him with the Munster bishop Helvaeus, who in *Vit. S. Davidis*, baptized St. David, and is probably St. Ailbhe. (O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, iii. 9, 10.) [J. G.]

HELVE, form of AILBHE.

HELVIANDUS. [ELVIANDUS.]

HELVIDIUS, alphabetically, though not chronologically, the first of those westerns who, like Novatian and Pelagius, Jovinian and Vigilantius, put forward opinions on anthropological subjects opposed to the generally received teaching of the church in their day, that have nevertheless been revived in modern times. In the East, where the interest for pure theology has never cooled, any serious discussion of such questions is still all but unknown.

The only contemporary notice preserved of Helvidius is the short tract against him by St. Jerome (*Opp.* ii. p. 203–30, ed. Vallars), written when they were both at Rome, while pope Damasus was alive, as we learn from the latter. It appeared, according to Vallarsius, A.D. 383. St. Jerome says he had put off answering him for some time: "ne respondendo dignus fieret, qui vinceretur;" and he describes him throughout as "hominem rusticanum, et vix primis quoque imbutum literis" (§ 1); besides being wholly unknown to him: "Ego ipse, qui contra te scribo, quum in eadem urbe consistam, albus, ut aiunt, aterve sis, nescio." St. Jerome speaks of his own work in writing to Pammachius as "librum contra Helvidium *de beatae Mariae virginitate perpetuâ*" (ep. xlviii. § 17), this being what his opponent had denied in the first instance, though the outcome of his opinions had been to rank virginity below matrimony. Helvidius sought countenance for his first point in the writings of Tertullian and Victorinus. St. Jerome shews (§ 17) he had misrepresented the latter; of Tertullian, whose writings may still speak for themselves, he merely says "Ecclesiae hominem non fuisse." But, in any case, he retorts with much force: what avail straggling opinions against primitive truth? "Numquid non possum tibi totam veterum scriptorum seriem commovere: Ignatium, Polycarpum, Irenaeum, Justinum Martyrem, multosque alios apostolicos et eloquentes viros, qui adversus Ebionem, et Theodotum Byzantium, Valentinum, haec eadem sentientes, plena sapientiae volumina conscripserunt. Quae si legisses aliquando, plus saperes." This argument is just as suitable to our own, as it was to patristic times, never losing anything by repetition. What had Helvidius to oppose to it in this case? Nothing, unless his adversary misrepresents him, but novel interpretations of Scripture by himself. St. Jerome therefore refutes him only so far as to point out, that there is no necessity for understanding any of the passages adduced by him otherwise than the church had understood them hitherto; but that, in any case, the interpretations of them offered by Helvidius are delusive. One specimen must suffice. Πρωτότοκος is a term which is applied to our Lord by St. Matthew and St. Luke conjointly with marked emphasis. And St. Luke further deposes to its being applied to him in a strict legal sense. Helvidius, heedless of this, drew his own inference: "Nititur approbare *primogenitum* non posse dici, nisi eum qui habeat et fratres: sicut unigenitus ille vocatur qui parentibus solus sit filius" (§ 10). But the fact of the matter was, this word, legally construed, had exclusive reference to two things: first, the act of the mother; and secondly, the sex of the child. The first born of a woman was not a legal first-born, unless it was a male; and the first born in wedlock was not a legal first-born, unless it was the first born of the woman. But these conditions having been fulfilled in any given case, the son was a first-born in the eyes of the law from that time forth, whether any subsequent issue followed or not; and such Jesus was decided to have been when He was presented in the temple: "Omnis unigenitus est primogenitus: non omnis primogenitus est unigenitus," as it has been tersely put. The "sisters" attributed to Him in two Gospels, and the "brethren" in all four, St. Jerome further shews are no proof of any subsequent issue by His virgin-mother, for either they may have been half-brothers and sisters—children of St. Joseph by a former marriage—or else, simply first-cousins, children of the sister of the Virgin, married to Cleophas, who was also called Mary; as in both cases, Hebrew usage would justify the application to them of the closer tie. St. Jerome winds up his argument in these words: "Natum Deum esse de virgine credimus, quia legimus: Mariam nupsisse post partum, non credimus, quia non legimus. Nec hoc ideo dicimus, quo nuptias condemnemus, ipsa quippe virginitas fructus est nuptiarum: sed quod nobis de sanctis viris temere aestimare nihil liceat" (§ 19). In what follows he admits being over rhetorical and declamatory. Still as, even in this, he nowhere charges Helvidius with having been "a disciple of Auxentius," the Arian bishop of Milan; or "an imitator of Symmachus," the champion of idolatry, we may well ask with Vallarsius where Gennadius, who wrote more than a century later, got authority for both statements (*de Script. Eccl.* c. 33), which Cave repeats in part (*Hist. Lit.* i. 278). Neither St. Ambrose nor St. Augustine mention him in their treatises on *Virginity*, where they make common cause with St. Jerome in condemning his views. His followers, indeed, constitute the eighty-fourth of the heresies enumerated by the latter. [E. S. Ff.]

HEMELE, HEMELI. The eleventh bishop

of Lichfield (*M. H. B.* 623). He became bishop according to the Cottonian MS. of the Lichfield Fasti (*Ang. Sac.* i. 428) in 752, according to the interpolated notes to Florence of Worcester in 755 (*M. H. B.* 544). Neither of these is good authority, but neither can be very far from the mark: Hwitta, Hemele's predecessor, attended the council of Clovesho in 747 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 360, 362), and attests a charter of 749 (Kemble, *C. D.* 99), and Hemele's death is recorded by Simeon of Durham in 765; (*M. H. B.* 663). The Lichfield annalist gives him an episcopate of fifteen years (*Ang. Sac.* i. 428). Of any personal action of Hemele, during the extremely disturbed period that closed the reign of Ethelbald and began that of Offa, we have no record. His name is attached to a questionable grant of Eanbert to Worcester, referred by Kemble to 757 (K. *C. D.* 102). [S.]

HEMELIN, confessor. [HIMELINUS.]

HEMERIUS (Ἡμέριος, HIMERIUS), a civil catholicos (see *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*). According to Athanasius he was enjoined by the emperor Constantine to have a church erected for the presbyter Ischyras. Athanasius has preserved a letter of Hemerius addressed to the exactor of Mareotis, one of his subordinates, giving instructions relating to the work in question. (Athanas. *Apol. contr. Arian.* 85, in Pat. Gr. xxv. 402). Wernsdorf mentions him among the Himerii in his life of Himerius the sophist prefixed to his edition of that author's works (p. xxxv.). [T. W. D.]

HEMETHERIUS, one of the twelve sons of the centurion Marcellus, martyred with him in Spain under the praeses Agricolaus, A.D. 298. (Baron. *Annal.* ann. 298, ix.) [C. H.]

HEMGISLUS, HEMGISEL (HAEMGILS), abbat of Glastonbury. In the ancient list preserved in the Cotton MS. Tiberius B. 5, Haemgils appears as the first English abbat. William of Malmesbury assigns the first place to Beorthwald, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury (693), and places Hemgisel second. As there is no probability that archbishop Berhtwald was ever abbat of Glastonbury, the place remains open for Haemgils. According to William of Malmesbury (*Ant. Glast.* ap. Gale, p. 308) Hemgisel became abbat in 678 and held office for 25 years; in another place he gives the date 680 to 705 (*ib.* 328). It may be inferred that he was the chief agent of Ine and Haeddi in the restoration of the abbey, although the record of his acts and the charters which bear his name cannot stand critical investigation. He is the recipient of the grant of Lantocal, made by bishop Haeddi, July 6, 680 (K. *C. D.* 19; *Mon. Angl.* i. 47); in 681 a king, Baldred, with the consent of Kentwin, gives him land at Pennard (K. *C. D.* 20; *Mon. Angl.* i. 48; Malmes. *Antt. Glast.* p. 308); in 704 Ine bestowed large immunities on the abbey, which was still under Haemgils (K. *C. D.* 51; *Mon. Angl.* i. 25). William of Malmesbury gives an account of a charter of Kentwin dated 678, in which he states that, with the consent of Haeddi and at the petition of the monks, he has made Hemgisel abbat and gives him lands on Quantock, Caric, and Crucan (*Antt. Glast.* p. 308), but the original charter, which might possibly be the foundation charter of Glastonbury, is apparently not forthcoming. According to the same authority Haemgils died and was buried in the old church of Glastonbury in 705. His tomb seems to have been regarded with special honour, and to have been in the wooden church (K. *C. D.* 93). The Cotton MS. names as his successors Wealhstod, Coengils, Beorhtwald, Cealdhun, and Muca; the last of whom was present at the council of Clovesho in 803 (K. *C. D.* 1024); William of Malmesbury gives instead Beorwald, 705–712; Aldberht, 712–719; Atfrith, 719–729; Hemgisel 729; and six obscure abbats between Hemgisel and Muca, to whom he assigns the years 802–824. Of these Walthun (754–786) may represent Cealdhun; Beorwald is known as a contemporary of the early days of Boniface (*Mon. Mog.* p. 439; and see BEORWALD) 710–716 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 295, 296); and Coengils is the recipient of a letter preserved among those of St. Boniface, but without trustworthy mark of date (*Mon. Mogunt.* p. 126). Whilst neither of these lists can be regarded as satisfactory, the more ancient one is more in agreement with other data, and was probably manipulated by William of Malmesbury to agree with spurious charters. (See *Memorials* of *Dunstan*, pref. p. lxxxii.; *Mon. Angl.* i. 2.) [S.]

HEMIAREIANI (Ἡμιαρειανοί, Mansi, iii. 560; Ἡμιαρεῖοι, Jo. Damas. *de Haeres.* num. 72). [SEMIARIANS.] [T. W. D.]

HENANUS (ENANUS), hermit in the diocese of Meath, given by the Bollandists among their praetermissi at Sept. 18, perhaps Enan of Drumrath. [ENAN (3).] (*Acta SS.* 18 Sept. v. 756 B.) [J. G.]

HENEN, HENNEN, HENNWYEN, Welsh saint. [HYWYN.]

HENOCH, BOOK OF. [ENOCH, BOOK OF.]

HENOSIS, in the system of VALENTINUS, an Aeon, the consort of Ageratus. (Irenaeus, I. i. p. 6, II. xiv. p. 135; Epiph. *Haer.* 31, p. 169.) [G. S.]

HENOTICON, THE, or "INSTRUMENT OF UNION," a document owing its existence to Acacius, the patriarch of Constantinople, and probably the production of his pen, put forth by the emperor Zeno, A.D. 482, on his restoration to the throne, after the discomfiture of the usurper Basiliscus, with the view of putting an end to the dissensions caused by what Gibbon designates "the obstinate and sanguinary zeal of the Monophysites." The attempt was well meant, and we may accept that historian's verdict, that it is "in ecclesiastical history that Zeno appears least contemptible." But like every endeavour to cover radical differences by a vague comprehensiveness, it contained in itself the seeds of dissolution, and became eventually the fruitful source of still fiercer enmities between those who had been forced by it into a fictitious agreement. Not only did the "Henoticon" fail in securing the union which was its professed object, and aggravate the divisions it was intended to cure, but it created a schism which divided the churches of the East and West for nearly forty years, lasting down to the reign of Justinian and the popedom of Hormisdas.

The immediate cause of the issuing of the "Henoticon" was the dissension between the rival occupants of the patriarchal see of Alexandria. On the death of Timotheus Salophaciolus in A.D. 482, John Talaia, the oeconomus of the Alexandrian church, was elected by the orthodox party. He at once, according to custom, despatched synodical letters to the chief bishops of Christendom, to notify his election. Those addressed to Simplicius of Rome and Calandion of Antioch were duly received; but the letters intended for Acacius and Zeno were sent under cover to Illus, the "magister officiorum," whom it was rumoured he had made his friend by large bribes from the treasures of the church, requesting him to present the documents to the emperor and patriarch, and use his influence to secure their favourable reception. Unluckily, Illus was at Antioch on important business when the messenger arrived; and before the parcel of papers reached him and the letters could be placed in the hands of those for whom they were intended, Acacius had heard of John's appointment from another quarter. Fired by a neglect which he deemed a studied insult, Acacius resolved to get rid of the man who had so slighted him. It happened that Gennadius, bishop of Hermopolis Minor, a relation of Timotheus Salophaciolus, and "aprocrisarius" or legate of the see of Alexandria, was then at Constantinople. He conceived that he too had been slighted by the new patriarch, and gladly united with Acacius in compassing his overthrow. They represented to Zeno that Talaia was unworthy of the patriarchate, both as having replaced the name of Dioscorus on the diptychs, and as having perjured himself by accepting the see of Alexandria, after having, as was asserted, taken an oath that he would not seek for it. Zeno readily gave credence to these charges, and when it was further represented that, if he recognised Peter Mongus, the deposed patriarch, who, by his agents, had been practising on Acacius, peace would be restored, he wrote to Simplicius, stating his grounds for hesitating to sanction the appointment of John, and urging that the restoration of Peter Mongus would put an end to the distractions of the church. Simplicius replied, June A.D. 482, that, though he had been on the point of recognising John as patriarch, he delayed doing so until the grave charges brought by Zeno could be investigated. At the same time he utterly refused to allow the elevation of a convicted heretic, such as Peter Mongus, to the patriarchal see. His return to the true faith might restore him to the communion of the church, but could not render him worthy to be one of its chief rulers (Liberat. Diac. *Breviar.* cc. 16, 17; Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 12). This opposition to his wishes roused the indignation of Zeno, who, without delay, issued imperative commands to Pergamius, the new prefect of Egypt, then about to sail for Alexandria, and to Apollonius the governor, to expel John Talaia and seat Peter Mongus in his place. This was the time chosen by Acacius to persuade Zeno to present himself to the world in the novel character of an expounder of the faith of the Catholic church. Peter Mongus had agents at Constantinople, of whom an abbat named Ammon was the leader, actively working for his restoration under colour of seeking the peace of the church. Their strong representations that nothing would be so effectual for this end as the recognition of Mongus, were only too readily credited. The "Henoticon" was drawn up, which since, as will be seen, it did not directly mention the council of Chalcedon, and the hypothetical allusion contained in it was capable of being construed in a depreciatory sense, might be accepted by those who, like Mongus, had hitherto rejected its decrees. Ammon and his companions engaged for Mongus that he would adopt this instrument of union, and on their word he was recognised by Zeno and Acacius as the canonical patriarch and his name inserted in the diptychs.

This "Henoticon" was directed to the bishops and people in Alexandria, Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; but, as Tillemont has remarked (*Mém. Eccles.* xvi. 327), it was really addressed only to those who had separated themselves from the church, *i.e.* to the Monophysites or semi-Eutychians. The original document is given by Evagrius (*H. E.* iii. 14), and in a not very clear Latin translation by Liberatus (*Breviar.* c. 18; Labbe, *Concil.* v. 767). It commences by stating that "certain abbats, hermits, and other reverend persons, had presented to the emperor a petition, supplicating him to restore the unity of the churches, and enlarging on the lamentable results of the late divisions, which had caused vast numbers to depart this life destitute of the sacred laver and of Holy Communion, and produced such countless acts of homicide that not the earth only, but the air, reeked with blood." On this account, and knowing also that the strength and shield of the empire rested in the one true faith declared by the holy fathers gathered at Nicaea, and confirmed by those who met at Constantinople, and followed by those who had condemned Nestorius at the council of Ephesus, the emperor declares that "the creed so made and confirmed is the one only symbol of faith, and that he has held, holds, and will hold no other, and will regard all who hold another as aliens, and that in this alone those who desire saving baptism must be baptized." All who hold other views he anathematizes, and recognises the twelve chapters of Cyril as a symbolical book. The document then proceeds to declare the orthodox faith, viz. "that our Lord Jesus Christ is the only begotten Son of God, and Himself God, incarnate, consubstantial with the Father according to His Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to His manhood, that He came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and that He is One Son, not two." That "it was this One and the same Son of God who wrought miracles, and endured the sufferings which he underwent voluntarily in His flesh." Those "who divide or confound the natures, or admit only a phantastical incarnation," are to be rejected, "since the incarnation without sin of the Mother of God did not cause the addition of a Son, for the Trinity remained even when one Person of the Trinity, God the Word, became incarnate." It asserts that this is no new form of faith, and anathematizes all who have ever thought, or do think, "anything to the contrary, either now or at any other time, either at Chalcedon or in any other synod," especially Nestorius and Eutyches and their followers. The document closes with an earnest appeal to all to unite them-

selves to the church which, "as a loving mother, opens her longing arms to receive them."

Such was the document which was to "combine all the churches in one harmonious confederacy." It was "a work of some skill, of some adroitness, in attempting to reconcile, in eluding, evading difficulties; it is subtle to escape subtleties" (Milman, *Hist. of Lat. Christ.* bk. iii. ch. i. vol. i. p. 248). The crucial test of the unity or duality of the natures of the Incarnate Word is cleverly avoided; this being treated as an open question, on which a difference of opinion might be lawfully permitted. Gibbon's verdict is by no means an unfair one, that "it accurately represents the Catholic faith of the incarnation without adopting or disclaiming the peculiar terms of the hostile sects" (vol. vi. p. 44, ch. xlvii.). But its fatal error was its feebleness. Zeno and Acacius, the promulgators of the "Henoticon," lacked the vigorous intolerance with which Cyril of Alexandria stamped out opposition, and endeavoured to substitute for real, even though unwilling and enforced, unity of doctrine, a fictitious cohesion of discordant elements. Each was left to hold his own views undisputed, provided that he would not disturb others, and refrained from stigmatizing their opinions as heretical. The Monophysites who subscribed the instrument were to be admitted into the communion of the church, without being required to give up their distinctive doctrines, while their opponents, the so-called Catholic party, were left free to maintain the authority of the decrees of Chalcedon, and the tome of Leo. The peace resulting from such a concordat was naturally more apparent than real, and satisfied no one. The Catholic party, zealous in their advocacy of the council of Chalcedon, had no liking for a document which disparaged its authority, and suggested the possible erroneousness of its decisions. The Monophysites, on the other hand, complained that it did not go far enough, and clamoured for a more definite condemnation of a council which they regarded as heretical. The strength of the malcontents lay on one side with the high Chalcedonian party, chiefly consisting of the monastic orders, who condemned the "Henoticon" as tainted with Eutychianism, and on the other with the Eutychians or Monophysites, who, indignant with Mongus for turning traitor to their cause, separated themselves, and, forming a distinct body without any chief leader, and not holding communion with the patriarch, were designated "the headless sect," "Acephali." A third body of dissidents was formed by the high ecclesiastical party, who were offended at the presumption of the emperor in assuming a right to issue decrees and spiritual matters, "a right," writes Milman (*u. s.* p. 235), "complacently admitted when ratifying or compulsorily enforcing ecclesiastical decrees, and usually adopted without scruple on other occasions by the party with which the court happened to side." To these three parties a fourth was added, the party of the centre or the moderates, who, without very strong feelings either in the Nestorian or Eutychian direction, were weary of strife, or, as loyal subjects, were disposed to accept without much question the imperial decrees on subjects involved in so much mystery, together with those who were too cowardly to resist the power which held the sword. This party of the centre was in communion with Peter Mongus, who had at once signed the "Henoticon," and given it all the weight of his authority to secure its general reception. Immediately after it had reached Alexandria, he took advantage of a public festival to have the "Henoticon" read in church, and openly commended it to the adoption of the faithful. The "Henoticon" was singularly unfortunate in its chief patron. Mongus was a thoroughly bad man. Violence and falsehood characterized all his conduct. As soon as he felt himself safe in his seat, his overbearing temper knew no bounds. He at once removed from the diptychs the names of Proterius and Timotheus Salophaciolus, disinterring the remains of the latter, and casting them out of the church, and inserted those of Dioscorus and Timotheus Aelurus, and anathematized the council of Chalcedon and the tome of Leo. When called to account by Acacius, he coolly denied the anathemas, and professed his acceptance of the faith as declared at Chalcedon. He wrote to the same effect to Simplicius, expressing a desire to be received into communion by him. (Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 17; Liberat. *Breviar.* c. 18.) Such disgraceful double-dealing estranged a considerable number of his own party, and the discussions of which the unhappy "instrument of union" was the parent were still further aggravated by the cruel persecution of the orthodox, carried on not in Alexandria alone, but through the whole of Egypt by the new patriarch. In bold defiance of the prohibitions of the emperor, conveyed by officials despatched on purpose, all, whether clerics, monks, or laymen, who refused to accept the "Henoticon," were subjected to expulsion and serious maltreatment (Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 22). At this crisis Simplicius died, A.D. 483. The first act of his successor, Felix II., was an indignant rejection of the "Henoticon," as an insult to the council of Chalcedon, and an audacious act of the emperor Zeno, who dared to dictate articles of faith, and as a seed-plot of impiety. (Theod. *Lect.* ap. Milman, *u. s.* p. 236.) He also anathematized all the bishops who had subscribed this edict. This anathema included nearly all the bishops of the East, for though the "Henoticon" was originally addressed to the church of Egypt alone, it was imposed by Zeno and by his successor Anastasius, on all, under penalty of deposition and exile. A strong admonitory letter was addressed by Felix to Acacius, and another in milder terms to Zeno, the authors of the "Henoticon." All remonstrance proving vain, Felix fulminated an anathema against Acacius, deposing and excommunicating him, July 28, A.D. 484. (Liberat. c. 18; Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 1072.) This anathema severed the whole of the Eastern church from the West for nearly forty years. [ACACIUS.] Neither emperor nor patriarch took much heed of the condemnation of the Roman see, and continued to press the "Henoticon" everywhere, ejecting the bishops who withheld their signatures, and refused to communicate with Peter Mongus. (Theoph. p. 114; Liberat. c. 18; Vict. Tunn. *Chron.*; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* xvi. p. 168; Aece, *Art.* xcv.) Calandion, the patriarch of Antioch, was deposed, and Peter the Fuller reinstated. Thus the three chief sees of the East were in constrained communion, and nearly the whole of the suffragan bishops had

been either silenced or deposed. Zeno and Acacius had "made a solitude and called it peace." It would be tedious to narrate in detail the subsequent issues of this unhappy attempt to force discordant elements into external union, continued under Acacius's successors in the see of Constantinople, and the emperor Anastasius. Anastasius, in his earnest desire for peace, required toleration of the bishops of the empire, who were forbidden to force the decrees of Chalcedon on a reluctant diocese, or to compel one which had accepted that council to abandon it. No change was to be introduced in either direction, and those who violated this law of toleration were deposed with impartial severity. (Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 30.)

Euphemius was deposed from Constantinople A.D. 495. Macedonius, his successor, began by subscribing the "Henoticon," but overawed by the obstinate orthodoxy of the "Acoemetae" and the other monastic bodies of Constantinople, whom he had undertaken to reconcile to that instrument, he became an ardent partisan of the council of Chalcedon, and, after having headed the religious tumults in the city, which at one time threatened Anastasius's throne, was in his turn deposed, and was succeeded by Timotheus, A.D. 511. The new patriarch not only signed the "Henoticon," but pronounced an anathema on the council of Chalcedon. Flavianus, accused of being a concealed Nestorian, was ejected from Antioch in A.D. 512, where the Monophysite Severus, who had raised religious riots in the streets of Alexandria and Constantinople, reigned supreme. Elias of Jerusalem, in spite of his large concessions to the Catholic party, refusing to go all lengths with them, was deposed the next year. "Throughout Asiatic Christendom it was the same wild struggle. Bishops deposed quietly, or, where resistance was made, the two factions fighting in the streets, in the churches. Cities, even the holiest places, ran with blood." (Milman, *u. s.* p. 245.)

The "Henoticon," having proved so fruitful a source of dissension in the East, was destined to become the watchword of rival parties in the West. Gelasius, the successor of Anastasius II., had sought to re-unite the churches by the proposal, couched in the very spirit of the "Henoticon," that Acacius's name, which Gelasius had proposed to expunge, should be quietly left on the diptychs, and that no more should be said on the subject—a crime against rigid orthodoxy for which Dante consigns him to eternal torments.[a] On his death, in A.D. 498, a contested election ensued, which was exasperated by differences of opinion on the "Henoticon" and the schisms in the East. Two rival pontiffs were consecrated on the same day, Dec. 22, A.D. 499, Laurentius and Symmachus. The former was the advocate of union, the latter its uncompromising opponent. Theodoric, to whom the claims of the rival pontiffs were submitted, decided in favour of Symmachus, who had received the largest number of votes. This choice was fatal to the restoration of peace in the East on the terms of the "Henoticon." The pope and the emperor hurled at one another charges of heresy and messages of defiance. The turbulent orthodox party at Constantinople was supported in its obstinate resistance to the emperor by the Roman see. The rebellion of Vitalian, characterized by Gibbon as "the first of the religious wars," whose battle-cry was the council of Chalcedon, was not obscurely countenanced by Symmachus's still more haughty successor, Hormisdas, who reaped the fruits of the humiliation of the aged Anastasius, and became "the dictator of the religion of the world." The first demand of Hormisdas of the public anathematization of the authors and maintainers of the "Henoticon" was indignantly rejected by Anastasius. But far from retracting, the pontiff rose in his demands. Anastasius, however, to his honour, though enfeebled by age and calamity, stood firm. He refused to anathematize the memory of Acacius, whose only crime had been that of carrying out measures of toleration with a view to union, and he broke off all communication with Hormisdas. The conflict only ended with the life of Anastasius, who died worn out by strife at the age of nearly ninety years, A.D. 518. His successor, Justin, was an unlettered soldier of unbending orthodoxy. The new patriarch, John of Cappadocia, "a man of servile mind though unmeasured ambition," was prepared to adopt any course which would secure his power. He had seconded all the measures of Anastasius, but at the demand of the mob he now hastily assembled a synod of forty bishops, by which anathemas were passed on all upholders of the "Henoticon," the banished bishops were recalled, and the so-called usurpers deposed. All heretics, *i.e.* those who refused the council of Chalcedon, were made incapable of civil or military office. Hormisdas profited by the favourable opportunity to press his demands, which were admitted without question. The names of the patriarchs Acacius, Fravitta, Euphemius, and Macedonius, together with those of the emperor Zeno and Anastasius, were erased from the diptychs, and Acacius was branded with a special anathema. The acknowledged orthodoxy of the two last-named patriarchs, though earnestly pleaded by John, their successor, could not outweigh the damning crime of their having dared to recognise Acacius as a legitimate bishop. Fresh disturbances were created by this rigour, especially when it was found that Hormisdas demanded the condemnation of all who had communicated with Acacius, and turned a deaf ear to the repeated applications both of the emperor and the patriarch for some relaxation of these terms. (Evagr. *H. E.* iv. 4; Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 1542; Natal. Alexand. *Hist. Eccl.* tom. ii. p. 448.) Hormisdas at last consented that Epiphanius, John's successor, should act for him in receiving churches into communion. Some honoured names were allowed to remain on the diptychs, and eventually Euphemius and Macedonius, with Flavian of Antioch, and Elias of Jerusalem, and some others who had died during the separation, were admitted to the Roman Calendars (Tillem. *Mém. Eccl.* tom. xvi. p. 697; Bolland. 25 Apr. p. 373).

Thus ended the unhappy schism which had separated the East and West for nearly forty years. The "Henoticon," the parent of all these

[a] "Behind the cover of a tomb I wound
Of ample size, where hung a scroll to view
Which said, 'Pope Anastasius I guard
Whom out of the right way Photinus drew.'"
Dante, *Inferno*, cant. xi. 6–9, Cayley's transl.

divisions, without being formally repealed, was allowed to sink into oblivion. The four oecumenical councils, including that of Chalcedon, were everywhere received, save in Egypt, and one common creed expressed the religious faith of the Christian world.

Authorities.—Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlvii.; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* vol. xvi. "Acace"; Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xviii.; Migne, Patrolog. tom. lviii.; Evagr. *H. E.* lib. iii. iv.; Liberatus, *Breviar.*; Walch, *Ketzerhist.* vol. vi.; Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. vi. vii.; Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 253 ff., Clarke's transl.; Dorner, *Person.* div. ii. vol. i. p. 123 ff.; Milman, *Hist. of Lat. Christianity*, vol. i. bk. iii. ch. i. iii. [E. V.]

HENRICUS, sixth bishop of Vicentia (Vicenza), circ. 580, between Apollonius and Horontius. He refused to hold communion with his metropolitan, Elias patriarch of Aquileia, and to obey any citation to his synods, lest he should seem to countenance his errors. [ELIAS (19).] (Ughell. *Ital. Sac.* v. 1031; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* x. 821, 954.) [C. H.]

HENWYN, HENYN. [HYWYN.]

HEORDWALD, bishop. [HEREWALD.]

HEORTASIUS (HEORTICUS, EORTASIUS), bishop of Sardis, who signed the synodical letter issued by the council of Ancyra, 358 (Epiph. *Haer.* lxxiii. 11, p. 859; Mansi, iii. 287, where the name is given HEORTICUS). He was deposed by the Acacian council of Constantinople 360, as having been ordained metropolitan without the consent of the bishops of the province (Sozomen, iv. 24). He was present, however, and active in the council of Lampsacus, A.D. 364 or 365 (Mansi, iii. 213, 377), where he united with a number of other Macedonian bishops in sending a legate to Liberius bishop of Rome with a libellus formally declaring their submission (Socrates, iv. 12), and Liberius wrote them a congratulatory letter in reply. The "letter" is not dated, but Liberius died in the September of A.D. 366. (Jaffé, *Reg. Pont. Rom.* p. 17.) (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 861; Ceillier, iv. 578.) He is sometimes called EORTASIUS. [T. W. D.]

HEORTICUS, bishop of Metropolis in the province of Pisidia, present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. In the subscriptions he is called bishop of Nicopolis Metropolis. (Mansi, vii. 159, 407; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1057.) [L. D.]

HEORTIUS, bishop, an old and attached friend of Chrysostom, who wrote to him from Cucusus, A.D. 404, begging him to cheer his extreme solitude, many trials, and constant dread of banditti, by frequent letters. (Chrys. *Epist.* 30.) [E. V.]

HEPHAESTIUS, bishop of Commacum in Pamphylia, who signed the letter of his province to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 576; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1025.) [L. D.]

HERACLAS, patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 233–249. He was the brother of the martyr Plutarch, one of Origen's converts (Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 3), and from being a pupil he became an assistant in teaching to Origen, who left the school to him when he retired from Alexandria to Caesarea (Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 15, 26). Heraclas retained the school but a short time, for on the death of Demetrius, he was elected to the archiepiscopal throne. Though a disciple of Origen Heraclas did not adopt any of his peculiar views, but voted for his deprivation both from his office as teacher and from his orders, and for his excommunication at the two synods held by Demetrius, nor when elected bishop did he make any attempt to rescind these sentences. Heraclas seems to have been a man of ability, from the fact that he was Origen's successor in the catechetical school. Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 31) narrates a visit paid Heraclius by Africanus the annalist on the report of his great learning, as also (*H. E.* vii. 7) on the authority of his successor Dionysius the rule which he followed respecting the treatment of heretics. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 392; Photius, *Cod.* 118; *Acta SS.* Boll. Jul. iii. 645–7. He was commemorated on Dec. 4 (*Cal. Aethiop.*). [L. D.]

HERACLEIDAS. [HERACLIDAS.]

HERACLEON (1), a Gnostic described by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 9, p. 595) as the most esteemed (*δοκιμώτατος*) of the school of Valentinus; and, according to Origen (*Comm. in S. Joann.* t. 2, § 8, *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 66), said to have been in personal contact (*γνώριμος*) with Valentinus himself. He is barely mentioned by Irenaeus (ii. 41) and by Tertullian (*Adv. Valent.* 4). The common source of Philaster and Pseudo-Tertullian (*i. e.* probably the earlier treatise of Hippolytus) contained an article on Heracleon between those on Ptolemaeus and Secundus, and on Marcus and Colarbasus. Lipsius has conjectured that the sketch of Valentinianism, given in the later treatise of Hippolytus (book 6), is derived from a work of Heracleon, the reason for his guess being that Hippolytus, in the preface to this section, promises to give an account, amongst others, of the doctrines of Heracleon, and that this promise remains unfulfilled, unless we assume that the general account of the teaching of Valentinus really represents that of Heracleon. But a closer examination of the method of Hippolytus shews that this argument has no force. Hippolytus in his preface follows the order of the earlier treatise, and proposes to treat of the doctrines of Valentinus, of those of Secundus, Ptolemaeus and Heracleon, of those of Marcus and Colarbasus. The theory of Lipsius requires Hippolytus to treat separately of each of these heretics, yet it makes him depart from this programme at first starting; for if the section on Valentinus be taken as the fulfilment of the promise to detail the opinions of Heracleon, what becomes of the promise to detail the opinions of Valentinus? It is in any case plain that Hippolytus does not treat separately of Colarbasus. Actually this part of the work divides itself, in conformity with its preface, into three sections. In the first, which is the only original section, he gives a general account of Valentinianism, and tries to shew that it is derived from the heathen philosophy of Pythagoras. Hippolytus (vi. 42, p. 203) appears to claim to have a direct knowledge of the writings of Valentinus; but if we allow that he may have here taken for his guide a treatise, not by Valentinus himself, but by one

of his followers, we have no special reason to think of Heracleon. Hippolytus then copies with abridgment what Irenaeus had said about Secundus, Ptolemaeus, and certain unnamed members of the school; and then what Irenaeus had said about Marcus. There is every reason to think that Hippolytus identified with Heracleon one of the unnamed heretics of the second section, having possibly been taught to do so by Irenaeus in his *vivâ voce* lectures at Rome. For Irenaeus in the passage in question names it as a point which divided the Valentinians, that some of them commenced their aeonology with a dyad, consisting of a male and female principle, others with a monad, or single principle without consort. Now, Philaster and Pseudo-Tertullian agree in specifying it as the distinctive feature of the teaching of Heracleon, that he commenced with a single principle; though their accounts differ in this, that the former would lead us to think that the original principle, together with its first emanation, formed the first pair of aeons; whereas the latter, and probably more correctly, would make the original principle give being to a pair, and would not include itself in the system of pairs of aeons. Hippolytus (vi. 35, p. 195) mentions another subject of dispute which divided the Valentinians into sects; one school, the Italian, asserting our Lord's body to have been animal (ψυχικόν); the other, or Eastern school, maintaining it to have been spiritual. Heracleon and Ptolemaeus are mentioned by Hippolytus as belonging to the first school, Axionicus and Ardesianes [BARDESANES] to the second. Lipsius has analysed the section in Epiphanius on Heracleon (*Haer.* 36), and shewn that it possesses no independent authority. It is almost all made up by putting together notices in Irenaeus of different unnamed Valentinians. On the whole, it seems to us that the best way of reconciling the celebrity of Heracleon with the small space given to him by writers against Valentinianism is to suppose that he was not the author of any formal exposition of Valentinian doctrine, but only of exegetical works in which the principles of Valentinus were assumed. At all events it is only of such works of his that we have any express knowledge.

In fact, the chief interest that now attaches to Heracleon is that he is the earliest commentator on the New Testament of whom we have knowledge. Origen, in the still extant portion of his commentary on St. John, quotes Heracleon nearly fifty times, usually controverting, occasionally accepting his expositions. We thus recover large sections of Heracleon's commentary on the 1st, 2nd, 4th, and 8th of John. We have no doubt lost many extracts, owing to the mutilated condition in which Origen's commentary on St. John has come down to us; and the phrase used by Origen, ἐν οἷς καταλέλοιπεν ὑπομνήμασι, suggests that Heracleon's commentary may have reached Origen himself in a like condition of mutilation. Photius (134, *Ep. ad Aspath.* p. 178; *Amphiloch.* 246), speaking on the text John i. 17 repels the idea that the words, "grace and truth came by Jesus Christ," were spoken in disparagement of the law which "was given by Moses," remarking, "Heracleon might say this, and the disciples of Heracleon." He probably refers to an extract from Heracleon contained in one of the lost sections of Origen's work; for Origen is the only father who quotes Heracleon's commentary, which is not likely to have survived to the time of Photius. There is reason to think that Heracleon wrote commentaries on St. Luke as well as on St. John. He is twice quoted by Clement of Alexandria: in one of the places (*Strom.* iv. 9) Clement expressly says that his citation is from Heracleon's exposition of Luke xii. 8; in the other (25 *Eclog. ex Script. Proph.* p. 995), Clement's quotation is in connexion with the verses Luke iii. 16, 17, so that it seems probable that it is from an exposition by Heracleon of these verses. The fragments of Heracleon were collected by Grabe (*Spicileg.* ii. 85, &c.), and reprinted as an appendix to Massuet's, Stieren's, and Migne's editions of Irenaeus. Three short notices may be mentioned in addition; De la Rue, iv. 117, 140, 226; the second recording that Heracleon in John i. 28 read Bethany, not Bethabara; the third referring to the use made by Heracleon of the "preaching of Peter."

The first of the passages quoted by Clement bears on an accusation brought against more than one of the Gnostic sects, that they taught that it was no sin to avoid martyrdom by denying the faith. No exception can be taken to what Heracleon says on this subject. Possibly his judgment might have been different from that of the orthodox as to the occasions when "reason would require" public confession before the magistrates; but his words do not go beyond a perhaps necessary protest against the exaggerated veneration given at the time to such confession. He says, "Men mistake in thinking that the only confession is that made with the voice before the magistrates; there is another confession made in the life and conversation, by faith and works corresponding to the faith. The first confession may be made by a hypocrite: and it is one not required of all; there are many who have never been called on to make it, as for instance Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi [Lebbaeus]; the other confession must be made by all. He who has first confessed in his disposition of heart will confess with the voice also when need shall arise and reason require. Well did Christ use concerning confession the phrase 'in me' (ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἐμοί), concerning denial the phrase 'me.' A man may confess 'Him' with the voice who really denies Him, if he does not confess Him also in action; but those only confess 'in Him' who live in the confession and in corresponding actions. Nay, it is he whom they embrace and who dwells in them who makes confession 'in them'; for 'He cannot deny Himself.' But concerning denial, He did not say whosoever shall deny 'in me,' but whosoever shall deny 'me'; for no one that is 'in Him' can deny Him. And the words 'before men' do not mean before unbelievers only, but before Christians and unbelievers alike; before the one by their life and conversation, before the others in words."

The reader must be struck with the manner in which this exposition assumes the significance of every word in the sacred text commented on; and this characteristic runs equally through the fragments of Heracleon's commentary on St. John, prevailing alike whether the words com-

mented on be our Lord's own or only those of the Evangelist. Thus he calls attention to the facts that in the opening statement of the gospel "all things were made by him," the preposition used is διά, that Jesus is said to have gone *down* to Capernaum and gone *up* to Jerusalem; that he found the buyers and sellers ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, not ἐν τῷ ναῷ; that he said salvation is *of* the Jews not *in* them, and again (iv. 40) that our Lord tarried *with* the Samaritans, not *in* them; notice is taken of the point in our Lord's discourse with the woman of Samaria, where he first emphasizes his assertion with "Woman believe me"; and though Origen occasionally accuses Heracleon of deficient accuracy, for instance in taking *the* prophet (i. 21) as meaning no more than *a* prophet, "in three days" (ii. 19) as meaning no more than "on the third day," yet on the whole the minuteness of Heracleon's examination of the words on which he comments, could not be exceeded by the strongest believer in verbal inspiration at the present day. He attempts to reconcile differences between the Evangelists, as for instance our Lord's ascription to the Baptist of the titles "Elias" and "prophet," with John's own disclaimer of these titles. He finds mysteries in the numbers which occur in the narrative, in the forty and six years which the temple was in building, in the six husbands of the woman of Samaria (for such was his reading [a]), in the two days which our Lord abode with the people of the city, in the seventh hour at which the nobleman's son healed. He thinks it necessary to reconcile his own doctrine with that of the sacred writer, even at the cost of some violence of interpretation. Thus he declares that the Evangelist's assertion that all things were made by the Logos must be understood only of the things of the visible creation, his own doctrine being that the higher aeon world was not so made, but that the lower creation was made by the Logos through the instrumentality of the Demiurge.[b] Instances of this kind where the interpreter is forced to reject the most obvious meaning of the text are sufficiently numerous to shew that the gospel was not written in the interests of Valentinianism; but it is a book which Heracleon evidently recognized as of such authority that he must perforce have it on his side.

When striving to find Valentinianism in the Gospel, the instrument he usually employs is the method of spiritual interpretation. Thus the nobleman (βασιλικός, iv. 47) is the Demiurge, a petty prince, his kingdom being limited and temporary, the servants are his angels, the son is the man who belongs to the Demiurge. As he finds the ψυχικοί represented in the nobleman's son, so again he finds the πνευματικοί in the woman of Samaria. The water of Jacob's well which she rejected is Judaism; the husband whom she is to call is no earthly husband, but her spiritual bridegroom from the Pleroma; the other husbands with whom she previously had committed fornication, represent the matter with which the spiritual have been entangled; that she is no longer to worship either in "this mountain" or in "Jerusalem," means that she is not, like the heathen, to worship the visible creation, the Hyle, or kingdom of the devil, nor like the Jews to worship the creator or Demiurge; her watering-pot is her good disposition for receiving life from the Saviour. It must be observed that, though the results of Heracleon's method are heretical, the method itself is commonly used by orthodox fathers. They do not merely find spiritual interpretations for the details of parables, but they do not find it inconsistent with their full faith in the literal truth of the scripture histories, to trace a spiritual significance in many of the things recorded. Heracleon's doctrine is not orthodox, but his principles of interpretation cannot be said to differ essentially from those of Origen himself. Many orthodox parallels, for instance, could be adduced to Heracleon's exposition, that the cords with which our Lord drove out the traffickers from the temple, represent the power of the Holy Spirit; and the wood to which he assumes they were attached, the wood of the cross; and in the same context, Origen gives explanations of the colt and ass on which our Lord rode into Jerusalem, of the village in which He found them, the branches cut from the trees, the crowds that accompanied Him, and so forth. Origen even occasionally blames Heracleon for being too easily content with more obvious interpretations. Heracleon, for instance, at first is satisfied to take "whose shoe latchet I am not worthy to loose," as meaning no more than "for whom I am not worthy to perform menial offices," and he has Origen's approbation when he tries, however unsuccessfully, to investigate what the shoe represented. Heracleon understands the Jews' question "will he kill himself?" (viii. 22), as most readers do now; Origen observes that the Jews could not rationally have supposed Jesus to mean that he was going to a place *worse* than that reserved for them; they must have had a traditional knowledge that the Saviour was not to have His life taken from Him, but to yield it of Himself; and they must have supposed Him to mean to claim the power of doing this, and so of ascending to a place which they could not attain. It does not appear to us that Heracleon used his method of interpretation controversially to establish Valentinian doctrine, but rather that being a Valentinian of the second generation, thoroughly imbued with a belief of the truth of the familiar doctrines of that sect, he found those doctrines indicated in the passages on which he commented, precisely in the same way that orthodox commentators have found the doctrines which *they* believed to be true.

One other of Heracleon's interpretations deserves to be mentioned. The meaning which the Greek words, John viii. 44, most naturally convey, is that of the pre-Hieronymian translation "mendax est sicut et pater ejus," and so they are generally understood by Greek fathers, though in various ways they escape attributing a father to the devil. Origen here makes τὸ ψεῦδος the nominative to λαλῇ, and understands

[a] So Origen expressly says; otherwise we should suppose that Heracleon made out his six by counting the former five husbands and the then present one. In this way St. Jerome, for instance, counts six husbands (*Adv. Jovin.* i. 14, vol. ii. p. 263).

[b] In this Heracleon differs from the Valentinians controverted by Irenaeus, who takes pains to shew (i. 22, ii. 2, 5, iii. 11, 1) that St. John's "all things" include the lower world as well as the higher.

it to mean any lying spirit: Epiphanius (*Haer.* xi. 6, p. 297; lxvi. 64, p. 677) makes Judas the liar and Cain the father; Cyr. Alex. *in loc.* refutes the opinion of some of his predecessors, who inferred from the text that the chief and father of the devils had been in our Lord's time already consigned to the abyss, and that it was a subordinate devil who tempted the Jews. His own opinion is that the father of the Jews is Cain, and his father the devil. We learn from a catena that this was also the interpretation of Ammonius. Photius (*Quaest. Amphil.* 88) considers that the speaker of the lie is the Jew, and his father the devil. Hilgenfeld and Volkmar consider that the Evangelist shews that he embraced the opinion of the Valentinians and some earlier Gnostic sects that the father of the devil was the Demiurge or God of the Jews. But this idea was unknown to Heracleon, who here interprets the father of the devil, as his essentially evil nature; to which Origen objects that if the devil be evil by the necessity of his nature, he ought rather to be pitied than blamed.

To judge from the fragments that remain, Heracleon's bent was rather practical than speculative. He says nothing of the Gnostic theories as to stages in the origin of the universe; the prologue of St. John does not tempt him into mention of the Valentinian Aenology. Indeed it is to be noted that he does not use the word aeon in the sense employed by other Valentinian writers, but rather where according to their use we should expect the word Pleroma;[c] and this last word he uses in a special sense, describing the spiritual husband of the Samaritan woman as her Pleroma, that is to say the complement, or supply of what was lacking to perfection. We find in his system only two beings unknown to orthodox theology, the Demiurge, and apparently a second Son of Man; for on John iv. 37 he distinguishes a higher Son of Man who sows from the Saviour who reaps.[d] Heracleon gives as great prominence as any orthodox writer to Christ and to His redeeming work. But all mankind are not alike in a condition to profit by His redemption. There is a threefold order of creatures; first the Hylic or material, formed of the ὕλη, which is the substance of the devil, incapable of immortality. Secondly, the psychic or animal belonging to the kingdom of the Demiurge; their ψυχή is naturally mortal, but capable of being clothed with immortality, and it depends on their disposition (θέσις) whether they become sons of God, or children of the devil; and, thirdly, the pneumatic or spiritual, who are by nature of the divine essence, though entangled with matter and needing redemption to be delivered from it. These are the special creation of the Logos; they live in Him, and become one with Him. In the second class Heracleon seems to have had the Jews specially in his mind, and to have regarded them with a good deal of tenderness. They are the children of Abraham, who if they do not love God, at least do not hate Him. Their king, the Demiurge, is represented as not hostile to the supreme, and though shortsighted and ignorant, yet as well disposed to faith and ready to implore the Saviour's help for his subjects whom he had not himself been able to deliver. When his ignorance has been removed, he and his redeemed subjects will enjoy immortality in a place raised above the material world.

Besides the passages on which he comments Heracleon refers to Gen. vi.; Isaiah i. 2; Matt. viii. 2; ix. 37; xviii. 11; Rom. i. 25; xii. 1; 1 Cor. xv. 54; 2 Tim. ii. 13. Neander and Cave have suggested Alexandria as the place where Heracleon taught; but Clement's language suggests some distance either of time or of place; for he would scarcely have thought it necessary to explain to his readers that Heracleon was the most in repute of the Valentinians if he were at the time the head of a rival school in the same city. Hippolytus, as has been mentioned, makes Heracleon one of the Italian school of Valentinians; but the silence of all the authorities makes it unlikely that he taught at Rome. It seems, therefore, the most likely conjecture that he taught in one of the cities of the south of Italy; or it is possible that "Praedestinatus" may have happened to be right in laying in Sicily the scene of his inventions about Heracleon.

The story Praedestinatus tells is that the heresy of Heracleon consisted in his teaching that a baptized person cannot be affected by sin, no matter what actions he may commit; that as snow melts when brought into contact with fire, so the quality of sin disappears out of all his actions. He tells that certain Sicilian bishops assembled a synod against him, which drew up a letter to Alexander (bishop of Rome about A.D. 115), begging him to send some one to confute Heracleon; that Alexander accordingly both wrote a book against him and sent a presbyter, Sabinianus, who confuted the heretic so effectually that he took ship by night and fled no one knew whither. Sbaralea, quoted by De Rossi (*Rom. Sott.* ii. 207), and after him by Lipsius (*Chron. der röm. Bisch.* p. 253), conjectures that this strange account may have originated in a distortion of the story of the anti-pope HERACLIUS, who "vetuit lapsos peccata dolere," and who possibly may, like his competitor Eusebius, have been banished to Sicily. But it seems to us rather too complimentary to "Praedestinatus" to assume that a story peculiar to him has been built on any substratum of fact.

Considerable interest attaches to the determination of the date of Heracleon on account of his use of St. John's Gospel, which clearly had attained so high an authority when he wrote that it must then have been a work of considerable standing. It seems to us, however, that the mere fact that a book was held in equal honour by the Valentinians and the orthodox proves that it must have attained its position before the separation of the Valentinians from the church; and, therefore, that as far as the controversy concerning the fourth Gospel is concerned, it is of less importance to determine the exact date of Heracleon. To us it seems that the decade 170–180 may probably be fixed for the centre of his activity. This would not be inconsistent with the truth of the report that he had been person-

[c] Possibly this may have been the earlier use of the word; see the manner in which the phrase "incorruptibilis Aeon" is used (Irenaeus, i. 30).

[d] Heinrici refers to Irenaeus I. xii. 4, but the question there discussed is quite different, viz. whether the title Son of Man has reference to the Aeon Anthropos or to the first Principle, which in the older Gnostic systems was given the title Man.

ally instructed by Valentinus, who continued to teach as late as 160. And it would allow time for Heracleon to have gained celebrity before Clement wrote, one of whose references to Heracleon is in what was probably one of his earliest works. He had evidently long passed from the scene when Origen wrote. Concerning Heracleon may be consulted Neander (*Gen. Entwick.* 143, and *Ch. Hist.* ii. 135); Heinrici (*Val. Gnosis*, 127); Westcott (*N. T. Canon.* 299). [G. S.]

HERACLEON (2) (Tracleon), bishop of Tralles (Evanthia), in the plain of the Maeander in the ecclesiastical province of Asia, present at the council of Ephesus, 431. (Mansi, v. 588 c, 613; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 696.) [L. D.]

HERACLEONAS, FLAVIUS (also called Heraclius by Niceph. Cp. and Suidas), emperor, A.D. 641, son of the emperor Heraclius and his second wife Martina. Many particulars of his short reign are given by Nicephorus patriarch of Constantinople in his *Breviarium*, and a few circumstances are given by Theophanes. He was born in the province of Lazica in Colchis, which his father was traversing, accompanied by Martina, in his expedition against Persia (*Brev.* p. 17, ed. Petav. in Patr. Gr. tom. c. p. 899). This was the first expedition of Heraclius into the east, and Petavius fixes 622 as the year, while others give 626. In 631 Heracleonas was created Caesar by his father (*Br.* 26); about 639 he was crowned (*ib.* 30), and soon afterwards named consul (*ib.* 31). On his father's death Heracleonas and his half-brother Constantinus reigned jointly for one hundred and three days (*Br.* 33), from March 11 to June 22, 641, as Petavius reckons, until the death of Constantinus, after which Heracleonas shared the throne with his mother. One of the first acts of Heracleonas was to dedicate to God in the great church his father's crown, valued at seventy pounds of gold. It had been buried with Heraclius, but was afterwards removed from the church by Constantinus. He also restored Cyrus patriarch of Alexandria to his see. But acts of tyranny against the nobility and the ministers of the crown brought the capital to the verge of civil war, and the troops under command of Valentinus took up a hostile position at Chalcedon. Martina and her son, as well as the patriarch Pyrrhus, were accused of plotting against the life of young Heraclius Constans the orphan son of Constantinus. In vain Heracleonas stood sponsor for the infant at the font and crowned him with the diadem of his great father, and made every ostentatious profession of affection and goodwill before the people. The patriarch was expelled in a riot, Martina and her son were banished, she suffering the loss of her tongue and he of his nose. Valentinus also, who had come to terms with the court, seems to have been implicated in the same charge, as he shared in the sentence of exile. Theophanes states that Heracleonas reigned six months after Constantinus, and Petavius computes the expulsion to have occurred in Dec. 641, though some assign the event to Jan. 642. Heracleonas was succeeded by his nephew Heraclius Constans already mentioned. (Theoph. *Chron.* A.C. 632, p. 253; Du Cange, *Fam. August.* 101.) [C. H.]

HERACLIANUS (1), bishop of Pisaurum (Pesaro), c. A.D. 347. He was a disciple of St. Severus archbishop of Ravenna, who appointed him bishop of Pesaro. He was present at the council of Sardica. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ii. 948; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d' Italia*, iii. 341.) [R. S. G.]

HERACLIANUS (2), heretic, addressed in a letter by Gregory Nyssen in defence of the Nicene faith. The letter contains nothing personal to Heraclianus. (Greg. Nyss. *ep.* 24, in Patr. Gr. xlvi. 1087.) [C. H.]

HERACLIANUS (3), sixth bishop of Sens. [Eraclianus.]

HERACLIANUS (4), seventh in the series of the bishops of Toulouse, his predecessors for nearly a century being unknown. He was present at the council of Agde, in A.D. 506, and was succeeded by St. Germerius not many years afterwards (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 7; Mansi, viii. 337). [S. A. B.]

HERACLIANUS (5) (Heraclius), count of Africa, succeeding Bathanarius. In the opinion of some he was the husband of Thermantia, niece of the emperor Theodosius (Du Cange, *Fam. August.* p. 61). In the reign of Honorius, A.D. 413, he revolted, and his brief usurpation seems to have brought a temporary triumph to the Donatists (Hieron. *Dial. adv. Pelag.* lib. iii. cap. 19, p. 804, Patr. Lat. xxiii. 588 c). Passing over with a fleet to Italy he was defeated at Utriculum by count Marinus, and returning to Carthage was beheaded. Jerome in his commentary on Ezekiel refers to him as an illustration of Ps. lxxxii. 7, "Ye are gods," &c., as one of the highest rank forfeiting his honour and his life (*Comment. in Ezek.* lib. ix. cap. 28, p. 329, in Patr. Lat. xxv. 268 A). [C. H.]

HERACLIANUS (6), bishop of Chalcedon, a vigorous opponent of the Manichaeans (Phot. *Biblioth.* cod. 231, p. 287). Photius (cod. 85) describes his work *Adversus Manichaeos* in twenty books, as composed in a clear, concise, and dignified style, refuting the *Evangelium*, the *Liber Giganteus*, and the *Thesauri* of the Manicheans. Heraclianus reviews the authors who preceded him in writing against this sect, such as Hegemonius, Titus, George of Laodicea, Serapion, Diodorus, briefly supplying their omissions and citing in full their best arguments with comments of his own. A fragment of his letter to a certain Achillius, to whom his work appears to have been addressed, has been preserved by Maximus the Confessor. (Maxim. Confess. *Opusc. Theol.* p. 65, in Migne, Patr. Gr. xci. 125 C; and also in Cave, i. 551.) [C. H.]

HERACLIDAS (1), Manichaean. [Aphthonius, Hieracas.]

HERACLIDAS (2), steward (procurator) of the imperial revenues in Africa, to whom reference was to be made in case of necessity, in order to provide money for distributing money to the Catholic clergy, at the command of Constantine, A.D. 312 (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 6). [H. W. P.]

HERACLIDAS (3), a young friend of Amphilochius, with whom he renounced the profession of a barrister, and devoted himself to an

ascetic life. Having passed through Caesarea on his way to join his friend, he was detained by Basil, whom he had visited for the purpose of receiving his instructions, and lodged by him in the hospital he had recently erected, c. 373. Basil wrote a long letter to Amphilochius in the name of Heraclidas, containing many counsels as to a religious life, and begging him to come and share with him the benefit of his instructions. (Bas. *Epist.* 150 [392].) [E. V.]

HERACLIDAS (4), bishop of Nyssa about 440, wrote two epistles in confutation of a Messalian book, using language which in the judgment of Photius (*Cod.* 52) furnished a proof of the antiquity of the veneration of images. [G. S.]

HERACLIDES (1)—June 28. A disciple in the school of Origen, and martyr at Alexandria. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Usuard.; Baronius, A.D. 205, num. 7; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, pp. 96–102; Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 4.) [G. T. S.]

HERACLIDES (2). In the subscriptions to the creed of the first Constantinopolitan council, A.D. 381, is found Heraclides Tituensis, in the margin Ptynsensis (Mansi, iii. 570). Heraclides is supposed to have been bishop of Petnelissus on the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia, or of Tyrus (Tyraeum) in Pisidia. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 1023, 1047; Gams, *Series Episc.* 450, 451.) [L. D.]

HERACLIDES (3), bishop of Oxyrynchus in the Heptanomus, in Lower Egypt. He succeeded the heretical bishop Theodorus, c. 384, and is possibly referred to by Rufinus. (Ruf. *Hist. Monach.* cap. 5, in Patrol. Lat. xxi. 408; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 578.) [J. de S.]

HERACLIDES (4), a bishop in Cyprus in the end of the 4th century; one of those to whom the letter of Theophilus of Alexandria in condemnation of Origen was addressed, A.D. 400. (Jerome, *ep.* 92, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

HERACLIDES (5) CYPRIUS, bishop of Ephesus; a native of Cyprus, who had received a liberal education, was versed in the Scriptures, and had passed some years in ascetic training in the desert of Scetis under Evagrius. He then became deacon to Chrysostom, and was in immediate attendance on him. On the deprivation of Antoninus bishop of Ephesus, A.D. 401, there being a deadlock in the election through the number of rival candidates and the violence of the opposing factions, Chrysostom brought Heraclides forward, and he was elected by the votes of seventy bishops to the vacant see. The election at first only increased the disturbance, and loud complaints were made of the unfitness of Heraclides for the office, which detained Chrysostom in Asia. (Socr. *H. E.* vi. 11; Soz. *H. E.* viii. 6; Pallad. p. 139.) At the assembling of the synod of the Oak, A.D. 403, Heraclides was summoned to answer certain specified charges brought against him by Macarius, bishop of Magnesia, a bishop named Isaac, and a monk named John. Among these charges were those of having stolen a deacon's clothes at Caesarea, and of having unjustly scourged some persons at Ephesus and dragged them in chains through the city, and of entertaining Origenizing tenets. The urgency with which the condemnation of Chrysostom was pressed forward retarded the suit against Heraclides, which had come to no issue at the time of his great master's deposition and banishment. The sudden recall of Chrysostom did not at once free Heraclides from the machinations of his persecutors. According to Socrates and Sozomen, whose account, however, is called in question by Tillemont (vol. xi. 599, "Chrysost." note lxxii), fresh accusations were brought against him after Chrysostom's return. His friends and those of Chrysostom protested against the illegality of taking proceedings against him in his absence, and the matter was espoused so warmly by the populace that sanguinary frays took place in the streets between the people of Constantinople, who were ardently attached to the cause of Chrysostom, and the Alexandrian sailors at the beck of Theophilus. The quarrel became at last so serious that Theophilus and those who thought with him consulted their safety by flight (Socr. *H. E.* vi. 17; Soz. *H. E.* viii. 19; Phot. *Cod.* 59). After Chrysostom's second and final exile in 404, Heraclides was his fellow sufferer. He was deposed by the party in power, and put in prison at Nicomedia, where, when Palladius wrote, he had been already languishing four years. A eunuch who, according to Palladius, was stained with the grossest vices, was consecrated bishop of Ephesus in his room (Pallad. *Dial.* ed. Bigot. p. 139). Olympias informed Chrysostom, at Heraclides's request, of the miseries in which he was involved. He replied that, much as he desired to help him, he could do nothing for him but acquaint Pentadia with his case, and beg her to do what she could to relieve him (Chrys. *Epist.* 14, p. 600).

On the ascription to this Heraclides of the *Lausiac History* of Palladius, under the name of *Paradisus Heraclidis*, see article PALLADIUS; also Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* x. 117; Ceillier, vii. 487. [E. V.]

HERACLIDES (6), bishop of Thynis or Ptolemais in the Thebaid, present at the third general council at Ephesus, A.D. 431. (Mansi, iv. 1128; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 605.) [J. de S.]

HERACLIDES (7), bishop of Heraclea Superior in the Heptanomus. He was present at the third general council at Ephesus, A.D. 431 (Mansi, iv. 1128, 1221), and is possibly the same bishop Heraclides to whom Isidore of Pelusium addressed several epistles. (Isidor. *Epist.* lib. i. 19, 182, 183; lib. ii. 74, 220, 241, 242; iii. 10; Patrol. Graec. lxxviii. 193 seq.) [J. de S.]

HERACLIDES (8), martyr at Alexandria with Plutarchus, Potamiena, and others; commemorated on June 28. (Usuard., Adon., *Vet. Rom. Mart.*, Notker.) [G. T. S.]

HERACLIDIANUS, bishop of Settae (Satta, Sitae), in the province of Lydia, signed the synodal letter of the province of Lydia to the emperor Leo, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 573, where "Senus" is for Settenus; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 880.) [L. D.]

HERACLITAE (Pseudo-Hieron. *Indic. de Haeres.* cap. 24 in Oehler, *Corp. Haeres.* i. 293), heretics, properly Hieracitae. Cotelier observes

that the name Hieracitae (followers of Hieracas), became corrupted by copyists first into Hierachitae (see, for instance, Gennadius, *Eccl. Dog.* c. 67) and then into Heraclitae. (Coteler. *Eccl. Graec. Mon.* i. 780.) [ERACLIUS (2), HIERACAS.]
[T. W. D.]

HERACLITUS (1) (Ἡράκλειτος, Euseb.; Ἡράκλεις, HERACLITUS al. HERACLIUS, Jerom.), author of *Commentarii in Apostolum*, not extant, in the period of Commodus and Severus. (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 27; Jerom. *de Vir. Ill.* cap. 46; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 95; Ceillier, i. 537.) [C. H.]

HERACLITUS (2), bishop of Tamiathis, present at the council of Ephesus, 431 (Mansi, iv. 1128). Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* ii. 589) doubts whether the city is to be identified with Damietta, and places it in the Heptanomus. In this uncertainty Gams puts the bishops of Tamiathis in both localities (*Ser. Episc.* 461). Both Le Quien and Gams write the bishop's name Heraclius.
[C. H.]

HERACLITUS (3), bishop of Arce or Arca in Phoenicia, between Tripolis and Antaradus. He is stated in some of the Latin codices to have been present at the fourth general council, A.D. 451, where Photius of Tyre signed in his name (Mansi, vii. 436; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* i. 826). He also signed the synodical epistle of his province addressed to the emperor Leo, assenting to the decrees of Chalcedon, and describing the recent murder of Proterius. [J. de S.]

HERACLIUS. [ERACLIUS.]

HERACLIUS (1), bishop of Amastris on the coast of Paphlagonia, mentioned in the Menaea as contemporary with the childhood of St. Hyacinth, c. A.D. 300. (Basil. *Menol.* Jul. 18; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 561.) [L. D.]

HERACLIUS (2), antipope. [EUSEBIUS (1), p. 304.]

HERACLIUS (3), the first known bishop of Zela. He subscribed the canons of the councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea in 314. (Mansi, ii. 534, 548.) The subscriptions in Mansi represent the see as belonging to Armenia Major. Le Quien (*Or. Chr.* i. 541) places it in the ecclesiastical province of Helenopontus. The next known occupant of this see is Atticus. [F. A.]

HERACLIUS (4), bishop of Baris in Pisidia, one of the Nicene fathers, A.D. 325. (Mansi, ii. 695; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 1049.) [L. D.]

HERACLIUS (5), fourth bishop of Troyes in the 4th cent. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 484.) [R. T. S.]

HERACLIUS (6), bishop of Cidissum in Phrygia Pacatiana. His name was subscribed to the faith of Chalcedon in his absence by Nunechius of Laodicea, A.D. 451. (Mansi, vii. 165; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 801.) [L. D.]

HERACLIUS (7), bishop of Azotus. He took part in the "Latrocinium" at Ephesus, A.D. 449, but retracted at Chalcedon. (Mansi, vi. 850, 918; vii. 440; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* iii. 661.) [J. de S.]

HERACLIUS, bishop of Tamiathis. [HERACLITUS (2).]

HERACLIUS (8), bishop of Comana, in the province of Armenia Secunda; present at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. He subscribes the condemnation of Dioscorus at the third session of the council (Hard. *Concilia*, ii. 368 A), and the synodical letter of the council to Leo the Great (Leo Mag. *Ep.* 98, p. 1104; *Oriens Christ.* i. 445.)
[C. G.]

HERACLIUS (9), fourteenth bishop of Sens, circ. 496, was present at Rheims when Clovis was baptized. He erected a convent for nuns (or, according to the Bollandists, a monastery for men) at Sens, and was there buried. His acts are lost, having been burnt. He was commemorated on June 8. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 70; *Gallia Christ.* xii. 6; Gams, *Ser. Episc.* 629.)
[R. T. S.]

HERACLIUS (10) (HERACLIANUS), bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia c. A.D. 500, a strong opponent both of the Monophysites, and of the Manichees; fragments exist of his books against Soterichus of the Cappadocian Caesarea, the friend of Severus of Antioch; Photius (*Bibl.* Codd. 85, 231) highly praises his works against the Manichees. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 602; Migne, Pat. Gr. ciii.) [L. D.]

HERACLIUS (11), fifteenth archbishop of Paris, between Apedemius and Probatus. He was present at the first council of Orleans in 511, and is addressed, together with two other prelates, in a letter of St. Remigius, archbishop of Rheims (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxv. 966; cf. Ceillier, xi. 80; Mansi, viii. 356; *Gall. Christ.* vii. 16). [S. A. B.]

HERACLIUS (12), twelfth bishop of St. Paul de Trois-Châteaux, between Florentius and Victor, was present at the council of Carpentras held in A.D. 527, the second of Orange and the third of Vaison in 529, and the fourth of Orleans in 541. It has been conjectured that the Heraclius, to whom Avitus, archbishop of Vienna, addressed his forty-seventh letter, was identical with this bishop. He praises him for his defence of the catholic faith before the Arian Gundobald, and prophesies his accession to the episcopate. The answer of Heraclius is also in existence (Labbe, *Sacr. Conc.* viii. 708, 718, 728, ix. 120, Florence, 1759–98; Migne, Patr. Lat. lix. 264 n. 265; Ceillier, x. 562; *Gall. Christ.* i. 707; *Hist. Lit. de la Fr.* iii. 187). [S. A. B.]

HERACLIUS (13), 9th bishop of Saintes. When the bishops assembled at the council of Saintes deposed Emerius from that see, they put in his place Heraclius a priest of Bordeaux (562 or 563). But Emerius was immediately restored by Charibert, in defiance of the sentence of the council [EMERIUS]. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv. 26; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 1057.)
[S. A. B.]

HERACLIUS (14), 8th bishop of Digne, succeeding Hilarius, and followed by Agapius and Bobo, present at the fourth council of Paris, A.D. 573, the first of Mâcon about 581 and the second of Mâcon in 585 (Mansi, ix. 868, 936, 957; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 1113). [S. A. B.]

HERACLIUS (15) (ERADIUS), eighth bishop of Angoulême, between Frontonius and Nicasius. He had been employed as ambassador by Childebert I., and was consecrated about 577. He suffered much from the persecution of Nantinus,

count of Angoulême, who accused him of harbouring the murderers of his uncle Marachar-ius, and took away by force from the church of Angoulême, the lands which his uncle had bequeathed to it. Heraclius died about A.D. 580. (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 37; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 980.) [S. A. B.]

HERACLIUS (16), ST., eighth archbishop of Tarentaise, succeeding Martianus, and followed by Firminus or Firmius, towards the close of the sixth century. (*Gall. Christ.* xii. 702.) [S. A. B.]

HERACLIUS (17), bishop of Samos at the Nicene council of 787; his name is found at the beginning of the seventh session. (Mansi, xiii. 373; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 931.) [L. D.]

HERACLIUS (18), bishop of Junopolis (Abonotichus) on the coast of Paphlagonia, present at the Nicene council, A.D. 787. (Mansi, xiii. 369; Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* i. 556.) [L. D.]

HERACLIUS (19)—May 4. Martyr with Justus and Maurus at Fulginium in Umbria. He was converted by Felicianus the apostle of Umbria in the 3rd century. He was arrested by the president Aurelius during the Decian persecution, and beheaded outside the city at the first milestone on the Roman road. [FELICIANUS (1).] (Ughell. *Ital. Sacr.* i. 685 D; *Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. i. 452.) [G. T. S.]

HERACLIUS (20) — March 9, martyr. [FORTY MARTYRS.]

HERACLIUS (21), count mentioned by Athanasius as inciting the populace to persecute the Catholic congregations. (Athanas. *Opp.* i. 298; Baron. *A. E.* ann. 342, xix.) [C. H.]

HERACLIUS (22), a native of Tyre, who had been priest of Hercules in that city. To avoid the charge of sorcery he fled to Cyzicus, where he professed himself a convert and received baptism from the bishop Eleusius, by whom he was also admitted to the diaconate without due investigation. When apprised of the charges against him, Eleusius refused to degrade and excommunicate him. This was made one of the grounds of Eleusius's deposition by the council at Constantinople, A.D. 360 (Socr. *H. E.* ii. 42; Soz. *H. E.* iv. 24). [E. V.]

HERACLIUS (23), a deacon of Pannonia at the end of the 4th century, the bearer of letters to St. Jerome, then at Bethlehem. He was sent (A.D. 397) by Castrutius (*q. v.*), who had intended to go to Bethlehem, but through old age and blindness could get no further than Cissa; and also by his bishop, Amabilis, who after urging Jerome many times by letters to interpret for him the visions of Isaiah, and receiving no reply, enforced his request by the personal agency of Heraclius. Jerome replied to Castrutius (*ep.* 68, ed. Vall.), and also wrote the commentary, which, thirteen years afterwards, he incorporated as the fifth book in his *Commentary on Isaiah* (Pref. to *Comm. on Is.* Jerome, vol. iv. 168, ed. Vall.). Heraclius seems to have endeared himself to Jerome, who exacted from him a promise to return, which he performed in the following year (398), when he brought with him the letter of Vitalis (*q. v. ep.* 72, ed. Vall.) [W. H. F.]

HERACLIUS (24)—May 17. Martyr with Paulus Aquilinus and two others at Nividunum or Novidunum (Nyon), on the Lake of Geneva. (*Mart.* Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HERACLIUS (25), a deacon of Theopolis (as Antioch was then called) representing Ephraim, his metropolitan at the council of Constantinople in 536 (Mansi, viii. 880, 920, 928, 938, 949, 977). [T. W. D.]

HERACLIUS (26), emperor A.D. 610–641. He was son of an exarch of Africa of the same name, who had distinguished himself in the wars against Persia under Maurice, A.D. 586 (Le Beau, x. 245), and to whom the inhabitants of Constantinople, oppressed by the tyranny of Phocas, emperor A.D. 602–610, appealed for deliverance. He was in turn probably a descendant of an Heraclius, a consul and native of Edessa, who had distinguished himself under the emperor Leo, and had been sent by him against the Vandals, A.D. 471 (Theoph. *Chron.* p. 181, ed. Bohn). The elder Heraclius handed over the conduct of the expedition which he fitted out in response to this invitation to his son, aided by his cousin Nicetas. After a naval combat fought within sight of the imperial palace, and the execution of Phocas, Heraclius mounted the imperial throne and established a dynasty which arrested for a time the decay of the Roman empire, and survived directly throughout the 7th century, and indirectly through the iconoclastic emperors, for well-nigh two centuries. [LEO III.; IRENE; PHOCAS.] A man whose reign was so fruitful in practical results, being "one of the most remarkable epochs, both in the history of the empire and in the annals of mankind" (Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, i. 313), is well worthy of careful attention. The history of his wars with the Persians and other barbarian nations will be found in detail in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, and in the authorities there quoted. Here we shall deal with his life solely in its religious aspects, referring the reader for fuller details to the article on MONOTHELISM, the origin of which is due to his efforts after ecclesiastical comprehension. Three points are specially worthy of notice under this head: (1) his attitude towards the Jews; (2) his celebrated *Ecthesis*, which originated Monothelism, A.D. 638; (3) the policy which he pursued in the eastern provinces of Europe.

(1) *His attitude towards the Jews.*—In the beginning of the 7th century the Jews had vastly increased in numbers and importance in Greece, Africa, Spain, Georgia, and Arabia. This increase of their numbers and wealth soon roused the bigotry and jealousy of the Christians, while the deplorable condition of the Roman empire, and of the Christian population in the East, inspired the Jews with expectations of re-establishing their national independence, under the long-expected Messiah (Milman, *Lat. Christ.* tom. ii. p. 183, ed. 1867; Finlay, *l. c.* p. 325). [GURAM.] This feeling had already found vent under Phocas in an active persecution of the Jews, but it was carried out more rigorously under Heraclius, who attempted, by enforcing compulsory baptism, to bring them over to the church.

[GEORGIUS (73).] Heraclius not only practised every cruelty to effect this object within the Roman empire, but also induced the Gothic sovereigns of Spain to second his exertions in this direction, though, to their credit be it said, even then some Christians were found enlightened enough to disapprove of such violent conversions. (Isidor. Hisp. *Chron. Goth.*, where speaking of king Sisebut, with whom Heraclius concluded a treaty with such a provision, he says, "Aemulationem quidem Dei habuit sed non secundum scientiam. Potestate enim compulit quos provocare fidei ratione oportuit;" cf. Neander, *H. E.* Clark's ed. v. 209.) A prophecy, said to have been current about this time, which declared that the Roman empire would be overthrown by a circumcised people, may have helped to intensify the persecution.

(2) Heraclius's efforts after ecclesiastical comprehension found a vent in the celebrated ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως, published towards the close of his reign, A.D. 638. [ECTHESIS.] The history of this celebrated document will be further discussed and illustrated in the article MONOTHELISM. The causes which led up to its issue were briefly the following. Monophysitism had broken up the unity of the empire. Egypt and Syria had been alienated from Constantinople by ecclesiastical disputes which Heraclius, in view of the attacks of the Persians on the one hand and of the Saracens on the other, strove to compose by an imperial edict. But instead of composing the dissensions, this edict served only to infuse fresh life into them. (See the articles CYRUS of Alexandria, HONORIUS of Rome, SOPHRONIUS of Jerusalem, SERGIUS of Constantinople, MAXIMUS Abbat, THEODORUS of Pharan, MONOTHELISM; Neander, *H. E.* v. 116, 239–254, ed. Bohn; Gieseler, *H. E.* ii. 172, ed. Clark; Ceillier, xi. 760; Mansi, x. 992; Hefele, *Concil.* iv. 48, ed. Paris, 1870; Ersch und Gruber, *Encyklop.* lxxxiv. 160; Herzog, *Real Encyklop.* s. v.)

(3) The establishment of the people now constituting the principality of Servia, which has exerted such an important influence on Eastern Europe, is originally due to Heraclius. He endeavoured to form a permanent barrier in Europe against the encroachments of the Avars and Sclavonians. The imperial armies which, in the time of the emperor Maurice, had waged an active war in Illyricum and Thrace, and frequently invaded the territories of the Avars, had melted away during the reign of Phocas. The only feasible plan then was the establishment of powerful colonies of tribes hostile to the Avars and their Sclavonian allies, in the deserted provinces of Dalmatia and Illyricum. To accomplish this object, Heraclius induced the Serbs or Western Sclavonians, who occupied the country about the Carpathian mountains, and who had successfully opposed the extension of the Avar empire in that direction, to abandon their ancient seats, and move down to the south into the provinces between the Danube and the Adriatic. The Sclavonian people of Illyricum and Dalmatia long regarded themselves as bound to pay a certain degree of territorial allegiance to the eastern empire (*Constant. Porphyr. de Administ. Imp.* cc. 31–36). A careful study of the original settlement under Heraclius would perhaps throw considerable light upon the long history of the eastern question, and even upon its present position (cf. Evagr. *H. E.* v. 1; Finlay's *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 331).

Among the other notable events of his reign was the capture of Jerusalem and of the supposed true cross by the Persians in the earlier years of his reign, its recapture by Heraclius in 628, and its solemn restoration 629. His latter days were rendered miserable by the invasions of the Saracens, combined as it would seem with most distressing neuralgia in the head, the result, perhaps, of consequent mental anxiety. The Arab historians tell us that in exchange for a splendid diamond, which Heraclius sent as a present to the Caliph Omar, he returned him a miraculous cap, which, so long as he wore it, gave him relief from his pain. On this they ground a tale of his conversion to the religion of Islam. The same writers represent him however as practically holding his throne by the pleasure of the caliph, which is clearly contrary to fact (Neale, *Islamism, its Rise and Progress*, i. 65; Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, chronolog. table prefixed to tom. i.).

Heraclius was twice married; first to Eudocia, daughter of Rogatus an African nobleman; secondly, to his niece Martina, a union which was looked upon as incestuous, and from which the patriarch Sergius in vain endéavoured to dissuade him. (Theophan. *Chronog.* p. 459. ed. Bonn; Le Beau, *Le Bas-Empire*, tom. xi. c. 56, 57, 58, ed. Saint-Martin; Gibbon, cap. xlvi.; Du Cange, *Fam. August.* p. 100.)

[G. T. S.]

HERACLONAS, emperor. [HERACLEONAS.]

HERAIS—June 28, martyr at Alexandria, a disciple in the school of Origen. While yet a catechumen she received, as Origen expressed it, "baptism by fire." (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 4; *Mart. Vet. Rom.*; *Mart.* Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HERASMUS, martyr. [ERASMUS (2).]

HERASTUS, martyr at Philippi, commemorated on July 26; supposed to have been the Erastus of Acts xix. 22. (Usuard.) [C. H.]

HERBALDUS, bishop. [GARIBALDUS.]

HERBERT (HEREBERCT, HEREBERHT), a priest, and one of St. Cuthbert's oldest and most attached friends. He lived as a hermit on the beautiful isle on Derwentwater which bears his name. It was his custom to pay a yearly visit to Cuthbert, for his spiritual advice and help. They met together in Carlisle, Cuthbert's own city, in A.D. 686. "Ask me, brother Hereberct," said the saint, "whatever thou art in need of, for after we have parted asunder we shall never in this world look into each other's face." The listener threw himself at Cuthbert's feet, and implored him with tears, in the Lord's name, to bear his faithful comrade in his mind, and to ask of God that they might serve Him at the same time in heaven as they had done upon earth. The saint sought the boon in prayer, and told his companion that it should be vouchsafed to him. They separated and died apart, but on the same day, the 20th of March, 686–7, Herbert suffering heavily from sickness before his end (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 29; *Vita S. Cuth.* c. 28; Anon. *Vita S. Cuth.* p. 286). "Those holy

men died both at the same hour." There is a notice of St. Herbert, as he was called, in the *Acta SS.* Boll. 20 March, iii. 142. He occurs among the list of anchorets in the *Liber Vitae* of the church of Durham (p. 8).

In St. Herbert's Isle, on Derwentwater, beautifully wooded, "St. Herbert's consecrated grove," the remains of the abode of the recluse are still visible. In 1374 Thomas Appleby, bishop of Carlisle, directed the vicar of Crosthwaite to visit the island every 15th of April and celebrate there the Missa de Cuthberto with note. The bishop made an error as to Herbert's death-day. The document is in Reg. Appleby at Carlisle, f. 74*b*, and is printed inaccurately in Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, ii. 172; Burn and Nicolson's *Cumberland and Westmorland*, ii. 529–30; and, more exactly, in Smith's Appendix to his edition of Bede, p. 783. [J. R.]

HERC, Welsh saint. [ERC.]

HERCAITH, disciple of St. Patrick. (Todd, *S. Patrick*, 510.) [J. G.]

HERCHENRADUS. [ERCHENRADUS.]

HERC-NASCA. [ERC (3).]

HERCONWALD (Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* 994, A.D. 688), bishop. [ERKENWALD.] [C. H.]

HERCULANUS (1), (Cyp. *Ep.* 41), African bishop. Appears first as colleague of Caldonius in Cyprian's commission, A.D. 251 (*Ep.* 42), as party to excommunication of FELICISSIMUS. In A.D. 252 (Cyp. *Ep.* 57), twenty-fifth bishop in conc. Carth. ii. *de Pace*. In A.D. 255 among the thirty-two bishops of the proconsular province at the council *de Bapt. Haeret.* i. (Cyp. *Ep.* 70.) [E. W. B.]

HERCULANUS (2) I., bishop of Perusia (Perugia) c. 290–310. Ughelli makes him to have been the first bishop, to have lived A.D. 57–90, and to have been put to death under Domitian, but this is in all probability erroneous. His life and actions have been much confused with those of Herculanus II., his successor in the see c. A.D. 534. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. *70; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Ital.* iv. 453.) [R. S. G.]

HERCULANUS (3), bishop of Brescia, c. 553. (Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, xi. 562; *Acta SS. Boll.* 12 Aug. ii. 731.) [A. H. D. A.]

HERCULANUS (4) II.—Nov. 7. Bishop of Perugia, where he was beheaded by the soldiers of Totila. St. Gregory assures us that his body was found with his head joined to the body as perfectly as if no sword had ever touched it. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Usuard.; Sigebert. Gembl. Ann. 544, in Patr. Lat. clx. 105; Gregor. *Dialog.* lib. iii. cap. 13; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mart. i. 51, Jul. i. 33; Mabill. *Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* saec. i. p. 103.) [G. T. S.]

HERCULANUS (5)—Sept. 5; called Herconus in *Mart. Rom. Vet.* A martyr at Rome. (*Mart.* Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HERCULANUS (6)—Sept. 27. A martyr at Rome mentioned in the acts of a certain bishop Alexander, whose see is unknown (*Mart.* Adon., Usuard.). In *Mart. Rom. Vet.*, under date of Nov. 26, we are told that Alexander suffered on Sept. 21, and that his relics were translated by pope Damasus on Nov. 26, which he ordained as his festival. [G. T. S.]

HERCULES, bishop of Narnia (Narni) A.D. 455–470. He was son of his predecessor, Pancratius I., and brother of his successor, Pancratius II. The father and the two sons were buried in one tomb. (Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 1084; Cappelletti, *Ital. Sacr.* iv. 544.) [R. S. G.]

HERCULIANUS (HERCOLIANUS, Ruinart, *Acta Sinc.* 596), soldier martyr at Antioch. [JOVIANUS.] [C. H.]

HERCULIANUS, bishop of Perusia, martyr. [HERCULANUS (2).]

HERCULIUS (1), a person of rank, to whom Chrysostom wrote from Cucusus, expressing the confidence he felt in his deep affection which no silence could lessen, but entreating him to write often. (Chrys. *Epist.* 201.) [E. V.]

HERCULIUS (2), first recorded bishop of Otriculum (Ocria, Otricoli), present at the council of Rome under Felix, A.D. 487 (Mansi, vii. 1171 D; Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia*, iv. 573, 579). [C. H.]

HERCUMBERTUS. [HERUMBERTUS.]

HERDULF, bishop. [EARDULF (3).]

HEREBALD, a young scholar under the charge of St. John of Beverley, with whom he was a great favourite. On one occasion, when the master and his pupils were riding out, the young lads reached a level bit of ground, and got John's permission to run races. Herebald, however, was not to go with them. The youth, disappointed at being left behind, stole off, and was thrown violently from his horse, which stumbled at a stone. The lad's skull was fractured. A very interesting account is given of his cure, which is said to have been effected chiefly by John himself. In Herebald's great peril John rebaptized him, having discovered by inquiry that the rite had been insufficiently administered at the first. Herebald recovered, and told the tale to Bede with his own lips, being at that time the abbat of a monastery at the mouth of the Tyne, the predecessor of the modern Tynemouth (Bede, *H. E.* v. 6; Folcard, *Vita S. Joh.* c. 8). According to Symeon of Durham, "Herebald abbas" died in A.D. 745. (*Chron. Regum*, ed. Surtees Soc. 18.) [J. R.]

HEREBERCT, HEREBERHT, HEREBERT, priest and anchoret. [HERBERT.]

HEREBERGIS, HEREBURGIS, abbess. [HERIBURG.]

HEREBERHT (1), a Kentish abbat, whose name is attached to a charter of Sigiraed king of Kent, granted to Rochester in the time of archbishop Bregwin, 759–765. (Kemble, *C. D.* 114; *Mon. Angl.* i. 163.) [S.]

HEREBERHT (2), a priest of the diocese of Sidnacester, who attests the act of the synod of Clovesho in 803. (Kemble, *C. D.* 1024; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 546.) [S.]

HERECA, a West Saxon abbat, probably of Malmesbury. He is mentioned in a letter written by an unnamed monk to Lullus of Mainz (*Mon. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, pp. 299, 300), in which the writer reminds the bishop of their ancient friendship in the town of Malmesbury under abbat Eaba. The writer, who is probably Hereca himself or his secretary, sends to Lullus the kind remembrances of the convent over which he presides, and Hereca places his sign at the close of the letter. It is not quite clear from this over what monastery Hereca ruled, and the name does not occur in William of Malmesbury's list of the abbats of that abbey. Hereca appears as a witness to two charters which have some claim to authenticity; one in which Ethelbald of Mercia grants lands to abbat Eanberht (Kemble, *C. D.* 100), and another in which Cynewulf of Wessex grants lands to Malmesbury (K. *C. D.* 103). In both these Hereca is associated with West Saxon bishops, and the date of both is 758 or thereabout. [S.]

HEREDNAT, Irish saint. [EREDNAT.]

HEREFERTHUS (Wend. *Flor. Hist.* ann. 712, ed. Coxe), bishop of Worcester between Tilhere and "Debert." He is therefore the same as Heathored. [C. H.]

HEREFRITH (1), the familiar priest and friend of St. Cuthbert, to whom we are indebted for many valuable reminiscences of his life. He gave Bede an account of Cuthbert's serious bodily infirmity after he was attacked by the plague in A.D. 661 (Bede, *V. S. Cuth.* c. 8). In A.D. 686–7, when Cuthbert died on Farne Island, Herefrith was abbat of Lindisfarne, and had the privilege of attending his master in his last illness, hearing his last request and commands, closing his eyes, and afterwards of interring his remains. He gave to Bede a description of the scene, which for pathos and simple beauty cannot be surpassed. (*Id.* cc. 37–40; Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dun.* 57.) When Bede wrote the *Life of Cuthbert*, the MS. was frequently submitted to Herefrith's critical eye when he visited the historian at Jarrow. (Preface to *Life of Cuth.*) He is there styled Herefrid the priest, having probably resigned his office of abbat, and sought, after his old master's fashion, a more ascetic life. The name of "Herefrid presbyter" occurs in the *Liber Vitae* at Durham among the abbats of the priestly grade (p. 6). There is a letter from Boniface to Herefrith presbyter, but he can scarcely be identified with Cuthbert's friend. Boniface died in A.D. 754. [J. R.]

HEREFRITH (2), a priest to whom St. Boniface wrote, about the year 746, requesting him to urge Ethelbald of Mercia to comply with the advice given him to reform. (*Monum. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, p. 177; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 357, 358.) He can scarcely be identified with Herefrith abbat of Lindisfarne, but may be the person whose death is recorded under 747 by the continuator of Bede as "Herefrith the man of God" (*M. H. B.* 288). [S.]

HEREMIUS (EREMIUS), bishop of Thessalonica, the metropolis of Macedonia, present at the council of Ariminum, A.D. 359, after which he was banished and most cruelly treated in order to make him renounce communion with Athanasius. (Athan. *Apol. ad Const.* § 27, p. 247; Migne, Pat. Gr. xxv. 630 b; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 29.) [L. D.]

HEREMOD, a Kentish priest, who attests an act of archbishop Wulfred, dated April 21, 811. (Kemble, *C. D.* 195.) [S.]

HERENA, widow of the Roman martyr Castulus. (Boll. *Acta SS.* 22 Jan. ii. 415; St. Ambrosius, *Opp.* ap. Migne, Patr. Lat. xvii. 1056 n.) [IRENE.] [J. G.]

HERENA, Mart. Carth. A.D. 250. (See ARISTO.) [E. W. B.]

HERENAT, virgin. [ERCNAT.]

HERENNIANUS, Carthaginian, sub-deacon, A.D. 257. (See AMANTIUS.) Cyp. *Ep.* 77, 78, 79. [E. W. B.]

HERENNIUS (1), a Christian philosopher who lived subsequently to Porphyry and Jamblichus, for whom he expresses admiration. Fabricius (*Bib. Graec.* iv. 4, and v. 7), confounding him with Philo Byblius, places him under Domitian (cf. Fabr. *Bib. Graec.* iii. 6). Cardinal Mai, in his *Class. Auct.* ix. 513–593, gives a commentary by him on the Metaphysics of Aristotle, which he describes as "very learned and very subtil." Cf. Pitra's remarks in the preface of volume cited, p. viii. [G. T. S.]

HERENNIUS (2), the 7th recorded bishop of Portus Romanus, next to Glycerius and preceding Castus. He occurs among the bishops present at the third council of Rome held by bishop Felix III. A.D. 487. (Mansi, *Concil.* vii. 1171; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* i. 111.) [C. H.]

HERENNIUS, bishop of Jerusalem. [ARRHENIUS, ERENNIUS.]

HERENUS, Mart. Carth. A.D. 250. (See ARISTO.) [E. W. B.]

HERERIC, son of Eadfrith, and a nephew of Edwin, king of Northumbria, who was baptized with him by Paulinus at York on Easter Sunday, A.D. 627. He continued a Christian, and was the father of Hilda, abbess of Whitby, and of the abbess Heresuid. He was poisoned whilst in exile under Cerdic, a British king. His wife's name was Bregusuid (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 23). [J. R.]

HERESIOLOGY. For a definition of heresy, as the term was understood in the early church, the reader is referred to the article HERESY in the *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* We shall here limit ourselves to some brief notice of those writers who have treated the subject of heresies generally; referring for fuller information to the articles under their several names.

The earliest known heresiologist is JUSTIN MARTYR (c. 103–166), in his Σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων αἱρεσεών, of which we know nothing but the title and the fact that it was written before the author's first Apology (*Apol.* i. 26). The earliest enumeration of heresies and heretics is one that occurs in a fragment of the Ὑπομνήματα of HEGESIPPUS (c. 120–185), preserved in Eusebius, and it men-

tions the following:—"Thebuthis, Simon and the Simoniani, Cleobius and the Cleobiani, Dositheus and the Dositheani, Gorthaeus and the Gortheni, and the Masbothaei," and that from these are derived "the Menandrianistae, the Marcionistae, the Carpocratiani, the Valentiniani, the Basileidiani, and the Satorniliani" (*H. E.* iv. 22).

These were soon followed by IRENAEUS bishop of Lyons (A.D. 177 to c. 201), in his great work entitled, Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως (Euseb. v. 7; Phot. *Bibl.* cxx.). To the edition of this work published by Migne in his *Patrologia Graeca*, tom. vii., there is added a very valuable collection of what remains of the heretics of whom it treats.

Some years later TERTULLIAN published his *De Praescriptionibus adversus Omnes Haereses* (*de Carne Christ.* c. 2). At the close of this work he promises a special refutation of some of the heresies, which promise he fulfilled in his treatises against Marcion, the Valentinians, and Praxeas, and in his *Scorpiace adversus Gnosticos* ("adversus bestiolas scorpiacum," i. § 4, s. f.). To these may be added his *de Anima*, his *de Carne Christi*, and his *de Resurrectione Carnis*, in which also he controverts the Gnostics. Some of the earlier editions of Tertullian contain as an appendix to the *De Praescriptionibus*, a list of heresies (Ceillier, ii. 751; Oehler, *Corp. Haeresiol.* i. 271); this is now recognised not to be Tertullian's, but it is unquestionably very ancient. It has been by some supposed to be a Latin translation of the lost Σύνταγμα of Hippolytus Romanus. The author passes over the Jewish heretics, among whom he mentions Dositheus the Samaritan, and gives brief notices of twenty-nine heretics and heresies which had arisen in his day. The first heretic whose opinions he treats of is Simon Magus, and the last Praxeas. The metrical treatise against Marcion ascribed to Tertullian is assigned by Oehler to VICTORINUS OF MARSEILLES (Tertull. *Op.* ii. 782).

In the meanwhile the works of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA had appeared, whose Στρωματεῖς and *Summaries from Theodotus*, if indeed this last be his (n. ed. Migne, ii. 654), have greatly added to our knowledge of the earlier heresies. To Clement also we are indebted for several fragments of the earlier heretical writings: *e.g.* those of BASILIDES (*Strom.* iv. 12), CASSIANUS (*Str.* i. 21, iii. 13), EPIPHANES (*Str.* iii. 2), HERACLEON (*Str.* iv. 9), ISIDORUS (*Str.* ii. 20, iii. 1, vi. 6), TATIAN (*Str.* iii. 12), VALENTINUS (*Str.* ii. 8, 20, iii. 7, iv. 13).

Towards the commencement of the 3rd century HIPPOLYTUS ROMANUS published his *Treatise* (ἔλεγχος) *against all Heresies* (Hippol. *Refut. Omn. Haer.* ed. Duncker, 1859). Some time previously he had published a shorter *Treatise* (σύνταγμα) *against the Thirty-two Heresies*, commencing with the Dositheani and ending with Noetus and the Noetiani (Phot. *Biblioth.* cxxi.). The Σύνταγμα is unhappily lost; but Lipsius has endeavoured in some measure to restore it by means of the use made of it by Epiphanius and Philastrius (*Quellenkritik der Epiphanios*). The Ἔλεγχος is a much more extensive work and contains numerous quotations from Irenaeus, as well as several fragments of heretical writings, *e. g.* Elchesaite, Naassene, Peratic, and Sethian, and besides those of Basilides and Valentinus, fragments also of the works of JUSTINUS, MARCUS, MONOIMUS, and SATURNILUS. The first heresy treated of by Hippolytus in his surviving work is that of the Naasseni, and the last that of the Elchesaitae. There are also ascribed to him special treatises on the heresy of NOETUS and on that of BERON and HELIX.

In the last quarter of the 4th century EPIPHANIUS published two works on the subject of heresies, the Ἀγκυρωτός and the Πανάριον. The heresies of which he treats are substantially the same in both works, but the Πανάριον is much the fuller and the more complete. It commences with twenty heresies which existed in the time of our Lord. Then follow sixty heresies which had arisen since the time of our Lord, among which are the Cleobiani and the Gortheni of Hegesippus. The first mentioned are the Simoniani and the last the Massaliani. Epiphanius also made use of Irenaeus, from whom he quotes largely. Each section of the Πανάριον has a summary prefixed. These summaries appear to have been early collected and circulated as a separate work. A considerable fragment of another epitome has recently been brought to light, and is published by Dindorf in his edition of Epiphanius. It comprises the thirty-four first-mentioned heresies of the Πανάριον, and ends with the Marcosii.

About the same date, PHILASTRIUS bishop of Brixia (A.D. 378–387), published his *Liber de Haeresibus*. The first twenty-eight chapters are occupied with pre-Christian heresies, commencing with the Ophitae, and ending with the Herodiani. Philastrius assigns the Caiani (c. 2), the Sethiani (c. 3), and the Nazaraei (c. 8) to this class. He also speaks of Dositheus as "Judaeus genere" (c. 4). In the remainder of his work, c. 29–156 (ed. Oehler, al. 150), he treats of the heresies which had arisen since the time of our Lord. A number of the heresies in both classes are not named, so that many of his chapters treat only of heretical opinions, and among those which he has named are several which do not occur in his great contemporary. He also supplies several variants which are frequently of some historical and dogmatic interest. The edition of Philastrius published in the *Patrologia* is enriched with very valuable notes. That of Oehler, in his *Corpus Haereseologicum*, has critical notes, and also the learned commentaries of J. A. Fabricius.

In 397, JEROME, writing to Magnus, a Roman orator, enumerates some forty-four writers, the greater number of whom had written against one or more of the heresies of their times. The earliest named is Cyprian, and the latest his own contemporary, Amphilocius of Iconium.

Some few years later AUGUSTINE published his *de Haeresibus Liber*, limited to heresies that had arisen in Christian times. He notices eighty-eight, the first being the Simoniani and the last the Pelagiani. Among them are ten to which he assigns no name, nine of these being also unnamed in Philastrius, and the tenth, number 68, named by Philastrius as that of the Excalceati. The Luciferiani (clxxxi.), for whose omission by Epiphanius and Philastrius he accounts by the supposition that they believed them to be schismatics only and not heretics, the

Jovianistae, the Arabici, the Hebridiani, whom he supposes to be the Antidicomaritae of Epiphanius, the Paterniani, the Tertullianistae, the Abelonii, and, as might be expected, the Pelagiani, appear in Augustine for the first time. His Priscillianistae are the unnamed heretics of Philastrius, number 84. At the close of the *Liber*, Augustine tells his friend he has heard that Jerome has written on heresies, but he knows from whence to procure the book.

The Ὑπομνησικόν of JOSEPPUS is placed about this time by Cave and Galland. Fabricius puts it as late as the 10th century and so beyond our limits; but on the hypothesis of the earlier date we proceed to remark that four chapters of this work are devoted to the subject of heresies: one of which is entitled Πόσαι αἱρέσεις κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως ἐπανεστήσαν. In this Joseppus gives brief notices of sixty-two heresies, which he enumerates in a different order from his predecessors, and mentions some by names that do not occur elsewhere: *e. g.* Beryllíani and Marianitae. The first is that of the Herodiani, which Epiphanius notices among those of the Jews, the second that of the Theudiani, which Joseppus says arose in Egypt, and the last that of the "Anthropomorphitae, which arose in the region of Eleutheropolis," (Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 7; Sozomen. *H. E.* vii. 11; Cyril. Alex. *adv. Anthropomorph.* Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxvi. 1068). Joseppus explains the origin of the name Ebionaei as πτωχοὶ ἑρμηνευόμενοι διὰ τὸ περὶ τὴν πίστιν πτωχεύειν, and makes the Nazoraei to be an Ebionite sect. In noticing the heresy of Origen of Alexandria, he says that that teacher "brought thirty heresies into the church."

MARIUS MERCATOR (A.D. 418–450), published his *Commonitorium de Caelestio Imperatori oblatum*, his *Liber Subnotationum in verba Juliani*, and his collections relating to the Nestorian controversy, which, with the admirable Dissertations of Garnier in the edition of these treatises reprinted in the *Patrologia*, leave little to be desired on the subject of the two great heresies which arose in the first half of the 5th century.

Towards the commencement of the second half of the 5th century, THEODORET bishop of Cyrus published his Αἱρετικῆς κακομυθίας ἐπιτομή, which he tells us that he compiled from Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clemens (of Alexandria), Origen, the two Eusebii (of Caesarea and of Emesa), Adamantius, Rhodo, Titus (of Bostra ?), Diodorus (of Cilicia), Georgius (of Laodicea), and others whom he does not name. The first book commences with Simon Magus, and ends with Manes; the second commences with Ebion, and ends with Photeinus; the third commences with the Nicolaitae, and ends with Nepos; the fourth commences with Arius, and ends with Eutyches; and the fifth contains a summary of Christian doctrine under seventeen heads. Besides Nestorius and Eutyches, Theodoret has several heresies and heretics whom his predecessors had omitted, as Marcellus of Ancyra, Eudoxius, Psathyriani, Polemiani, Pithon, Politus, and Syneros, the founders of different sects of Marcionites; and Adelphius, Dadoes, Sabbas, and Symeones, leaders of the Messalians. He is also careful to mention the principal writers against each of the heresies of which he treats. Soon after this appeared the *Destruction of False Doctrines* of EZNIK the bishop of Bagrewad in Armenia. This he published in his native language; it is chiefly valuable for the account which it gives us of the Zoroastrians and the Marcionites of his time.

The preface to the Arabic version of the Acts of the Council of Nicaea, translated into Latin, and published by Labbe (ii. 383 et seq.), but which was certainly not made until after 451, and probably not until the 7th century, if indeed it be not of still later date, notices seventeen heresies, apparently as existing at that date, and gives a brief account of each. Among these are some that are not similarly named elsewhere, as Sabbatini, Sophistae, Barbarii, Phocalitae, Disanitae, and Timotheistae (Hefele, i. 361–368; Mai, *Script. Nov. coll.* x. praef. v.)

The work known as *Praedestinatus* may be assigned to about the close of the 5th century. The first book, with which only we have here to do, is entitled, "Epitome Ecdicesios Hygini contra haeresiarchas et Categoricorum Epiphanii contra sectas, et Expositionum Philastri qui hos transferens in Latinum de Graeco, cum Ariani damnarentur, edidit. Prior Hyginus, post hunc Polycrates, Africanus, Hesiodus, Epiphanius, Philaster, hi diversis temporibus diversas haereses pertexuerunt." (Oehler, *u. s.* 233.) The author again refers to Polycrates, Africanus, and Hesiodus, as well as to Epiphanius, as "qui Graeco sermone *universas haereseis* describentes volumina *multorum* condidere *librorum*" (c. 83).

Up to the eighty-eighth chapter, *Praedestinatus* observes precisely the same order that Augustine does, in noticing the heresies of which he treats, and only mentions two that Augustine did not notice—that of Nestorius and that of the Praedestinati. He also very frequently copies whole sentences and sometimes entire paragraphs from Augustine. At the same time he has much that is not found in his predecessor, and has also designated many heresies that Augustine had left unnamed. He also mentions the chief opponents of the several heresies of which he treats, but some of his statements rest on his own authority.

After A.D. 564, LIBERATUS, a deacon of Carthage, published his *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, which is not only valuable for these particular heresies, but also for the information which it contains as to the numerous sects to which they gave rise. In the first chapter he enumerates the authorities upon which he relies. The *Ecclesiastica Historia* to which he refers is the *Historia Tripartita* compiled at the request of Cassiodorus (*Hist. Trip.* praef., Patr. lxix. 879). Liberatus also made use of the *Breviculum Historiae Eutychianistarum*, c. A.D. 494, which is ascribed to Gelasius III., bishop of Rome A.D. 492–494 (Labbe et Cossart, iv. 1079).

Somewhere about A.D. 500, GENNADIUS, a presbyter of Massilia, published a continuation of the *De Viris Illustribus* of Jerome, at the end of which he says he has written eight books against all heresies, six against Nestorius, three against Pelagius, and that he has sent Gelasius bishop of Rome an epistle concerning his faith. The epistle still survives under the title of *Liber de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*, and may not be overlooked in this article, as it covers the whole field of heresy from the commencement of the

Christian era down to the time at which it was written. Oehler has republished it with the valuable notes of Geverhart Elmenhorst (*u. s.* i. 336–400).

About the same time appeared the *Origines seu Etymologicae* of ISIDORUS bishop of Seville A.D. 599–636. Two chapters of the eighth book are devoted to the subject of heresies, the one entitled, *De Haeresibus Judaeorum*, which it treats of in ten sections, and the other *De Haeresibus Christianorum*, in seventy-one sections. This last is copied by Gratian, in his *Concordia Discordantium Canonum* (c. XXIV. q. iii. c. 39). It is mainly an abbreviation of Augustine *de Haeresibus*, with the addition of Nestoriani, Eutychiani, Acephali, Theodosiani and Gaianitae, and Agnoitae and Tritheitae.

About the year 600, LEONTIUS, a scholasticus of Byzantium, compiled his Σχόλια ἀπὸ φωνῆς Θεωδωροῦ τοῦ Θεοφιλεστάτου Ἀββᾶ, more generally known by the title of *De Sectis* (Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* viii. 310). The work is divided into ten πράξεις, *sectiones*, in the last of which Leontius treats of the heresy of the Gaianites. It is especially valuable for the history and doctrines of the numerous sects which arose after the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. On some of these still further light is shed by his Κατὰ Νεστοριανῶν καὶ Εὐτυχιανιστῶν and his Κατὰ ἀφθαρτοδοκητῶν.

During the first quarter of the 7th century, TIMOTHEUS, a presbyter of the great church of Constantinople, published his important work entitled, Περὶ τῶν προσερχομένων τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, which is generally quoted as *De recipiendis haereticis*. As the title suggests, it is a manual of ecclesiastical discipline with regard to heretics, and accordingly treats of three classes of them, such as need baptism, such as only need the chrism, and such as need neither. Of those who belong to the first class, the first mentioned are the Tascodrugi, and the last the followers of Pelagius and Coelestius, to whom he adds the Melchisedeciani, who, in his day, were known as Ἀθίγγανοι. The first mentioned in the second class are Tessarescaedecatitae, and the last the Apollinaristae; the first mentioned in the third class are the Meletiani, and the last the Eutychianistae. On this follows a tract entitled, Περὶ τοῦ γινώσκειν εἰς πόσα τιμήματα γέγονεν ἡ τῶν Ἀκεφάλων ἤτοι Θεοπασχιτῶν αἵρεσις σύντομος ἔκθεσις; a treatise on the Marcianistae, by whom he means the Messaliani, and another on the twelve sects of the Διακρινόμενοι, those who withheld subscription to the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. This last is especially valuable as a guide to unravel what otherwise might well appear to be an almost hopeless complication. (Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. pt. i. 54 et seq.)

About the same time also ANTIOCHUS, a monk of the monastery of St. Saba, published his Ὁμιλίαι, in one of which, No. 139, he gives a long list of the heretics and heresies which had arisen up to his time. The first sixty-one are taken from Epiphanius, then follow Evagrius and Didymus, Origenistae, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Diodorus and Nestorius, Marés the Persian, Dioscorus, Theodosius, Gaianus, Timotheus Aelurus, Petrus Fullo, Petrus Mongus, Soterichus, Severus, Philoxenus Hieropolitanus, Jacobus Syrus, and Julianus of Halicarnassus, of all of whom he says οὐ ἀνέχονται Χριστιανοὶ καλεῖσθαι. The homily is addressed to Eustathius, abbat of the monastery of Atalina or Ancyra in Galatia.

Somewhat later, c. 636, SOPHRONIUS bishop of Jerusalem, issued a synodical letter, which was read at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 680 (actio xi. Mansi, xi. 462; Photius, *Biblioth.* cod. 231). This merely names some hundred and twenty heresiarchs, beginning with Simon Magus and ending with Menas the Gaianite bishop of Alexandria, and thirty-three heresies, beginning with the Nicolaitae and ending with the Tritheitae. Among the heretics named are several who are not mentioned elsewhere, and some of the designations given to heresies are given only there. Cotelerius, in the notes to his *Monumenta Ecclesiae Graecae* (i. 790), published an additional paragraph of this letter, which mentions eleven other heretics after Menas; Cyrus of Alexandria, Theodorus of Pharan, Sergius of Constantinople, and Honorius bishop of Rome, leaders of the Monothelites, all of whom are anathematized accordingly; Pyrrhus, Paulus, Petrus of Constantinople, Macarius of Antioch, and his master Stephanus, Polychronius, of whom Sophronius speaks as then living at Alexandria, and Harmasius. The Harmasitae [HARMASIUS] also appear in the σχόλια on the Ὁδήγος of Anastasius. Fabricius and Hardouin question the authenticity of this paragraph; Le Quien, however, accepts it as genuine. (Jo. Damasc. *Op.* Migne, Patrol. Gr. xcv. 129).

THEODORUS, a monk of the monastery of Rhaithu in Palestine, also belongs to the middle of the 7th century. His work, commonly known as *De Incarnatione*, is of some value for heretical Christology. The first heresy of which it treats is that of Manes, and the last that of Julianus of Halicarnassus.

The *Indiculus de Haeresibus*, first published by Menard, A.D. 1617, and ascribed by him to Jerome, is a work of certainly not earlier than towards the latter half of the 7th century, as the writer clearly made use of Isidore, *e.g.* his article "Hemerobaptistae" is taken verbatim from the *Etymologiae*. Many passages are taken from the *De Viris Illustr.* of Jerome. The latest heresies which the author mentions are the Agnoitae and the Tritheitae (Oehler, *u. s.* i. xii. xiii. 283–400).

The Ὁδήγος, otherwise called *Viae Dux adversus Acephalos*, of ANASTASIUS, a monk of Sinai, bears internal evidence of belonging to the same period. It is chiefly valuable for the materials which it furnishes for the history of the Monophysites.

GERMANUS, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 715–730, in his *Narratio de Synodis*, devotes the first thirty sections to an account of the heresies which had arisen before the council of Chalcedon, 451, and of the writers by whom they were severally opposed. Then follow twenty sections which more fully notice the Monophysite, the Monothelite, the Iconoclastic, and the Maronite controversies. These last especially are of great interest and value. The work appeared first in Mai's *Spicilegium Romanum* and afterwards in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, t. xcviii.

The latest heresiologist of the period to which this article is limited is JOANNES DAMASCENUS, whose Περὶ αἱρέσεων ἐν συντονίᾳ ὅθεν ἤρξαντο

καὶ πόθεν γεγόνασιν must be assigned to the middle of the 8th century. He follows Epiphanius in distinguishing four classes of heresies, Barbarian, Scythian, Hellenic, and Jewish. The Gortheni, Sebuaei, Esseni, and Dositheni, are noticed as Samaritan sects. Then follow eighty Christian heresies, beginning with that of the Simoniani and ending with the Christianocategori, Χριστιανοκατήγοροι (§ 101, p. 116, cf. Mansi, vii. 1177 D), the name by which he distinguishes the Iconoclasts, whom he also calls Thymoleontes, Θυμολέοντες. Many of the heresies which he names, however, probably had no existence as separate sects, and several others were confined to but very few localities, if not also to but very few persons, *e.g.* Agonyclitae, Gnosimachi, Heliotropitae, Theocatagnostae. Twenty of the heresies of which he treats, he tells us, had their origin subsequently to the reign of the emperor Marcian, A.D. 450–457. Those above mentioned belong to that class.

There is another work, which, though not compiled until a century later than the Περὶ αἱρέσεων of Damascenus, should not be passed over. It is the *Libellus Synodicus, omnes Synodos tam orthodoxos quam haereticos brevi compendio continens quae, ab Apostol. inde temp. usque ad Octavam* [Constantinop. A.D. 869] *super unione Photii et Ioannis P. institutam, sunt celebratae* (Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, i. 84). Many councils are noticed in this work of which we have no account elsewhere, and in the notices of these as well as of others valuable information is given as to the personal history of the heretics to whom the councils relate. The contents are distributed, mainly chronologically, in the *Concilia* of Labbe and of Mansi.

The following works on Heresiology may be consulted:—Baur (F. C.), *Die christl. Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeit und Menschenwerdung Gottes*, 1841–1843; Bellarmine, *Disp.* l. iv. 9; Brucker (J.), *Hist. Crit. Philos.* iii. 605, vi. 499–567, ed. 1767; Castro (Alph.) *adv. Omnes Haeres.*, 1541; *Centuriae Magdeburg.* c. xi. of each century throughout; Dorner (J.), *Entwicklungsgesch. der Lehre v. d. Person Christi*, 1851–1854; Gautier, *de Praecip. Sectis;* Heroldus (B. J.), *Haeresiologia*, 1566; Ittig (T.) *de Haeres. Aev. Apost.* 1690, *Appendix*, 1696; Lipsius (R. A.), *Gesch. d. Gnosticismus*, 1853; Id. *Die Quellen d. ältesten Ketzergesch.* 1875; Mansel (H. L.), *Gnostic Heresies*, 1875; Mosheim (J. L.) *de Reb. Christ.* 1753; Neander (A.), *Christliche Dogmengeschichte*, 1857.

[T. W. D.]

HERESWITHA, ST. (HERESUID, HERESWYDE, HAERESVID), queen of the East Angles. She was the daughter of Hereric, of the royal family of Northumberland, by Beorsuitha or Breguswid his wife. She was also the sister of St. Hilda abbess of Whitby. She was the wife of Ethelhere king of the East Angles (654, 655), and by him became mother of Aldulf and Alfwold, kings of the East Angles. (Flor. Wig. *Geneal.* in *M. H. B.* 628; Id. *Ad. Chron. Append.* ibid. 636 C.) That she was the mother of Jurminus is doubtful [JURMINUS]. The *Liber Eliensis* (pp. 14, 15, ed. Stewart) erroneously makes her to have been the wife of Anna, Ethelhere's brother and predecessor, and by him the mother of four abbesses. Bede mentions Hereswitha but once (iv. 23), and then incidentally in the story of her sister Hilda. Hilda about 648, bent on a monastic life, was desirous of going to Gaul, where her sister Hereswitha, the mother of king Aldulf, in the monastery of Chelles near Paris was "expecting her crown." This language seems to imply that Aldulf was reigning and Hereswitha near the end of her life, but the chronology shews that it was before she became a queen and a widow. Bede in referring to Aldulf as king must be assumed as speaking by anticipation. [C. H.]

HERESWYTHA, a Kentish abbess between A.D. 696 and 716, whose name is attached to the privilege of Wihtred. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 240.) [C. H.]

HEREWALD (HEORDWALD, HEREWARD) the third bishop of Sherborne (*M. H. B.* 620). He succeeded bishop Forthere when the latter went to Rome in 737, having been consecrated by archbishop Nothelm before Forthere's departure, if the charter in (K. *C. D.* 82), which the attestations of the two bishops appear, be genuine. Anyhow he was consecrated by Nothelm in or about 736 (Sim. Dun. *M. H. B.* 659). He attended the council held by archbishop Cuthbert at Clovesho in 747 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 360, 362). In charters his name occurs with that of Forthere in 736, at a synod held by Nothelm (Kemble, *C. D.* 82; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 337, 338), in a grant of Hilla in 744 to Glastonbury, where his confirmation is specially mentioned (K. *C. D.* 92; *Mon. Angl.* i. 47); in another Glastonbury charter, of the same date, granted by Cuthred (K. *C. D.* 93); in the grant of Ethelbald to Eamberht, attested by Cynewulf and the West Saxon Witan, 755 to 757 (K. *C. D.* 100); in the grant of Cynewulf to Malmesbury in 758 (K. *C. D.* 103); in the charter of Tisbury of 759 (*ib.* 104); and for the last time in the charter of Cynewulf to Wells, dated 766 (K. *C. D.* 115; *Mon. Angl.* ii. 285). After this date West-Saxon charters are rare, and as Ethelmod appears as bishop in 774, Herewald's death must be fixed between that year and 766. [S.]

HEREWARD, the name of a bishop attached to a doubtful charter of a king Cynulf, whom Kemble (*C. D.* 193) wrongly identifies with Kenulf of Mercia, dated 808. The charter really belongs to the year 758 and to Cynewulf of Wessex, and Hereward is identical with Herewald bishop of Sherborn. [S.]

HERGUST, a bishop of the Scottish Picts (Ware, *Ir. Writ.* c. 4), but in reality Fergustus. [FERGUSTUS.] [J. G.]

HERIBURG (HERBURGIS, HEREBURGIS), the abbess of a Yorkshire nunnery called Vetadun (Watton, E. R. Y.). When John was bishop of York (A.D. 705–18) he cured one of her nuns, and gave Heriburg some useful advice about surgery. The story is in Bede, *H. E.* v. 3; and in Folcard's *Life of St. John*, of Beverley, § 12.

[J. R.]

HERIGERUS, reputed eleventh bishop of Mainz before the 4th century; ruled for eight years, and was martyred. (*Gall. Christ.* v. 434 Potthast, *Bibl.* Suppl. p. 353.) [R. T. S.]

HERIMBERTUS. [HERUMBERTUS.]

HERINA, ST. [IRENE.]

HERLEMUNDUS (1), son of a Frank noble, succeeded Aigilbertus as sixteenth bishop of Le Mans in A.D. 698. He is said to have died Oct. 24, 724, and was followed by Gauziolenus. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 354, 440, 455.) [T. W. D.]

HERLEMUNDUS (2), eighteenth bishop of Le Mans on the expulsion of Gauziolenus in 743. He was of noble birth, and was appointed to the see by Pippin. Having sat about nine years he was enticed to a banquet by Gauziolenus and there blinded, upon which he retired for the rest of his life to the monastery of the Duo Gemelli over which his brother presided at Bayeux, and Gauziolenus was restored. (*Gall. Christ.* xiv. 354, 355.) [T. W. D.]

HERLINDIS (HARLINDIS), ST., abbess of Eike, near Masacum, in Belgium, together with her sister St. Renildis or Reinula, about the middle of the 8th century. They were the daughters of pious and wealthy parents, Adalhardus and Guinnara, and were virtuously brought up in the monastery of Valencina. Their parents having built the monastery of Eike near the river Mosa (Meuse), died and were buried there, leaving their property, including Eike, to Herlindis and Reinula. The sisters were now consecrated abbesses by the bishops Willibrordus and Bonifacius, and took twelve other virgins into their convent, where they passed their time in good works. Herlindis is said to have written out and illuminated the four gospels and a psaltery. She died on Oct. 12, her sister surviving her many years; both are commemorated on March 22. (Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 385; Mabill. *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. iii. i. 607.) [I. G. S.]

HERLINGUS, twenty-first bishop of Meaux, succeeding St. Hildevertus and followed by St. Patusius, towards the close of the 7th century. He may be identical with a Herlingus episcopus, who subscribed a charter of Aglibertus of Le Mans for the monastery of St. Mary, in the eleventh year of Theoderic's reign. (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxviii. 1241 n.; *Gall. Christ.* viii. 1601.) [S. A. B.]

HERMAEI (Ἑρμαῖοι). A Valentinian sect, called from their leader HERMAEUS, and said to have borne anything but a good character (Timoth. Presb. *de Recipiend. Haeret.*; Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxvi. 17). According to Nico they were also called Basilidae (*Ex Niconis Pandecte*, ib. 70). [T. W. D.]

HERMAEON (1), bishop of Sais (Sa) on the Nile Delta; mentioned in the *Breviarium* of Meletius as one of the bishops consecrated by him. (Athanas. *Apol. contra Arianos*, Patrol. Graec. xxv. 376; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 519.) [J. de S.]

HERMAEON (2), bishop of Cynopolis Inferior (or Cynum), in the Egyptian Delta. He is mentioned in the *Breviarium* of Meletius as one of the bishops consecrated by him prior to the council of Nicaea. (Athanas. *Apol. contra Arianos*, Patrol. Graec. xxv. 376; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 567.) [J. de S.]

HERMAEUS, bishop of Balbura, in the ecclesiastical province of Lycia, present at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 987; Mansi, iii. 571.) [L. D.]

HERMAGORAS—July 12. Reputed to have been a martyr at Aquileia under Nero. He is said to have been appointed bishop of that see by St. Mark the Evangelist, and to have suffered death with Fortunatus, his archdeacon. [FORTUNATUS.] The reputed acts of the martyr are worthless. Attributing to such an early age the ecclesiastical ideas and arrangements of later times, they demonstrate their own falsity. They profess to have been written by a certain Gregory, out of whom Hermagoras cast a devil. (*Mart. Vet. Rom.*, Adon., Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HERMAMMON, a bishop of some part of Egypt. Letters to him "and the brethren in Egypt" from Dionysius of Alexandria, are mentioned or quoted in Eusebius, vii. 1, 10, 23. They treat of the affairs of the emperors Gallus, Valerian, and Gallienus. (Tillemont, iv. pp. 276, 277.) [J. W. S.]

HERMANFROIZ (*Chron. S. Denys.* v. 24 in Bouquet, iii. 306 D). [ERMENFRIDUS (2).] [C. H.]

HERMANNUS (HERMIANUS, HERNANUS, HERNIANUS), said by Dempster (*Hist. Eccl Gent. Scot.* ii. 351) to have been one of the presbyters addressed by pope John [ERNAN (8)]. There is ascribed to him an *Epistola ad Hilarium de Pelagiana haeresi* (Tanner, *Bibl.* 398; Spotswood, *Hist. Ch. Scot.* 13; Bp. Forbes, *Kal. Scott. Saints*, 196, April 2). [J. G.]

HERMAS (1), bishop of Philippopolis in Thracia, reputed to have been the Hermas mentioned by St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 14. (See Basil, *Menolog.* Nov. 4.) [J. de S.]

HERMAS (2). In the latter half of the 2nd century there was in circulation a book of visions and allegories, purporting to be written by one Hermas, and which was commonly known as *The Shepherd*. This book was treated with respect bordering on that paid to the canonical Scriptures of the New Testament, and came into the public reading of different churches. A passage from it is quoted by Irenaeus (iv. 20, p. 253) with the words, "Well said the Scripture," a fact taken notice of by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 8). We may with probability infer that in the time of Irenaeus the work was publicly read in the Gallican churches, for if Irenaeus were not quoting a well-known text, he would be likely to have named the source of his quotation; but that he did not place the book on a level with the canonical Scriptures may be inferred from his having quoted it but once, not appealing to it in his discussion of Scripture testimonies in his third book. The mutilated commencement of the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria opens in the middle of a quotation from *The Shepherd*, and about ten times elsewhere he cites the book, always with a complete acceptance of the reality and divine character of the revelations made to Hermas, but without any explanation of his opinion who Hermas was or when he lived. In the next generation Origen, who frequently cites the book, says (*in Rom.* xvi. 14, vol. iv. p. 683) that it seems to him very useful, and he gives it as his indi-

vidual opinion that it was divinely inspired. He further makes a guess, which was repeated by others after him, but which appears to rest on no earlier authority, that it was written by the Hermas mentioned at the end of the Epistle to the Romans. His other quotations shew that less favourable views of the book were current in his time. His quotations from *The Shepherd* are carefully separated from those from the canonical books; he generally adds to a quotation from *The Shepherd* a saving clause, giving the reader permission to reject it; he speaks of it (*in Matt.* xix. 7, vol. iii. p. 644) as a writing current in the church, but not acknowledged by all, and (*De Princ.* iv. 11) as a book despised by some. Eusebius (iii. 25) places the book among the orthodox *νόθα* with the Acts of Paul, Revelation of Peter, Epistle of Barnabas, &c. Elsewhere (iii. 3), while he is unable to place it among the *ὁμολογουμένα* as being rejected by some, he owns that it had been publicly used in churches, that some of the most eminent writers had employed it, and that it was judged by some most necessary for those who have particular need of elementary instruction in the faith. Athanasius, too (*Ep. Fest.* 39, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 963), classes *The Shepherd* with some of the deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament and with "The teaching of the apostles," as not canonical, but useful to be employed in catechetical instruction. *The Shepherd* is found in the Sinaitic MS. following the Epistle of Barnabas, as an appendix to the books of the New Testament. After the 4th century the book rapidly passed out of ecclesiastical use in the East.

The Western tradition as to the book deserves more attention, as internal evidence shews Rome to have been its place of composition. Foremost comes the writer of the Muratorian Fragment on the canon, who tells us that the book had been written during the episcopate of Pius by Hermas, a brother of that bishop, a period which the writer speaks of as within then living memory. He concludes that the book ought to be read, but not to be publicly used in the church among the prophetic writings, the number of which was complete, nor among the apostolic. The statement that the book not only might but ought to be read is a high recognition of the value attributed to it by the writer, and we may gather that at least in some places the church use of the book at the time had been such as to cause danger of its being set on a level with the canonical Scriptures. Tertullian, in one of his earliest treatises, *De Oratione*, disputes against a practice of sitting down immediately after prayer, for which he knows no other reason assigned than that in *The Shepherd* Hermas is said, on prayer ended, to have sat upon the bed. He points out the unreasonableness of converting a narrative statement into a rule of discipline, and remarks that, if it were so regarded, the precept of sitting on a bed would not be satisfied by sitting on a bench or chair. A book which could so influence the practice of churches must evidently have enjoyed high authority at the time, an authority which Tertullian's argument does not dispute. It had probably been translated into Latin, and was used in church reading. That Tertullian read it in a Latin translation may be inferred from his describing it by the Latin title *Pastor*, and not by a Greek title, as he usually does when he refers to Greek writings. Very different is Tertullian's treatment of the book some ten years later or more, after he had become a Montanist. When the authority of *The Shepherd* is urged in behalf of readmitting adulterers to communion, he rejects the book as one not counted worthy of being included in the canon, but placed by every council of the churches, even of the Catholic party, among false and apocryphal writings (*De Pudic.* cap. 10). Quoting the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says that this is at least more received than that apocryphal *Shepherd* of the adulterers (cap. 20). The phrase "*more* received" warns us to take *cum grano* Tertullian's assertion as to the *universal* rejection of *The Shepherd;* but we may well believe that the line of distinction between apostolic and later writings was then being drawn more sharply than it had been before, and that in the interval between Tertullian's two writings *The Shepherd* was excluded from the public reading of many churches which before had admitted it. Possibly to this result may have contributed the publication by the Muratorian writer of the greatness of the interval which separated Hermas from apostolic times. The statement of this writer is repeated in an entry in the Liberian papal catalogue, that under the episcopate of Pius his brother Ermas wrote a book in which the commands and precepts were contained which the angel gave him when he came to him in the habit of a shepherd. It has been thought, with high probability, that this entry was derived from the catalogue of Hippolytus, which is the basis of the Liberian catalogue. [Chronicon Canisianum.] It will be observed that, while refusing to assign the book to apostolic times, it makes no doubt of the reality of the angelic appearance to Hermas. Later biographical notices of popes undertake to tell what the message given to Hermas was, namely, that Easter should always be celebrated on a Sunday. This notice clearly is the offspring of a time when all knowledge of the book of Hermas had been lost, and when it was attempted to supply by invention the imperfection of the earlier entry. This story of a revelation to Hermas about Easter celebration is amplified a little in the forged decretal letter of Pius I. (Mansi, *Concil.* i. 672). The later papal catalogues make Pius the brother of Pastor, and another spurious letter of Pius tells of a contemporary presbyter Pastor. The poem of the Pseudo-Tertullian against Marcion had described the brother of Pius as "angelicus Pastor." A confusion between the name of Hermas and that of his book would imply that the book was not at the time in use. Jerome, when copying what Eusebius had said about the book (*De Vir. Illust.* 10, vol. ii. 845), adds that among the Latins it was almost unknown. He himself speaks contemptuously of it (*in Habac.* i. 14, vol. vi. p. 604), for it seems to us certain that the book of Hermas is what he here refers to. It is marked in the Gelasian decree as apocryphal. Notwithstanding, there are several traces that some use of the book continued in the West, one decisive fact being that there still exist some twenty MSS. of the Latin

version. In the African church of the 4th century we find from the list in the *Codex Claromontanus* (Westcott, *Canon N. T.* p. 557) that it was placed with the Acts of Paul and the Revelation of St. Peter as an appendix to the New Testament books; and it occupies a similar place in the Sinaitic MS., the only Greek Bible known to have contained it. But in some of the existing Latin MSS. it is placed with the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, a position no doubt assigned to it in conformity with the opinion of Athanasius already quoted, which was known through Rufinus in the West.

Turning now from the external history of the book to the book itself, we find it divides itself into three parts. The first part consists of visions. It opens with what reads like the narration of a real dream. Hermas tells that he who had brought him up had sold him to Rome to a lady named Rhoda, that after a considerable time he renewed his acquaintance with her and began to love her as a sister; that he saw her one day bathing in the Tiber and assisted her out of the water; that admiring her beauty he thought within himself how happy he should be if he had a wife like her in person and disposition. Further than this his thought did not go. But a little time after he had a vision. He fell asleep, and in his dream he was walking and struggling in ground so rugged and broken that it was impossible to pass. At length he succeeded in crossing the water by which his path had been washed away, and coming into smooth ground knelt to confess his sins to God. Then the heavens were opened, and he saw Rhoda saluting him from the sky. On his asking her what she did there, she told him that she had been taken up to accuse him, because God was angry with him for having sinned in thought against her. Then Hermas was overwhelmed with horror and fear, not knowing how he could abide the severity of God's judgment, if such a thought as his was marked as sin. Rhoda now passes out of his dream, and he sees a venerable aged lady clad in shining garments sitting on a great white chair and holding a book in her hand. She asks him why he, usually so cheerful, is now so sad. On telling her, she owns what a sin any impure thought would be in one so chaste, so singleminded and so innocent as he; but she tells him that this is not why God is displeased with him, but because of the sins of his children, whom he, through false indulgence, had allowed to corrupt themselves, but to whom repentance was open if he would warn them. Then she reads to him out of her book, but of all she reads he can remember nothing save the last sentence, save that this alone was comforting, and all which preceded was terrible and threatening. She parted from him with the words, "Play the man, Hermas." After reading of the admiration of Hermas for Rhoda, one discovers with some surprise that he is at this time an elderly man with a grown-up family, and that his former mistress Rhoda must have been at least as old as himself. If the tale is an invented one, this is certainly an incongruity; but if it be a true story, it is quite conceivable that the thought may have occurred to Hermas, who seems to have been not happy in his family relations, how much happier it would have been for him if Rhoda had been his wife; and that afterwards, in a dream, this thought may have recurred to his memory as a sin to be repented of. To us, the vision, as he tells it, presents all the characteristics of a real dream; the want of logical connexion between the parts, the changes of scene, the fading out of Rhoda as principal figure and the appearance of the aged lady in her room, and in like manner the substitution of quite a different offence for the sinful thought which weighed on his conscience at the beginning; the physical distress in his sleep at first presenting the idea of walking on and on without being able to find an outlet, afterwards of mental grief at words spoken to him; the long reading which leaves no trace on the memory save of the words spoken immediately before awaking—all these marks indicate that we are reading not a literary invention like the dream of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, but the recital, a little dressed up it may be, of a dream which the narrator really had had. In another vision, a year after, he saw again the lady and her book, and received the book to copy, but still it conveyed no idea to his mind. He then set himself by fasting and prayer to learn the meaning of it, and after about a fortnight was gratified. He learns, too, that the lady whom he had seen is not, as he had imagined, the sibyl, but the church, and that she appeared as old because she was created first of all, and for her sake the world was made. On this doctrine of the pre-existence of the church, see ECCLESIA. The Epistle to the Ephesians, which probably suggested it, is one of the New Testament books of whose use by Hermas there are clear traces. In subsequent visions we have a different account of the matter; he sees in each a woman more and more youthful in appearance, whom he is taught to identify with the church of his former vision; and it is explained that he saw her old at first because the spirit of Christians had been broken by infirmity and doubt, and afterwards more youthful as by the revelations made him their spirit had been renewed. After his first two visions, Hermas watched eagerly for new revelations, and set himself to obtain them by fasting and prayer. In those later visions, while the pictures presented to his mind are such as we can without difficulty believe to have been dream representations, the explanations given of them have a coherence only to be found in the thoughts of a waking man. This is still more true of the second and third parts of the work. At the end of the first part he has the vision in which he sees him who gives the name which in strictness only belongs to these two latter parts of the work, a man dressed like a shepherd, who tells him that he is the angel of repentance, who has come to dwell with him, being the guardian to whose care he had been entrusted. From this shepherd he receives, for the instruction of himself and of the church, the "Commandments," which form the second, and the "Similitudes," which form the third, part of the work. *The Shepherd* has been compared to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and it is in the last part, the "Similitudes," that the likeness is greatest; but these do not form one continued allegory like Bunyan's, but rather resemble the detached

emblematic representations exhibited in the Interpreter's House. The Similitudes of Hermas, we may well believe, were suggested by the parables of the New Testament, though it need hardly be said how infinitely below these are the frigid compositions of Hermas, in which the central thought is usually overlaid by uninteresting details.

But the judgment we may form on the literary merits of the work of Hermas is of little importance compared with that of deciding rightly the fundamental question, our determination of which must rule our decision as to the date of the book and some other disputed points, namely, whether the book does not claim to be an inspired document, the writer of which aspires to no literary merit, save that of faithfully recording the revelations made him. When Bunyan says that in a certain place he fell asleep and dreamed a dream, we do not believe, and we do not suppose that he intended us to believe, that all the story which he proceeds to relate actually was presented to his mind in the form of a dream. Are we to suppose that, in like manner, Hermas wished his readers to understand that in relating his visions he intended no more than to present edifying lessons in an allegorical form, and are we to suppose that it was merely in the light of an instructive fiction that the book was regarded when it was introduced into the public reading of the church? As a specimen of the way in which these questions may be answered, we quote Donaldson's argument. He says:—"If the book be not inspired, then either the writer fancied he had seen these visions, or tried to make other people fancy this, or he clothed the work in a fictitious form designedly and undisguisedly. If he did the first, he must have been silly. If he did the second, he must have been an impostor." But as he believes the author to have been "an honest, upright, and thoughtful man," he concludes that he did the third, "as multitudes of others have done after him, with John Bunyan at their head." From this view it follows that we can lay no stress on anything the author tells us about himself and his family. All these details are as likely to be fictitious as the angels, the towers, and the beasts of the visions. We cannot even assume that the writer's name was Hermas, for the narrator of the visions, who bears this name, may have been an imaginary personage. For ourselves, we feel ourselves bound to reject this as altogether mistaken criticism, and as an application to the 2nd century of the standards of the 19th. To us it seems plain that, whatever the author intended, the first readers of Hermas did not receive the book as mere allegorical fiction. Bunsen (*Hippolytus and his Age*, i. 315) tells us that Niebuhr used to pity the Athenian (*sic*, Qu. *Roman?*) Christians for being obliged to listen at their meetings to this "good but dull novel." If the authorities of the church looked on it merely as a novel, would they have inflicted the reading of it on other people? At the end of the century, Clement and others shew no doubt of the reality of the visions. Were the men who lived a couple of generations earlier likely to have been more severe in their judgments, and would an angelic appearance seem to them a thing so incredible that one who had related it would be regarded by them as the narrator of a fiction that he did not intend should be believed? The book itself contains directions to the rulers of the Roman church to send the volume to foreign churches. If we suppose that it really was sent to them stamped as a prophetic writing by the authority of the Roman church, we have an explanation of the consideration, only second to that of the canonical Scriptures, which the book enjoyed in so many distant churches. If the work were supposed to be only an edifying allegory, the place which it occupied in church reading would be quite inexplicable. We must hold then that, of the suppositions stated by Donaldson, that which he has adopted is infinitely the least probable, namely, that the book is undisguised fiction, written without any intention to deceive. A man at the present day might publish a story of visions, and be persuaded that his readers would not take him seriously, but no one in the 2nd century would be entitled to hold such a persuasion, and if the book of Hermas was accepted as inspired, the writer cannot be acquitted of the responsibility of having foreseen and intended this result. Dismissing then Donaldson's third supposition, we fall back on the other two, that the writer was either a fool or an impostor. This is the only alternative considered by Mosheim, *de Rebus Christ. ante Const.* 163, 166, who holds that the writer must either have been "mente captus et fanaticus," or else that he "scientem volentemque fefellisse," the latter being the opinion to which he inclines, believing that the lawfulness of pious frauds was a fixed opinion with many Christians at the date of the composition we are discussing. We must maintain, however, that it is quite possible to disbelieve in the inspiration of Hermas without imputing folly either to him who made the claim or to those who admitted it. We do not count a young man a fool because he has not learned the lessons which only experience can teach. We must not regard the men of the 2nd century as fools because their views as to God's manner of governing His church were different from those which the experience of so many following centuries has taught us. A Christian cannot regard them as fools for believing that in the time of our Lord and His apostles a great manifestation of the supernatural was made to the world. How long, and to what extent similar manifestations would present themselves in the ordinary life of the church, only experience could shew, and they are not to be scorned though their expectations have not been borne out by the facts. In particular, if we are to set down as fools all who have believed that supernatural intimations may be given in dreams, our list would be a long one, and would include many eminent names. And as for those abnormal mental states which are called not dreams but visions, though modern science may regard them as phenomena admitting a natural explanation, it is not reasonable to expect such a view from the science of the 2nd century. Things impress different minds differently, but to us what Hermas tells of his personal history, and of the times and circumstances of his visions, conveys the impression of artless truth. His information about himself is contained in incidental allusions, which it is not very easy to piece together; and

we cannot think that the author of a fictitious narrative would have conveyed so obscurely what he has to tell about the hero of his story. He would be likely also to have made this hero a man of some eminence, holding high church office, whereas the Hermas of this book always speaks of the presbyters as if he were not one of them; and he could have had no motive for representing this hero as one who had been engaged in trade which he had carried on unsuccessfully and not very honestly, and as an elderly married man with a termagant wife and ill brought-up children. On the other hand, if the thing be true history, it is very much to the point that Hermas should get a revelation, directing his wife to keep her tongue in better order, and his children to pay more respect to their parents; nor need we suppose Hermas guilty of any dishonesty in thus turning his gift of prophecy to the advantage of his family comfort; for nothing can be more natural than that the thoughts which no doubt had often occurred to him in his waking moments should present themselves to him again in his visions. We have already said that there is nothing incredible in the supposition that the pictures of the first vision did present themselves to the mind of Hermas as he relates them. They must have been very vivid, and have impressed him strongly. Still it is a year before he has another vision. Then he sees the lady and her chair again. After this he begins to fast and pray and look out eagerly for more revelations, and it is not wonderful to read that he soon has more visions on the subjects which have now come completely to occupy his mind. Finally he comes to believe himself to be under the constant guardianship of the shepherd angel of repentance, and he ascribes all the lessons he desires to teach to the inspiration of this heavenly monitor. This is the part of his work which it is hardest to clear from the charge of conscious deception, and probably he cannot be completely cleared. But perhaps his language expresses no more than his belief in the divine inspiration under which he wrote, for elsewhere he states that he does not regard the personages of his visions as having objective reality, and those things which in the earlier part are represented as spoken to him by the Church are afterwards said to have been spoken by God's Spirit under the form of the Church. That he sincerely believed himself to be the bearer of a divine message appears to us to be the case. In fact, we might give a summary of his convictions which would serve also for those of a man in many respects very unlike, Savonarola, (*a*) that the church of his time had corrupted itself, and had become deeply tainted with worldliness; (*b*) that a time of great tribulation was at hand, in which the dross should be purged away; (*c*) that there was still an intervening time, during which repentance was possible, and would be accepted; (*d*) that he was himself divinely commissioned to be a preacher of that repentance.

We are now in a position to discuss the date and authorship of the book, concerning which antiquity furnishes authority for three suppositions: (*a*) the author was the Hermas to whom a salutation is sent at the end of the Epistle to the Romans; (*b*) he was brother to Pius who was bishop of Rome at the middle of the 2nd century; (*c*) he was contemporary with Clement who was bishop at the very beginning of the century or at the end of the preceding. The first may be set aside as a mere guess of Origen's, and a highly improbable one. It has been conjectured, however (as, for instance, by Hilgenfeld), that the author wished his book to pass for the work of this Hermas, and Lipsius has combined this with supposition (*b*), holding that the author really was Hermas, the brother of Pius, but that he wished to pass for the apostolic Hermas. This may be pronounced a most improbable combination. A man forging a book which he wishes to pass as the work of a former age does not usually put his own name to it. When this Hermas published his work, he either let his contemporaries know who wrote it or he did not. If he did not, the tradition that he was brother of Pius is worth nothing; if he did, he could not expect to be taken for a contemporary of the apostles. The book itself shews no trace that the author wished to be taken for the apostolic Hermas. In fact, he distinctly speaks of the apostles as in his time all dead. A forger could easily have found many names better suited to his purpose than Hermas, one of the least prominent of Scripture names, and of which, except in connexion with this book, there is no trace in ecclesiastical tradition. If the view taken in the preceding paragraphs be correct, the author had no motive for antedating his work. His prophecy announced tribulation close at hand, and only a short intervening period for repentance. To represent such a prophecy as being at the time fifty or one hundred years old would be to represent it as having failed, and in fact *The Shepherd* did lose its credit when it had been so long in existence. Hermas seems to have thought that, if the worldliness of the church could be repented of and reformed, it would be possible to keep it pure during the brief remainder of its existence. He announced therefore forgiveness on repentance for sins of old Christians prior to the date of his revelation, but none for those of new converts, or for sins subsequent to his revelation. It is inconceivable he could be so stupid as to defeat his own purpose by dating his revelation fifty years back, and so making the message inapplicable to all those whom he addressed. Again the acceptance of the book by the church of Rome is inexplicable if it were introduced by no known person, containing, as it does, not, like the book of Elchesai, revelations purporting to have been made in a remote country, but alleged to have been given among themselves, and to a leading member of their church. If the first readers of the work of Elchesai or of the Clementine homilies put the natural question, Why did we never hear of these things before? these books had provided an answer in the fiction that the alleged authors had only communicated them under a pledge of strict secrecy; in this book, on the contrary, Hermas is directed (*Vis.* iii. 8) to go after three days and speak in the hearing of all the saints the words he had heard in his vision. Elsewhere he enables us to understand how this direction could be carried out. We learn (*Mand.* 11) that certain persons were then recognised in the church as having prophetic gifts, and that at the Christian meetings for worship, if after prayer ended one of them were

filled with the Holy Spirit, he might speak unto the people as the Lord willed. It seems to us then that the simplest explanation how the Roman church came to believe in the inspiration of the book we are considering is that it had previously admitted the inspiration of its author, that he held the position of a recognised prophet as in the East did Quadratus and Ammia of Philadelphia (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 16), and that he really did publicly deliver in the church assembly the message with which he states he was commissioned. As the 2nd century went on, the public exercise of prophetic powers in the church seems to have ceased, and when it was revived by Montanus and his followers, it had to encounter much opposition. The controversy that ensued induced the church to insist more strongly on the distinction between the inspiration of the writers of the canonical books of Scripture and that of holy men of later times, and the Muratorian fragment exhibits the feeling entertained towards the end of the century that the list of prophetic writings had been closed, and that no production of the then later years of the church could be admitted into it.

Having arrived at the conclusion that the Hermas of *The Shepherd* is not a fictitious character, but a real person, who was known in the church of Rome in the 2nd century, we have next to settle the question, Are we to place him in the middle of the century under Pius or at the very beginning under Clement? First, we would remark that this is a question on which arguments drawn from the doctrinal characteristics of the book can yield only precarious conclusions. We have no independent trustworthy source of information as to the development of doctrine and ritual in the Roman church during the first half of the 2nd century; so that, if we choose to say that it is credible that this or that development should be found in the year 140, and not credible that it had existed in 110, such an assertion must rest solely on our subjective theories, and not on scientific knowledge. Thus Westcott (*N. T. Canon*, p. 196) gives as a proof of late date the mention of the "stations" (*Sim.* v.). We must ask what knowledge is possible to us of the date when weekly fasts were instituted in the Roman church, or when the name "stations" was given to them. Corresponding questions might be asked with reference to all the other indications noted by Westcott in the same place, or by others. And in particular the same objection may be urged if conclusions as to the date of *The Shepherd* are drawn from the state of church government indicated by it. For ourselves, although the impression which the book makes on us is in favour of an early date, yet, if any good external evidence could be produced that the book is as late even as 150 or as early even as 100, there is nothing in the teaching of the book which would entitle us to reject it, knowing so little as we do of the progress of doctrine during the interval. Turning, then, to the external evidence, the highest respect is due to the fact that at Rome, where a true tradition was most likely to be found, it was believed at the beginning of the 3rd century that Hermas and the bishop Pius had been brothers. This belief, however, may have been ultimately derived from the statement of the Muratorian writer. The credit to which a witness is entitled is proportionate to the amount of care he habitually takes to make no statement without sufficient evidence. In the case of an anonymous writer, known only by a solitary fragment, we have no means of estimating what this amount may be; and therefore the provisional assent we give to him is liable to be withdrawn when we find good reason to believe him to be in error. Such reason is in this case afforded by the statement of the book itself, that Hermas was instructed, as soon as the revelations should be completed, to send two copies of them, one to Clement for transmission to foreign churches, the other to Grapte to be used in admonishing the widows and orphans. Notwithstanding the respect with which the idea is entertained by Westcott (*Canon*, p. 196), we cannot seriously discuss Origen's suggestion (*Philocal.* i. 11) that these names are only intended to have a mystical meaning. Origen finds that Grapte and Clement denote the literal and spiritual methods of interpretation. Only a few degrees less improbable is the supposition of Donaldson and Harnack that Clement is a real person, but not the Clement who wrote the Epistle to the Corinthians. It is no doubt possible, but it is extremely unlikely, that within a comparatively few years of the writing of that letter there should be another Clement whose function it also was to communicate on behalf of the church of Rome with foreign churches, but who has left in ecclesiastical history no trace of his existence. We conclude then that the Clement in question is he who is counted one of the first bishops of Rome, and then it must follow that, if Hermas was a real man at all, he must have been his contemporary. It is immaterial whether we can maintain the perfect veracity of Hermas, or whether we are bound to take his word that he received a divine message for Clement, or that he delivered it to him; still, if the book did not drop down from the clouds, but was communicated to the church of Rome by a real man, who told his contemporaries that he had been instructed to communicate his vision to Clement, we must suppose him to be mad or them to be fools, if we put his date so late that Clement must have died before he was born or while he was a child. On these grounds we hold that even the respectably attested tradition about Pius must be rejected if it is inconsistent with allowing Hermas to have been contemporary with Clement. It is not absolutely impossible to combine the two suppositions if we assume that Hermas was considerably older than Pius, and published his visions not during his brother's episcopate, but twenty years earlier or more, and perhaps also if we place the death of Clement somewhat later than in the common reckoning. But, as after every allowance made, this puts a strain on the chronology, we prefer to believe that Pius really had an eminent brother named Pastor, whose identification with the Shepherd of Hermas was a rash combination of the Muratorian writer. Zahn, whom we follow in relying more on the connexion with Clement than on that with Pius, places *The Shepherd* about A.D. 97; but it seems to us that if we assign that date to the epistle of Clement, we ought to allow a few years for that letter to have obtained the celebrity and success which the notice in Hermas

implies. That notice need not necessarily have been published in the lifetime of Clement, for Hermas is not instructed to deliver his message immediately, but only after the completion of his revelations, and this may be supposed to have been after Clement's death.

We may next examine whether any of the indications of date to be found in the book are inconsistent with the early date we have assigned, only premising that, as Lipsius, who holds fast to the Pius tradition, still feels himself obliged to place *The Shepherd* in the very first years of Pius (*i.e.* the accession of Pius at earliest 139, *The Shepherd* about 142), so we may expect that, when the Pius tradition is discarded, a still earlier date may be found admissible.

(*a*) *The Mention of Grapte.*—This mention would have been unmeaning unless she were known to have been a contemporary of Clement; but however well known such a woman might be in her lifetime, her reputation would not be likely to survive long after her death.

(*b*) *Montanism.*—There is much affinity between the leading ideas of Montanism and of the book of Hermas. In both the difficulties were strongly felt that arose from the facts that the church, which was in its ideal an assembly of holy men, actually included many unworthy of the name of saints, and that many who had been baptized for the remission of sins had sinned wilfully since they had come to a knowledge of the truth. The question was asked, Was it possible to renew such again to repentance? In both our Lord's second coming was eagerly looked forward to, and in both a knowledge of God's coming dealings with His church was sought for from visions and revelations. But it did not need that a century should pass since Christ's death before the pressure made itself felt of the difficulties we have referred to; and on examination we find that the answers given by Hermas are quite independent of Montanism, and have all the marks of being earlier. We have already remarked on the much greater willingness in the church to accept prophetic pretensions in the time of Hermas than in the age of Montanism. The Montanists refused restoration to gross offenders; Hermas offered complete forgiveness (to be had, however, only once) for the worst of sins. He will not allow the husband of an adulteress to marry again, because she might repent; in that case she ought to be taken back. To abstain from a second marriage was a duty with the Montanists; with Hermas it was a counsel of perfection—meritorious if followed, but which might be disregarded without sin. The Montanists added to the fasts of the church; Hermas does not make fasting a matter of obligation, and he insists on the spirit in which it shall be observed, directing that it shall not be mere self-discipline, but made useful to others by giving in charity the cost of the meal saved by abstinence. In these and in other respects the teaching of Hermas is less rigorous than the Montanistic, and all that is special to Montanism is unknown to him.

(*c*) *Gnosticism.*—Hermas directs his efforts almost exclusively to combating the relaxation of morality in the church; he scarcely notices doctrinal errors. The only thing to be found in his book which seems to refer to a point of Gnostic teaching is that it would appear from *Sim.* v. 7, which ought to be compared with a passage probably derived from it (2 *Clem.* 9), that there were some who took licence to misuse the flesh on account of a denial of the resurrection of the body. But the false teachers noticed by Hermas seem to have been all in the church, not separate from it. In the passage which seems most distinctly to refer to Gnostics (*Sim.* ix. 22), they are described as "wishing to know everything and knowing nothing," as "praising themselves that they have understanding, and wishing to be teachers, though they were really fools." Yet he adds, "to these repentance is open, for they were not wicked, but rather silly and without understanding." We have reason to believe that the seeds of Gnosticism had begun to spring up even in apostolic times; but we cannot think that Hermas would have written as he did after Gnosticism had become a dangerous enemy to the Roman church. Irenaeus (iii. 4) dates the coming of Valentinus and Cerdo to Rome in the episcopate of Hyginus, the bishop before Pius, about A.D. 135. It is therefore reasonable to believe that the work of Hermas was earlier. We might also argue, from the language of Hermas concerning the pre-existence of the church, that he must have been ignorant of the Aeons of Valentinus. We have used this argument (Vol. I. p. 558) to infer that the so-called second epistle of Clement was anterior to Valentinus. We should gain an argument *à fortiori* for the antiquity of Hermas if we could rely on some indications that the Clementine author was acquainted with the work of Hermas, but we cannot venture to lay stress on this argument.

(*d*) *Church Government.*—Nothing interferes more with the historical use of early writers than reading them in the light of modern controversies of which these writers were not thinking. It is natural to think that, if parity of presbyters was the church's original rule, the government of a single head could not have been established without some resistance on the part of those who were dispossessed of their equal authority. An exception to the almost total silence of church history as to such resistance has been supposed to be found in the language in which Hermas rebukes the strifes for precedence among Christians, (*Vis.* iii. 9; *Mand.* ix.; *Sim.* viii. 7.) Although it might be supposed that, if the Muratorian writer could truly speak of the episcopate of Pius as his own time, he would be less likely to mistake as to the constitution of the church at that time, than as to the date of the publication of a work supposed to have appeared at the beginning of that episcopate, the same persons who take the word of the fragmentist that Hermas was a brother of Pius disbelieve his assertion that Pius then occupied the chair of the Roman church. Their theory is that, up to that time, parity of presbyters had prevailed, that Pius was but a leading presbyter, whose attempts to fix himself in a position of permanent precedence called forth resistance from the other presbyters, and gave occasion for the rebukes of his own brother. All this theory seems to us quite chimerical, and the language of Hermas, if looked at without any preconceived theory as to church government, admits of a much simpler explanation. It is equally difficult to find in Hermas evidence of the existence of the episcopal form of government or of resistance to its intro-

duction. He appears to use the word ἐπίσκοπος as synonymous with πρεσβύτερος, and he always speaks of the government of the church as in the hands of the elders, without giving any hint that one elder enjoyed authority over the others. The only thing looking that way is that Clement is recognised as the organ by which the church of Rome communicated with foreign churches; but whether this implied a like pre-eminence in domestic rule, we are not told. Similarly, though we infer that the presbyters had seats of honour in the church assemblies, we are not told that one had a seat higher than the rest. Either it was not the case or it was too much a matter of course to be mentioned. But a message on the subject of dissensions is sent τοῖς προηγουμένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῖς πρωτοκαθεδρίταις. It is a very forced explanation of the last plural noun to suppose it means some one of the προηγούμενοι who desired to make himself the first, nor have we any reason to think that the word implies any sarcasm. It is more natural to understand that besides the presbyters there were others who in church assemblies were given seats of honour. Who these were, we may gather from other passages. We find (*Mand.* xi.) that one who claims to be a prophet is represented as sitting on a "cathedra," while his hearers sit before him on a "subsellium." Again, in the first vision the church, when she reads her book, sits on a cathedra. We may infer that such a seat was the prerogative of teachers. We find also from *Mand.* xi. that prophets were allowed to speak in the church assemblies; and the direction to Hermas himself to read his book with the presbyters, seems plainly to refer to a public reading in the presence of the congregation. We are thus led to the conclusion that, besides the presbyters there were lay preachers, who, as having a gift of prophecy, were allowed to address the church assemblies, and in that capacity were given seats of honour. But as these held no permanent official position, their claims would probably be ill-defined, and disputes on the subject were very likely to arise. This was a question in which Hermas was personally far more interested than in disputes concerning priority among presbyters. We may gather from his discovery (*Vis.* iii. 10, 13), that a subsellium is a firmer and better seat than a cathedra, that his own claim to a cathedra had not been admitted; and the authorities of the Roman church may reasonably have hesitated to place in the teacher's chair a pious visionary, neither well read in Scripture nor accurately instructed in doctrine.[a]

(*e*) *The Subintroductae.*—A passage (*Sim.* ix, 11) has been supposed to indicate an acquaintance by Hermas with the abuse denoted by this word, and if the passage censured this abuse, the inference might be just; but since it encourages it, the inference is quite the other way. We have already expressed our willingness to believe in a general way that Hermas had some such visions or dreams as he records. Without doubting his account that he was a man of great continence, we must observe that women ran very much in his head. In this vision he sees twelve virgins who, it is explained, allegorically represent the Christian virtues. They keep him with them, and kiss him; he feels himself become a young man again, sports and dances with them, and when they lie down on the ground for the night, by their direction he lies down with them; but, it is said he was with them as a brother, not as a husband. The explanation is so necessary to save the purity of the narrator that no inference can be drawn from its having been added, except that the story would never have been told if the abuse had existed at the time which this tale had a tendency to countenance.

(*f*) *Persecutions of the Church.*—From the account given of the worldliness and love of riches of many of the Christian community at the time, we may infer that the church had enjoyed a good deal of quiet, but this quiet had evidently been broken by many harassing persecutions, in which some had apostatized. Usually the danger which had terrified them is described as no more than of loss of goods and of injury to worldly business; but there have been (though perhaps not recently) martyrs who have given their lives and have endured crosses and wild beasts for the name of the Son of God. What concerns us most is that they could have saved themselves by denial or by committing idolatry. Thus it appears that they suffered *as Christians*, and it has been inferred that the date must be later than the well-known letter of Trajan to Pliny which first made the profession of Christianity unlawful. Yet it seems possible to assign an earlier date as well to *The Shepherd* as to the First Epistle of Peter, which is affected by the same argument, when we remember that Trajan did no more than give imperial sanction to the rule on which Pliny had been acting already, and on which others had probably been acting previously; for Pliny, who begins by saying that he had never before been present at any trials of Christians, implies that they were then a well-known thing. And it may be argued that after the edict of Trajan obstinate profession of Christianity was liable to be punished with death, whereas in the time of Hermas it seems to have been punished only by fine or imprisonment. Hermas himself, who had been originally in trade, lost his business in the persecution, having been betrayed, it would seem, by his children. At the time of the visions he seems to have been employed in cultivating a farm. Zahn, who places the persecution under Domitian, ingeniously conjectures

[a] The perverse ingenuity of commentators has also extracted the sentiments of Hermas about episcopacy and about the propriety of paying the clergy from a passage, intelligible enough in its obvious meaning, in which he contrasts the false prophet and the true. "The false prophet sets up as a soothsayer, receives persons who consult him in private, undertakes to answer their questions, and takes money for doing so. Sometimes his answers are correct, for the devil uses him as his instrument to deceive the righteous. He shuns the public assemblies of the righteous for prayer; there his earthly spirit deserts him, and he is unable to speak when not questioned Not so the true prophet, who speaks not in private, or when man wishes him to speak, but in the public assemblies, when the angel of the prophetic spirit moves him to speak. The true prophet is meek and humble, and simple in his manner of life; not ambitious of the first place, impudent, talkative, and fond of luxury, like the false prophet." Compare Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18.

(p. 133) that Hermas was one of those victims of the tyranny of Domitian to whom, as Dion Cassius tells (68, 2), Nerva made restitution by giving land instead of the goods of which they had been despoiled.

If the view taken in this article be correct, that we have in the work of Hermas an authentic specimen of the teaching of one of those who were recognised in the Christian church as prophets at the beginning of the 2nd century, it is disappointing to be obliged to add that the book is not one which an ordinary Christian of the present day would much care to read either for amusement or edification, and that the historical student finds much less light thrown by it than might have been expected on the questions in which he is interested. Hermas himself is altogether absorbed in trying to bring about a practical reform; he shews much less interest in questions of doctrine, in which possibly as a layman he might not have been accurately instructed; he never quotes the Scriptures either of the Old or New Testament, nor is his language much influenced by Scripture phraseology, and there are those who would describe Hermas as having preached not the Gospel, but a "fussionless screed of dry morality." The inference was natural, if Pauline Christianity is so much in the background in Hermas, he must have been an anti-Pauline Jewish Christian; and this inference may seem to be confirmed by the fact that the New Testament book which has most stamped itself on the mind of Hermas is the Epistle of St. James. Yet a closer examination finds no real trace of Judaism in Hermas. It is scarcely credible that one who had been brought up a Jew should seem so unfamiliar with the Old Testament.[b] The Jewish nation and its privileges are not even mentioned; there is nothing about the distinction between Jew and gentile, and in fact a reader of Hermas would not discover that the Jewish nation had ever existed. Michael is not the guardian angel of that nation, but of the Christian church. Once where the phrase "twelve tribes" occurs, it turns out to mean not the Jewish tribes, but twelve nations into which the whole human race is classified; as for imposing on gentile Christians any Mosaic ordinances, Hermas does not shew any knowledge that such a thing had ever been thought of. Indeed, the morality of Hermas is singularly free from formalism. For the new forgiveness of sins which he announces, he requires as conditions no ceremonial washings as in the book of Elchesai, no penances, no increased rigour of fasting, no formal absolution, nothing but repentance and reformation. Baptism is the only church rite on which he insists; that he counts so essential that he believes that the holy men of the old dispensation received baptism from the apostles in the under world; fasting he uses, but attributes to it no exaggerated value; he does not even cross himself when venturing to pass the terrible beast in a scene like that of Christian venturing past the lions at the gate of the House Beautiful. The doctrine of Hermas concerning the person and work of the Son of God is entirely Christian. The Son of God is older than all creation, and was a fellow councillor with the Father in the work of creation. He is the rock on which the church is built, His name the only gate by which any can enter into the kingdom of God. Even the most glorious angels cannot enter unto God apart from Him. (*Sim.* ix. 12.) It has indeed been contended that, because Hermas speaks of six chief angels, and the Ebionite systems of seven, Hermas means that the Son of God should be thought of but as an angel, the chief over the six. But this combination is altogether unwarranted, and depends on the quite groundless assumption that Hermas has any affinity with Ebionism. The number seven is nowhere employed in the imagery of Hermas; on the contrary, the angels are twelve, consisting of six principal and six subordinate. Hermas tells of the toil and suffering which the Son of God underwent to purge away the sins of His people, and of the reward which He receives in the exaltation of His human nature and in His joy at receiving His purified people into union with Himself. It has been questioned whether Hermas distinguishes the personality of the Holy Spirit from that of the pre-existent Son of God. We ourselves are disposed to agree with Zahn (p. 261) that he does; but there is room for doubt, arising from the fact that in the Similitudes of Hermas, as well as in other parables, there may be a difference of opinion what things belong to the framework of the parable and what are intended to be symbolical. Bull (*Def. Fid. Nic.* 1, 2), vindicates the language of Hermas, but if it should appear that Hermas had not made the doctrine in question the subject of scientific thought, we have only another proof of the early date of his work.

The only express quotation in Hermas is from the lost apocryphal book of Eldad and Modad. Of his Old Testament allusions, we have spoken already. His use of either Old or New Testament not being indicated by formal quotation, but only by coincidences of language or thought, there is room for difference of opinion as to his use of particular books. The proofs of the use of the Epistle of James and of that to the Ephesians seem to us absolutely decisive. Only a little less strong are the proofs of the use of the First Epistle of Peter and of the First to the Corinthians. There are other New Testament books of his use of which we are ourselves persuaded, though we admit that the evidence is not conclusive. Among these we mention in particular both the Gospel and Revelation of St. John. We believe also that the knowledge of sayings of our Lord which Hermas unmistakably exhibits was obtained from our synoptic Gospels, the coincidences with St. Mark (see Zahn, p. 457) being most striking.

Where Hermas had lived before he was sold to Rome is a point on which we can only conjecture. According to a reading which there seems no good ground to question, he supposes himself in one of his visions to have been transported to Arcadia, and Mr. Mahaffy reports (*Rambles in Greece*, p. 330, 2nd ed.), that the scenery that he describes is such as may be witnessed in Arcadia, and is not to be seen in the neigh-

[b] The contrast is striking if we compare the fulness of Old Testament quotation in Clement's epistle with the scantiness in Hermas. Harnack gives a list of seven passages which seem to shew acquaintance with the Old Testament. Four of these relate to passages quoted in New Testament books which seem to have been read by Hermas; the other three are doubtful.

bourhood of Rome. Zahn founds a conjecture that Hermas was born in Egypt on the resemblance between the architectural character of the tower of Hermas's visions, and the description given by Josephus of the Jewish temple in the Egyptian Heliopolis.

Translations.—We have already spoken of the probability that a Latin translation of *The Shepherd* existed in the time of Tertullian. Harnack is of opinion that the present received Latin translation dates from the middle of the 2nd century, relying amongst other arguments on the fact that in one place where we have ἐπίσκοποι in the Greek, the Latin has "episcopi id est praesides ecclesiarum," an explanation which would not be required except at a very early date. It has been questioned whether our Greek text is not a translation from the Latin. No argument in support of this opinion can be founded on the Latinisms in the Greek text, since they are sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the author lived at Rome. The hypothesis of a double original seems not unworthy of consideration. Hermas was directed to make two copies of his book. That the one which was to be sent to foreign churches must have been written in Greek may be taken for granted; in what language was that written which Grapte was to read to the widows and orphans at Rome? A second Latin translation, clearly different from the Vulgate text, was published by Dressel from a *Codex Palatinus*. Harnack (p. lxv) produces proof of the use of this version in the 6th century. How much earlier it was cannot be determined; but it is generally agreed that it is later than the Vulgate, and Harnack is of opinion that the older version was employed in making the new translation. More recently an Ethiopic version has been discovered, which was published in 1860. The transcriber has a note maintaining that the author of *The Shepherd* was the apostle Paul. He relies on Acts xiv. 12, which he quotes in the form that the Lycaonians called "Silas" Zeus, and Paul Hermes. Until quite modern times, *The Shepherd* was only known to the West by the Latin translation. In 1856 the first edition of the Greek text was printed by Anger and Dindorf. It was founded ultimately on a MS. found at Mount Athos, of which Simonides brought three leaves to Leipzig, and a transcript of the rest; but this edition was spoiled by the bad faith of Simonides, who at first sold a copy which he had corrupted by a number of emendations of his own. An independent source for the Greek text has been obtained in the Sinaitic MS., which, as has been said, includes the work of Hermas. Besides these there have been employed the quotations of Clement of Alexandria, copious unacknowledged quotations by Pseudo-Athanasius (*Doct. ad Antioch.* Migne, Pat. Gr. xxviii. 555), separately published by Dindorf, Leipzig, 1857; and similar quotations by Antiochus Monachus, a writer of the 7th century (Pat. Gr. lxxxix. 1415, concerning whom see Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* Harles, x. 500). From these sources Hermas has been edited by Hilgenfeld (*Nov. Test. ext. Can. Rec.* 1866), and by Gebhardt and Harnack (*Patres Apostolici*, 1877). The latter edition we count so indispensable to the student that, as it contains a full list of editions, and of works treating of Hermas, we think it needless to transcribe what the reader will have in his hands. Only we mention Zahn, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 1868, as the work from which we have learned most. Since Gebhardt's edition Hermas has been edited by Funk (*Pat. Apost.* Tübingen, 1878.) Some interesting discussion is also to be found in the reviews of Gebhardt's edition, among which we mention that by Overbeck (Schürer, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1878), by Donaldson in *Theological Review*, 1878, and by Zahn, *Göttingen gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1878.

[G. S.]

HERMAS (3) (HERMES), confessor at Nisibis, commemorated on Friday after Easter week, the local feast of commemoration of all the confessors. (Wright's *Syr. Mart.* in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 425.) [G. T. S.]

HERMAS (4), a Messalian, condemned at Antioch. (Theodoret, *E. H.* iv. 10; Id. *Haer. Fab.* iv. 11.) [EUCHITES.] [G. S.]

HERMEAS (Ἑρμείας), one of the three principal disciples of Manes, the other two being Addas and Thomas. Hermeas was sent by Manes before his death to propagate his doctrines in Egypt, where he prevailed on many to become Manichaeans (Epiph. *Haer.* lxvi. 5, 12, in Migne, Patr. Gr. xlii. 37, 47). Epiphanius heard of him from many who had come in contact with him there. [T. W. D.]

HERMELANDUS (Usuard. *Mart.* Mar. 25), abbat. [HERMENLANDUS.] [C. H.]

HERMELINDA, wife of Cunipert (680–700), king of the Lombards, "ex Saxonum Anglorum genere." (Paulus Diaconus, v. 37.) [A. H. D. A.]

HERMELLUS (HERMILUS, HERMOLUS), martyr, commemorated at Constantinople on Aug. 3. (Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Aug. i. 212.) [C. H.]

HERMEN, martyr, commemorated at Rome on May 9; supposed disciple of St. Paul, Hermes, in Rom. xvi. 14. (*Mart.* Usuard.) [C. H.]

HERMENARIUS, archbishop of Bourges. [HERMINARDUS.]

HERMENARIUS, bishop of Autun. [ERMENARIUS (2).]

HERMENFREDUS (ERMENFREDUS), 12th bishop of Verdun, succeeding Charimeres, and followed by Godo, or, according to the *Vita S. Pauli Episc. Virdunensis* (Bouquet, iii. 515), by St. Paulus. He was born near Strasburg of noble parents, and educated at the court of Childebert II. king of Austrasia, with Theoderic and Theodebert his sons. Upon Childebert's death (A.D. 596) he attached himself to Theoderic, whose kingdom comprised Burgundy, but retired after a time to the monastery of Luxeuil, of which Columbanus was then abbat, and from thence he was chosen to fill the see of Verdun. He is said to have died Dec. 8, A.D. 621, after an episcopate of nine or ten years, and in some martyrologies he appears as a saint. (*Gall. Christ.* xiii. 1168.) [S. A. B.]

HERMENIGILD (ERMENIGILD), ST., Visi-

goth catholic prince in Spain, son of the Arian king Leovigild.

Hermenigild and Recared were the sons of Leovigild's first wife (Joh. Bicl. apud *Esp. Sagr.* vi. 378), who was already dead in 569, in which year the king married Goisvintha, the widow of his predecessor Athanagild. The dates of the princes' births are unknown (? 560–62), but it is plain from Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* v. 39, that Hermenigild was the elder of the two brothers. In 573, immediately after the conquest of Sabaria in Leovigild's first northern campaign, both sons were made "consortes regni" (Joh. Bicl. *l. c.* For remarks on the circumstances and meaning of this step, see art. LEOVIGILD). Thenceforward, up to 579, the Spanish sources give no information of Hermenigild. Between the two dates of 573 and 579, however, most probably between 573 and 575 (conf. Greg. Tur. iv. 38), Hermenigild was betrothed to Ingunthis, the daughter of Sigibert of Rheims and Brunihild, and grand-daughter, therefore, of Brunihild's mother, Goisvintha (*q. v.*), Leovigild's second wife and Hermenigild's step-mother. In 579 (Joh. Bicl. *l. c.* 381), Ingunthis, then twelve years old, reached Spain, and in the same year, owing to dissensions between the Catholic Frankish princess and her Arian grandmother (see art. INGUNTHIS), Leovigild sent the newly married pair to a distance, assigning to Hermenigild the government of Baetica, or a portion of it, with Seville for a capital (Jo. Bic. *l. c.*). Here later in the same year (conf. Görres, *Kritische Untersuch. über den Aufstand und das Martyrium des Westgoth. Königsohnes Hermenigild*, in *Zeitschrift für Hist. Theol.* 1873, i. note 83; Dahn, *Kön. der Germ.* v. 137, gives 580 as the year,) Hermenigild renounced Arianism, was confirmed in the Catholic faith by Leander the Catholic metropolitan of Seville, and took the name of Joannes (Greg. Tur. v. 39; Greg. Magn. *Dial.* iii. 31; Paul. Diac. iii. 21). This important step was immediately followed by the rebellion of Hermenigild (Joh. Bicl. *l. c.*), who shortly afterwards formed a close alliance with the Byzantines in the south, and with the recently catholicized Suevi in the north, *i.e.* with the two most formidable enemies of his father's state and power (conf. Dahn, v. 138). Thus the struggle shaped itself as a conflict of confessions and nationalities, of Arianism and Catholicism, of Goth and Roman, although Leovigild had adherents among the provincials, and Hermenigild counted some Gothic partisans. (Dahn, v. 140.)

From 580 to 582 Leovigild was occupied in various measures of precaution and preparation (see art. LEOVIGILD), and it was not till the end of 582 that he felt himself strong enough to attack his son. Late in 582 or early in 583, Merida, which we may suppose to have been the most northerly of Hermenigild's towns, was conquered (Greg. Tur. vi. 18), and the siege of Seville followed immediately. Towards the end of 583 or the beginning of 584, Hermenigild escaped from the beleaguered city (possibly at the same time Leander went to ask help from Constantinople; see art. LEANDER) and took refuge with the Byzantines at Cordova, which, after having been subdued by Leovigild in 572, had declared for Hermenigild, and invited a Greek garrison. Seville fell in 584 (Joh. Bicl. *l. c.* p. 383), and shortly afterwards Hermenigild was captured in or near Cordova, the Byzantine prefect having been bribed to give up both the town and the fugitive to the father (Greg. Tur. v. 39, vi. 43; Joh. Bicl. p. 383). He was deprived of the government of Baetica, and, in all probability, of his claim to the succession (Joh. Bicl.'s regno privatur appears to cover both penalties), and was sent an exile to Valencia. In the following year (585), "Hermenigildus in Urbe Tarraconensi a Sisberto interficitur" (Joh. Bicl. 384). This is all the notice that the abbat of Biclaro, our best source, gives to the fact. Isidore does not mention the death of Hermenigild at all. Gregory of Tours mentions it drily in passing as one of the causes of Guntchramn's attack upon Septimania (*Hist. Fr.* viii. 28; "Leuvichildus vero Herm. filium suum—morti tradidit"). Upon the account given by Gregory the Great *alone*, therefore (*Dial.* iii. 31), rests the claim of Hermenigild to be considered not as a rebel suffering the too harsh penalty of a political crime, but as a martyr for the Catholic faith. According to the pope, Hermenigild, after a painful imprisonment, "in ciliciis vinculatus jacens," was beheaded on the night of Easter Sunday, by his father's "apparitores," because he had refused to receive the sacrament from the hands of an Arian bishop, "atque per hoc ad patris gratiam redire mereretur." After the execution, miracles were not wanting to substantiate the martyr's claim to veneration: "For in the silence of the night, the sound of psalmody began to be heard around the body of the king and martyr, truly king because truly martyr." His body, therefore, "ut videlicet martyris, jure cunctis fidelibus venerari debuisset." In his grave, also, according to Gregory, were laid the foundations of Visigothic Catholicism. For after Leovigild's death, his son Recared "non patrem perfidum sed fratrem martyrem sequens" was converted by Leander and led over the whole people of the Visigoths to the true faith. Nor was it wonderful that he should become a preacher of the true faith, since he was the brother of a martyr, whose merits helped him in his task of leading back so many souls to the bosom of Almighty God. Nothing of this could have been done if Hermenigild had not died. Thus, one of the Visigothic race died that many might live, and while one grain of wheat had fallen to the ground, "seges multa surrexit."

In the face of this apparent conflict between Gregory's testimony and the silence of the Spanish source, modern opinion has always been much divided as to Hermenigild's martyrdom. It is plain that neither to Joh. Biclarensis, his contemporary and a victim also of his father's Arian persecution, nor to Isidore, Leander's younger brother, nor even to Gregory of Tours, did Hermenigild appear in the light of a martyr for Catholicism. "Tyrannus" and "rebellis" are the words used of him by Joannes; Isidore follows the same line: "deinde filium suum tyrannizantem imperiis suis obsessum exsperavit," and again in the *Hist. Suev.* "rebellem filium." Another Spanish testimony is more striking still. Paul of Merida, a writer of the 7th century (Mabillon, *Ann. Ord. Sancti Bened.* I. 72, dates the *De Vit. et Mir. Patrum Emeritensium* about 633), whose record of the bishops of Merida was avowedly suggested by the *Dialogues* of Gregory

the Great, thus transforms the passage from the *Dialogues*, already quoted:

Greg. M. *Dial.* 3, 31.	Paul. Emerit. cap. 16.
"Post cujus (Leovigildi) mortem Recaredus rex non patrem perfidum *sed fratrem martyrem* sequens, ab Arianae haeresis pravitate conversus est."	"Post cujus crudelissimam mortem Recaredus Princeps &c. qui non patrem perfidum *sed Christum Dominum* sequens, ab Arianae haereseos pravitate conversus est."

This writer's fanatical hatred of Leovigild is visible in every page of his life of bishop Masona (*q. v.*). Had Hermenigild really died a martyr's death, what motive could have induced this assailant of his Arian father to thus implicitly deny a fact so useful to one of his main purposes? To these passages from the Spanish sources we have also to add the striking and often quoted words of Gregory of Tours, whose sympathy with the *Catholicism* of Hermenigild and Ingunthis is, of course, beyond question: "Hermenigildus—patrem ad se venire cum exercitu, cognovit, consiliumque iniit, qualiter venientem aut repelleret aut *necaret, nesciens miser, judicium sibi imminere divinum, qui contra genitorem quamlibet haereticum talia cogitaret.*"

We are naturally led in this state of the evidence to examine more closely the genesis and character of St. Gregory's narrative. The *Dialogue* in question was written about 594 (Görres, *l. c.* p. 13, note 38). The sources of it appear to have been—for the fact and immediate causes of the conversion, the testimony of Leander received at Constantinople, between the year 583 and 586 [see art. LEANDER]—for Hermenigild's death on the other hand, the witness of unnamed Spanish emigrants, in all probability exiles belonging to the political party of Hermenigild (sicut multorum, qui ab Hispaniarum partibus veniunt relatione cognovimus, &c.). The account entirely passes over the political circumstances under which Hermenigild met his death. There is no mention whatever of war or rebellion. No names of localities or persons beyond those of Leander and the father and sons are given, and *immediately* upon the conversion follow imprisonment and death. Whereas we know that between the conversion and Hermenigild's capture at Cordova five years elapsed of incessant military or diplomatic action on the part of both father and son. The miracles following the martyrdom, and the extremely improbable story of Leovigild's remorse and repentant recommendation of Leander to Recared [see art. LEOVIGILD] increase the unhistorical aspect of the whole. Nevertheless in the course of time Gregory's narrative won complete ascendancy, and upon it was founded the canonization, which a thousand years later was accorded to the tyrannus and rebellis of the Spanish sources.

Various explanations have been offered of the attitude of the Spanish reporters towards Hermenigild. Aguirre declared positively that the passages in question had been mutilated by Arians (*Conc. Hisp. Coll. Max.* i. 422), an opinion shared by the Spanish antiquary Joseph Perez (see quotation in Arevalo, *Isid. Op.* i. 422). Arevalo, however (*l. c.*), has long ago disposed of these assertions, as of certain other explanations and harmonizations put forward by Nicolas Antonio (*Bibl. Vetus*, lib. v. cap. 4, 134). The editor of Isidore suggested in his turn that Joannes and Isidore writing under Recared dared not favour the cause of Hermenigild, because his young son Athanagild was still living, and might have been a dangerous weapon in the hands of Ingunthis's Frankish brother and uncle. The arguments against this position are well put by Görres (*l. c.* p. 80). Another and more plausible theory refers to Hermenigild's alliance with the Byzantines, which, after Recared's reign, during which such great strides were made towards the fusion of the Goths and Romans, and the formation of a Spanish nationality, must have appeared as an act of unpardonable treachery to every loyal subject of the Gothic state—to a writer of Roman descent like Isidore, as well as to a writer of Gothic descent such as the abbat of Biclaro. Gams has put this explanation as strongly as it admits of being put (*Kirchengesch. von Spanien* ii. [2] 5), and it does no doubt explain the disapprobation of the revolt shewn by Isidore and Joannes. It is difficult, however, to believe that had Hermenigild finally met his death as a martyr for the orthodox belief, such a consideration would have altogether prevented them from mentioning the fact. Both—Isidore more especially—write as accusers of Leovigild, while with such an act in itself both must of course have been in full sympathy. And in any case the theory leaves Gregory of Tours' blame and silence unexplained.

Such are some of the difficulties of this famous case. "A close examination of all the sources," says Görres (in 1873, *l. c.*), "has led me to the conclusion that the supposed martyrdom of Hermenigild cannot be substantiated." While the most recent ultra-Catholic view is that of Gams: "On the one hand, therefore, stands Gregory I., who represents him as a martyr and a saint, on the other the Spanish sources, who represent him as a rebel. I believe the explanation lies in the practice and teaching of the church, according to which martyrdom, as a baptism of blood (*als Bluttaufe*), effaces all previous faults."

Growth of the Hermenigild cultus.—The first mention of Hermenigild as a martyr, after Gregory I. occurs in the *De vana saeculi sapientia* of St. Valerius, the Gallician biographer of San Fructuoso, written towards the end of the 7th century, where, among a list of royal martyrs, appears *Regem Gothorum Ermenigildum* (*Esp. Sagr.* xvi. 373). In the Mozarabic liturgy, the work of the 7th century Spanish churchmen, Hermenigild has no place, nor does he appear in the 9th century *Memoriale Sanctorum* of St. Eulogius (Schott, *Hisp. Ill.* iv. 223). Beda's *Martyrology* makes no mention of him, nor up to the 9th century does any single author beside Gregory I., Paulus Diaconus following him (*Hist. Langob.* iii. 31), and Valerius—speak of Hermenigild as a martyr. In the 9th century, however, his name was generally admitted into the *Martyrologies* (Ap. 13; Ado, Usuardus, Notker, Wandalbertus; all based on Gregory's *Dialogue*—conf. Ado, "ut scribit beatus Papa Gregorius"), while the 13th-century Spanish historians, entirely reversing the judgment of their predecessors, even made additions to Gregory's narrative (conf. Lucas Tud. "*filium suum nefandis ritibus communere nolentem diversis tormentis prius excruciatum, interficere jussit;*" and Rod. Tol. *de Rebus Hisp.* ii. 14, both apud Schott,

Hisp. Ill. iv. ii.; *Cronica General* [Estoria de Espanna], part ii. cap. 39). Thenceforward the cultus grew rapidly, and found its natural issue in 1585, when Sixtus V., urged by Philip II., issued an apostolic brief, instituting the cult of Hermenigild throughout Spain. Urban VIII. made it general throughout the Roman church (Gams, *l. c.* p. 5).

A few other debated historical points remain to be noticed.

The name of Hermenigild's mother is unknown. The late legend which gives her name as Theodosia, and makes her the daughter of the Catholic Severianus, and sister to Leander and Isidore, has been already noticed under LEOVIGILD. Florez, followed blindly by Arevalo (Isid. *Opera*, i. 118), gives her name as Rinchildis, an absurd blunder. The passage which Florez (ix. 191) quotes from Ado's chronicle: "Leovigildus Rex filiam Chilperici et Fredegundis nomine Rinchildem duxit uxorem," is nothing but a transformation of the betrothal between *Recared* and Chilperic's daughter *Rigunthis* (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Fr.* iv. 38). Nothing but complete ignorance of the respective dates and ages of Leovigild and his sons on the one hand and of the grandsons of Chlodwig with their children on the other, could have led Florez and Arevalo into the acceptance of such a statement. (Florez is almost always wrong as to these Hispano-Frankish alliances. The remarks in the same passage on Baddo Recared's wife and Chlodosvintha, Sigebert's daughter, to whom he was betrothed but probably not married [conf. Dahn, v. 165, 167 note] are throughout incorrect.) The name therefore of Leovigild's first wife remains unknown, and we are consequently not justified in accepting as history the story of the early Catholic training and surroundings of Recared and Hermenigild, which plays a large part in the Spanish accounts of both, and which has even been allowed a place in the critical narrative of Dahn (*Könige der Germanen*, v. 135).

The place of Hermenigild's exile was Valencia, not Seville as has been sometimes given (conf. Görres, *l. c.* p. 53). The authority of Joh. Bicl. on this point is conclusive. Helfferich has besides endeavoured to prove that Valencia was one of the towns in which Arianism had most hold (*Westgoth. Recht.* p. 35), in which therefore there would be least likelihood of a popular rising on Hermenigild's behalf.

The Roman church celebrates his martyrdom on April 13. The only indication of the date of the *day* in the sources is to be found in the "superveniente autem paschalis festivitatis die, noctis intempestae silentio" of pope Gregory. This has generally been interpreted to mean the night *before* Easter Day (v. notes to *Ado. Martyr*, id. April. Migne, Patr. Lat. cxxiv.). As to the year, Joannes placed the death of Hermenigild *early* in the seventeenth year of Leovigild, after the first Suevian campaign of that year, and before the Frankish and second Suevian campaigns, which filled the greater part of it. Now the seventeenth year of Leovigild ended *at latest* in the second half of April or beginning of May 586, and his death, which occurred in the first half of his eighteenth year, cannot be dated later than May 8 of 586. (Gorres, *l. c.*; *Beitr.* ii. *zur Chronologie.*) Between Easter Day of 586, which fell on April 14, and which was apparently chosen by the 9th century martyrologists, and May 8 of the same year, there could not possibly have been time for the expedition of Guntchramn against Septimania, and for the suppression of the Suevian rebellion under Malaric in Gallicia, which two facts Joannes places between the deaths of father and son, and the first of which we know to have been largely caused by the impression made on Guntchramn by the news of Hermenigild's death. We are therefore obliged to fall back upon Easter Day, 585. This would give March 24–25 for Hermenigild's death, and would also necessitate the conclusion that Leovigild's seventeenth year began *before* March 24, 585. Again, as we have still to find a place for the important Suevian campaign against Audika in the same year *before* Hermenigild's death, we may conjecture with some probability that the year in question began in January or February 585. An interesting reflection here suggests itself, supposing the date just arrived at established. If Leovigild were engaged during the early months of 585 in subduing and annexing the Suevi in the extreme north-west of the peninsula, how could he have played the direct personal part in the death of Hermenigild at Tarraco, *i.e.* the extreme *north-east* of Spain on March 24 of the same year which St. Gregory assigns to him?

For the well-known inscription at Alcalá de Guadayra, dating from the rebellion period, "In nomine domini anno feliciter secundo (581) regni domni nostri Erminigeldi regis, quem persequitur genetor sus dom(nus) Liuvigildus rex in civitate Hispalensi, ducti Aione," see Hübner's *Inscr. Hisp. Christ.* p. 22, No. 76, and for coins struck by Hermenigild, Florez's *Medallas* &c. iii. and the admirable recent work of M. Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies des rois Visigoths d'Espagne* par Aloise Heiss, Paris, 1872. For general references see list given under LEOVIGILD. [M. A. W.]

HERMENILDA (Kemble, *C. D.* 44), abbess. [EORMENGILDA.] [C. H.]

HERMENLANDUS or HERMELANDUS (ST.), abbat of Antrum (Aindre) at the beginning of the 8th century, was born of noble parents at Noviomagus (Nimwegen) in Holland, and was when very young sent as a page to the court of king Clothaire, where he was brought up. When come to years of maturity he refused marriage, and in spite of all opposition entered on a monastic life, first as a novice, and was afterwards consecrated priest in the monastery of Fontanella under St. Landbertus, by whom he was soon sent to Nannetum (Nantes) at the request of Pasquarius, bishop of that diocese, for the purpose of founding a monastery. On his arrival Hermenlandus was cordially received by the bishop, and after surveying the island of Antrum on the Ligeris or Loire in Armorica (Brittany), he chose that for the site of the new monastery, which he at once proceeded to build. On its completion he became abbat, and presided over it for many years. Before his death he appointed Donatus as his successor. Miracles are said to have been worked at his tomb, and he is commemorated on March 25. (*Mart.* Usuard.; Boll. *Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 574; Mabill. *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. iii. i. 365.) [I. G. S.]

HERMEONERIC. [HERMERIC.]

HERMEONITAE, HERMEORITAE, HERMEOTITAE (Philastr. *de Haer.* lvi.), a heretical sect. [HERMIAS (1).] [T. W. D.]

HERMERIC and **HERMIGAR**, joint kings (?) of the Suevi in Spain (409–440). In the autumn of 409 (between Sept. 28 and Oct. 13, Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, vi. 559) a Suevic tribe accompanied the Vandals and Alani into Spain, and the land was parcelled out among the invaders by lot. (See the famous passage in Idatius describing the entry of the barbarians into the peninsula, apud *Esp. Sagr.* iv. 353, 354.) To the Suevi and a section of the Vandals fell (A.D. 411) the extreme north-west of Spain, practically the Roman province of Gallicia ("Gallaeciam sitam in extremitate oceani maris occidua," Idat. *l. c.*). In 417 the Suevi, together with the Vandals and Alani, concluded a treaty with Honorius, by which they engaged to defend Spain for the empire against other barbarians. In 418 Walja, the Gothic king, acting for the empire, "Romani nominis causa" (Idat. *l. c.*), destroyed the Alani, and the Suevi were relieved from their supremacy, to which they had been for a time forced to submit. They were thus, however, brought face to face with the Vandals, who appear to have been greatly their superiors in point of numbers, and in 419 we find the Suevi, under their king HERMERIC, shut up in the "Montes Nervasi" (between Leon and Oviedo, *Dicc. Geogr. de la España Antig.* Cortez y Lopez, iii. 220) by the Vandals (Idat. *l. c.*). The voluntary retreat of the Vandals southward [GENSERIC] relieved the Suevi, and soon encouraged them to follow on the track of their retiring rivals in the hope of appropriating the country left vacant by them. In 429 Genseric was already on the sea-coast planning the migration to Africa, when he heard of the Suevian advance upon Lusitania, and promptly retraced his steps to meet them. A battle followed at Merida (A.D. 429) in which the Suevians were heavily defeated, while their leader Hermigar was drowned in the Guadiana during their flight. Who Hermigar was is doubtful. Idatius does not speak of him as *rex*, but only as *Suevus*. Possibly he was Hermeric's dux only, but possibly also his brother and underking (cf. Dahn, *l. c.* note 8). Upon this overthrow by the Vandals, followed hostilities on the part of the inland provincials of Gallicia acting from the towns and strong places, who inflicted heavy damage on the weakened Suevi and compelled the restoration of all prisoners, as the price of peace. In the following year however (436) Idatius himself, the faithful historian of the time and bishop of the Gallician see of Aquae Flaviae (Chiaves), was sent by the Gallician provincials to Aetius in Gaul to report a breach of the just concluded peace by Hermeric and to ask for help against the Suevi. Just at this time, as Dahn points out (*l. c.* 561), the Suevi were for more than thirty years practically masters of the peninsula. From 429 to Euric's accession in 466 no power from within or without was able to cope with them effectually. "That this long period was only employed by them for the devastation and plunder, not for the conquest and colonisation, of the country, goes far towards proving their small numbers" (Dahn, *l. c.*).

From 433 to 440 Hermeric was obliged by illness ("diuturno morbo adflictus per annos septem," Idat.) to maintain a more peaceful attitude. He made peace with the Gallician provincials, "sub interventu episcopali" (Idat.), and appointed his son Rekila co-regent. Between 437 and 439 Rekila won important successes over the Romans on the Xenil and Guadiana. Merida was once more captured, and a Roman comes with legati were forced to give themselves up at Myrtilis (Mertola on the Guadiana; see *Corpus Inscrr. Lat.* ii. final map). In 440 Hermeric died, and was succeeded by REKILA, under whom, as under his grandson REKIAR, the Suevian power in Spain reached its highest point. Of all this complicated and tumultuous time from the entry of the barbarians to the beginning of the reign of Euric, the contemporary chronicle of Idatius is an invaluable report. (Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, l. c.; Ferreras, ed. D'Hermilly, II. 44, 47, 52; Idat. *Chron.* l. c.; Isid. *Hist. Suev.* apud *Esp. Sagr.* v. 503.) [M. A. W.]

HERMES. See also HERMAS.

HERMES (1) TRISMEGISTUS. Under this title have come down to us a variety of writings of uncertain date and unknown authorship. There is no uncertainty, however, as to the country where they were produced; from external and internal evidence it is alike plain that this was Egypt. It is probably superfluous to remark that the name "Hermes Trismegistus" never belonged to any single writer. What, then, it will be asked, is the meaning of it, and why is it attached to these works? This question will be answered for us by Jamblichus, who at the beginning of his treatise *De Mysteriis* tells us that "Hermes, who presides over speech, is, according to ancient tradition, common to all priests; he it is who exists in all of them. That is why our ancestors attributed all discoveries to him, and issued their works under the name of Hermes." There was, in fact, a long-continued series of books called "hermetic," extending in their production over several centuries. Hermetic books are mentioned by Plutarch (*de Iside*, c. 61), Galen (*de Simpl. Med.* vi. 1), and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 4, p. 457), and hence it is apparent that some of them date from a period not later than the 2nd century after Christ. But the books described by Clement would seem to have been for the most part of a distinctly sacerdotal and even technical cast; it would not appear that they were of wide or deep philosophical or spiritual import. Tertullian, however (*cont. Valent.* c. 15), speaks of Hermes Trismegistus as a master in philosophy; and the extant hermetic books have, whatever their date, philosophical and spiritual relations of a very interesting kind. They belong, as is now generally agreed, to the Neoplatonic school; and while far from powerful or originative books, they shew much reflexive appreciation of what is truly powerful and originative, and gather up in a synthesis, the artificiality of which is not at first sight apparent, large elements of all the different factors of religious belief in the Roman world of the second and third centuries. The two principal of these works are the Ποιμάνδρης

(the "Shepherd of men"), and the Λόγος τέλειος (or "discourse of initiation"), otherwise called "Asclepius." These two works, together with a variety of fragments, have been translated into French by M. Louis Ménard (Paris, 1867), and accompanied with a preliminary essay of much interest on the hermetic writings and their affinities generally. The most important fragments translated by M. Ménard are taken from a work entitled Κόρη κόσμου (the "Virgin of the World"), which consists of a dialogue between Isis and her son Hôrus on the origin of nature and of animated beings, including man. Other less noticeable works attributed to Hermes Trismegistus will be found named in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography* (art. "Hermes Trismegistus").

But we must recur to the two first-named works, the Ποιμάνδρης (Poemander) and the Λόγος τέλειος (Asclepius). It is not to be assumed that these two works are by the same author; but from the great similarity of tone and thought between them, this will appear no improbable hypothesis. Both works are quoted by Lactantius (who ascribed to them the same fabulous antiquity and high authority which the early fathers were accustomed to attribute to the Sibylline books); and as Lactantius died about A.D. 330, this fixes a point before which the Poemander and the Asclepius must have been written. If the Latin translation of the Asclepius (the Greek original, except in the quotations by Lactantius, has been lost) were correctly attributed to Apuleius of Madaura, then this work must have been composed at latest in the 2nd century; but the attribution is now considered an error; and the historical allusions in the work distinctly point to a time when heathenism was about to perish before the increasing power of Christianity. Hence we may with much probability conclude that both these works were written towards the close of the 3rd century. Some, however, have brought the Poemander into connexion with the Pastor of Hermas, and have even assigned it to the same author; this, however, is not probable.

Three motives (if we may so speak) are discernible in these works. First, the endeavour to take an intellectual survey of the whole spiritual universe, without marking any points where the understanding of man fails and has to retire unsatisfied; this is a disposition which, under different forms and at different times, has been called Pantheism or Gnosticism (though the Gnostic idea of an evil element in creation nowhere appears in these treatises). The ideas of the author on these points are presented under the form of a gorgeous material imagery; and, speaking generally, he regards the material world as interpenetrated by the spiritual, and almost identified with it. The power and divine character which he attributes to the sun and other heavenly bodies is peculiarly Egyptian, though this also brings him into affinity with Stoic, and even with Platonic, views. There is much more of symbol and imagery than of elaborately constructed theory in these representations. Secondly, the Pantheism or Gnosticism above described is modified by moral and religious elements which certainly might to some degree be paralleled in Plato, but to which it is difficult to avoid ascribing a Jewish and even a Christian origin. Great stress is laid on the unity, the creative power, the fatherhood and goodness of God. So, too, the argument from design appears. "No one pretends that a statue or picture can exist without a sculptor or painter, and can this creation be without a creator?" (Poemander, c. 5.) Even the well-known terms of baptism and regeneration occur, though in different connexions, and the former in a metaphorical sense. One of the chapters of the Poemander is entitled "The Secret Sermon on the Mountain." The future punishments for wrongdoing are described with emphasis. Many more instances of these affinities have been collected by Baumgarten-Crusius (in the essay mentioned below). At the same time there is no moral teaching in detail. But, thirdly, these respectively intellectual and religious elements are associated with a third of a very rare and noticeable character. The Asclepius contains a passionate and vigorous defence of the heathen religion, including idol worship, and a prophecy of the evils which will come on the earth from the loss of piety. In fact, this is the only part of the treatises which go by the name of Hermes Trismegistus in which something like powerful sentiment appears; sentiment, it is true, on behalf of a system wholly wrapped up in unreality, but still not unintelligible nor wholly condemnable to one who regards the long ages, the countless memories, with which the worship of Zeus and Athene, of Ares and Aphrodite, was then associated. It may be worth while to quote (with abbreviations) part of this passage. "Knowest thou not, Asclepius, that Egypt is the image of heaven, the representation on earth of every celestial ordinance? Our land is the temple of the world. Yet, as the wise ought to foresee everything, one thing you must know: the time will come when it will appear that the Egyptians have in vain observed the worship of the gods with so much piety, and that all their sacred prayers have been barren and unheard. The divinity will leave the earth. Religion, piety, the worship of the gods will be proscribed and punished by the laws. This land, sanctified by so many shrines and temples, will be covered with tombs and death. O Egypt! Egypt! of thy sacred things nothing will remain save words graven on the stones that record thy pious deeds. The Scythian or Indian, or some other barbarian, will inhabit Egypt. Thou weepest, Asclepius? Still worse will happen. Egypt herself will be tainted and seduced. She, once the holy land, the most faithful lover of the gods, will be the perverter of saints, the school of impiety, the example of all violence. Then, full of loathing, man will have for the world neither admiration nor love. He will turn away from that perfect work. In weariness of soul, he will but disdain this vast universe, this changeless work of God, where the will of God has gathered all together in harmonious synthesis, worthy for ever of veneration, praise, and love. . . . Then will evil angels mingle with miserable humanity, and push it on to crimes, wars, rapine, falsehood. The sea will be no more navigable, the stars will change their courses, the fruits of the earth will be corrupted. Such will be the old age of the world, irreligion, anarchy, confusion of all law and of all good. When this shall have happened,

O Asclepius, then God, the Lord and Father, seeing the deeds of men, will correct these evils by an act of His will and divine goodness; to put an end to this corruption, He will drown the world by a deluge, or consume it by fire, or destroy it by war and pestilence, and will restore its first beauty to the world, that the world may seem again worthy to be admired and adored, and that praise may again be given to God, who has created and restored so beautiful a work. This second birth of the world will take place after the period fixed by the divine and eternal will." Such is the only extant lamentation of expiring heathenism; perhaps one may say that there were even elements of prescience in the forecast; certainly it is not without pathos. But for the most part the style of these works is hierophantic, pretentious, and diffuse.

Those who wish to know more about Hermes Trismegistus may consult (besides the work of M. Ménard above referred to) Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* vol. i. pp. 46–94; and Baumgarten Crusius, *de Librorum Hermeticorum Origine atque Indole*, Jena, 1827. Vacherot gives a short disquisition on the hermetic works, and Zeller notices them slightly. [J. R. M.]

HERMES (2), bishop of Salona (Spalato) in Dalmatia, supposed to be the Hermes mentioned by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 14), to have succeeded Titus as bishop of Dalmatia, and to have suffered martyrdom. (See the *Menaea* and the *Menologium Basilianum* for Nov. 4, Migne, Patr. Gr. cxvii. 143; also Farlati, *Illyric. Sacr.* i. 393–404.) [J. de S.]

HERMES (3)—Aug. 28. A prefect of the city of Rome, who is mentioned in the apocryphal acts of pope Alexander I., A.D. 120, by whom he, his wife, his children, and his sister Theodora are said to have been converted and baptized. (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adon., Usuard.; *Kal.* Front.; Tillemont, *Mém.* i. 238, 590; Baron. *Annal.* A.D. 132, num. i.) [G. T. S.]

HERMES (4), ST., exorcist, martyr under Aurelian; commemorated on Dec. 31. (Usuard. *Mart.*) The *Syrian Mart.* places him at Bologna under Dec. 30 (*Journ. Sac. Lit.* 1866, 423). [C. H.]

HERMES (5)—March 1. Martyr with Adrian at Marseilles. (*Mart.* Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HERMES (6), archdeacon of Narbonne not earlier than 445, bearer of a letter from St. Leo to Rusticus bishop of that place. About 460 Hermes was consecrated by Rusticus to the see of Beziers, but the inhabitants rejected him, as of unworthy life. On the death of Rusticus he assumed the bishopric of Narbonne without due election, and pope Hilary (epp. 7 and 8) permitted him to retain the office, but without the privilege of ordaining (Leo. *Ep.* 167, p. 1416). [R. T. S.]

HERMES (7)—Oct. 22. A martyr at Adrianople, with a bishop named Philip, and Eusebius. Rabanus makes him a deacon, and for Eusebius puts Severus a presbyter. (*Mart.* Adon., Usuard., Raban.; Wright, *Syr. Mart.* in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* 1866, p. 430; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 409.) [G. T. S.]

HERMES (8)—Jan. 4. A martyr at Bononia (Bologna) with Aggeus and Gaius. (*Mart.* Usuard.) [G. T. S.]

HERMES, archbishop of Besançon. [HERVAEUS.]

HERMES (9), ST., William of Worcester (*Itin.* 129) says, "Sanctus Hermes confessor . . . Cornubia 28 die Augusti," and see 108, 115, 129. His name also occurs in the Breton liturgy of the 10th century (Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 82). The relics of St. Hermes of Rome, whose day is 28th August (*Mart.* Usuard), were translated to Salzburg, A.D. 851 (Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, i. 216, ii. 215). The name in Cornwall may have taken the place of some Celtic name, as has happened in other cases. The parish of St. Herme, or St. Erme, lies just north-east of Truro in Cornwall, and the feast day used to be on the last Sunday in August, the Sunday nearest to 28th August, but it was altered in 1788 to the last Sunday in October. There was also a chapel of St. Hermes at Marazion, in the parish of St. Hilary. [C. W. B.]

HERMESIGENES (1), presbyter, oeconomus, and apocrisiarius, one of three representatives of Ephraim patriarch of Antioch at the conference with the Severians at Constantinople in 531. (Mansi, viii. 818.) [T. W. D.]

HERMESIGENES (2), an assessor, to whom Theodoret wrote on the occasion of one of the great Christian festivals, probably Easter, wishing him all joy and requesting him to write in return (Theod. *Ep.* 72). [E. V.]

HERMETIUS, Irish abbat. [ERMEDHACH.]

HERMIAS (1), HERMEONITAE (*al.* Hermioritae, Hermiotitae). On the Hermias mentioned by Philaster (*Haer.* 54) see HERMOGENES. Philaster adds that this Hermias left followers in Galatia, also called PROCLIANITAE, who added to their master's errors others of their own, viz. the interpretation of the four living creatures in the book of Ezekiel, of four temporal monarchs, the use of the book of Ecclesiasticus, the denial that Christ had come in the flesh or had been born of a virgin, and the denial of a future resurrection and judgment. [G. S.]

HERMIAS (2)—July 6. A martyr with Felix under Numerian, A.D. 284, at Apollonias. (Bas. *Men.*)

HERMIAS (3), Phrygian philosopher. [EULAMIUS.]

HERMIAS (4)—May 31. A military martyr at Comana in Cappadocia under Antoninus. (Bas. *Men.*; *Acta SS.* Boll. Mai. vii. 423; *Cal. Byzant.*) [C. H.]

HERMIAS (5), a Christian philosopher, author of a treatise, *Irrisio Gentilium Philosophorum*, which is found in al *Bibliothecae Patrum* annexed to the works of Athenagoras (Migne, Patr. Gr. vi. 1167). It was published by itself in Greek and Latin at Basil in 1553. It consists of a series of satirical reflections on the opinions of the philosophers, shewing how Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Pythagoras, Epicurus,

&c. all agree in nothing but repelling and refuting one another. Who the author was seems to have baffled all enquiries. Some would identify him with Hermias Sozomen the ecclesiastical historian. Even the martyr of May 31 has been suggested (Ceill. ut infr.). Cave, who discusses the subject at some length (i. 81) attributes this work to the 2nd century. As it was plainly written when heathenism was triumphant, Ceillier (vi. 332) fixes its publication under Julian. Neander (*H. E.* ii. 429, ed. Bohn) regards Hermias as "one of those bitter enemies of the Greek philosophy whom Clement of Alexandria thought it necessary to censure, and who, following the idle Jewish legend, pretended that the Greek philosophy had been derived from fallen angels. In the title of his book he is called the philosopher: perhaps he wore the philosopher's mantle before his conversion, and after it passed at once from an enthusiastic admiration of the Greek philosophy to extreme abhorrence of it." (Du Pin, *H. E.* t. i. p. 69, ed. 1723.) [G. T. S.]

HERMIAS (6) SOZOMEN. [SOZOMEN.]

HERMIAS (7), presbyter, to whom Cyril of Alexandria addressed his *Dialogues on the Trinity*. (Patr. Gr. lxxv. 659.) He has been suggested (Ceill. vi. 332), as possibly the author of the *Irrisio*. [HERMIAS (5).] [C. H.]

HERMIAS (8), bishop of Abydus on the Hellespont, was present at the council of Chalcedon A.D. 451, and signed the synodal letter of the Cyzicene province to the emperor Leo concerning the faith of Chalcedon, A.D. 458. (Mansi, vii. 587; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 773.) [L. D.]

HERMIAS (9), a Syrian, the father of Felix presbyter of Nola. A brother of Felix was also named Hermias. (Paulin. Nol. poem. xv. vv. 76, 79, p. 30 in Patr. Lat. lxi. 470 A, B.) [C. H.]

HERMIGAR. [HERMERIC.]

HERMINARDUS (HERMENARIUS), thirty-seventh archbishop of Bourges, succeeding Landoarius, and followed by Deodatus, was present at the Lateran council convoked by pope Stephen III. in A.D. 769. He is said to have died in 774. (Mansi, xii. 715; *Gall. Christ.* ii. 19.) [S. A. B.]

HERMINARIUS. [ERMENARIUS (2).]

HERMINGILD, prince. [HERMENIGILD.]

HERMINUS (HERMINIUS), count, a correspondent of Isidore of Pelusium, of whose letters forty-three are addressed to him. The most interesting are the following: bk. i. ep. 18, on the perpetual virginity of the blessed Virgin Mary; i. 136, on the episcopal office; ii. 137, Isidore mentions a lost work, λόγος κατὰ Ἕλληνας, in which he defends Christianity from certain accusations; iii. 195, on infant baptism; iii. 253, Isidore mentions a book, also lost, against fate, περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι εἱμαρμένην; v. 276, on the prevalence of simony. (Migne, Pat. Gr. lxxviii. 191 sqq.; Ceillier, viii. 479–487.) [J. W. S.]

HERMION, bishop of Tanis, in the Delta. He was present at the synod of Alexandria, A.D. 362, and signed the epistle addressed to the church of Antioch. (Mansi, iii. 345; Le Quien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 535.) [J. de S.]

HERMIONE (1)—Sept. 4, daughter of Philip the apostle, according to Bas. *Men.* probably the deacon being meant (Acts xxi. 8). She lived at Ephesus until Trajan's time with a sister named Eutycha. The emperor, making an expedition against the Persians, came to Ephesus, where, hearing of her fame as a Christian prophetess, he tortured her, but released her when she predicted his triumph over the Persians. She is said to have been martyred under Adrian. The whole story is devoid of any really ancient authority. Cf. however a learned note on the subject of the residence of the apostle Philip in Asia Minor, in Dr. Lightfoot's *Commentary on the Colossians*, p. 45. See also articles on "Philip the Apostle" and "Philip the Evangelist" in *Dictionary of the Bible*. (Bas. *Men.*; *Acta SS.* Boll. Sept. ii. 185; Dodwell, *Dissert. Cyprian.* xi. 17–28.) [G. T. S.]

HERMIONE (2), virgin in Eleutheropolis (Freistadt), commended by Marcellinus and Faustinus, priests who were attached to the schism of Ursinus and Lucifer in the 4th century. (Faustini et Marcellini *Lib. Precum ad Imperatores*, c. 29; Migne, Patr. Lat. xiii. 103; Ceillier, *Histoire des Auteurs Eccles.* v. 154.) [I. G. S.]

HERMIONITAE, heretics. [HERMIAS (1).]

HERMIPPUS, or HERNEMPUS (Usuard. July 27)—July 26. A presbyter and martyr with two other priests, Hermolaus and Hermocrates or Hermogrates, at Nicomedia during the Diocletian persecution. (Bas. *Men.*) [G. T. S.]

HERMOCRATES, martyr. [HERMIPPUS.]

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LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED, STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

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